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Sun., Sept. 4, 1983

2 Costa Ricans Fighting Alongside Nicaraguans Have Been Killed

•1983, New York Times News Service

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The government has announced that two Costa Ricans have been killed fighting alongside Nicaraguan troops.

Diplomats and other analysts said it was the first time the government had publicly acknowledged that foreigners had joined the Nicaraguan army and died in combat.

The dead Costa Ricans, Jose Romero Campos and Yamileth Lopez Ballesteros, were leaders of a political party called Popular Vanguard, which has two seats in the Costa Rican Congress and is said to follow a Soviet line.

In a speech in May, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the junta, reported that 5,712 foreigners were working on "internationalist missions" in Nicaragua. He did not say how many of them were performing military duty, but many Nicaraguans believe the armed forces

include some outsiders. Ortega also said there were 3,263 Cubans helping the leftist government remain in power.

Both of the Costa Ricans whose deaths were reported last week were long-time political activists. Romero, 46, worked in his father's shoemaking business in the Costa Rican town of Heredia before joining the Popular Vanguard party. He had six children, according to the Barricada report.

Miss Lopez was a 28-year-old former textile worker who became a union organizer and member of the executive committee of the Alliance of Costa Rican Women, a feminist group.

In Costa Rica, the Popular Vanguard Party issued a statement

announcing that two of its leading members had died "in armed confrontations with the criminal bands which are attacking the Nicaraguan people from inside Honduras."

The Costa Rican ambassador in Managua, Jesus Fernandez, speculated in an interview that the deaths of Romero and Miss Lopez were announced because "they were high leaders of their party, not just ordinary members."

He said he had no certain knowledge that other Costa Ricans had joined Nicaraguan military forces but added, "There are presumably other foreigners here engaged in similar activities." Other diplomats expressed similar opinions.

Inside Castro's Prisons



Free at last, Valladares with his wife Marta in Paris

Armando Valladares was a 23-year-old minor bureaucrat in Cuba's Ministry of Communications when the police arrested him in December 1960. The charge: "counterrevolutionary activity" because he had publicly criticized Fidel Castro's increasing dependence on the Soviet Union. Although he had supported Castro's 1959 overthrow of Dictator Fulgencio Batista, Valladares was, after a two-hour trial, sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment. During his confinement, Valladares began to record images and thoughts on the torn-off margins of Castro's official newspaper, *Granma*. Some of these fragments, which were smuggled out of prison in dirty laundry and sent out of Cuba in toothpaste tubes, were published in Spanish as two books of poems, *From My Wheelchair* (1977) and *The Heart in Which I Live* (1980). Prefaced by a long introduction, a collection of some of those same poems, together with

many of the prisoner's letters, was published in French as a third volume, *Castro's Prisoner* (1979). These works established his literary reputation internationally.

Last October, thanks to the efforts of French President François Mitterrand and the Spanish writer

Fernando Arrabal, among others, Castro agreed to release Valladares. He now lives in Madrid, where he spends his time writing. He also runs *Internationale de la Resistance*, a Paris-based human rights organization that he helped found earlier this year. The group's purpose, he says, is to support the overthrow of all dictators. Following is Valladares' first extensive English-language account of his experiences during almost 22 years in Castro's jails. His narrative is accompanied by illustrations that he drew himself on cigarette papers and that he later managed to smuggle out of prison.

I had not committed any offense. Moreover, nothing was found when my home was searched: neither explosives, nor arms, nor compromising documents. However, the police officers who interrogated me said that despite the absence of material evidence they were convinced that I was a potential enemy of the revolution. The real reason for my imprisonment was that I had constantly warned my friends and compatriots against a Communist takeover of our country. Because I always refused to repudiate my ideas, I was systematically beaten, kept in solitary confinement, physically and mentally tortured. My mind and my hands still bear the traces. I saw my companions tortured; I was both witness to and victim of a violent and ruthless penitentiary system.

There are almost 140,000 political and criminal prisoners in 68 penitentiaries throughout Cuba. In Havana province, for example, one finds prisons such as the *Combinado del Este* where I was imprisoned and which, at one time, held up to 13,500 detainees. In addition, more than 30 farm prisons and concentration camps are scattered around the island, including one camp that is exclusively for young girls and another that is reserved for young boys. There are also *Frentes Abiertos* (Open Fronts), which consist of groups of prisoners who are serving light sentences or who are about to be released. These detainees travel around the island constructing roads, schools, dairies and buildings. Tourists who see these men on the construction sites do not suspect that they are in fact prisoners who have accepted "political rehabilitation." Havana province alone has six such groups.

I myself spent the major part of my detention in high-security prisons, at first in La Cabaña prison. There, political prisoners from Havana province were executed by firing squad against an execution wall that had been set in the fortress' 200-year-old draining ditches. Night after night the firing was punctuated with cries of "Long live Christ the King!" and "Down with Communism!" from prisoners as they went to their deaths. From 1963 on, they were gagged.

I remained in La Cabaña only a few days before being trans-

ferred to an island south of Cuba called Isla de Pinos.* It had been converted by the Communists into the Siberia of the Americas. In conditions identical to those of the Soviet concentration camps under Stalin, the Cuban authorities had made Isla de Pinos the detention area for political prisoners who were sentenced to forced labor.

There, a prisoner's life was worthless. I saw many of my companions murdered. The first of them was Ernesto Díaz Madruga, who was bayoneted to death by the officer responsible for the application of camp regulations. Thus began a campaign of terror that resulted in numerous deaths and mutilations. In April 1961, 13½ tons of dynamite were placed in each building to blow us up in the event of an attack on Cuba. I held one of these murderous cartridges in my hands. They were made in Canada; evidently Castro had very little confidence in the efficiency of Soviet explosives. In Guanajay prison I recall witnessing the visit of a group of Soviet penal experts. All the political prisoners chanted in unison, "Soviets go home"; they were rewarded with the harshest of floggings.

For a long time I worked in agricultural camps and marble quarries. It was exhausting. We were victims of the constant blows of the officers responsible for the work squads. A few years later, I was taken to the Boniato prison in Oriente province. All the doors and windows were steel-shuttered. That period was one of the worst. But I felt myself neither alone nor abandoned because God was with me inside that jail. The greater the hatred my jailers directed at me, the more my heart brimmed over with Christian love and faith. I never felt hatred for my jailers, and even today, with the detachment of time, I offer prayers for them that they might repent. Once I succeeded in getting hold of a small Bible, but the soldiers ultimately found it and furiously tore it to shreds.

In August 1974, the detainees at La Cabaña, to which I had

*Now known as Isla de la Juventud (Island of Youth), this island was where Fidel Castro was incarcerated after his failed attempt to seize the Moncada barracks in 1953. A museum now commemorates his stay there, and children from Africa and Central America are brought to study on the island.



been returned, were deprived of food for 46 days. At the end of that ordeal, six prisoners, myself included, could move only in wheelchairs. For years we were refused any medical care whatsoever. In 1976, as the result of pressure by Amnesty International, the Cuban government sent a report to that organization, admitting that I was suffering from "deficiency polyneuropathy," which restricted movement of my arms and legs. For more than four years all my efforts to obtain medical care and assistance were in vain.

In 1979, however, as a result of a new political strategy, Castro announced that he would lighten some prison sentences. I was taken to a civilian hospital, where I began to receive appropriate treatment. However, the publication of *Castro's Prisoner* in France resulted in the suspension of this treatment. I was sent back to prison, this time to Combinado del Este, where I remained until my release. In April 1981, the military transferred me to *las celdas de castigo* (punishment cells), which, at the time, housed 67 people who had been sentenced to death either for political reasons or for common crimes. I saw young boys and workers led off to the execution post simply because they had peacefully opposed the regime. Four months later, only 13 of the 67 were still alive.

By August, the authorities had built special premises so as to keep me in utter solitary confinement. The walls and ceiling were painted dazzling white, and just above my head, my jailers installed ten neon tubes about five feet long. These were kept on all the time, throwing off a blinding light that caused my sight to be damaged.

Next to my cell, they had installed a gymnasium equipped with all the requisite physiotherapy contraptions: tables, pulleys and parallel bars. They then began to put me through intensive treatment. Supervision was very strict and the guards were hand-picked. The authorities already had the intention of releasing me, and their objective was to remove all the aftereffects of the ill-treatment I had been subjected to. Castro had told several ambassadors and statesmen who had taken an interest in my plight that until I could walk I would not leave the country. The colonels in the political police often told me that the only prisoner who could not leave Cuba in a wheelchair was me. Other detainees left the country in just such a condition, and two of them, still invalids, are now living in the U.S.

