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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH

HISPANIC EVANGELICALS

DATE: Wednesday, September 14, 1983
LOCATION: Room #450 - OEOB
TIME: 4:00 p.m.

FMLN

I. PURPOSE:

To brief certain individuals from the Hispanic Evangelical sector on matters relating to Central America and the Administration's policies.

II. BACKGROUND:

The briefing for Hispanic evangelicals was suggested by the Reverend Dr. John Gimenez and his sister, Anna Gimenez. Most of the list of invitees was supplied by them, but other names were supplied by the National Association of Evangelicals, the National Religious Broadcasters, Maranatha Youth Ministries and other organizations.

Many of these people were incorrectly led to believe by Henry Zuniga many months ago that a meeting for them had been set up with the President.

The people at the meeting are predominantly of the charismatic persuasion. Others are self-described fundamentalists. Others prefer to be called evangelicals. Politically they are overwhelmingly conservative, pro-life, pro-defense, pro-family and anti-communist.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

Ambassador Otto Juan Reich
Major Oliver L. North, National Security Council
Mr. Kerry Ptacek, Research Director, Institute on
Religion and Democracy

IV. PRESS PLAN:

None. However, Mr. Juan Williams of the Washington Post and Mr. Marvin Kalb have been cleared to attend.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

4:00 p.m. - Faith Ryan Whittlesey opens the meeting.

INTRODUCTION FOR
MAJOR OLIVER L. NORTH, USMC

*On background
only
- no photo*

- First, I must ask that all of Major North's comments remain ~~OFF THE RECORD~~. *On background only.* Additionally, I must ask that *background only N.S.* no photographs be taken of Major North. Thank you for your cooperation. *Consideration*
- Major North has been detailed to the National Security Council. His regional focus is Central and South America. *I wouldn't quote him by name "W.H. Sack" Security expert.*
- Major North is a graduate of the United States Naval Academy and a Marine Infantry Officer. His military decorations include the Silver Star, Bronze Star with "V" for Valor, Meritorious Service Medal; three Navy Commendation Medals with valor device; two Navy Achievement Medals and two Purple Hearts, and was recently awarded the Defense Meritorious Service Medal.
- Major North is working toward a Masters Degree and has published works in various military journals and has appeared as a guest on William F. Buckley's Firing Line.
- He was selected for promotion to Lieutenant Colonel in March of this year, which I know was good news to his wife and four children.

VI. ATTACHMENTS:

1. Talking points
2. Introduction for speakers
3. Agenda for meeting.

 TALKING POINTS

- On behalf of the President, I want to welcome you to the White House Complex and personally thank each ~~and~~ ~~every one~~ of you for the personal effort and sacrifice you have put toward attending this briefing on our national security as it relates to Central America.
- I want to particularly thank the Reverend Dr. John ^{H.} Gimenez and his sister Anna Gimenez, for suggesting this briefing and helping us assemble the list of invitees.
- I need not tell you that this is an issue of great importance to this Administration. I personally believe that the judgment of history on this President will depend heavily on how we handle the situation presently facing us in Central America.
- The common language which is shared by many in this very special audience with the peoples of Central America allows you a degree of sensitivity which simply is not attainable for those who are not so linked.
- Further, this audience has another common bond -- that of Christianity. If there were to be further communist takeovers in Central America, many of you in this audience would be the first recourse for assistance for a yet

unnumbered line of refugees. Refugees who, for the first time in recent memory, would be traveling to the United States across a land bridge instead of over vast bodies of water.

- This Administration is very sensitive to the potential problem of refugees. We understand it. We know how it would impact on our economy, our educational system, our welfare system, our health care delivery systems, our housing and our unemployment, to name some major areas.
- But of far greater importance to this Administration is the human tragedy for individual refugees. People who flee communist regimes in order to save their lives lose their possessions, their homes, their jobs and many of them family and friends. Most Americans can't imagine fleeing our country and saying goodbye to a loved one you may never see again because one of you may not be lucky enough to survive. But I believe that virtually every one of you, in your own ministry, has helped many desperate refugees who have abandoned everything to escape communism.
- Of course, we can avoid the human suffering created by a communist advance in Central America. If the Congress

grants the economic and military aid which the President has requested for supporters of democracy in the region, the communists will fail. We believe that getting the facts about Central America to key leaders, ^{+ opinion makers} such as yourselves is the best way to convince members of Congress to support the President.

- Introduce Otto Reich

Reich speaks

- Introduce Major Oliver North -- but note that the remarks of Major North must remain OFF THE RECORD, and

Major North speaks

His face should not
Appear on camera!!

