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POLICY

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

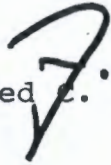
3 September 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Otto Reich
Secretary's Special Coordinator for
Public Policy on Latin America
Room #6256
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20523

SUBJECT: Blackwell Memorandum, August 22, Request for Comments

The two memoranda can be helpful. The first one on "Refutations of Misconceptions", given its purpose, is understandably rather defensive. Nonetheless, Answers 11 and 13 are too defensive. We may have to impose economic sanctions on Nicaragua. And on the topic of Answer 13, the new language that is being prepared in the working group on covert action might be more effective.

Another defensive point which I did not see in the memorandum (I may have missed it) is the data on the killings done by the insurgents, which can be gleaned from the Vinceremos broadcasts. I believe one of the private organizations has collected and come up with some rather staggering statistics on Vinceremos boasts on their killing of Salvadorians.


Fred C. Ikle

✓ Copy for: Morton C. Blackwell

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1983

Mr. James E. Andrews
Mr. William P. Thompson,
Interim Co-Stated Clerks
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.)
341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30365

Dear Sirs:

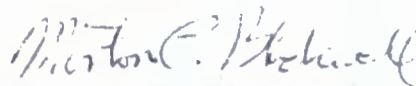
This is in response to your thoughtful letter to the President of August 18, 1983.

Pursuant to your suggestion, we have circulated your policy statement on Central America to the members of the White House Outreach Working Group on Central America. The Working Group includes policy staff from all the major departments and agencies concerned with Central America.

The statement is very interesting and remarkably consistent. Perhaps because I went more than forty years without knowing a Presbyterian adhering to this viewpoint with such purity, I found the document particularly illuminating.

Thank you for providing us with these views.

Sincerely,



Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

ID: 160417 CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET PAGE D01
INCOMING CORRESPONDENCE DATE 830818 RECEIVED DATE 830825
(PREFIX) (FIRST) (LAST) (SUFFIX)

MR. JAMES E. ANDREWS

TITLE: INTERIM CO-STATED CLERK

ORGANIZATION: PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.)
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

STREET: ROOM 1201
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE

CITY: NEW YORK

STATE: NY ZIP: 10115

COUNTRY:

SUBJECT: SUBMITS POLICY STATEMENT, ADOPTED AT THEIR
195TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RELATIVE TO U. S.
POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

AGY/OFF ACTION CODE TRACKING DATE
PLMORE ORG 830825

C 830826 E

STAFF NAME: PRESIDENT REAGAN
COMMENTS:

MEDIA: L OPID: LW TYPE: IBA

CODES: REPORT PL INDIV:

✓ PL BLAC

USER:

✓ 830826 E

#160417

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.)

Office of the General Assembly

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William P. Thompson

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Mildred L. Wager, Assistant Stated Clerk

August 18, 1983

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The 195th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the uniting assembly of the former United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., and the former Presbyterian Church, U.S., met in Atlanta, Georgia, June 7-15, 1983. The new church combines a membership of 3,166,000. The General Assembly is the highest governing body of this church. It is a representative governing body composed of an equal number of ministers and lay officers, known as elders, elected by the 195 presbyteries of this church.

The 195th General Assembly (1983) received two reports that had been prepared on Central America. These two reports were prepared by task forces appointed by the separate churches in 1982 with responsibilities to study the situation in Central America and to bring their recommendations to the respective Assemblies in 1983. These two task forces, whose members were drawn from the constituencies, worked separately through the year, visiting Mexico and all the countries in Central America, conferring with representatives of our government and the governments of the Central American countries, with church leaders, refugees and others as they studied the issues. The two groups came to similar conclusions and their recommendations were combined in a Policy Statement adopted by the united Assembly. As a substantial portion of the Policy Statement relates to United States' policy in Central America, we are transmitting this document to you, commending it to you and your staff for study.

The President
August 18, 1983
Page 2

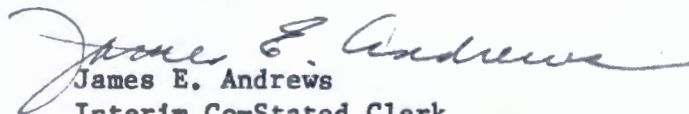
The Policy Statement expresses our commitment to peace, justice, and stability in the region. It reflects concern for the long standing needs of the people in the region, as well as for the contemporary tragedy of the refugees, the displaced persons, and those suffering because of the brutalities of government and the ravages of civil war. The Policy Statement addresses the support of the United States for repressive regimes, and the covert and overt attempts by the United States to destabilize the government of Nicaragua.

We call your attention in particular to the Sections on Emergency Assistance and Refugees, Public Policy, Development Assistance, Human Rights and the References to Specific Countries.

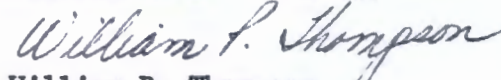
We believe that the crisis in Central America is one of the gravest our country is facing. The Reports and the Policy Statement suggest that the directions of our present policy are such as to prolong the suffering of the peoples who live in Central America, to undermine the stability of the region, and ultimately to run counter to the best interests of the United States, not only there but in its global responsibilities.

We are prepared with members of our staff to explore these matters in appropriate ways with representatives of the Administration and of Congress.

Sincerely,


James E. Andrews

Interim Co-Styled Clerk


William P. Thompson

Interim Co-Styled Clerk

JEA:WPT:smw
Enclosure

Approved by the 195th General Assembly (1983)
Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)
June, 1983

Adventure and Hope:
Christians and the Crisis
in Central America

Call to Faithfulness

A new reformation has begun in Central America. It is at the heart of the political and social turmoil in that region. The word "reformation" is not used lightly when describing the experience of faith that sweeps the Christian Church in Central America at this time.

The Bible is being read in a new way and with a fresh vision, as radical as the way in which sola gratia compelled Luther and Calvin. This new vision of liberation, as seen through the eyes of the poor and oppressed, calls for nothing less than a conversion experience.

The old political and economic structures are being threatened by a new theological vision of the Kingdom of God. Much as the feudal institutions of Europe could not withstand the challenges of Luther, Calvin, and Wesley, so all existing political and economic systems are threatened by the historical consequences of this new reformation.

The old structures of the church are being transformed. The new reformation is truly ecumenical, facing Protestant, Catholic, Pentecostal, Liberal, and Conservative with a new phenomenon: la iglesia que nace del pueblo--the church that is born from the people.

Over the past two decades within the Christian church in Central America there has been a struggle to live out a new faithfulness to the demands of the gospel. To a significant degree, the church has cast its lot with the poor and the dispossessed, rather than with the privileged and the powerful. In so doing, the church has nourished among the poor the hope of the gospel that God intends for all to have life and have it abundantly, not only in a spiritual sense, but in the fullness of life in its many dimensions. As it has shared this Word of God's love for the poor, has become directly identified with the plight of the poor and has nurtured hope for a better life, the church has come under violent attack from forces which resist changes in the prevailing patterns of dominance and exploitation in Central America.

In this process, the church in Central America has developed a new sense of its relation to the people, accepting the role of servant.

In this process, the church in Central America has developed a new understanding of evangelism, as witness to the gospel through immersion in the lives of the people.

In this process, the church in Central America has developed a new way of reading the Bible, the Good News in terms of the biblical promises held out to all, but with special preference to the poor.

Christians in Central America have heard with new power the good news of God's liberation and promised justice, have understood it as present promise, and are challenging the structures of oppression and privilege that have kept millions in desperate poverty.