Little by little I began to regain the use of my legs. I was given food that was in short supply: a liter of milk each day, lots of meat, fruit, vegetables, vitamins and minerals. Several months later I was able to stop using the orthopedic devices. I began to walk between the parallel bars, lurching and staggering at first, then moving with more confidence. I was able to squat down and run in place, but I was still unable to walk without holding on to the parallel bars. I tended to reel off sideways, the result of having remained too long in an enclosed space (After we had spent a few years in small cells in the Boniato prison, several of us were brought out into the corridors: we reeled as if we were drunk.)

I remained in that condition for many months. The wardens refused to let me walk outside the gymnasium. I learned later that they wanted to maintain complete secrecy concerning my re-education in order to win a propaganda victory with all those who, expecting me in a wheelchair, would be astonished to see me walking normally. At that time I was far from imagining that

the treatment was, in fact, an anticipation of my release. I was in complete isolation. I thought this was the result of a government decision aimed at putting a stop to the campaign, which I suspected existed, to have me granted the medical care I needed. Each week I received a visit from officers in the political police who tried to convince me that everyone had forsaken me, that even my family wished to remain in Cuba. I did not believe a word of that, but neither did I have any inkling of the magnitude of the campaign being mounted for my release. The treatments continued. However, once the exercises and massages were finished, I still had to use my wheelchair to return to my cell or to go to the bathroom.

The Cuban government had already tried to discredit me abroad by printing a phony card that was supposed to show I was a member of Batista's political police and by trying to show that I had been a torturer. On my release I was easily able to show how worthless this proof was. If I had been a police torturer, Castro himself would have had me shot or imprisoned as soon as the revolutionaries seized power. Instead, I was promoted, and at the time of my arrest, I was a civil servant.



In Cuba, minors are sent to detention centers for offenses, which, in most countries, do not result in imprisonment. In Combinado del Este I met a twelve-year-old boy named Roberto. At night he would weep and cry out for his mother, pleading to be allowed to go home. To silence him, the guards would throw buckets of cold water and bottles at him or beat him with a rope. Roberto had been sentenced to prison because, while walking in the street, he had seen a pistol lying on the seat of an automobile belonging to a commander in the Ministry of the Interior. Just for fun, he had picked up the gun and shot it into the air.

On his arrival in prison, Roberto was put with the common criminals. A few days later, after having been raped by four men, he had to be hospitalized. On his return, he was classified as a homosexual and transferred to the section reserved for homosexuals. He subsequently had to return to the hospital many times because he was suffering from venereal disease. There are many Robertos

in Cuba.

While I was in prison I also met four Jehovah's Witnesses, all of whom are probably still imprisoned in Combinado del Este. I saw several Protestant churches on Isla de Pinos that had been turned into fertilizer stores. Many Catholic churches have been closed and traditional religious ceremonies banned. The celebration of Christmas has been suppressed, and even the smallest of Christmas trees is looked upon as counterrevolutionary. Only a few people, generally the aged, run the risk of going to church; young people who attend Mass are stigmatized as "enemies of the revolution" and run the risk of expulsion from the university.

Another man whom I met in prison had been sentenced to six years for having transcribed passages out of the Bible for his friends and colleagues. It is very difficult to obtain a Bible. Once a group of Jamaican churchmen shipped some Bibles to Cuba. These were loaded onto a truck in the port of Havana and taken to a paper factory where they were recycled and used for government publications. Once José María Rivero Díaz, a Protestant minister, was surprised by a guard while reading a small Bible which had been smuggled into prison. He was savagely beaten up in his cell by the prison director and other high-ranking offi-

cials. After they had left, José Maria's back was just one vast, bloody wound. Even on the dawn of their execution, prisoners are unable to have the support of a priest.

Close family members of detainees do not have the right to address any request to government authorities. If they ask questions, they receive a visit from the political police and are informed that it is forbidden to inquire into the possibility of visiting prisoners. They are also barred from meeting with the families of other detainees. Thus any assembly of more than three close relatives of political prisoners renders them liable to conspiracy proceedings. Prisoners' families are kept under constant surveillance by the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (neighborhood block committees) and the police. In May 1979, because I had refused to write a letter disavowing the contents of my books and denouncing those who had published my poetry or who had talked of my situation abroad, my family was refused an exit visa to leave the country and my brother-in-law lost his job. My friends and relatives were forbidden to visit my house.

The political police bullied both my mother—who was already advanced in years—and my sister. One day, threatening to imprison my sister, they forced my mother to write that I was an enemy of all peoples, that the solitary confinement and the maltreatment I suffered were only what I deserved and that I should be grateful to the revolution.

My sister underwent interrogation several times and had to put up with threats. Once a colonel went to the house and showed her a court judgment that sentenced her to twelve years' imprisonment. My sister had neither been charged nor brought before any court. The colonel ordered her to follow him to the women's prison. The process took twelve hours; they said that certain formalities had still to be completed, and she was to return home and remain there until they came for her. Through such coercion, the authorities hoped to unbalance the minds of members of my family. They succeeded. My sister is currently in the U.S. undergoing psychiatric treatment.*

A week before leaving Cuba I was taken to the headquarters of the political police to meet Dr. Alvarez Cambra, who was responsible for my physical rehabilitation. Cambra was the author of statements published in a magazine interview maintaining that I had been examined by the best Cuban specialists and that their diagnosis confirmed I was suffering from "deficiency polynuropathy." They took me to a sports field, and Cambra explained to me that I would, in a very short time, recover the ability to walk straight and that it was a question of readaptation of the brain. Then, during a whole week of intensive exercises, I was made to walk up and down stairs, exercise in the gymnasium, even go out on the track in the worst of the heat.

An hour before my departure for the airport, I ran a lap under the watchful eyes of the generals and colonels of the political police. They could now present me to the entire world. Two hours later I was on a plane to Paris. The resounding impact that the Cuban government expected from this event lasted only a

*When Valladares was released last year, he refused to depart unless his family was also given permission to leave. The French Ambassador therefore interceded, procuring exit visas for four members of the prisoner's family.

few hours, until I explained I was no longer in a wheelchair only because I had been given the appropriate treatment.

The Cuban government thought I would just lose myself in the Cuban community in Miami, that I would become involved with the conventional anti-Castro movements. Paradoxically, it was the colonels of the political police who were the biggest sponsors of the international opinion campaign initiated on my behalf. I recognize them as having been my best publicity agents and my best literary agents.

Since December, I have received several anonymous threats, but they have not weakened my resolve to continue to expose the horrors of the Cuban regime. Recently in Paris, a person who introduced himself as an official of the Cuban embassy requested a meeting with me to "show me proof" that would be made public if I did not refrain from my "counterrevolutionary" activities. My answer caused him to slam down the phone. Subsequently, I received an anonymous telephone call warning me they would

make public a film showing me exercising. They were, I presume, hoping to discredit my claims of paralysis. Finally, Fidel Castro wrote to French Communist Party Leader Georges Marchais describing me as a murderer and threatening to supply the proof. I publicly challenged Castro to bring forth his alleged proof. I am not afraid of the result.

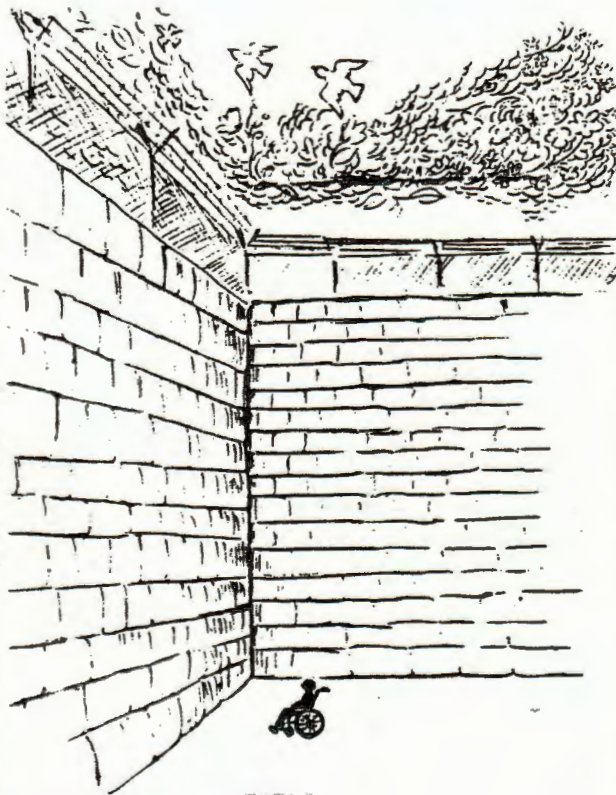
The Cuban people are now beginning to awaken to the situation. Thousands of workers have begun to organize an independent trade union. Recently, five trade unionists were sentenced to death and saved only through the mobilization of world opinion. Tens of workers have been sent to prison, and eleven farmers are facing the death penalty because they burned their crops rather than sell them to the government at prices that were unjust.