- Introduce Kerry Ptacek

Ptacek speaks

Ptacek

INTRODUCTION OF
OTTO JUAN REICH

- On July 5, 1983, the Secretary of State announced the appointment of Otto Juan Reich as Advisor to the Secretary with the personal rank of Ambassador to coordinate foreign and domestic public policy efforts related to Latin America in general and Central America in particular.
- Ambassador Reich works closely with the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs who has overall responsibility for policy issues in the region.
- Prior to his appointment, Ambassador Reich was the Assistant Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development in charge of Latin America and the Caribbean. As such, he was the principal officer in the United States government charged with the direction of U.S. economic support and development assistance for this region of the world.
- Before joining AID, Mr. Reich was the Director of Washington operations for the Council of the Americas.
- Ambassador Reich holds a Bachelor's degree from the University of North Carolina in International Studies

and a Masters from Georgetown University in Latin American Studies.

- Mr. Reich is a veteran of the United States Army where he served in a liaison capacity with the Government of Panama.
- Mr. Reich was born in Havana, Cuba.

INTRODUCTION OF

KERRY PTACEK

PRONOUNCE: P - ^UA - CHECK

Ptasek

- Mr. Ptacek graduated from the University of Michigan and studied Latin American History on the graduate level at the University of Texas, Austin.
- From 1979 to 1981, he was Education Director of FRONTLASH, the youth program of the AFL-CIO.
- In 1981, he assumed the position of Research Director for the Institute on Religion and Democracy.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 14, 1983

OUTREACH WORKING GROUP ON CENTRAL AMERICA

FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON,
CHAIRMAN

A G E N D A

MEETING WITH

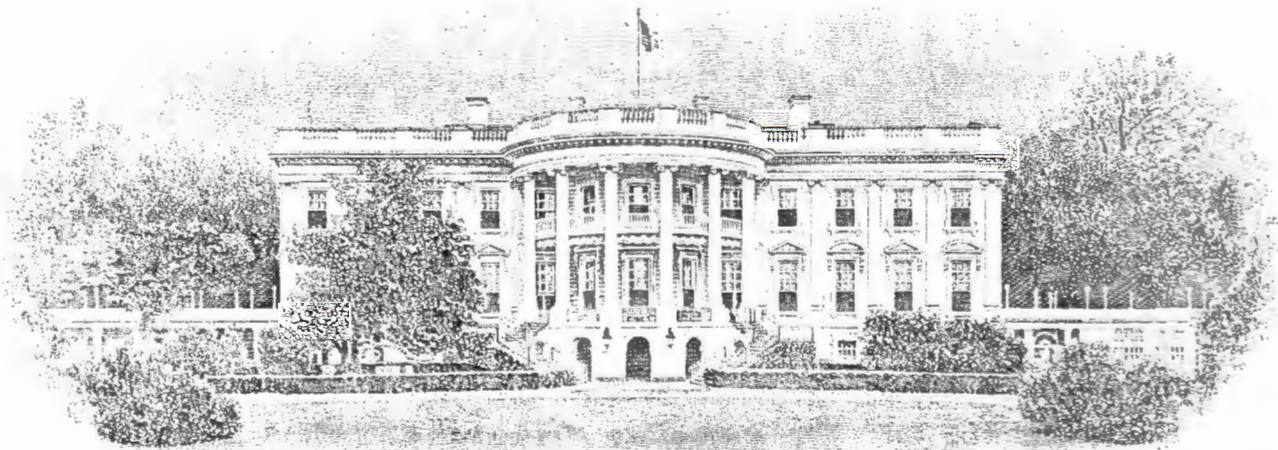
HISPANIC EVANGELICAL RELIGIOUS LEADERS

- I. WELCOME TO THE WHITE HOUSE,
FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY,
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
- II. AMBASSADOR OTTO JUAN REICH,
The Secretary's Special Coordinator
for Public Policy on Latin America
Department of State
- III. MAJOR OLIVER L. NORTH,
Senior Staff Member
National Security Council
- IV. MR. KERRY PTACEK,
Central American Specialist
Institute on Religion and Democracy

TIME: 4:00 p.m.
DATE: Wednesday, September 14, 1983
PLACE: Room #450 - Old Executive Office Building



The White House





BACKGROUND PAPER: CENTRAL AMERICA

Preface

On May 13, 1983, the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives issued a report which concluded that "the Sandinistas have stepped up their support for insurgents in Honduras" and that Cuban and Nicaraguan aid for insurgents constitutes "a clear picture of active promotion 'for revolution without frontiers' throughout Central America by Cuba and Nicaragua." The committee also reiterated its earlier finding that the guerrillas in El Salvador "are well trained, well equipped with modern weapons and supplies, and rely on the use of sites in Nicaragua for command and control and for logistical support. The intelligence supporting these judgments provided to the Committee is convincing."