The church in North America cannot be the church in Central America, but it can stand with sister and brother Christians in the region as they cry out against the powers of death. It must seek to serve the God of life, justice, and mercy, the God who promises abundant life to all the world's people. God promises and requires justice in all human relations. The Reformed tradition is firm ground on which to stand, as new choices and decisions are called for. The response we make must not only inform positions related to the policies of the United States government but our life as a church as well.

This experience and witness of the church in Central America, and the suffering it has accepted for the sake of the gospel, pose a challenge of faith to us in the United States, an example by which to test our own faithfulness in witnessing to the Good News of the gospel.

Therefore, reaffirming and building upon the policy base provided by the actions of previous General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, the 195th General Assembly (1983) of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.):

Calls the church to respond to the new reformation in Central America by considering its implications for our own life and faith. We must test our faithfulness in light of the faithfulness of the church in Central America, and be open and vulnerable to the further unfolding of God's Word to us through its experience and witness. As historic circumstances have called forth declarations of faith from the church in the past, the present urges such a declaration again. The reunion of two Presbyterian churches with strong confessional traditions affords a creative opportunity to extend those traditions through a new word of new understanding and a new commitment.

I. Churchwide Emphasis

A. The 195th General Assembly (1983) urges that from July 1, 1983, through January 1, 1985, a special churchwide effort be made to help Presbyterians become familiar with the situation in Central America, to discern how God is at work there, taking advantage of all appropriate denominational and ecumenical means to respond as a community of faith. As part of that effort, this Assembly:

1. Requests its program agencies to make resources available for education, worship, and action to facilitate greater understanding of the conditions, theology, politics, and history of Central America, as well as the involvement of the United States in the region, as a basis for faithful and effective action by governing bodies and individuals.
2. Urges congregations to give special attention to the nationwide observance of the Central America Week in March 1984, when the martyrdom of Archbishop Romero and of thousands of other Central American Christians will be commemorated.
3. Advocates a special focus on U.S. policy toward Central America at the legislative briefing in Washington, sponsored by IMPACT in March 1984.

4. Urges governing bodies and church organizations, in consultation with the General Assembly agencies and the Latin American office of the National Council of Churches, to develop exchange programs with churches and Christians in Central America. Such programs might include sponsorship of group visits to the region, seminary student and faculty exchanges, youth caravans, travel-study seminars, short-term assignments with churches and agencies of Central America, the itineration of Central American Christians in the United States and Central American Christians in residence in presbyteries or congregations for periods of time.
5. Directs its program agencies to take initiative in bringing about a national convocation, under the auspices of the National Council of Churches if possible, to be held in 1984 for the purpose of assessing the responses of the churches of the United States to the situation in Central America.
6. Urges that programs and centers for study and continuing education within the Presbyterian Church (e.g., seminaries, Ghost Ranch, Stony Point, Montreat, synod schools) include in their offerings a special segment on Central America.
7. Suggests that programs and organizations of the church, particularly the Peacemaking Program, Washington Offices, Presbyterian Women, and the Presbyterian Health, Education and Welfare Association, give special attention to public policy issues in relation to Central America, coordinating their efforts through the program agencies.
8. Urges the communication vehicles of the church (e.g., Survey, Concern, synod newspapers) to highlight continuing developments in Central America and the related actions taken by the General Assemblies.
9. Urges Presbyterian seminaries to incorporate the theological expressions of the new reformation as an integral part of contemporary theological education, both for those in training for the ministry and for those in continuing education experiences. To this end, we urge seminaries to consider arrangements for Spanish language instruction as a necessary tool for understanding and participating in the theological development that is emerging in the church in Latin America.

B. In Central America, the specter of communism is being used to justify terrible acts of brutality and inhumanity. In the United States the possibility of expanded Soviet and Cuban influence in Central America is being used to justify continuing military and economic support for governments that engage in systematic brutality against their own people.

Christians confess that the God of love, whom we know in Jesus Christ, is the Lord of history and of all demonic powers and principalities. In faith, we are therefore called to affirm life, justice, and mercy even in the face of death, injustice, and brutality. Christians must reject any fear or other rationale as justification for government policies and actions that destroy life, justice, and mercy.

The use of Marxist analysis in understanding economic conditions does not necessarily indicate sympathy with political communism as it exists in totalitarian governments such as the Soviet Union; neither is it necessarily an endorsement of violent revolution. Viewing systems from the perspective of the poor and seeking change is emphatically not of itself Marxist nor an indication of Marxist or Communist control. Informed and responsible Christians must avoid simplistic formulations of the evils and threats of communism and seek a more informed and discriminating understanding of current realities.

To that end, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges Presbyterians to:

1. Engage in programs of study and dialog to become better informed about the nature of communism today and the diversity that exists among Communist and Socialist societies.
2. Examine critically the anti-Communist claims of all governments and the activities that those claims are used to justify.
3. Explore their own sense of fear of communism to help discern differences between a legitimate fear of communism as one form of totalitarian repression of human freedom and anxiety over social change that may only challenge present arrangements of economic and social power and advantage.

II. Mission Partnerships

The definitive involvement of churches and Christians in Central America in the struggle for justice and human rights requires the Presbyterian Church to evaluate its own life and response, both as a community of faith and as an institution. The rationale for and patterns of mission involvement need a new look. New forms of mission in which witness to the gospel through identification with the poor and oppressed as the primary objective are called for. We must find forms appropriate to the needs of today and establish strong supportive relationships with churches and church agencies in Central America and ecumenical groups in the United States with these same commitments in witness and mission.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) requests its program agencies to:

1. Facilitate presbytery partnerships in mission to promote resource-sharing and to facilitate mutuality in mission between Central American Christians and the Presbyterian Church.
2. Explore new ecumenical partnerships in mission with churches, councils, and other appropriate organizations in Central America in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Christ in Central America; and seek greater proportional emphasis on mission partnerships in Central America during the next decade.
3. Pursue the possibility for an informal agreement with the Moravian Church in Honduras, Nicaragua, and the United States in a three-way covenantal relationship.
4. Enter into mission partnership with responsive Central America or Christian groups in El Salvador.

5. Continue and strengthen our cooperation with ecumenical groups outside Central America that impact this part of God's creation and holy history.
6. Support the efforts of our Christian partners in Central America to minister to the needs of refugees and other victims of the present crisis working through the ecumenical channels available to us through Church World Service.
7. Use funds from the Pearl Wight Burnam Fund for Peacemaking in Central America in consultation with and in partnership (research, planning, staff, etc.) with ecumenical partners in Central America.
8. Continue to provide and increase, if possible, personnel and material resources (missionary staff, Volunteers in Mission, program support, emergency aid, refugee assistance, development aid, etc.) for Central America.
9. Review mission relationships of personnel, financial aid, and involvements with ecumenical organizations in terms of how they affect ministry with the poor and report findings and recommendations to a subsequent General Assembly.
10. Pursue dialog and partnerships with Roman Catholics in Central American countries, primarily through ecumenical channels, so that the church of Christ may make a stronger and more effective witness to God's love for all human beings.
11. Facilitate person exchanges between the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and Christians in Central America (e.g., seminary students, faculty exchanges, youth caravans, travel/study seminars, short-term assignments of Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) persons in churches and agencies of Central America and the itineration of Central American Christians in the U.S.).

III. Emergency Assistance and Refugees

Central America may be described as a region of refugees. Christians are called to seek amelioration of the conditions that create refugees and compassion for the special suffering experienced by displaced persons within or outside their national boundaries. Christian response must be humanitarian and pastoral. It must also be prophetic protest and advocacy to the institutions that create and perpetuate the turmoil that disrupts the lives and threatens the security of so many.