Hundreds of my compatriots are detained today in political prisons because they refuse to accept "political rehabilitation." For years, these people have been living without clothes, without visitors or correspondence or medical attention, and without sunlight of any kind. Amnesty International, the Human Rights

Commission of the Organization of American States and numerous intellectuals throughout the world have spoken out against this situation.

Reprisals have been taken against several Cuban intellectuals who have already spent many years behind bars or in concentration camps. At the end of May, the former diplomat and poet Andrés Vargas Gómez—grandson of General Máximo Gómez, the architect of Cuban independence—left prison seriously ill. He has been relentlessly threatened and kept under close surveillance, and was told he would never be permitted to leave the country. The poet Angel Cuadra, the socialist Ricardo Bofill, the sociologist Enrique Hernández, the mathematician Adolfo Rivero and many others find themselves in the same situation.

For years the Cuban government has been able to conceal its repressive nature, torturing and burying its dead in secrecy, gagging its victims. After almost a quarter of a century of Communism in Cuba, no one can continue to excuse its crimes by talking of the immaturity of the political process. No philosophy, no symbol, can justify the impunity with which Castroism kills its enemies.



Edited Transcript of Ambassador-at-Large
Vernon A. Walters' Address to the
Outreach Group on Wednesday, August 24,
1983, 1430 Hours, Room 450 EOB

I would like to talk a little bit about Central America, an area which has occupied a considerable portion of my life at various times and I would like to try, insofar as I can, to dispel a number of myths concerning Central America. You know the Hispanic peoples know what you mean when you say the "Liendra Negra" - the "Black Legend". The black legend is that the Spaniards went to South America and burned the Indians, and all they were interested in was getting gold. They were a mystery to the Indians and exterminated them and generally didn't behave like we noble Anglo-Saxons who treated ours so well. Well, the fact is that they had a couple of universities going a hundred years before Harvard was founded. And secondly, as one Spaniard said to me, "Our Indians are still there. Where are yours?" That black legend has been transferred to us. The other day I was in Spain and someone said "Well, Willy Brandt and Carlos Andres Perez put out a statement and said that the United States is principally to blame for the situation in Central America. What do you have to say about that?" I said, "They are both distinguished statesmen." I doubt that Carlos Andres Perez made such a statement. He was in my office recently and he certainly didn't say anything like that to me. But I said, "You know, regardless of how remarkable they are, it is just as difficult for them to be always right as it is for the United States to be always wrong."

Now, one of the principal myths about Central America is that it is our backyard. It is not our backyard; it is our front lawn. And what happens there is of vital interest to us. It is the land bridge between us and South America and the incalculable reserves of that continent which we want to make sure are lined up on the side of freedom. The second myth is that the United States regards all insurrections against injustice and oppression as Communist inspired. They're not. But when they identify themselves as such, we have to take them seriously. When Umberto Ortega, one of the Nicaraguan Commandantes, says, "Marxism-Leninism is the guide of Sandinismo, and without Marxism-Leninism, there is no Sandinismo," we've got to take him seriously. That is not the US saying it, that is Ortega himself saying that he is. And he said it in a document put out by the Public Relations Department of the People's National Sandinista Army of Liberation. Fidel Castro, on the 6th of June, 1961, said, "I became a Communist at the age of seventeen; I am one now, and will be one until the day I die." So much for the New York Times theory that we pushed him into their arms. I mean, he said so himself. We didn't take Adolph Hitler's Mein Kampf seriously either and it turned out to be quite serious: About twenty five million dead. So it is not a question of we regarding all of these people who are rebelling against social injustice or against oppression, against various forms of dictatorship, as all being Communist. Only when they

identify themselves to us as such. They will tell you now that, "Oh, Ortega said that." i.e. it is only rhetoric. Maybe, but about half of the original junta has now fled the country and are outside. So, evidently they feel the democratic revolution was betrayed.

This area between the Panama Canal and the Rio Grande River is vital to us because it contains one hundred million people. One hundred million people whom we feel are entitled to the same freedoms and democracies that we have. For whom we wish a pluralistic society. The Soviets have an interesting doctrine called the Brezhnev Doctrine. The Brezhnev Doctrine says that when the Socialist Regime of any communist country is threatened, the Red Army reserves the right to intervene to guarantee the achievements of Socialism. Well, I am not sure that we shouldn't have a doctrine that guarantees the achievements of democracy. We apparently let the Monroe Doctrine fall into what the lawyers, I believe, call desuetude. And wouldn't it be a good idea if maybe we had a doctrine that democracy deserves to be helped. Because if you look at the history of the world, this century, one interesting fact strikes you. Democracies almost never engage in aggressive wars. They are almost always a factor of dictatorships, right or left. By their nature they are driven to external adventures. In democracies when you have to ask the people to sanction a foreign war, unless it is a defensive war, very rarely are they willing to do so. We abhorred Nazism, but

it still took Pearl Harbor to get us into the war. It is very difficult to get a democracy to go to war other than in response to an attack upon itself. And this is one of the reasons why, not just philosophically but pragmatically, we believe a pluralistic, democratic society is a good thing, not just for us, but for the people of Central and South America and all over the world in fact.

It is also a question of the maintenance of peace. You are far more likely to have peace where there are democratic regimes than where there are dictatorial regimes. And that is a very powerful factor. Large wars often grow from small wars. World War II grew out of a war between Poland and Germany. World War I grew out of a war between Austria and Serbia. So the important thing is that we do not have wars which can grow. The third thing is that this area is not just important to us. It is even more important that our enemies do not obtain control of it. Because then we do have a soft underbelly. Americans ask, what does El Salvador have to do with me? Well, El Salvador is closer to San Antonio than San Antonio is to Boston. You know, during the Falklands crisis, Mrs. Thatcher at one point in Number Ten Downing Street said, "It was in this room that Neville Chamberlain said, speaking of Czechoslovakia in 1938, 'Why should we go to war for this far distant country about which we know so little and with which we have so little in common?' And," she added,

"because he did that, we had a war that killed twenty five million people." So this is really the question that Cain asked: "Am I my brother's keeper?" And in a world that is the size of the one in which we now live, the answer is: Yes. We all are our brother's keepers. Because the fate of our brothers today may be ours tomorrow.

When you have a vast country with the resources of the Soviet Union actively carrying out Lenin's dictum, "Probe with bayonets. If you run into steel, try somewhere else," it is important that they not find the absence of steel in this area. It is important that they are not permitted to enslave these hundred million people. They will tell you that all of this is caused by poverty and oppression and lack of freedom. If that were true, we would have a lot more revolts in a lot more areas than we do. Certain areas have been chosen. And -- this is a personal opinion -- my opinion is that the real target of the Soviet planners in that area is Mexico. If they could destabilize Mexico-- and our Mexican friends insist there is no danger of this, and perhaps they are right and perhaps they are wrong, but if they are wrong, the price they will pay is very great -- how much interest would the United States be able to pay to Europe, Africa or Asia?

The people in Central America are no less people than we are. If we like for ourselves the advantages of freedom and democracy, why should we deny them to them. Economically we

don't care whether the society is socialist, capitalist or mixed. Personally, I hope it is mixed or capitalist because there is one thing I have always found about socialism, it is undoubtedly one of the most noble doctrines man has ever evolved, but it doesn't work. It hasn't worked anywhere. I think we ought to give these people a chance to develop a pluralistic, democratic society in which they have a chance to change their mind, in which, if they want to try some experiment, they have an occasion four years later to review that experiment and see whether it was any good or not.

I think that is one of the key things that we want to try and help them achieve. Democracy is in trouble in Central America. It is under attack in Central America and if we don't defend it, who will? It is not just under attack from local forces; it is under attack from outside forces. All you have to do is turn up the airwaves and hear the storm that beats on those transistor radios throughout Central America every night to know that it is under attack from outside and not just from forces within each country.

People say, "Why don't you negotiate with the guerrillas?" Well, we negotiated with Hitler -- we didn't, but the British and French did in 1938, and it didn't turn out very well. You've got to negotiate with strength. You've got to be able to convince your adversaries that the route of force is not a paying one. And also be able to convince your friends that,

if the other side chooses the route of force, you have the means of meeting it. And above all, in my opinion, you must not freeze yourself into any position of telling your adversaries what you are going to do or telling them what you are not going to do. Uncertainty is a very powerful weapon. If we had told Adolph Hitler, as we told the North Vietnamese, that under no circumstances were we going to invade Germany, I just wonder how long World War II would have gone on. We are told that the Sandinistas are really representatives of the working peasant class who want to till their soil, earn a living and not become a pawn in the struggle between the superpowers. You know, I hear a faint echo. That is what I heard about the North Vietnamese. They were just representatives of the little peasants who wanted to till their rice paddies and live their lives without becoming a pawn in the struggle between the superpowers. Well, what happened? In Vietnam, when you had a war going on, you had American bombs falling all over the place; there was fighting in every village and all the young men were being drafted into the South Vietnamese army. There were no refugees. There were no boat people. When liberation came, one million, two hundred thousand Vietnamese chose to go out into the South China sea in open boats, risking the pirates, the typhoons, the storms to escape from "liberation". What, by the way, happened to those peasants who were going to till their soil? Well, they don't have any soil to till. All the soil belongs to the government. What about not becoming a pawn in the struggle between the superpowers? Well, at Cam Ranh

Bay there is today the largest electronics intelligence station the Soviet Union maintains outside the Soviet Union with the single exception of Lourdes in Cuba. And, if you look at Cam Ranh Bay today, you can see Soviet aircraft on the field. This for that part which said the North Vietnamese didn't want to be subject to the Soviets, didn't want to be subject to the Chinese; they just wanted to go their own little independent way.