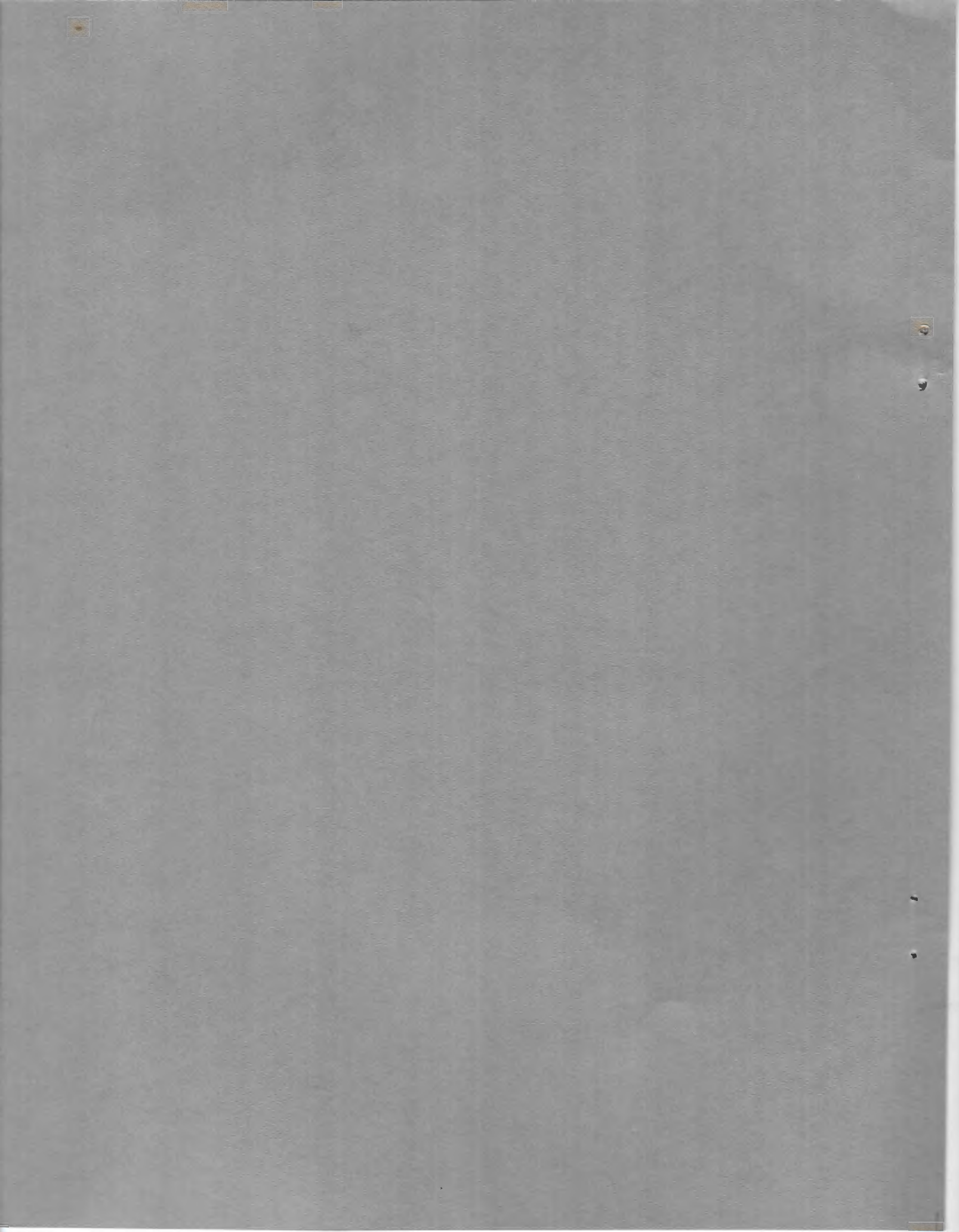
The summary of Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Soviet activities in Central America included in this background paper supports the conclusions of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. It is being issued in the interest of contributing to a better public understanding of the history of developments in the region.

This background paper does not attempt to analyze social and economic conditions in the Central American countries. Rather, it describes how politically motivated violence is being used to exploit the demands for more democracy, social justice, and economic development in Central America in order to bring extreme leftist groups to power.