Christians in the U.S. should give high priority to the special consideration of needs of the refugee peoples and other victims of the present crisis in Central America, whether they are still within their own countries, in neighboring countries in the region, or within the United States.

A. Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983):

1. Urges synods, presbyteries, congregations, seminaries, and individual Presbyterians to support programs for and with refugees by making contributions for Central American refugee projects in the United States and elsewhere to the Office of World Service

and World Hunger (General Assembly Mission Board) and the World Relief, Emergency and Resettlement Services (Program Agency) and for the First Asylum Project of the National Council of Churches.

2. Calls for continued prayer for the victims of the present tragedy in Central America, keeping informed about the reality of the situation in order that prayer may be an expression of a committed concern, and further giving substance to prayer by communicating with public officials to urge the enactment of legislation granting refugee or temporary resident status to persons not covered by existing regulations and by advocating change in policies of the United States government that are currently helping to create the present human tragedy in Central America.
3. Requests the program agencies to provide educational materials to raise consciousness of synods, presbyteries, and local churches toward responding to need of refugees and other displaced persons, especially seeking to share the interpretation given by our Christian partners in Central America with special attention to the concept and practice of "sanctuary."
4. Commends Presbyterian and ecumenical agencies for their support of work with the refugees from Central America.
5. Affirms the action of the 194th General Assembly (UPCUSA, 1982) endorsing the provision of sanctuary to refugees as an appropriate moral response to our government's policies toward Central American refugees in the United States, even though the current administration may consider this to be illegal.
6. Commends the congregations that have become places of sanctuary for Central American refugees and encourages synods, presbyteries, congregations, and seminaries to follow their example; and offers the support of appropriate agencies of the General Assembly to those churches, should the need arise.
7. Affirms the validity and need of ministry with Central Americans within the United States by providing personnel and material resources committed to constituency education and organization as well as to human service needs and to advocacy with regard to issues in Central America.

B. The 195th General Assembly (1983) also petitions the United States government through appropriate channels to:

1. Adopt a policy on persons who have fled or are fleeing Central American countries where there is violation of human rights and have entered or are entering the United States, that is without bias as to race, religion, and national origin; to stop deportations of these persons; and to grant to these persons extended voluntary departure status, temporary resident status, or refugee status (in accordance with the definition of "political" refugees as established by the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees and by U.S. law).
2. Continue to expand financial aid to Central American refugees in other nations through international organizations.

3. Take the initiative for the creation of a regional refugee policy that would provide safety and aid for all refugees within the area.
4. Provide emergency disaster assistance to Central American countries as needed without regard to their political situation.

IV. Public Policy

! *

A. Our nation is providing support for the powers of death in Central America. This has occurred because we have often been motivated by concern for national security more than by concern for justice.

The concern for national security has focused on the perceived threat of expanding communist influence. Presbyterians have too often shared this fear. As a particular expression of this fear, the United States government has supported countries that violently repress their own citizens, denying the most basic human rights in the name of anti-communism. Yet, it is clear that poverty, oppression, and injustice are the primary causes of unrest in Central America. The demands for freedom and social change will continue as long as these conditions exist. The attempt to stifle these demands by reliance on arms and military strength has resulted in the spread of violence, destruction, oppression, and human suffering. There has been little change in the conditions that generate the conflict in the first place and little reason to believe that more repression will still the demand for change.

As long as injustice and gross inequity exist, there will be conflict. The more deeply embedded injustice and inequity become, the more inevitable revolution becomes. The words of John F. Kennedy have proven prophetic in Central America, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable."

Some form of social revolution in Central America is an unavoidable fact. The United States, with its great economic, political, and military power in the hemisphere, will inevitably affect the means, the directions, and the destiny of that revolutionary change. Rather than giving support to policies that encourage the powers of death, it is in the true national interest of the United States to follow policies that build justice and affirm life in Central America. In order to respond faithfully to the Christians of Central America, then, we must speak to the policies of our nation as they relate to the unique conditions, individual countries, and regional issues in Central America. We must speak to other involved nations as well.

Christians must advocate a foreign policy that seeks nonmilitary negotiated settlements to regional conflicts in Central America and supports policies that recognize the right of countries to determine their own destinies and develop governmental institutions appropriate to their own situations. Accordingly, governments ought not to promote revolution or counterrevolution.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) petitions the United States, Cuban, Soviet, Israeli, and other involved governments through all appropriate channels and persons to:

1. Work toward negotiated rather than military solutions to regional conflicts in Central America and to support dialog among groups in conflict in Central America nations without preconditions, as a first step toward substantive negotiations.
2. Encourage and support both regional and bilateral negotiations and agreements in the pursuit of peace in Central America.
3. Press diplomatically for international agreements, with all parties involved, to eliminate immediately the traffic of arms into and within Central America.
4. Cease all covert and overt activities aimed at destabilizing governments in Central America.
5. Support an international agreement to demilitarize the entire region of the Caribbean and Central America, with the security of each member nation guaranteed.

Further, the 195th General Assembly (1983) petitions the United States to:

1. End governmental military aid to Central America; cease the shipment of armaments already committed; prohibit arms export licenses to private U.S. companies; remove all U.S. military advisers from the region.
2. Exercise the crucial influence of the U.S. government through strong support of all reasonable initiatives for peace in Central America by regional "Middle Powers" such as Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela, which would include all parties involved in the dispute.

B. Christians affirming the inherent worth of all persons must advocate governmental policies and practices that allow and facilitate the participation and expression of citizens in society and government. In the experienced democracy and developed society of the United States, national elections are the evidence and guarantor of the vitality of such democratic commitments. However, in other societies where the form is different, substantive manifestations of democratic process such as the involvement of people in decisions affecting their lives and the freedom to dissent openly from official policies are equally important.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges the United States government and its agencies to accept the principle of political diversity in relation to Central American nations, and thereby recognize the sovereignty of each country to determine its own political and economic institutions as long as those institutions do not involve the wholesale denial of human rights of citizens or aggression against neighboring states.

C. Christians of the United States are citizens of the dominant country in the Western Hemisphere, a country whose policies significantly affect the course of events in Central America and a country where political institutions are built upon the premise of democratic participation. We bear a special responsibility to advocate for public policies that will place the influence of our nation behind forces that seek social justice and human dignity, such as those outlined in this report.

In order to make public policy advocacy effective, the 195th General Assembly (1983) therefore:

1. Requests its agencies:
 - a. To engage in long-term advocacy for a change in policies of the United States government which are helping to create the present human tragedy in Central America.
 - b. To encourage the work of the Washington Office on Latin America and participate in its efforts, when possible.
 - c. To provide support for those within the church who are working for just U.S. public policies on Central America.
2. Urges synods, presbyteries, and sessions to develop special means to advocate policies taken by the General Assemblies with regard to Central America and for the continuation and strengthening of our cooperation with ecumenical groups related to the church's witness in Central America.
3. Commends the Moderators of past General Assemblies, the Stated Clerks and the staff of the program agencies for their advocacy with regard to human rights in Central America and urges continuation of these important efforts.

V. Development Assistance

A. The God of justice calls for economic relationships that enable nations and people to participate fully and fairly in the use and development of shared inheritance of resources. Such relationships should not lead to the dependence of one country on the other but to a just interdependence. Christians must advocate development policies that support the movement of individual nations toward self-development, self-determination, and self-reliance within the family of nations.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges the United States government to:

1. Exercise its influence with the World Bank to secure development loans and other multilateral aid for Central America, as a means of helping the nations of that region move toward self-development and full self-determination.
2. Increase U.S. Government development assistance and material resources to Central America to support work in food and nutrition, public health, public education, and community development.
3. Continue humanitarian aid in emergency and disaster situations.
4. Extend economic assistance, other than disaster relief, only to countries making serious attempts to narrow economic disparities among their people.
5. Apply even-handedly to all Central American countries the rules of human rights certification as a basis for U.S. aid.