I submit that when Mr. Ortega tells us that Sandinismo is guided by Marxism--Leninism, we have to take him seriously. And, obviously, a large number of his fellow commandantes have taken him seriously since a large number of the members of the original junta have left because they realize that the the revolution has been betrayed. And what does a "revolution without frontiers" of which the Nicaraguans speak mean? It means you keep going until you get to the U.S. border. And you just take them one by one with the old salami tactics. Everyone said the domino theory was discredited. Was it? Vietnam fell. Cambodia fell with the greatest genocide in history, proportionally to population. Laos fell. Those two countries now are occupied by the Vietnamese. We were told these were the little farmers that just wanted to cultivate their little plots of rice and not bother anybody. And that is exactly what we are hearing now about the Sandinistas, who have the largest army in Central America, an army that is not big enough to stop us but is far too big

for their neighbors. And, if they have and are talking about this kind of an apparatus, what do they intend to do with it? Protect themselves against the Hondurans or the Costa Ricans? All is not by any means lost in this area. In Costa Rica we have just had a democratic election. In Honduras we have had a democratic election. In the Dominican Republic, where we intervened in 1965 militarily over great protests, there have been four separate changes of government by normal democratic elections whose results no one has really challenged. If we can just let democracy take root a little bit, have two, three changes of government by ordinary democratic process, as it has in Venezuela for instance, this process will then become the normal accepted process as up until now the normal accepted process for change has been coups and violence.

If you have democracy, you have all the mechanisms of change, change of any kind you want as long as you get enough people to agree. But not irreversible change. In my lifetime I have seen all the great right-wing authoritarian dictatorships in the world replaced by democracies. But I don't know, and no one else in this room knows, what replaces a Communist dictatorship because no one in this room has even seen one replaced. The only possible exception was the Hungarian Communist Regime of Bela Kun in Hungary in 1929 which was ejected by the Romanian Army marching into Budapest and ejecting it. Outside of that, I do not know of a single case where a Communist regime has been reversible. It is not just the fact that once the people go under this kind of a regime, there is

no longer any hope. The regime is in power, it has weapons and it is quite prepared, in the name of its ideology, to use those weapons to keep itself in power. It impedes the means of subverting the armed forces which, traditionally, in the case of the Russian Revolution and so forth, is what occurred. You got the soldiers to turn their guns against the regime. But when they control all the means, all of the media, it is very difficult to get to the soldiers to subvert them. And so it is not just a philosophical preference for a political pluralistic society, for an opportunity for the people to pronounce themselves in a fixed period of time on whatever experiments that they undertake, but it is the question of guaranteeing to these people the right to live as human beings and not as slaves. And this is the real issue in Central America and in the Caribbean. It is not a question of a border issue, it is not a question of a particular class of society, it is a question of the fundamental rights of people. Whether we believe these people are entitled to the same rights as we are. And if we do, and they are under attack, and their hope for the future and for freedom is under attack, it is up to us to do whatever is necessary to help them to preserve or to gain for the first time, in some cases, the possibility of being free and of controlling their own destiny.

Now in the case of Nicaragua, once again, we have this myth that the United States pushed them into the arms of the Communists, that that is not where they really were going.

Well, perhaps not. I would simply point out that after the revolution in September of 1979, Mr. Rabello and Daniel Ortega were received by President Carter at the White House. Fidel Castro, I might add, paraded down Broadway under the confetti after he was victorious. Now, the myth is that the United States supports the military dictators. I submit that both Batista and Somoza fell when the United States made it clear that they were not going to sell them what they needed to stay in power. I would simply add, from the financial point of view, that to this day the largest donor of aid to Nicaragua has been the United States. And in the first three years after they came to power we gave the Sandinistas more money than we gave Somoza in seventeen years. So it certainly isn't that we turned our backs on them and refused to help them. They chose the path of supporting the Soviet Union, or supporting a Marxist ideal because they believed in it.

You know we always have a tendency to believe that no one is really a Marxist. There are convinced Marxists; I have talked to them. It is an article of religious faith with them. I personally happen to believe that Fidel Castro is a more devout Marxist than Yuri Andropov. Yuri Andropov is in power and he wants to stay there. I think Fidel really believes all the stuff he's been saying. And that is very dangerous, when you begin to believe your own oratory. So I think we have to realize that there is a great deal at stake. Now the Europeans have this myth of Uncle Sam the Goliath beating up on the poor little small countries of Central America and with military aide

we are always looking for military solutions. Well we are not. The President said something like seventy percent of our assistance has been economic. But all the economic assistance is not going to do you any good if you don't have some kind of security shield. So many people have adopted an economic deterministic view -- that if you are economically strong, that is all you need. Well, I look at history and every time I think about the gross national product of Macedonia under Alexander and the Persian Empire which he overthrew, or I think of the gross national product of the Germanic tribes emerging from the Northern forests wearing their animal skins, and the Roman Empire, which was unquestionably the largest, most productive economic unit that had appeared in the world until that time, I am reminded of the story that after Waterloo, Wellington invited Marshal Blucher to London and took him up the newly-inaugurated Nelson column. Blucher looked out over the city and under his breath he muttered, "What a city to loot!"

When people tell me that economic strength is all that is necessary and that there are no military solutions, I always suggest that whoever believes that go tell the Greeks because it was Constantinople for eleven centuries, but as a result of some military activities, it has been Istanbul ever since. And then I remember from my own lifetime that Germany entered World War II practically without a gold reserve, with food rationing in effect and with currency controls. It was six years against the rest

of the world and it was a pretty close-run thing. When you have people imbued with a kind of semi-religious faith, the kind of fanaticism that Marxism brings with it, you've got to understand that you have a real danger on your hands. A danger not only to the United States, but, most of all, and this people lose sight of, to the people of Central America. It is they who are going to lose their freedom in the short term. We may lose ours, if we lose them, in the longer term, but they are going to lose whatever freedom they have, just like Vietnam. Vietnam was not a perfect society by any means but there were thirty newspapers in Saigon under Thieu. Some were suspended; some were fined. You know how many there are now? One. The Party Organ. So, there are all kinds of things at stake that do not immediately escape us.

Finally, that brings me to another item which I think is of fundamental importance. The one thing that all Communist revolutions have in common, is that they engender huge quantities of refugees. From Hungary, there were four hundred thousand. From Cuba, there were eight hundred thousand. And that won for Cuba the title of the largest country in the world. The administration is in Havana; the government is in Moscow; the army is in Africa; and the population is in Florida. Now, Cuba is an island. Central America is not an island. We've had boat people from Vietnam. If we lose Central America, we are going to have a minimum of ten million foot people and they won't be foot people all the way. Because when they get

to the Guatemalan/Mexican border there will be buses waiting to take them to Nogales, Tijuana, Brownsville and Laredo. And someone there to say, "Por Aqui, Senores", that way. Now this is a country that was made by refugees but they didn't come in these enormous waves all at once. Refugees have built the United States but they came in over a period of time in some kind of order. We have ten million unemployed. What are we going to do if we get ten million refugees? Who is going to provide them jobs? Who is going to provide them with housing, schools, social security? These will be people who have lost everything. They will be willing to work for any salary. What will the impact of that be on the American job market? And you know, these people will want to stay--I always tell this to my Democratic friends in Congress from the southern part of the United States--they will want to stay where it is warm. And after they have been here a while, they will become naturalized. And they will be very anti-Communist and they will all register as Republicans and that is not in your interest.