Released by the Department of State and the Department of Defense

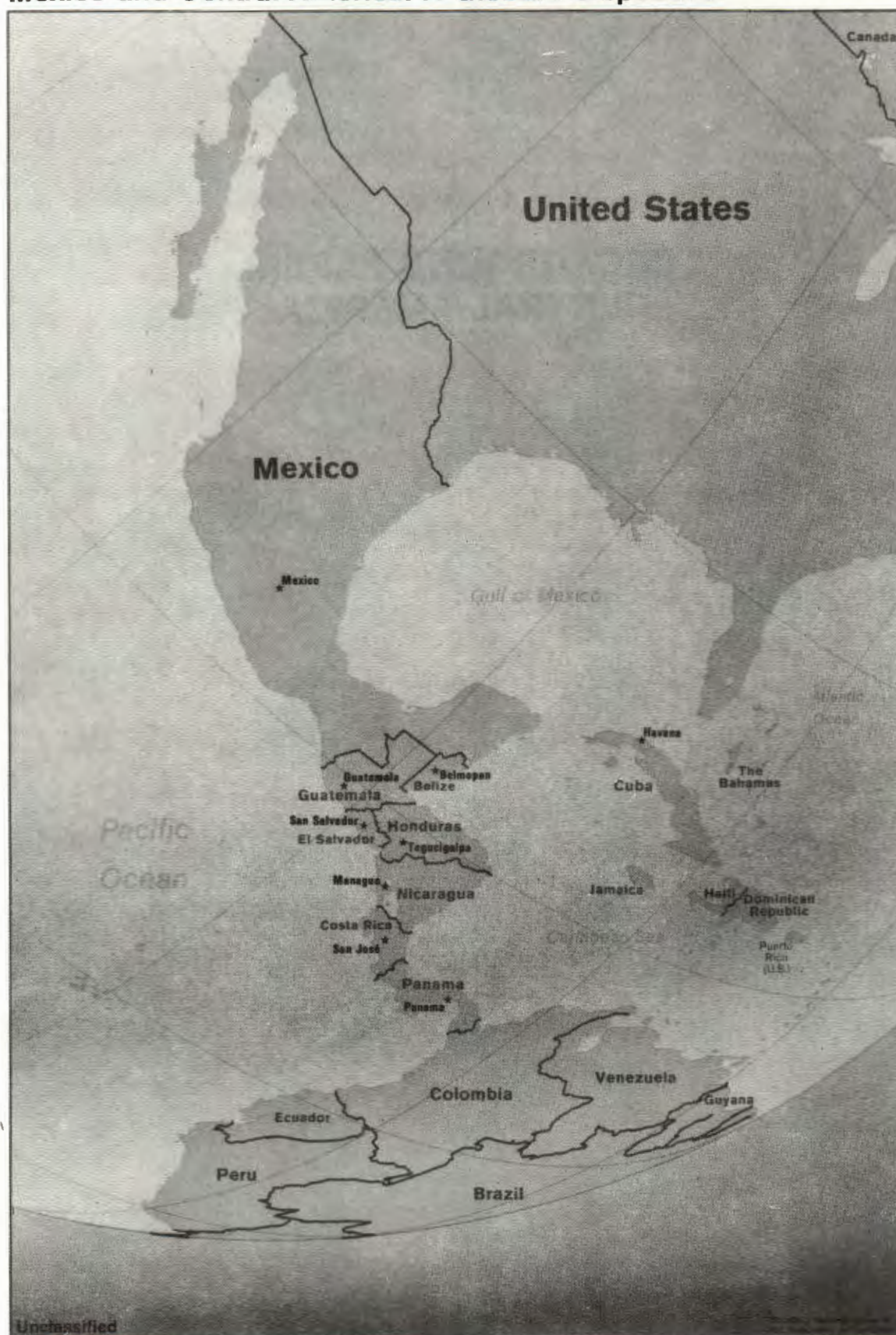
May 27, 1983

Washington, D.C.



**BACKGROUND PAPER:
CENTRAL AMERICA**

Mexico and Central America: A Global Perspective



Unclassified

633902 (A01028) 3-83

Introduction

Today, far more than at any time in the past, extreme leftist forces in Central America are supported by an extensive foreign intelligence and training apparatus, modern military equipment and a large and sophisticated propaganda network. With Soviet bloc support, Cuba is using contacts nurtured over more than 20 years to provide political and military training, plus material and propaganda support, to many violent groups in a number of Central American countries. The immediate goals are to consolidate control of the Sandinista Directorate in Nicaragua and to overthrow the Governments of El Salvador and Guatemala. Honduras and Costa Rica also have been targeted (see Map #1).

I. Nicaragua

When Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba, he set the pattern which, 20 years later, the Sandinistas are repeating in Nicaragua. Castro established a dual government. An inner core of trusted guerrillas controlled and built the instruments of power (the army, the secret police, "revolutionary tribunals," and new mass organizations), while his democratic allies were kept busy in formal institutions such as the Council of State and government ministries. This tactic helped him consolidate power and neutralize his democratic allies until they could no longer unite against him. Many of these allies later were executed or imprisoned, or left the country.

In Nicaragua, the democratic opposition to Somoza established a "broad opposition front" in coalition with the Sandinistas, who assured their democratic allies (as Castro had done in 1957-59) of their commitment to democratic elections "after Somoza." The presence of noncommunist elements in the Sandinista-led "broad coalition" served to deceive many Western governments about the true character of the Sandinista Directorate. As in Cuba, two decades earlier, this broad coalition provided a political network that could be used by the extreme left to mislead Western opinion and governments, while obtaining financial support from the West. On June 23, 1979 the OAS gave provisional recognition to the anti-Somoza forces, contingent upon the establishment of a democratic political system including free political parties, free elections, free trade unions, religious freedom and an independent media. On July 12, 1979, during the final bargaining leading to Somoza's departure, the Sandinistas sent a written promise to the OAS that they would hold free elections and guarantee democratic freedoms. The Sandinistas have yet to implement this promise.