B. Land reform is of special importance in Central America, where a large percentage of the population is still dependent on agriculture and where ownership is concentrated in the hands of a few. Christians

concerned for the opportunity for each person to live a full and productive life must advocate genuine land reform that is effectively implemented and safeguarded by the government. Too often land reform efforts have been blocked by uncooperative large landowners through military forces who intimidate farmers, driving them from their land. The leadership of new cooperatives has been subjected to torture and murder.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges the United States government to:

1. Link foreign assistance programs to land reform; i.e., use aid programs to encourage governments to provide people access to sufficient land to meet their basic needs.
2. Advocate agricultural development and land use plans that have priority commitment to use land in such ways as to meet the nutritional and economic needs of both the cultivators and the population as a whole.

VI. Human Rights

The God of justice and mercy calls us to recognize the inherent worth of all persons and to stand in opposition to policies that result in murder, repression, and human suffering. Christians must advocate the protection of human rights as a basic goal of U.S. foreign policy, with special reference to Central America.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges the United States government to:

1. Press diplomatically to see that all Central American governments give to all governmental and nongovernmental human rights commissions that exist in each country, direct, speedy access to channels of due process of law, supporting and cooperating with these commissions in the protection of human rights.
2. Instruct U.S. diplomatic representatives in Central America to inquire immediately into alleged human rights violations which are brought to their attention, and, through diplomatic channels, to encourage a cessation of violations that are confirmed and legal proceedings against those who appear, after investigation, to be guilty of the violations.
3. Press for investigation and legal judgment for the murders of all U.S. citizens and other foreign citizens in the region.

VII. References to Specific Countries

A. El Salvador

It is imperative that the United States government recognize the unjust social and economic conditions that underlie the conflict in El Salvador, and terminate its support for those who engage in wanton destruction of human life and inflict pain and suffering on the people in order to perpetuate an unjust system.

The violence and strife in El Salvador have caused the flight of hundreds of thousands of persons in legitimate fear for their lives.

The refusal by the United States government to accord full refugee status to these persons causes great human suffering, has resulted in some deaths, and is doubly unjustifiable: first on humanitarian grounds; and second, because of United States government involvement in the violence they are fleeing.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) calls upon the United States government to:

1. Accept the principle of negotiated settlement of the conflict in El Salvador and seek to facilitate the engagement of all major groups in negotiations toward a peaceful settlement.
2. Press for land reforms.
3. Establish an immediate moratorium on all military and economic aid to the government of El Salvador.
4. Withdraw immediately all military advisers and renounce armed intervention by the United States or surrogate military forces.
5. Use the full influence of the United States to protect the human rights of the Salvadoran people through bilateral channels and appropriate international organizations.
6. Reduce diplomatic presence in El Salvador, as an expression of disapproval, as long as the current level of oppression continues.
7. Recognize Salvadorans seeking asylum in the United States as political refugees.
8. End immediately the deportation of Salvadoran nationals back to their homeland.
9. Assist Salvadorans in imminent danger to safe passage out of their country.
10. Use diplomatic means to advocate full protection of internal refugees in places of asylum within El Salvador.
11. Use international institutions to safeguard the lives of all Salvadorans and grant them fair and equal treatment as refugees throughout the region and neighboring areas. Special attention should be given to their conditions in Honduras, Belize, Costa Rica, and Panama.

B. Guatemala

The people and government of the United States must recognize the racial and class characteristics of the violence in Guatemala. We must not be deceived by cosmetic changes that are represented as fundamental changes and offered as a basis for foreign policy decisions. It is particularly important that Christians in the United States be alert to attempts to divert attention from oppression and persecution in Guatemala by concentrating on the public Christianity of the current leader, Efraín Ríos Montt. We call upon all Presbyterians to pray for Efraín Ríos Montt, to the end that God will sharpen his conscience as he attempts to deal with very complex political, social, and military issues. That he be granted wisdom as he leads the nation in the reforms that are necessary to correct century-old inequities. That he be protected from an untimely death at the hands of enemies, lest the country be plunged into an even worse blood bath than it has experienced during the past several years. And that his leadership of

the nation will be a genuine reflection of his Christian profession. Policy must be evaluated by its effects, not by the personal piety of its promulgators.

An estimated one million Guatemalans are displaced within their country, and tens of thousands are in exile in other countries. This situation has been produced by the seizure of peasant and Indian land by large landowners and military forces. In addition the government counterinsurgency strategy, which includes torture, slaughter, and the disappearance of countless persons, has directly contributed to refugee problems.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) calls upon the United States government to:

1. Reinstate the 1977 embargo on the shipment of military and support equipment to Guatemala, and seek compliance with such a policy by all other countries.
2. Prohibit the sale of arms and military equipment constructed with United States parts or under United States license by third party countries, such as Israel.
3. Withdraw all United States military advisers from Guatemala and halt all training of Guatemalan police, paramilitary and military personnel.
4. Use its influence with the government of Guatemala to bring to an end the confiscation of lands belonging to Indian peasant farmers and the assassination, torture and disappearance of many of those Indians in the process.
5. Condemn the numerous assassinations of those who protest the policies of the Guatemalan government.
6. Support the concept, and seek the establishment, of a permanent non-military, independent international presence in Guatemala to verify the conditions and safeguard the lives of displaced persons and indigenous peoples.
7. Support and cooperate with the use of international institutions to safeguard the lives of Guatemalan refugees throughout the region and adjacent areas, especially in the Mexican state of Chiapas.

C. Nicaragua

The peace and life of Nicaragua are threatened by current United States government policies that can lead to an increasingly defensive hard-line position by the Nicaraguan government, or to counterrevolution.

The consequences would be violence, destruction, and loss of human life in a nation that has had a surfeit of all three and now has a precarious absence of them. The unwillingness of the United States government to accept the fact of the Sandinist government in Nicaragua has led it to support counterrevolutionary forces that have a history of repressive and inhumane activity in the previous repressive Somoza dictatorship. The attempt to "destabilize" Nicaragua is publicly acknowledged and not only threatens and destroys life but intentionally diverts the energy and resources of the government of

Nicaragua from the constructive tasks it has undertaken. The assistance of this nation should be bent toward recognition and encouragement of those forces within Nicaragua that have worked for and demonstrated the policies of justice and reconciliation.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) calls upon the United States government to:

1. Affirm and support the right of Nicaragua to self-determination as a nation, even if that involves the development of a political and economic system that is not in conformity with strict democratic-capitalist ideals, to the degree that such development does not involve internal denial of human rights or aggression toward neighboring states.
2. Immediately cease all efforts, direct or indirect, to destabilize the government of Nicaragua or to intervene in its internal affairs.
3. Invoke the provisions of the Neutrality Act in instances where counterinsurgents are being trained in the United States for the military overthrow of the government of Nicaragua, irrespective of arguments that such training is taking place on "private property."
4. Accept and insist upon Nicaragua as a participant in all regional negotiations.
5. Cease all efforts to block international monetary aid to Nicaragua.
6. Resume economic aid immediately, beginning with payment of the \$15 million previously committed for 1982, which is still being withheld; the priority of aid should be determined through government-to-government negotiations.
7. Include Nicaragua in all future economic aid programs designed for the Central American or Caribbean regions.