We face a very crucial problem, not unlike the ones the British and French faced when the Germans remilitarized the Rhineland. We now know that the German units that went into the Rhineland had orders, if the French reacted, to pull out at once. They remilitarized the Rhineland, they took the Saar, they took Austria, they took the Sudetenland, they took the whole of Czechoslovakia, they took Memel, and finally the war burst over Poland. But by that time the

Skoda works in Czechoslovakia were working for the Germans, not against them. Churchill once said--and this is an eternal truth--"You cannot slake the appetite of dictators by throwing them small countries to eat. Their appetite grows while they eat." As they digest Cuba, they will move on to the mainland--to Nicaragua. And when they have digested Nicaragua, they will digest Salvador. And then Honduras, and then Guatamala, and then it will be Mexico's turn. Now the Mexicans are convinced that no danger threatens them. I wish I could agree with them. I certainly hope that no danger threatens them but I do remember what Blucher said: What a city to loot. There is for us a choice now. We can either make a stand and defend regimes that are admittedly not perfect. But, is the solution to a flawed regime to replace it with a totally irreversible totalitarian Marxist dictatorship? Is that the answer? Because the Salvadorans or the Hondurans or the Guatamalan government do something that we don't like, is the answer to turn them over to a totalitarian dictatorship which will not be extinguished in our lifetime? That is not the solution and we all know it. And if that is not the solution, then it is our duty as a people, it is our duty as people who believe in freedom, who believe in the equality of all men, to do what we can to protect these peoples' right to decide their own future. And that, simply put, is the whole issue in Central America. And I am an optimist. Because if you look at the whole

course of human history since we came out of the caves; the course of that history has been in the direction of greater freedom and dignity for the individual. Many tyrants have temporarily stopped that flow. None has ever stopped it permanently. And the medieval tyranny that is masquerading as modern Marxism will not escape from the inexorable tide of history. It is our job to help the tide of history. We must not be found wanting or no one knows what the consequences will be.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 28, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: THE MEMBERS AND GUESTS OF THE WHITE HOUSE
OUTREACH WORKING GROUP ON CENTRAL AMERICA

FROM: Faith Ryan Whittlesey, *FRW*
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

SUBJECT: Meetings for November

Following is a listing of our principal speakers and room locations for the Central American Outreach Meetings for the month of November. As usual, all meetings will begin at 2:30 p.m.:

November 2 - "Grenada"
The Honorable James Michel,
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
for Inter-American Affairs
Room #450 - Old Executive Office Building

November 9 - "El Salvador as Seen by Its Youth"
Fernando Aceto
Ana Vicky Morales
Ana Berrios
Eduardo Torres
Bertha Van Ripper
Marisa Fortin
(NOTE: Only two of the above students
will be speaking after having returned
from a speaking tour of the United States)
Room #450 - Old Executive Office Building

November 16 - "The Situation in the Caribbean"
General John Vessey,
Chairman
Joint Chiefs of Staff
Room #450 - Old Executive Office Building

November 23 - CANCELLED (Due to Thanksgiving Holiday)

November 30 - "KGB Disinformation in the Media and Other
Soviet Active Measures"
Mr. Arnaud De Borchegrave, noted author/lecturer
Room #2008 - New Executive Office Building

If you have any questions, please contact: Mrs. Joyce Thomann, Office of Public Liaison (202) 456-2657.

TALKING POINTS ON GRENADA

Basic Situation

-- The U.S. is cooperating with six Caribbean nations -- Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, Dominica, St. Lucia and St. Vincent (the last four members of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States - OECS) to protect lives and restore order in Grenada.

-- This collective effort has military and political dimensions. U.S. is necessarily key to the military aspects; just as importantly, the Caribbean nations are key to the political aspects -- setting up a provisional government under law.

-- Inaction would have aggravated the situation and increased the dangers to foreign nationals and regional peace.

-- U.S. troops will leave as soon as possible. We cannot yet predict how soon that will be.

Political Aspects

-- The murder of Prime Minister Bishop and his colleagues led to the disintegration of effective government in Grenada.

-- Caribbean leaders believed that Bishop was eliminated because he might have held elections and led a democratic opening that could have reduced the island's growing militarization under Cuban control.

-- Judging that this situation constituted an immediate threat to their peace and security, they determined on October 21 to act and sought our assistance.

-- They made clear to us that they were convinced a further, violent internal power struggle was likely, and that whatever regime emerged would be dictatorial.

Humanitarian Concerns

-- The brutal behavior and record of members of the RMC, and the absence of any indication that they were prepared to function as a government, led to grave concern about the safety of the nearly 1000 Americans and other foreigners in Grenada.

-- Our concerns for safety of U.S. citizens were heightened by a shoot-on-sight 24-hour curfew, looting that occurred when that curfew was temporarily lifted on Friday October 21st, and efforts by some residents to charter boats and flee.

Strategic Aspects

-- Grenada was the only country in the Eastern Caribbean with a defense (as opposed to a constabulary) force. Grenada's military forces were 5 times larger than Barbados's and 50% larger than Jamaica's. In addition Cuban armed forces had secretly established fortifications, arms caches, and military communications facilities.

-- Our ability to cooperate with governments in preserving peace and stability in a area of strategic importance to the United States.

Legal Authority

-- U.S. also acted to ensure safety of U.S. and foreign nationals -- such humanitarian actions long recognized as consistent with international law.

-- Treaty establishing OECS is regional agreement concerned inter alia with collective security. OECS members are not parties to Rio Treaty; OECS Treaty is in effect their collective security agreement.

-- The Governor General of Grenada made a confidential direct appeal to the OECS to take action to restore order on the island. As the sole remaining authoritative representative of government on Grenada, his appeal for action carried exceptional moral and legal weight.

-- Article 8 of OECS Treaty authorizes coordination for collective defense, and was basis for unanimous Oct. 23 request for outside aid.

-- OAS Charter Articles 22 (maintenance of peace and security) and 28 (situation endangering peace of America) allow collective measures pursuant to collective security agreements. (UN Article 52 expressly authorizes such arrangements).

-- Under OAS Article 22, such measures are not violations of Article 18 and 20 prohibitions against intervention and use of force.

-- Action was taken to restore order, not dictate political system (not analogous to Brezhnev Doctrine of perpetuating "socialist" governments).

Current Military and Political Situation

-- The Governor-General of Grenada is unharmed, and using his authority as the last remaining Constitutional official to work with the OECS to restore order and develop functioning institutions.

-- Organized Cuban resistance is the major factor in delaying termination of military phase and beginning of the political phase.

-- Evacuation of foreign nationals continues. The accounts of conditions in Grenada and praise for their rescuers by those who have reached the U.S. speak for themselves.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS LEADING TO CARIBBEAN PEACE FORCE ACTIONOctober 6-8

-- Prime Minister Bishop meets in Cuba with Fidel Castro following a one-week tour of Eastern European capitals in which he sought support for his faltering regime.

October 12

-- Longstanding conflict between PM Bishop and Deputy PM Bernard Coard erupts in fight in Grenadian cabinet. Coard wants to supplant Bishop and speed up "socialist change."

-- Ostensibly as a result of rumor that he seeks Bishop's assassination, Coard resigns.

Night of October 13/14

-- About midnight, New Jewel Movement [NJM] Central Committee places Prime Minister Bishop under house arrest.

October 15

-- Radio Free Grenada (run by Coard's wife Phyllis) announces arrest of 3 Cabinet ministers. Mobilization Minister Selwyn Strachan announces that Coard has replaced Bishop as PM. An angry crowd of 300 gathers outside the government-controlled newspaper to protest. Justice Minister Kendrick Radix is arrested for organizing the demonstration.

October 17

-- Tim Hector, leader of leftist Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement, announces that his party is concerned about the safety of Bishop and other leaders of Grenada.

October 18

-- Five Cabinet members resign: Jacqueline Creft, Education; Norris Bain, Housing; George Louison, Agriculture; Lyden Rhamdhanny, Tourism; and Unison Whiteman, Foreign Minister.

-- Whiteman says that "Comrade Coard, who is now running Grenada, has refused to engage in serious talks to resolve the crisis.....it became clear to us that they did not want a settlement and seemed determined to use force and provoke violence to achieve their objective."

October 19

-- Grenada Airport is closed, commercial flight from Barbados is turned back. Radio Free Grenada, only source of news, goes off the air. Shops are closed. School children demonstrate for Bishop's return to office. Demonstrators force restoration of overseas telephone service which had been cut off. Agriculture Minister Louison is arrested.

-- Barbados Government calls emergency cabinet meeting, expresses "deep concern" over events in Grenada.

-- A crowd of thousands, apparently led by Whiteman, marches to Bishop's residence and frees him and Creft, also held prisoner there. Group proceeds to the downtown area toward Fort Rupert (also Police HQ), where Radix was believed imprisoned. Once there, troops loyal to the Central Committee, some in armored personnel carriers, surround Bishop, Whiteman, Creft, Bain and two union leaders, separate them from the crowd and march them into the fort with their hands over their heads. All are killed -- Jacqueline Creft reportedly by beating. Wire services (CANA, EFE) from St. Georges report 50 casualties from troops firing on demonstrators.

-- Radio Free Grenada (RFG) announces deaths, formation of a Revolutionary Military Council (RMC) headed by Army Chief General Hudson Austin, and a round-the-clock, shoot on sight curfew until October 24 at 6:00 am.