During this period, Cuba provided about 500 tons of weapons and other military supplies directly to the Sandinista units. Cuba also trained and deployed an "Internationalist Brigade," whose personnel fought with the Sandinistas. And on July 18, 1979, Julian Lopez Diaz, a leading Cuban covert action operative, flew to Managua from Costa Rica, where he had been the Sandinistas' key adviser. He became, and remains, the Cuban Ambassador.

After their victory, the Sandinistas followed Castro's example and established a dual governing structure. The inner core was headed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), a nine-person Directorate, which immediately moved with Cuban help to establish a new army, an internal security apparatus and a variety of controlled organizations: neighborhood "defense committees," trade unions, professional organizations and media organs. The Sandinistas also came to dominate the nominally independent executive branch: the Junta, the quasi-legislative Council of State, and most government ministries.

The Sandinistas encouraged their democratic allies to participate in these executive branch institutions, both to use the skills of their allies and their international credibility. This helped obtain more than \$1.6 billion in Western aid from July 1979 to the end of 1982. The United States, along with other democracies, immediately recognized the new government. During the first 18 months of the regime, the United States provided more than \$118 million in direct aid and endorsed more than \$220 million in Inter-American Development Bank credits.

Repression of the democratic political parties, trade unions, and media began within weeks of Somoza's departure. In August and September 1979, the Sandinistas launched a campaign against the social democratic and Christian Democratic trade unions and their national federations, and tried to consolidate organized labor in two Sandinista-controlled groupings. A conference of Sandinista leaders in late September 1979 produced a specific plan for consolidating power. It stated that the democratic groups were to be "isolated" and brought under Sandinista control and that "while political parties must be permitted to exist" because of "international opinion," the Sandinistas would "work within them to get them to support the revolution."

Finally, in August 1980, the Sandinistas declared publicly that elections would not be held until 1985. Even then, these are not to be "bourgeois elections" but rather will serve only to "ratify" the revolution.

As a further measure of internal repression, in December 1981 the Sandinistas began destroying more than 40 villages of the Protestant, English-speaking Indians in northeastern Nicaragua. About 15,000 escaped into Honduras and the remainder were either killed by the FSLN or forceably relocated to detention camps far from their homes. The proof of this cruel activity is undeniable. (Photos 1, 2, and 3 provide photographic evidence of the destruction of these villages.)

This campaign has served to consolidate power in the hands of the Sandinistas; genuinely democratic groups and ethnic minorities have been excluded from real political influence. Although some are permitted to survive under surveillance and pressure, political control is held only by the Marxist-Leninist Sandinista directorate.

Within a week after the Sandinistas' takeover, Cuba had some 100 military and security personnel in Nicaragua. Three months later, by October 1979, this figure had increased to 200. Today, Nicaragua "hosts" 7,000 to 8,000 Cubans, including 1,500 to 2,000 military and security advisers, and many high-level Sandinistas have counterpart Cuban advisers. Cubans have trained virtually all Nicaraguan recruits in the General Directorate of Sandinista State Security, the new State police organization responsible for maintaining Sandinista control over the populace.

**NICARAGUAN DETENTION CAMP FOR RELOCATED INDIANS
SUMUBILA, NICARAGUA**

23 FEBRUARY 1982



PHOTO #1

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT
CONDUCTED BY THE RESEARCHER