D. Costa Rica

The historic accomplishment of Costa Rica in disbanding its armed forces and creating a society with concern for human rights and political pluralism must be affirmed and celebrated. Now there is fear among Costa Ricans that proximity to the conflict in Central America and the flight of refugees into their country may jeopardize these achievements, as current United States policies seem to draw more and more nations into the regional conflict. Costa Rica's positive achievements need to be supported, its unique character should be preserved, and its democratic traditions strengthened.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges the United States government to:

1. Affirm Costa Rica's resistance to the militarization of its social order.
2. Assist, encourage and strengthen the democratic tradition of the nation, especially at this time in the Costa Rica nation's history.
3. Express concern for the recent creation of paramilitary squads in Costa Rica.

4. Offer substantial economic aid, including favorable trade agreements, to ease the current strains in Costa Rica, which have developed as a result of regional events. This should be done without demanding excessive austerity measures that may require repression for effective enforcement.

E. Honduras

The strategic location of Honduras has led the United States government to an ill-advised military buildup in that country. This, in turn, has led to the increasing involvement of Honduras in regional tensions and has endangered its fragile democratic institutions.

Therefore, the 195th General Assembly (1983) urges the United States government to:

1. Withdraw immediately United States military advisers and end further shipments of military hardware to Honduras, in order to strengthen the recent tentative steps toward democracy by the Honduran government.
2. Increase economic aid that serves in a direct and verifiable way the poorest 30% of the Honduran people, by specific indicators.
3. Withdraw all economic and military support for incursions by counterrevolutionaries from Honduras into Nicaragua.
4. Encourage the disarming and dispersion of all counterrevolutionary camps along the border between Honduras and Nicaragua.
5. Encourage Honduras to seek a bilateral solution to the border conflict with Nicaragua.
6. Advocate an independent international presence in Honduras, in order to protect Salvadoran refugee camps from incursions by the Salvadoran military.
7. Protest military actions by the Honduran army against Salvadorans fleeing from their country; and urge the protection of the human rights of Salvadoran refugees in Honduras.

VIII. As conscientious Christian citizens we feel a particular responsibility to speak the truth in love to our government. We cherish the freedom we have in this nation to speak on all these matters. We recognize that other governments, such as Cuba and the Soviet Union, have their own desires and objectives in this region. We call upon all governments to refrain from interfering in the affairs of the nations of the region.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 13, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: SUSAN GRAF
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
SUBJECT: Wall Street Journal Interview of
Faith

Reference your note, copy attached.

I strongly suggest that you schedule an hour of Faith's time prior to the interview for her to meet with Kerry Ptacek of Penn Kemble's Institute on Religion and Democracy to discuss the role of the church groups in Central America.

In addition, I would also suggest that I have 30 minutes with Faith prior to the interview to review some of the issues.

We will soon receive a letter from the Salvation Army setting out the harassment of their workers and the expropriation of their property in Nicaragua. The letter has been cleared by their headquarters and is now being typed, however, I don't anticipate it will arrive today.

MCB:jet

1 Attachment a/s

Talk to Morton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 9, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR SUSAN GRAF

FROM: MARY ANN MELOY

MA

An interview for Faith with Wall Street Journal has been cleared and should be scheduled for week of September 12.

Will be joint interview (2 reporters):

Rich Jaroslovsky
Jerry Seib

Topics: 1. Outreach efforts of OPL
2. Role of Church groups - Central America

May we have your
comments pls?

Tks JS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

DATE: AUG 22 1983ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 8/25/83 MRRSUBJECT: Exe Order - Nat Bipartisan Commission
in Central America

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
WHITTLESEY	☐	☐	MORRISON	☐	☐
VIPOND	☐	☐	RIGGS	☐	☐
ROUSSELOT	☐	☐	TILLER	☐	☐
BLACKWELL	☒	☐	VILA	☐	☐
BRADLEY	☐	☐	VILLALPANDO	☐	☐
BUCKALEW	☐	☐	BENSCHOTER	☐	☐
GALE	☐	☐	GRAF	☐	☐
JACOBI	☐	☐	SHORTLY	☐	☐
JEPSEN	☐	☐	SUNDSETH	☐	☐
KOJELIS	☐	☐	MORECI	☐	☐
MELOY	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

RESPONSE:

Most of the groups now vigorously supporting the President's policy in Central America are not fans of Doctor Kissinger. From the standpoint of grassroots support for the president, the sooner the Commission expires, the better. A two month extension will be tolerable. Any further extension will be very demoralizing.

Faith Ryan Whittlesey
Assistant to the President
Ext. 2270

M. Blackwell 8/22/83

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 8/22/83 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 8/25/83SUBJECT: PROPOSED EXECUTIVE ORDER - NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON
CENTRAL AMERICA

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	HARPER	☒	☐
MEESE	☐	☒	HERRINGTON	☒	☐
BAKER	☐	☒	JENKINS	☐	☐
DEAVER	☐	☒	McMANUS	☐	☐
STOCKMAN	☐	☐	MURPHY	☒	☐
CLARK	☒	☐	ROGERS	☐	☐
DARMAN	☐ P	☒ SS	ROLLINS	☒	☐
DUBERSTEIN	☒	☐	VERSTANDIG	☒	☐
FELDSTEIN	☐	☐	WHITTLESEY 	☒	☐
FIELDING	☒	☐	BRADY/SPEAKES	☐	☐
FULLER	☒	☐	_____	☐	☐
GERGEN	☒	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

May we have your comments on the attached executive order by Thursday, August 25. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Richard G. Darman



Received SS
1983 AUG 22 PM 12:49

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Legal Counsel

Office of the
Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

AUG 22 1983

The President,

The White House,

My dear Mr. President:

I am herewith transmitting a proposed Executive order entitled "National Bipartisan Commission on Central America."

This proposed order was submitted by the Department of State, through the National Security Council. It has been forwarded for the consideration of this Department as to form and legality by the Office of Management and Budget with the approval of the Director.

The proposed Executive order is approved as to form and legality.

Respectfully,

Theodore B. Olson
Assistant Attorney General
Office of Legal Counsel



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

August 18, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID A. STOCKMAN *for DAS*

SUBJECT: PROPOSED EXECUTIVE ORDER ENTITLED
"NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON
CENTRAL AMERICA"

SUMMARY. This memorandum forwards for your consideration a proposed Executive order which would extend the time for submission of the report of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America.

BACKGROUND. Executive Order No. 12433 of July 19, 1983, established the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America and provided that it would report to the President by December 1, 1983. The Chairman of the Commission has requested that the reporting date be moved to February 1, 1984, to permit the Commission more time to complete its study. The proposed order would grant the requested extension of the reporting deadline.

None of the affected agencies has objected to the proposed order.

RECOMMENDATION. I recommend that you sign the proposed order.

Enclosure



U.S. Department of Justice

Office of Legal Counsel

Office of the
Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

AUG 22 1983

MEMORANDUM

Re: Proposed Executive order entitled
"National Bipartisan Commission
on Central America"

The attached proposed Executive order was submitted by the Department of State, through the National Security Council. It has been forwarded for the consideration of this Department as to form and legality by the Office of Management and Budget with the approval of the Director.

The proposed Executive order would, by amending Executive Order No. 12433, 48 Fed. Reg. 33227 (July 21, 1983), extend the life of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America from December 1, 1983 to February 1, 1984.

The proposed Executive order is acceptable as to form and legality.