-- Journalists from international press arrive at airport and are immediately deported.

-- Alister Hughes, Agence France Presse & CANA correspondent & director of Grenadian weekly, Newsletter, who filed eyewitness report on Fort Rupert events, is picked up at his home by security forces during the night. Hughes was the sole independent news link between Grenada and the rest of the world. His brother, Leonard, and another businessman, Tony Moore are also arrested.

-- Coard placed under "protective custody" - Not seen again.

October 20

-- Barbados Prime Minister, Tom Adams, expresses "horror at these brutal and vicious murders." Describing the new regime he says, "I do not think it will be possible to accommodate so wide a range a governments within the Caribbean. It goes far beyond ideological pluralism. This is the difference between barbarians and human beings."

-- Jamaica breaks relations with Grenada. Opposition leader Manley repudiates RMC, cuts relations with the NJM and recommends its expulsion from the Socialist International.

-- St. Lucia Prime Minister, Sir John Compton, says "Whatever little chance Grenada had in Bishop for the liberalisation of the regime is gone for sometime to come. Coard's regime will try to push the Caribbean Community into the communist camp." He said his government and others would resist any such efforts.

-- Dominica Prime Minister Eugenia Charles condemns the killings in Grenada; says her government would have no dealings with those who now "unlawfully" constitute the government of Grenada.

-- Monserrat Chief Minister John Osborne says events in Grenada had cast a dark shadow over the Caribbean. "The Government of Montserrat feels strongly that we (regional leaders) must meet as soon as possible to consider our future relationship with Grenada under its so-called revolutionary council.....Our sympathy goes out to the people of Grenada."

-- Prime Minister Dr. Kennedy Simmonds of St. Kitts and Nevis joins other Caribbean Community (Caricom) member states in condemning political violence in Grenada.

-- Prime Minister George Chambers of Trinidad and Tobago announces trade and other sanctions against Grenada, describes the killings of Bishop and his ex-ministers as "executions" and said his government views with horror the importation of such executions into the English-speaking Caribbean.

-- In London, Commonwealth Secretary-General Ramphal issues statement expressing horror at murder of Bishop and his supporters. "I feel sure that Commonwealth Caribbean governments in particular will wish to use every influence through co-ordinated responses to ensure that the will and the interest of the people of Grenada are respected and the integrity of the island-state preserved."

-- The Caribbean Conference of Churches suspends all relations with Grenada's new military rulers after having earlier offered to mediate between Bishop and Coard factions.

-- Emergency meeting of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), plus Jamaica and Barbados, called for in Barbados on October 21.

-- U.S. citizen arrested in Grenada, released unharmed.

October 21

-- Antigua and Barbuda Foreign Minister Lester Bird says events in St. Georges (Grenada) threaten the well-being of the Caribbean. "The Government of Antigua and Barbuda will not recognize the regime in Grenada."

-- Except for Grenada, OECS nations (St. Vincent and Grenadines, St. Lucia, Dominica, Antigua and Barbuda, St. Kitts/Nevis, and Monserrat) plus Barbados and Jamaica formally and unanimously resolve to intervene by force in Grenada if U.S. will assist. Intervention will conform to OECS charter provision that the heads of government may collectively agree to take whatever measures are necessary to defend the region and preserve the peace.

-- Cuba issues statement asserting its non-involvement, calls for investigation and "exemplary punishment" of anyone guilty of Bishop and other deaths, and reaffirms support for the "revolutionary process" in Grenada.

-- Curfew lifted for four hours to allow food purchases; riots and looting occur.

October 22

-- Caricom Heads of Government meet in Trinidad; resolve 11-1 to expel Grenada from the organization. Guyana, Trinidad-Tobago and Belize have reservations about military action.

-- The RMC denies reported disorder during four-hour lifting of curfew the iprevious day. On the contrary, the RMC says, people formed orderly queues outside shops, youth were seen playing football, and tourists were at the beach.

-- RMC announces "policy statement" on economy, social policy, foreign policy, saying a new cabinet will be appointed "within the next 10 to 14 days."

-- The RMC said RMC Lt. Ashley Folkes had been replaced. The RMC said he had been "erroneously named" as a member of the 16 man council the day before.

-- The RMC announces Pearl's Airport would be open the next day and that the curfew will be reduced to from 8:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m.

-- RMC issues series of bulletins on Caricom actions, calls for militia mobilization.

October 23

-- Fort De France (Martinique) radio reports Grenadian army divided and indicates another coup is possible. Heavy weapons fire is reported.

-- Special U.S. Presidential emissary McNeil arrives in Barbados to confer with Caribbean leaders (Adams of Barbados, Seaga of Jamaica, Charles of Dominica).

OCTOBER 24

-- U.S., U.K., Canadians, Venezuelans, United Nations Development Program, etc. work on arrangements for evacuation of foreigners by sea and air from Grenada.

-- Airport remains closed.

Grenada Quotes File

From Jamaican Prime Minister Seaga's speech before the Jamaican Parliament on 25 October 1983.

"In the states in the Eastern Caribbean there is at this moment not only a strong revulsion against the recent atrocities in Grenada, which we share, but also overwhelming anxiety -- indeed fear -- for their own security.

"The people of Grenada can be assured that this action in which we have joined today is intended to free them from being pawns in a power play which had converted their lovely spice island to a fearsome camp. From this action we hope they will derive a new freedom and a new opportunity to build a new future."

It may be felt that these matters do not concern us; but most certainly they do. If a whole government can be wiped out overnight either by political or military extremists and the governments of the Caribbean remain silent and passive, then no government elected by the people can be safe....If we ignore the occurrence of brutal military takeovers or political overthrows of governments, we would immediately give heart to every subversive group within the region to engineer disorder and instability as a means of overthrow. No democratic system of government would be safe.

From a speech delivered by Eugenia Charles, Prime Minister of Dominica and Chairperson of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States. Delivered on 25 October 1983 at a press conference with President Reagan.

"And we think this is the reason why he himself and his Cabinet were destroyed. . . But that these men, who for all these years accepted the Bishop regime should then -- for their own reasons, and I think the power hungry reasons -- decide to destroy the persons whom they had accepted as their leaders for so long, made us realize that this sort of assassination must not continue in our country. It means that our people are not safe. It means

that Grenadians had never been given the chance to choose for themselves the type of country they want. And, therefore, it is necessary for us to see to it that they have the opportunity to do so."

From an editorial in the Bridgetown Advocate, 26 October 1983.

"It had to be done. There was no way that the small nations of the Eastern Caribbean in particular could hope to rest comfortably after events took an unexpectedly brutal turn in Grenada over the past few days unless action was taken against the ruthless military regime there.

"There is an old West Indian saying that when a neighbor's house starts to burn it is wise to try and put the fire out since it might spread and burn yours as well. The military fire of Austin and his group had to be put out in Grenada. They were well armed for a start and there was no doubt that there was an unusual streak of ruthlessness about how they had been operating to seize power.

"If we are really serious about the concept of sovereignty what has been done has given the Grenadians a real chance to recapture their true sovereignty as a people. For too long a time these people have had a system of brutality in their administration. Gairy had his 'Mongoose Gang;' Bishop sought safety in armed strength provided by sympathetic ideologues, only to become the victim of his well-armed friends. The masses could not save him.

"We are still a people of conscience. This is not the time for us to allow our detractors to weaken our resolve."

From a speech given by Charles Fleming, Counselor for the Permanent Mission of St. Lucia to the OAS, 26 October 1983.

"There is an attempt by some states members of this organization [the Organization of American States] to present this pre-emptive defensive action as a measure initiated by the United States. This is a cheap attempt to galvanize international opinion against the United States, and to wrongly influence American public opinion. Saint Lucia wishes to make it quite clear that this action

was not first suggested, or initiated, by the United States. But, the United States is guilty. Guilty of responding positively to a formal request for assistance from some of the Eastern Caribbean states who wish only to maintain their security, and protect their people from the totalitarian grip which seeks to place a stranglehold on the Caribbean."

Comments by Carlos Rangel, a noted Venezuelan intellectual.

The move to help Grenada was, "just, opportune and correct." He termed the military regime in St. Georges, "Bloody assassins, who were vassals of Cuba and the soviet Union."

From a radio and television address delivered by Barbados Prime Minister Tom Adams on October 26 1983.

"There has seldom been in these islands such virtually unanimous support in the media and at political and popular levels for such an action so potentially divisive. West indians have shown that we have a view of our future that is democratic, peaceloving, devoted to constitutional and not arbitrary government."

Text of a letter sent to President Ronald Reagan 10/27.

"We the students of St Georges University School of Medicine at Kingstown Medical College, St. Vincent, would like to express our appreciation of your concern for the safety of our fellow students in Grenada....Having spent the past two years in Grenada and being in almost daily contact with American students there during the recent unrest, we support your decision..." Signed by 65 students.