DESTROYED VILLAGE RAYA PURA, NICARAGUA



PHOTO #2

DESTROYED VILLAGE PALO YUMPA, NICARAGUA

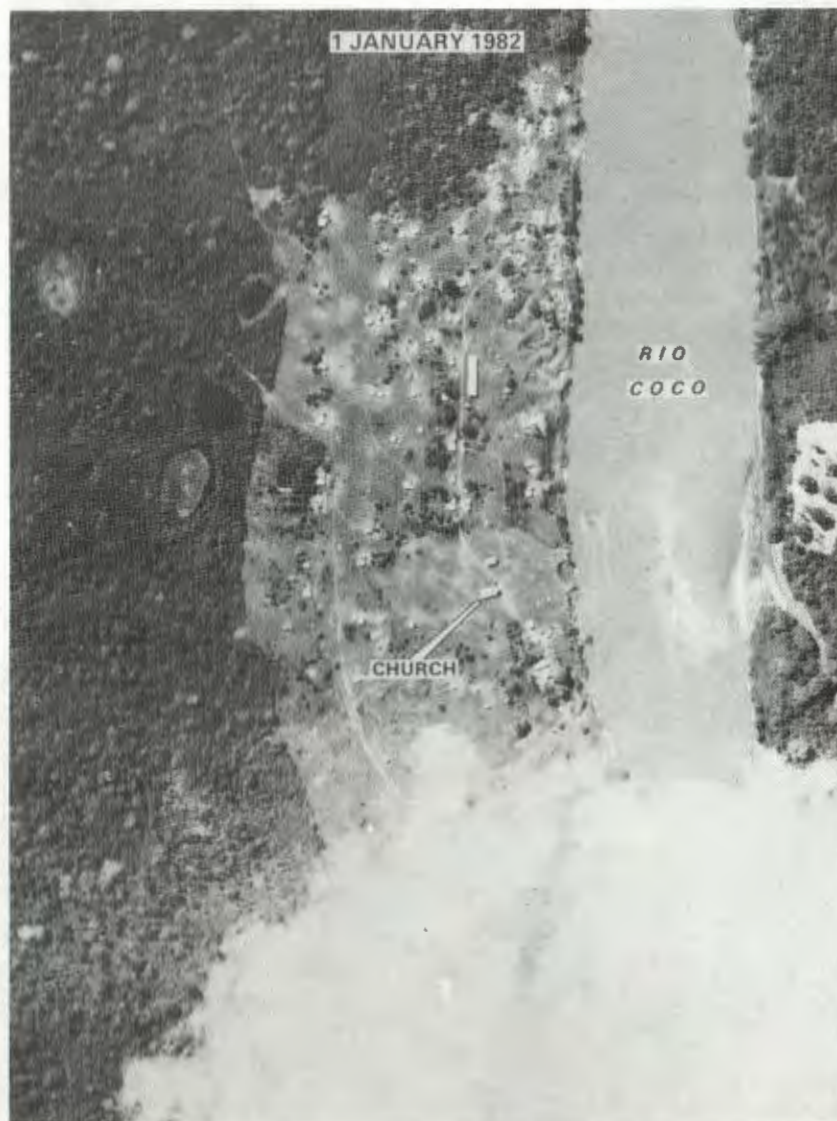


PHOTO # 3

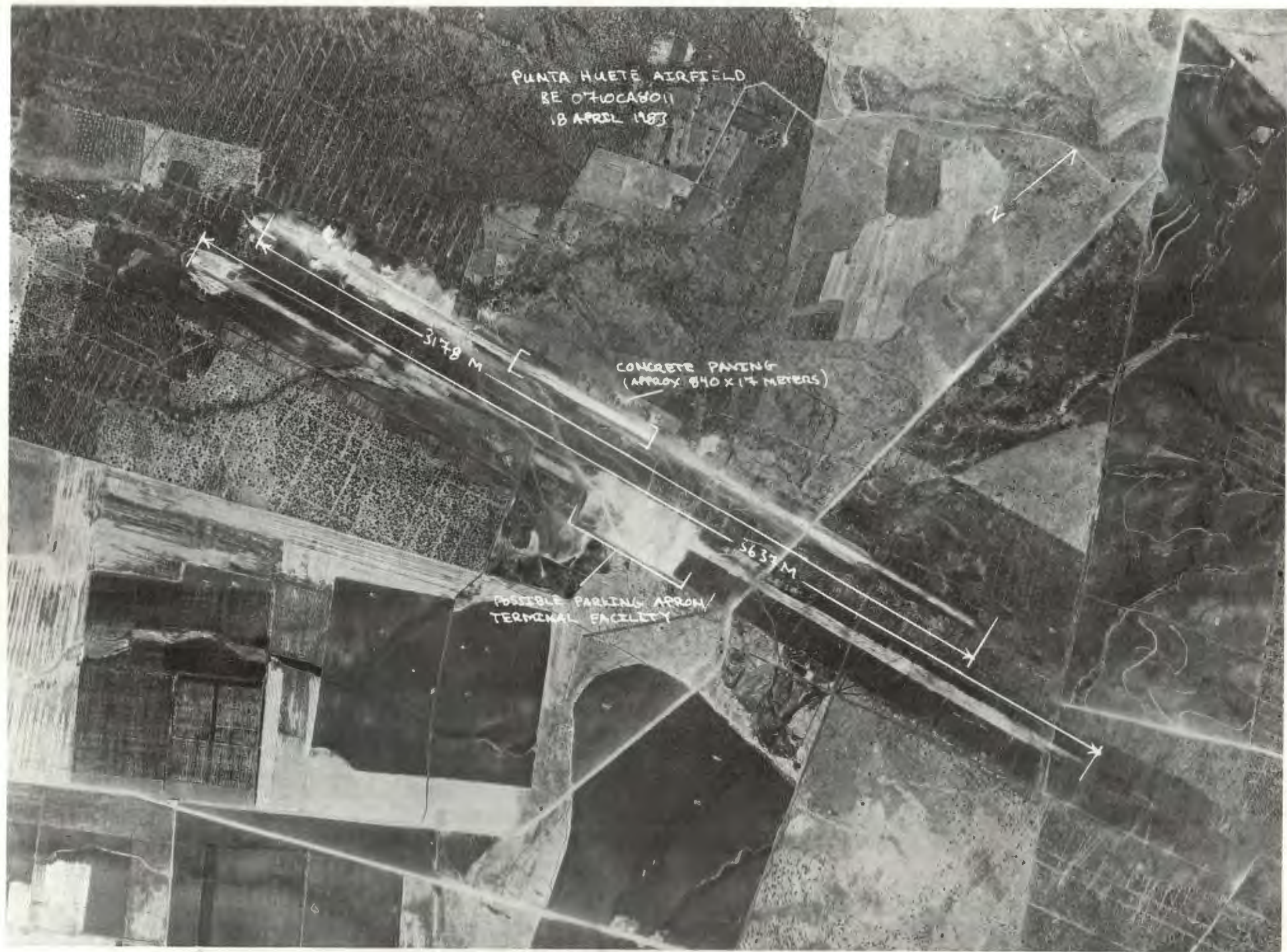
PUNTA HUETE AIRFIELD
SE OTZUCABO
18 APRIL 1963