Theodore B. Olson
Assistant Attorney General
Office of Legal Counsel



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

GENERAL COUNSEL

August 18, 1983

Honorable William French Smith
Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

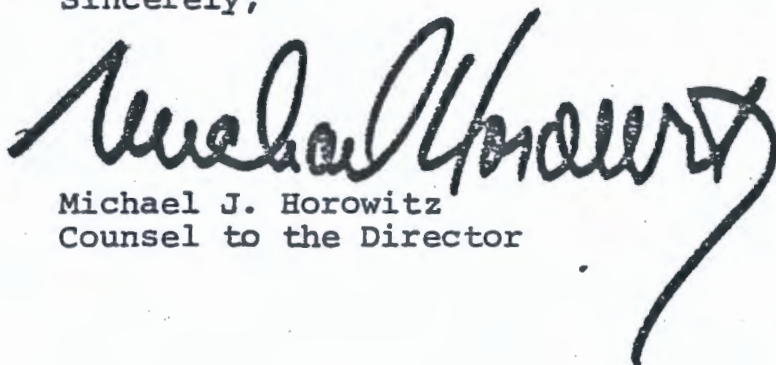
Enclosed, in accordance with the provisions of Executive Order No. 11030, as amended, is a proposed Executive order entitled "National Bipartisan Commission on Central America."

The proposed Executive order was submitted by the Department of State, through the National Security Council. The proposal would extend until February 1, 1984, the time for submission of the Commission's report.

Your staff may direct any questions concerning this proposed Executive order to Mr. John F. Cooney of this office (395-5600).

This proposed Executive order has the approval of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Sincerely,



Michael J. Horowitz
Counsel to the Director

Enclosures

EXECUTIVE ORDER

- - - - -

NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App. I), it is hereby ordered that Section 2(b) of Executive Order No. 12433, establishing the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, is amended to provide as follows:

"(b) The Commission shall report to the President by February 1, 1984."

THE WHITE HOUSE,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
August 19, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: DOUGLAS RIGGS
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*
SUBJECT: Outreach Working Group Meeting of
August 24, 1983

Attached is an advance copy of our next White House Digest. It has already been cleared for printing, but has not yet been printed on the White House Digest masthead. We are planning to release this paper at our Outreach meeting of August 24th and are now in the process of confirming the credentials of a Nicaraguan "Labor Leader in Exile," prior to asking him to speak to the Outreach Group.

As you may be aware, Ambassador Vernon A. Walters will be our principal speaker. He is OUTSTANDING.

It seems to me that this meeting might be "THE" Outreach meeting most suited for inviting selected union leaders to attend.

In any case, I suggest you prepare a cover letter and send the paper, when printed, to your best large list of union leaders. How about inviting them in your cover letter to call you if they, or their representatives, would like to be invited (each Wednesday) to briefings by our White House Outreach Working Group on Central America?

MCB:jet

Enclosure

cc; Faith Ryan Whittlesey

NICARAGUAN REPRESSION OF LABOR UNIONS

In Communist countries throughout the world, trade unions serve not to advance the interests of the workers, but to serve the political interests of the rulers. They serve not to organize strikes but to forbid them; not to improve wages and benefits but to restrain them; not to bargain collectively on behalf of the workers but organize the collective submission of the workers to their employer -- the state.

This same path is being pursued by the Communist leaders of Nicaragua. The primary purpose of labor unions in today's Nicaragua is to assist in the forced transformation of society along the lines determined by the Sandinista leadership.^{1/} Existing independent trade unions are being harassed, their members blacklisted, threatened, and sometimes

jailed. Most of the unions and most of the union members in the country have been pressed into Sandinista labor confederations subservient to the government. These confederations have surrendered hard won contract concessions and have forced lower pay and inferior working conditions on their members. Strikes have been forbidden, collective bargaining has become a farce.2/

REDUCED TO OBJECTS

Edgard Macias, who was Sandinista Vice-Minister of Labor before he was forced to seek asylum for criticizing the regime, has summed up the situation well:

"Thus the Nicaraguan workers have been reduced to being objects...the workers cannot choose, free of fears, either their labor union, or their central labor organization, their ideological option, [or] their political party."3/

Immediately after the revolution, the Sandinistas formed two large labor confederations -- the Sandinista Workers Central (CST), for non-agricultural workers, and the Rural Workers Association (ATC) -- to replace the Somocista labor organizations and to compete with the two leading democratic labor confederations, the Nicaraguan Workers Central (CTN) and the Confederation for Labor Unification (CUS), both of which opposed the Somoza dictatorship.

At first, the CST, the Sandinista non-farmworkers confederation, worked for traditional labor goals -- better wages, better working conditions.

LABOR "DISCIPLINE"

But by late 1980 it had shifted its emphasis toward organizing political support for the government and enforcing government economic policies. It endorsed Sandinista policies blocking wage increases and forbidding strikes. The Sandinista Ministry of Labor participates in all collective bargaining negotiations and must approve all final agreements.4/ The CST

cooperates with the Ministry's policy of revising labor agreements to deny workers wage and benefit increases previously secured -- even when the employers are willing to maintain the original, costlier contracts. It pressures members into taking an active role in "defending the revolution" and into joining the Sandinista militia.^{5/} The ATC similarly adheres to Sandinista labor policies.^{6/}

In 1981 the CST joined the Moscow-led World Federation of Trade Unions, and since has signed friendship and cooperation agreements with the Soviet Central Council of Trade Unions. It receives technical and training assistance from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

"RECRUITMENT"

In spite of their refusal to pursue their members' interests, the Sandinista confederations are overwhelmingly the largest in the country. Workers who refuse to join and labor leaders who refuse to affiliate with Sandinista labor organizations are subjected to punishments ranging from harassment, unemployment, threats, and official denunciations all the way to arrest, destruction of personal property, and beatings. In Macias's words:

"the [Sandinista front] and its central organizations unleashed a war against all other central organizations, using all of their resources including the Ministry of Labor, the army, the militias, and the manipulation of the right to a job... against the CTN and... the CUS."^{7/}

"PERSUASION FIRST"

Government favoritism toward Sandinista labor organizations is the simplest method of persuasion.

The Sandinista unions have access to official government communications outlets, which are used to promote the Sandinista unions as well as to attack the independents. Also the

Sandinista unions have the use of government buildings, meeting places and offices free of charge.8/

The Ministry of Labor has, in effect, a veto over the workers' choice of unions. It expedites agreements between workers and Sandinista unions while interfering with those between independent unions and workers.9/ In some cases it has even forcibly removed members of legitimately elected unions from their workplaces. In other cases it has created dummy pro-Sandinista unions, enrolled a few workers in them and arbitrarily designated the dummy unions as the bargaining agents for enterprises at which a majority of the workers belong to independent unions.10/

Workers have been denied social benefits or jobs11/ -- especially in nationalized enterprises12/ -- for not belonging to a Sandinista labor organization. And, as mentioned, when an independent union does reach a favorable settlement for its workers, the Ministry of Labor can void the agreement, thus severely punishing the workers for their choice of unions.

TWO WORLDS

Leaders of the independents have repeatedly been denied the right to carry on the normal activities of a free trade union. They have been forbidden to hold normal meetings, to collect dues, to bargain without government intervention, to hold seminars, to organize, or to leave the country without the explicit approval of the Council of State.13/

To quote Macias again:

"There are two different labor worlds in Nicaragua: On one side the workers who are protected and privileged by the FSLN, and on the other side those who...belong to the "second class" labor unions and for whom life is much harsher."14/

But, short of real terror, perhaps the Sandinistas' most potent weapon is political intimidation. In a totalitarian society, expressions of disapproval from the government transmit fears that we as free people find it difficult to comprehend.