From an editorial in Bogota, Colombia's leading daily, El Tiempo. 27 October 1983.

"Fidel Castro said that in Grenada there were 600 Cubans who were simple doctors, construction workers, and teachers. And now it turns out that these 'doctors, construction workers, and teachers' have been fighting

cheek to jowl for two days with an entire naval flotilla from the most powerful nation in the world. That is to say, it wasn't a quiet, peaceful, good will group that was involved, but a group armed to the teeth, capable of direct combat in a direct and efficient manner....Now Fidel orders the Cubans dug in on the island to resist until the end, by which he virtually admits that they had already invaded the island by other means and that now they refuse to allow themselves to be pushed away."

From the Brazilian daily O Estado de Sao Paulo, 27 October 1983, regarding Suriname's expulsion of the Cuban Ambassador.

"The U.S. reaction to what had been happening in Grenada naturally created a favorable atmosphere for the Surinamese chief-of-state to act in defense of his regime, trying to find alternatives to to his previously exclusive Cuban option....Bouterse's bold gesture means a grave challenge to Cuba, and Castro's personal humiliation."

From an article in the Washington Post on 28 October 1983 written by Ed Cody.

"The Grenadians, glad to be outdoors -- and...eager to be friendly...thanked the marines for coming and sought to shake their hands."

Information Concerning the Legal Bases
for U.S. Action in Grenada
As Extracted from
Acting Secretary Dam's Statement Before the
Senate Foreign Relations Committee on
October 27, 1983

"The collapse of governmental institutions in Grenada began the evening of October 12 with an attempt by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard to force out Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

. . . .

"On October 19, the power struggle exploded into violence. Troops opened fire on Bishop supporters who had freed him from house arrest and accompanied him to Ft. Rupert, the Army headquarters. Bishop, several cabinet ministers and union leaders were taken away, then brutally executed. Education Minister Jacqueline Creft was reportedly beaten to death. At least 18 deaths were confirmed. Many more were reported, including women and children.

"In the wake of these murders, the People's Revolutionary Army announced the dissolution of the government and the formation of a 16-member Revolutionary Military Council (RMC) of which Army Commander General Hudson Austin was the nominal head.

"I say nominal head, because it was never clear that Austin or any coherent group was in fact in charge. The RMC indicated no intention to function as a new government. RMC members indicated only that a new government would be announced in 10 days or two weeks. It cannot be said whether or when some governmental authority would have been instituted. Former Deputy Prime Minister Coard, who had resigned on October 12, was reported under army protection, whether for his own safety or as a kind of detention was not clear.

. . . .

"Against this background, the urgent appeal from the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) took on decisive weight. The OECS is a sub-regional body created in 1981 by the Treaty Establishing the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States. Among the purposes of the Treaty are the promotion of regional cooperation and collective security.

"The OECS determined that the collapse of government and disintegration of public order on Grenada posed a threat to the security and stability of the region. The OECS members decided to take necessary measures in response to this threat, in accordance with Article 8 of the OECS Treaty. They sought the assistance of friendly foreign states to participate in a collective security force. Barbados and Jamaica agreed with the OECS assessment of the gravity of the situation, offered to contribute forces to a collective action and joined in urging the United States to participate in the support of this regional measure.

"The Governor General of Grenada made a confidential direct appeal to the OECS to take action to restore order on the island. As the sole remaining authoritative representative of government on Grenada, his appeal for action carried exceptional moral and legal weight.

"The deteriorating events in Grenada since October 12, taken together, demonstrated the brutality of the Revolutionary Military Council and the ominous lack of cohesion within the Grenadan military. The Revolutionary Military Council had imposed a 24-hour curfew, warning that violators would be shot on sight, and closed the airport. U.S. citizens were not free to leave. Although the Military Council gave assurances that the airport would be opened on October 24 and foreigners allowed to depart, they then failed to fulfill that assurance. It became clear that delay would intensify both the risk of violence against Americans and a vacuum of authority that would imperil Grenada's neighbors.

"Collective action in response to the dangerous situation was consistent with the UN and OAS Charters. Both Charters expressly recognize the competence of regional security bodies in ensuring peace and stability. The OECS states are not parties to the Rio Treaty, and the OECS Treaty, which concerns itself in part with matters of collective security, is their regional security arrangement.

"Article 22 of the OAS Charter states that measures taken pursuant to collective security agreements do not violate the OAS Charter provisions prohibiting intervention and the use of force. Similarly, Article 52 of the UN Charter expressly permits regional arrangements for the maintenance of peace and security consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The actions and objectives of the collective security force, in the circumstances described by the President and the Secretary of State, are consistent with those purposes and principles.

"The OECS states, in taking lawful collective action, were free to call upon other concerned states, including the United States, for assistance in their effort to maintain the peace and security of the Caribbean. Assistance given in response to their request is itself lawful. Moreover, U.S. cooperation with the collective security force permitted the safe evacuation of endangered U.S. citizens. Such humanitarian action is justified by well-established principles of international law.

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"The President's orders to the U.S. military forces are to cooperate with the OECS in entering Grenada, to facilitate the departure of all U.S. and foreign nationals who wish to leave, and to help Grenada's neighbors work with the people of Grenada to restore order. U.S. support of the OECS military action will be for these purposes only.

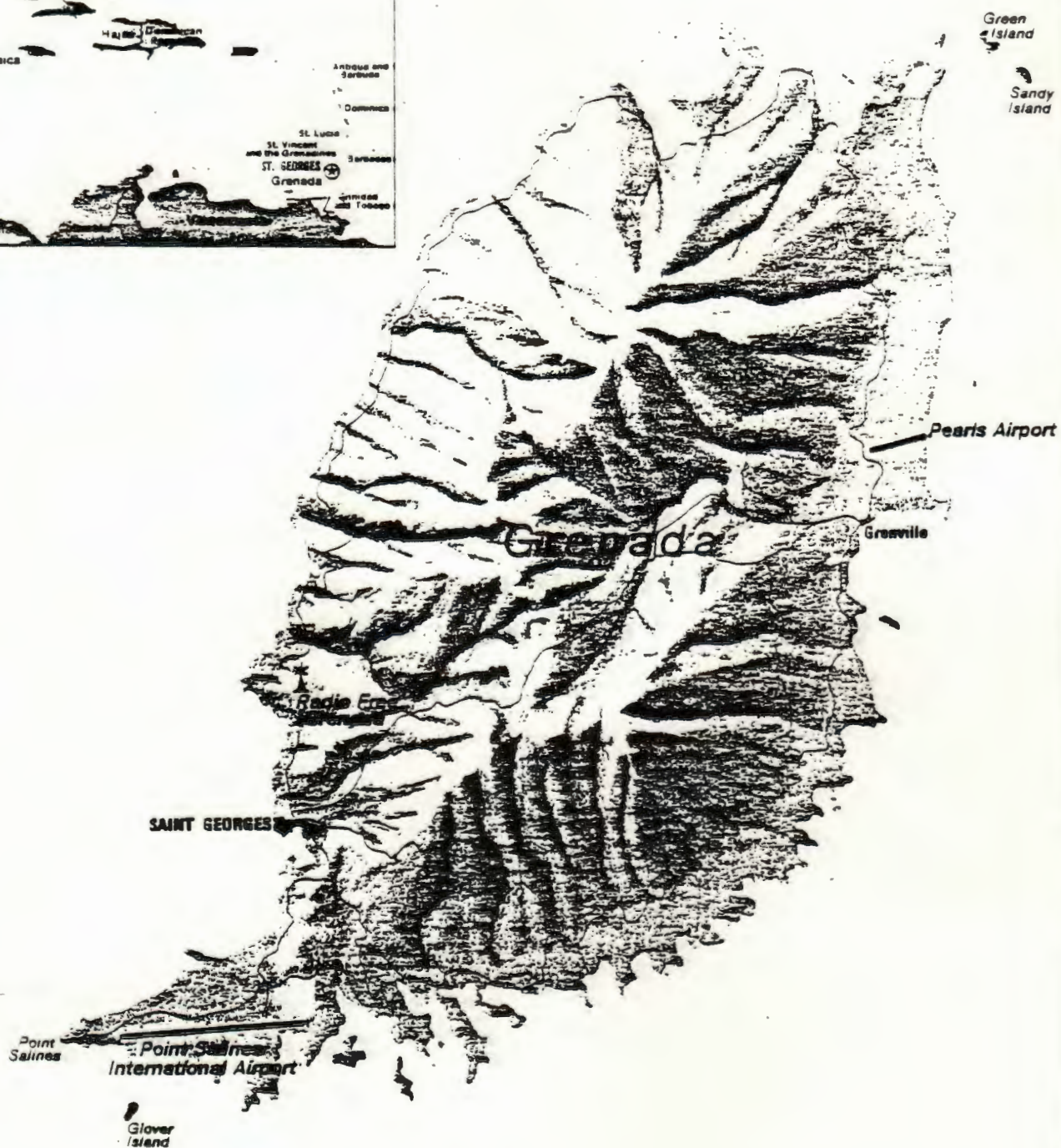
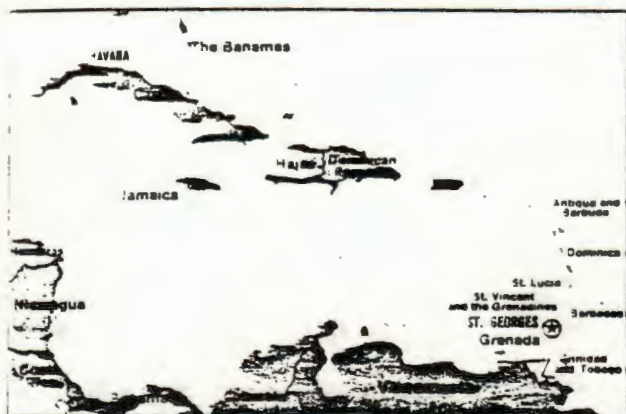
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"We do not at this point know just what steps the provisional government will take. This is for the Grenadians themselves to determine.