3178 M

CONCRETE PAVING
(APPROX 840 X 17 METERS)

5637 M

POSSIBLE PARKING APRON/
TERMINAL FACILITY



The Sandinista military buildup also began immediately. Somoza's National Guard numbered about 9,000 before 1977, and 15,000 at the height of the fighting. The Sandinistas have increased their military forces to some 25,000 regular troops on active duty, with another 50,000 in active reserve and militia forces. In addition, they have added 36 new military bases and Soviet bloc weaponry, including 45-50 tanks, armored personnel carriers, mobile rocket-launchers and helicopters. Airfields are being constructed or improved which could service military jet aircraft.

For example, construction of a new dual runway airfield at Punta Huete, near Managua, is proceeding at an extremely rapid pace. About 800 meters of the estimated 3,600 meter main runway have been completed and work has begun on a parallel runway-taxiway; large, square area is being leveled for a probable parking apron. The location of Punta Huete strongly suggests that the new airfield, when completed, will be Nicaragua's main military airbase as well as the largest military airfield in Central America. This conclusion is based on: the relatively isolated location near Lake Managua (7 miles northwest of Managua); the estimated length of the runway, as well as the fact it will have a dual runway-taxiway (which could support a volume of air traffic exceeding current levels at Sandino International Airport); and the use of concrete paving (see Photo #4).

II. Castro's Strategy

Fidel Castro brings to his renewed and expanded political-military activism in Central America his own personal experience in achieving power in Cuba, seeking to export revolution in the Western Hemisphere, particularly during the 1960s, as well as nearly two decades of highly effective collaboration with the Soviet KGB and Soviet military. He also has cultivated close ties with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Libya and pro-Soviet factions in Africa and the Middle East in support of terrorism and subversion. Castro has a method of operation with the following principal components:

- Unification of the extreme left;
- Establishment of a "broad coalition"--led by the extreme left but including some noncommunist opposition elements--which makes direct or ambiguous promises of a "broad based" government after victory;
- Use of the "broad coalition" and systematic propaganda and political action techniques in order to obtain noncommunist international support and isolate the target governments from Western political and material help;
- Provision of Soviet bloc, Cuban, and other anti-Western military support as an incentive for extreme left unity.

This approach proved successful in Nicaragua. It was then turned against El Salvador in late 1979. Similar efforts have been made in Guatemala since 1980, accompanied by stepped-up covert activities against Honduras and Costa Rica starting in 1981 and 1982. The rapid expansion of these violent techniques in Central America is illustrated by the fact that while the total armed strength of the extreme left in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica was estimated at about 1,450 in 1978, by 1981 it was nearly 8,000.