Since coming to power, the Sandinistas have loudly and consistently labeled the independent unions "counter-revolutionary," "destabilizing," and "conspiratory."15/

The charges are false -- the independent trade unions were in the vanguard of the opposition to Somoza. But the charges mark the independent unions as enemies of the ruling clique, which is sufficient to frighten many workers away.

Even so, outright terror and repression of the independents has been common all along. From the start of the CST organizing drive, CST representatives -- in reality Sandinista activists with little or no trade union experience -- would arrive at union meetings accompanied by armed militiamen, whose very presence intimidated the workers into favoring the CST in affiliation votes.

GOVERNMENT MOBS

Government directed mobs have attacked the homes of union officials and painted their properties with denunciations. Union property has been destroyed by the police.16/ Articles favorable to the CUS or the CTN have been censured from the newspapers.

Union meetings have been disrupted and broken up by mobs. Independent trade union organizers have been threatened by the police, the army, and Sandinista organizations, and sometimes jailed. The CUS headquarters in Chinandega and Esteli were taken over by the local police and Sandinista groups.17/ It is dangerous even to protest these activities, for critics of government policy face prosecution.18/

CORINTO

The case of the stevedores union for the key strategic port of Corinto is illustrative of Sandinista labor practices. Immediately after the revolution, when unions were affiliating en

masse with the CST, the Corinto stevedores union did so as well, though even the original affiliation may have been a result of heavy pressure, including the arrest and detention of the secretary general of the union.

The stevedores were soon dissatisfied. In early 1983 they moved to disaffiliate from the CST. In mid-March the unions' executive board voted to switch the stevedores to the CUS. The Sandinistas responded by sending militia to occupy the union's headquarters. The all-powerful Ministry of Labor voided the executive board's decision, ruling that only a two-thirds vote of the membership could effect the switch.

A "WELCOMING COMMITTEE"

But the Ministry avoided an immediate vote by trumping up charges of corruption and forbidding any elections until the charges were "investigated." Eventually elections were scheduled in June. But on May 21, when CUS officials came to Corinto to meet with several hundred stevedores, they were attacked and forced to flee by a Sandinista mob, some of whom were armed and wearing militia uniforms.19/

The Sandinistas then packed the June 1 assembly with hundreds of non-members of the union. The bona fide union members voted overwhelmingly for the CUS, but the government recognized the CST as the victor and now there are two organizations purporting to represent the workers. At least six union leaders were later arrested. The government refused to give an explanation for the arrests. Although some were later released, the union claims that many activists subsequently lost their jobs. 20/

Though Corinto is a classic example it is far from the only one:

In August 1981, the President of the CTN, Juan Rafael Suazo Trujillo was abducted by a group of thugs identifying themselves as "members of the young forces against reactionaries." He was forced into a car bearing government license plates and pistol whipped. His abductors called him a

traitor and an agent of the CIA, told him the beating was small punishment for his crimes and let him go.21/

In March 1982, the Secretary General of the Federation of Health Workers, a union that has for the most part cooperated with the Sandinistas, was arrested by government agents and taken to the offices of the Sandinista police and interrogated with a pistol at his head. His captors interrogated him for nine hours, repeatedly demanding he sign a blank sheet of paper, while they impugned his role in the union as counter-revolutionary. He has since taken refuge in the Venezuelan embassy.22/

"PROVISIONALLY" FREE

After a lengthy campaign of harrassment, five leaders of the CTN union "Aldo Chavarria" were arrested in the Nueva Guinea municipality in May 1982 by police and army officials. Before a public assembly they were accused of being counter-revolutionaries and threatened with a firing squad. Several days later they were told it was all a mistake and "provisionally" freed.23/

Bonifacio and Armando Ramos Matute, members of the Executive Committee of the CTN in Jalapa, have been continually harassed by the Sandinista Defense Committees for the area. They were told that if they did not affiliate with the Sandinista National Agricultural and Cattle Union they would be "cleaned out" of the area.24/

Days before the Sandinista declaration of the State of Emergency in September 1981, Rosendo Solorzano Fonseca and Javier Altamirano Perez, two CUS leaders from the Western region were arrested, and threatened and beaten by a mob that included members of the police. The two fled and took refuge in the headquarters of an independent union in Chinandega. The Sandinista police tracked them down, arrested them, stripped them and took them to a place in Chinandega where they were further interrogated and threatened with reprisals if they told anyone of their experiences.25/

WORKERS TOO

Many more incidents have been reported, including not only harassment of labor leaders, as in the cases mentioned here, but of ordinary workers as well. The aim is clear -- to render the independents impotent without risking the bad publicity from officially outlawing them. Indeed, according to a February 14, 1980 statement signed by Carlos Huembes Trejos, Secretary General of the CTN, Tomas Borge, Sandinista Minister of the Interior, has said that the CTN would be wiped out.26/

AS IN POLAND...

To quote Macias a final time:

"There are many mechanisms to enroll workers in organizations which appear to be labor unions, but ... lack the intrinsic quality of labor unions -- their freedom of choice and action"27/

That is the classic Communist labor strategy -- replace legitimate labor unions devoted to the good of the worker with pseudo-unions devoted to the convenience of the rulers. That strategy has kept Poland on the front pages for nearly three years -- but the same tragedy is being played in Nicaragua today.

NOTES

1. Annual Labor Report: "Labor Trends in Nicaragua;" p.1.
2. The Permanent Committee for Nicaraguan Human Rights: "A Union Report On Nicaragua." (This committee is one of the few remaining bodies in Nicaragua with the right to criticize the government.)
3. Macias, Edgard (former Sandinista Vice Minister of Labor); Statement of February 11, 1983: "Labor Relations in the Sandinista Regime;" p.14.
4. Op. Cit., "Labor Trends;" p.15.
5. Ibid, p.6.
6. Ibid, p.8.
7. Op. Cit., Macias; p.13.
8. Op. Cit., "A Union Report"
9. Op. Cit., "Labor Trends;" p.16
10. Op. Cit., Macias; p.6.
11. Verbal report from Latin American area advisor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Department of Labor.
12. Petition of the Leaders of the United Confederation of Workers to Sandinista Commandante Bayardo Arce Castano, p.2.
13. Unclassified attachment to 3/1/83 AFL-CIO letter to Bureau of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Department of Labor.
14. Op. Cit., Macias; p.10.
15. Op. Cit., "Petition;" p.5.
16. Op. Cit., "A Union Report."
17. Op. Cit., "Petition;" p.4.
18. Op. Cit., "Attachment to AFL-CIO letter."
19. State Department Cable, Managua 2268, unclassified paragraphs 2, 3, and 4.
20. Confederation of Central American Workers: Press release; June 13, 1983; San Jose, Costa Rica. Also cable from American Embassy, Managua, 3294, July 29, 1983, unclassified.
21. Op. Cit., "A Union Report."
22. Ibid
23. Ibid
24. Ibid
25. Ibid
26. Ibid
27. Op. Cit. Macias; p.12.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 17, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: THE HONORABLE LANGHORNE MOTLEY
Assistant Secretary of State for
Inter-American Affairs

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*

SUBJECT: Lynn Bouchey's Visit to Honduras and
El Salvador

L. Francis Bouchey, who heads the Council for Inter-American Security will be visiting Central America later this month. He is traveling with his associate, Greg Robertson.

They are filming material for a television program in support of the President's policies in Central America. Bouchey provides office space for the Central American Freedom Alliance, the principal coordinating group for conservative and pro-defense organizations' activities that are supporting this Administration.