"One thing is certain: all governments participating in this collective action will withdraw their forces just as soon as circumstances permit."

OUTLINE HISTORY OF GRENADA

- Grenada, formerly a British colony, attained internal self government in 1967. From the 1950s, politics had been dominated by Sir Eric Gairy, who combined flamboyant populism and strong-arm tactics with interest in UFOs and unconventional religion.
- On February 7, 1974, Grenada became independent over the objections of opposition parties, who feared Gairy's intentions, and later accused him of winning the elections of 1976 by fraud. The New Jewel Movement (NJM) formed in 1973 and led by Maurice Bishop, became the major opposition party. Its program stressed socialist and nationalistic ideals, and protested economic and social conditions in Grenada and abuses of power of the Gairy regime..
- On March 13, 1979 the New Jewel Movement overthrew the Gairy government in a nearly bloodless coup. Bishop became Prime Minister.
- The new government was initially welcomed by Grenadians and promised to hold early elections and respect basic human rights.
- These promises were never honored. The Bishop regime suspended the country's constitution, refused to call early elections, ridiculed English-style democracy as "Westminister hypocrisy" and turned instead to the Cuban model of "revolutionary democracy," which it tried to implement with Cuban aid.
- Human rights were regularly violated. Habeas corpus was abolished for political detainees. In 1982, there were 95-98 political prisoners. Freedom of the press and political freedom were abolished.
- Bishop established close ties with the Soviet Union and Cuba. In January 1980 Grenada was the only Latin American country other than Cuba to vote against a UN resolution condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
- By 1980, there were approximately 30 Cuban military in Grenada (cf. approx. 750 found there in Oct. 1983, including several hundred "construction workers" ostensibly engaged in helping to build a new airport in the southwestern corner of the island. Much of this construction was military in nature, and many of the "construction workers" military personnel.
- The October 19, 1983 murder of Bishop and most of his Cabinet was part of a power-struggle apparently instigated by Bishop's reluctance to move more quickly to "socialize" the economy.



Interagency Paper on Grenada --

Suggested Outline

The following is a first thought about topics which might form the basis for an interagency information document on Grenada.

1. Threats to U.S. Citizens.

-- Before the action -- reasons for concern.

-- After the collective security action -- testimony of U.S. citizens and information uncovered on the island.

2. Caribbean Democracy's Invitation to the U.S. Government.

-- Chronology of events on Grenada and the request by eight Caribbean democracies.

-- Appeal of the Governor-General to OECS prime ministers and his juridicial role.

-- The inter-American political -- juridicial tradition under the OAS -- precedence for the action, e.g., 1965 Dominican Republic.

3. Repression Under the Dictatorship: March 1979 to October 25, 1985.

4. Cooperation with Cuba/Libya Soviet Bloc and the Export of Subversion.

-- Information known before October 25, 1983, e.g., July 1982 Bishop trip to Libya: Castro/Bishop judge Bouterse joint trip to Moscow and non-aligned meeting January, 1983, etc.

-- New information uncovered.

5. Grenada Dictatorship Military Cooperation with Cuba and the Soviet Bloc.

-- Information known before.

-- Information found after with the following possible functions:

o Training and arming of terrorists/guerillas.

o Military bridge to Suriname and Eastern Caribbean, South America.

o Possible Soviet nuclear deployment.

6. Cuban and/or Soviet Bloc Role in the Murder of the Bishop's Faction.

7. Generally Democratic Traditions and Institutions of Grenada.

-- Political parties.

-- Trade unions.

-- Civic associations.

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TOWARD FREEDOM AND DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA

A Proposal for an Americas Coalition

A. The Problem

The American people neither understand nor support U. S. policies toward Central America. This lack of consensus is reflected in Congressional opposition to Presidential requests for sufficient military aid for El Salvador, threatening our efforts there with failure. A "Bay of Pigs," — or something worse — could result. In that event, the United States would be perceived both in Latin America and around the world as a "paper tiger," with all the grave implications that would carry.

The United States has a vital strategic interest in Central America. We cannot allow the consolidation of a Marxist stronghold on the continent. Failure to prevent that would jeopardize the independence of the rest of Central America, Mexico, Panama, and perhaps other Latin American republics; it would clearly also threaten the political and economic interests of the United States.

B. Purpose of this Proposal

Clearly, there is only one way to resolve the Executive-Congressional impasse over Central America and avoid disaster there: mobilize American opinion in favor of a determined military and economic commitment to the region's political integrity, democratic development, and peace. To form, in short, a consensus.

A consensus can be attained only through genuine, bi-partisan participation. Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, labor and management, all sectors of our society must be drawn into a movement whose ultimate objective is, after all, the preservation of that society. It should be based on the clear recognition of these principles:

- a. Totalitarianism of whatever stripe is unacceptable and must be opposed.
- b. Serious social, economic, and political problems that exist in the region lend themselves to external manipulation. Therefore, peaceful and constructive change designed to insure genuine self-determination and freedom must be encouraged.

c. At the same time, we must resist external penetration. To protect democratic reform with adequate security requires intraregional cooperation.

d. Latin Americans as well as North Americans must be involved if we expect to succeed. A continuing North-South working relationship among concerned citizens of all the Americas is, therefore, a necessity.

C. Name: "Americas Coalition"

We propose to call our movement the **Americas Coalition** — in Spanish **Coalición Américas** — to express the mutuality of interests among the people of the United States, Central and South America, Mexico, and the Caribbean. An appropriate slogan for our efforts would be: "Keep the Americas Free."

D. Organization

The launching of the Americas Coalition must take place at once, but it can proceed in phases as resources become available. The organization will have four principal components:

1. Director

The first step is to employ a Director, preferably full-time. He will establish an Advisory Board and in consultation with the Advisory Board will set up the program and put together a small supporting staff. He will also coordinate all activities, raise funds, and eventually set up local chapters. The person selected for this post is Daniel James, a highly respected political analyst with over twenty-five years of experience in Latin American affairs. He has written several major works on the region including studies of Cuba and El Salvador.

2. Advisory Board

Key American leaders, Republican and Democratic, will be invited to serve on a working Advisory Board.

E. Program

1. The first major effort will be to enlist other American leaders from industry, commerce, labor, science, the performing arts, the professions, religion, and the academy in the struggle to keep the Americas free. As soon as possible, this will be followed by a similar effort in Central America and South America.
2. We will then launch an intensive drive aimed at key leadership groups in particular, and the public in general to set forth the facts about Central America as well as the problems, the threats, and the opportunities. As resources become available, these are some of the activities that the Americas Coalition will undertake:
 - a. Establish a center of documentation and information.
 - b. Operate a regular news service.
 - c. Place op-ed columns in major newspapers.
 - d. Place advertisements in principal print and electronic media.
 - e. Meet with publishers, editors, TV executives, and reporters.
 - f. Produce documentaries for TV, as well as full-length films.
 - g. Publish books, pamphlets, and a newsletter.
 - h. Organize a speakers' bureau.
 - i. Hold press conferences and perhaps mass rallies.
 - j. Get persons well-informed about Central America on talk shows.
3. Establish local chapters of the Americas Coalition in major cities.

F. Budget

An effective campaign to achieve these objectives will require several million dollars. To this end, we propose that:

1. An initial \$500,000 be raised through contributions and pledges from five to twenty founding individuals and corporations.
2. As soon as the founders' contributions are in hand, the above program will be initiated and a national fund-raising drive will be launched.
3. Tax-deductible contributions earmarked for the Americas Coalition should be sent to:

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