Bouchey asked that we do him the courtesy of informing our Ambassadors and Public Affairs Officers at the U.S. Embassies in Honduras and El Salvador. I hope our Embassies could cooperate in any appropriate fashion. These people are highly supportive and are spending substantial sums of money in support of the U.S. policy.

Bouchey and Robertson will be in Honduras August 21 through 23, and in El Salvador, August 24 through 25. If it is appropriate for you to notify the Embassies of their scheduled visits, I would appreciate it.

MCB:jet

cc: Faith Ryan Whittlesey

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 2, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO JUDGE WILLIAM P. CLARK,
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

FROM: Faith Ryan Whittlesey

SUBJECT: White House Digest Paper, "Human Rights in
Cuba" for Release August 3, 1983, and
Related Matters

As we have all realized by now, one of the difficulties we face in selling the President's policies on Central America is the American people's unfamiliarity with the region and the players. Only a tiny percentage of Americans know which governments in Central America are friendly to the United States and which are not. The same holds true for the guerrilla groups.

We are all working to overcome this information gap. We realize that it would not be possible to educate every American thoroughly on the subject, however, Dr. Richard Wirthlin's Central American poll data shows a very great concern about the installation of "Marxist" and especially "Communist" governments or revolutions. If the American people knew we are opposing the Communists in Central America, the data suggests they would very much sympathize with our goals even lacking a detailed knowledge of the situation.

Common sense suggests the same conclusion. Wouldn't it be a great deal more difficult for some Congressmen to oppose aid to El Salvador if the network news shows had been using the identifying phrase, "Communist guerrillas" when speaking of the Salvadoran guerrillas rather than the phrase, "leftist guerrillas" as they have been?

The President and the United States would gain enormously by successfully identifying the Sandinistas and the Salvadoran guerrillas as Marxists but particularly as "Communists," a word about which there is no ambiguity and which is recognized by the largest number of people. "Marxist" and "Marxist-Leninist" will, occasionally, be appropriate, but both sound a little professorial, and also sound as if we are avoiding the word "Communist" and thus deliberately inviting ambiguity.

I am very distressed, therefore, by attempts by some people at NSC, DoD, and the State Department to sanitize the word "Communist" out of the White House Digest series.

The latest instance is our paper scheduled for release Wednesday, August 3, 1983, "Human Rights in Cuba." As drafted by this office, the paper identified the government of Nicaragua as "Communist." Some people in the clearance process at the State Department and DoD objected. NSC concurred in the objections and inserted "pro-Soviet" for "Communist."

After strenuous objections from us, NSC, through Walter Raymond, went as far as "Marxist-Leninist" but no further.

At the Monday, August 1, 1983, meeting of the Outreach Working Group there was, except for Walter Raymond, a unanimous consensus to use the stronger and more well-recognized word, "Communist."

Despite this unanimity of opinion, NSC, through Walter Raymond, refused to reinsert "Communist" and the paper has been forwarded to Mr. Darman with the less effective "Marxist-Leninist" phrasing.

This is ridiculous. "Marxist-Leninist" is an exact synonym for "Communist" as that word is most frequently and popularly used. If "Communist" has more impact, as it obviously does, there is no reason whatsoever to forbid its use in any case where "Marxist-Leninist" could be used.

At some times, and for some audiences, we will certainly use "Marxist-Leninist." But as there is no cause for shyness or ambiguity in this instance, I would appreciate it if you would clear the paper with the word "Communist" as a description for the Nicaraguan government.

More generally, it should be made clear to interested parties that the description "Communist" holds great advantages and should be used when the facts permit. As the key Sandinista leadership as well as the key Salvadoran guerrilla leadership have publicly accepted the label "Marxist-Leninist" on various occasions, there should never be any hesitation about identifying them as Communists.

SPEAKERS/BRIEFERS

FOR

WEDNESDAY OUTREACH WORKING GROUP MEETINGS

WEDNESDAY, May 18, 1983:

Self-introductions and statement of purpose of
Outreach Working Group

Wednesday, May 25, 1983:

Jacqueline Tillman, Executive Assistant to
Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, "The Sandinistas"

Roger Fontaine, Staff, National Security Council,
"El Salvador"

Wednesday, June 1, 1983:

The Honorable Richard McCormack, Assistant Secretary of
State, Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs
"The Economics of Central America"

Jacqueline Tillman, Executive Assistant to
Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, "Central American
Update"

Wednesday, June 8, 1983:

The Honorable Richard McCormack, Assistant Secretary of
State, Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs
"The Economics of the Central American Struggle"

The Honorable H. Eugene Douglas, Ambassador-at-Large and
U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, "Where the
Refugee Problem is Headed"

Senor Adolfo Calero, FDN Leader in Exile, "A Personal
Account of My Flight from Nicaragua"

Senor Stedman Fagoth, Member, Miskito Indian Tribe,
"A Personal Account of the Persecution and Extermination
of Members of the Miskito Indian Tribe by the Sandinistas"

Wednesday, June 15, 1983:

John Lenczowski, Staff Member, National Security Council
"The Soviet Effort in Central America"

The Honorable Nestor Sanchez, Deputy Assistant Secretary
of Defense for Inter-American Affairs, "The Contra
Offensive in Nicaragua"

Ms. Amy Moritz, Executive Director, Captive Nations Vigil
Committee, "The July 2nd Demonstration"

F. Lynn Bouchey, President, Council for Inter-American
Security, "The July 19th Conference by the Ad Hoc
Committee for Democracy for Nicaragua"

Wednesday, June 22, 1983:

The Honorable Richard Stone, Roving Ambassador to Central
America, "The United States Effort in Central
America"

Walter Raymond, Special Assistant to the President,
National Security Council, "The Cuban Effort in
Nicaragua"

Wednesday, June 29, 1983:

Senor Miguel Bolanos Hunter, Nicaraguan defector, "The
Sandinistas, Goals and Achievements from a Personal
Perspective"

The Honorable Vernon L. Walters, Ambassador-at-Large,
"U.S. Policy in Latin America and Why"

Wednesday, July 6, 1983:

Roger Fontaine, Senior Staff Member, National Security
Council, "A Central American Update"

Dr. Richard Wirthlin, President, Decision Making Information, Inc.
"How the American Public Sees Central America"

Wednesday, July 13, 1983:

The Honorable J. William Middendorf, II, Ambassador
to the Organization of American States, "Central
America and the OAS"

Wednesday, July 20, 1983:

Rabbi Morton Rosenthal, Director of Latin American Affairs, Anti-Defamation League, "Persecution of Jewish People in Central America"

Mr. Isaac Stavisky, Nicaraguan Jewish Refugee, "The Sandinistas Against the Jews"

Jacqueline Tillman, Executive Assistant to Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, "PLO and Libyan Activities in Central America"

The President of the United States, Ronald W. Reagan

Wednesday, July 27, 1983:

Congressman Thomas F. Hartnett, (R-S.C.) and
Congressman Mark D. Siljander, (R-Mich.), "Central America
Visited"

Congressman Vin Weber (R-Minn.), "Central America, A
View from the Congress"

The Honorable Langhorne Motley, Ambassador-at-Large,
Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American
Affairs, "Central American Policy, Where Do We
Go From Here?"

Senor Juan Vincente Maldonado, Executive Director,
National Association for Private Enterprise, El
Salvador, "Central America from the Businessman's
View"

Wednesday, August 3, 1983:

The Honorable John F. Lehman, Secretary of the Navy,
"The Strategic Importance of the Caribbean Sea
Lanes"

Wednesday, August 10, 1983:

The Honorable Fred Ikle, Under Secretary of Defense
for Policy, (Title of speech not yet announced.)