III. El Salvador

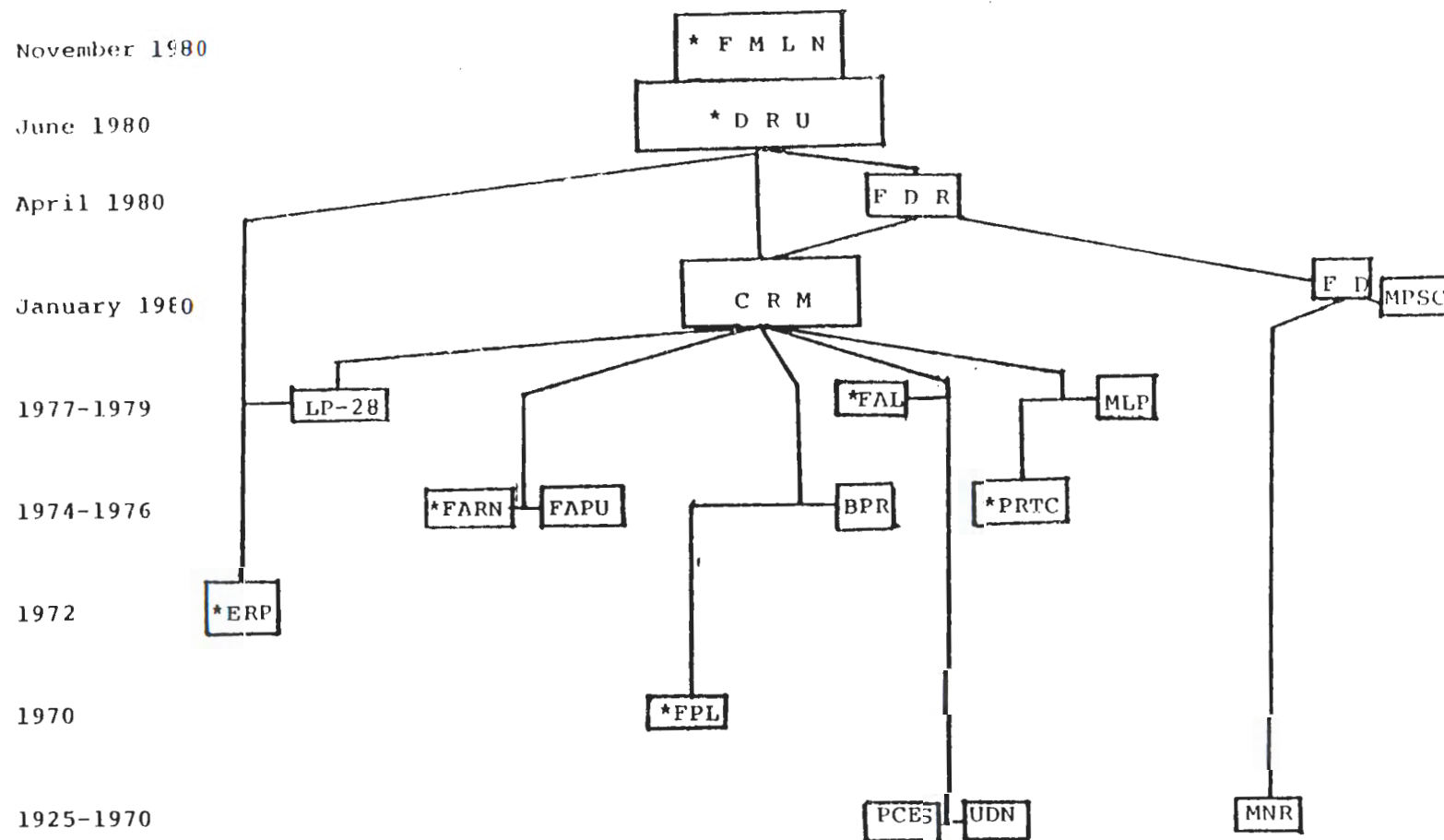
Soon after defeating Somoza, the Sandinistas began training guerrillas from El Salvador and other Central American countries. This was the beginning of a steadily expanding partnership between Cuba and the Sandinistas in exporting subversion in the region--a partnership that has included the establishment in Nicaragua of numerous guerrilla training camps, the transportation of tons of weapons and the establishment on Nicaraguan territory of guerrilla command and control facilities along with a variety of propaganda and covert activities.

In December 1979, to overcome differences over tactics Castro hosted the leaders of the leftist terrorist groups and the Salvadoran Communist Party in Havana. This meeting produced agreement to form a coordinating committee as was announced publicly in January 1980. It was also at this meeting that Castro reportedly outlined his strategy: El Salvador and Guatemala would be "next," with Honduras to be used as a corridor for the transit of guerrillas and arms.

Three small noncommunist groups in El Salvador formed the "Democratic Front" in April 1980. Shortly thereafter, the Marxist-Leninist leaders and the noncommunist leaders of the "Democratic Front" formed the "Revolutionary Democratic Front" (FDR), thereby establishing the "broad coalition" which has been used to give the impression that the guerrillas are democratic and not Marxist-led. In June 1980, a meeting in Cuba united the military and political components of the extreme left under a "United Revolutionary Directorate" (DRU). In November 1980, a military alliance of the five insurgent factions, the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN), was created. Chart #1 depicts the evolution of this organizational framework.

The DRU became the command structure for the Marxist-Leninist organizations and also the directing authority over the "Democratic Front," for which representatives of three small noncommunist groups often act as spokesmen. The result was an unequal coalition in which the Marxist-Leninist groups controlled the armed units, weapons, intelligence, and covert support from the Soviet bloc/Cuba, while the non-Marxist-Leninist element provided a useful facade for maintaining international respectability.

DEVELOPMENT OF LEFTIST GROUPS IN EL SALVADOR



* Armed guerrilla terrorist groups

CHART #1

Having achieved the unified command for the extreme left, a communist-led "broad coalition," and some noncommunist international support, Cuba moved to increase the military strength of the Salvadoran guerrillas with full but discreet support from the Soviets. In April 1980, Salvadoran guerrilla leaders met in the Hungarian Embassy in Mexico City with representatives of Cuba, the USSR, Bulgaria, East Germany, Poland and Vietnam. In June and July 1980, the Salvadoran communist leaders went to Moscow and then with Soviet endorsement visited East Germany, Bulgaria, Vietnam and Ethiopia--all of which promised them military and other support. The commitment of weapons was estimated at about 800 tons.

The Cuban/Soviet bloc military supply operation used Western weapons (some from Vietnam) for "cover" and covertly shipped some 200 tons of weapons through Cuba and Nicaragua to arm the Salvadoran guerrillas for their intense but unsuccessful "final offensive" in January 1981.

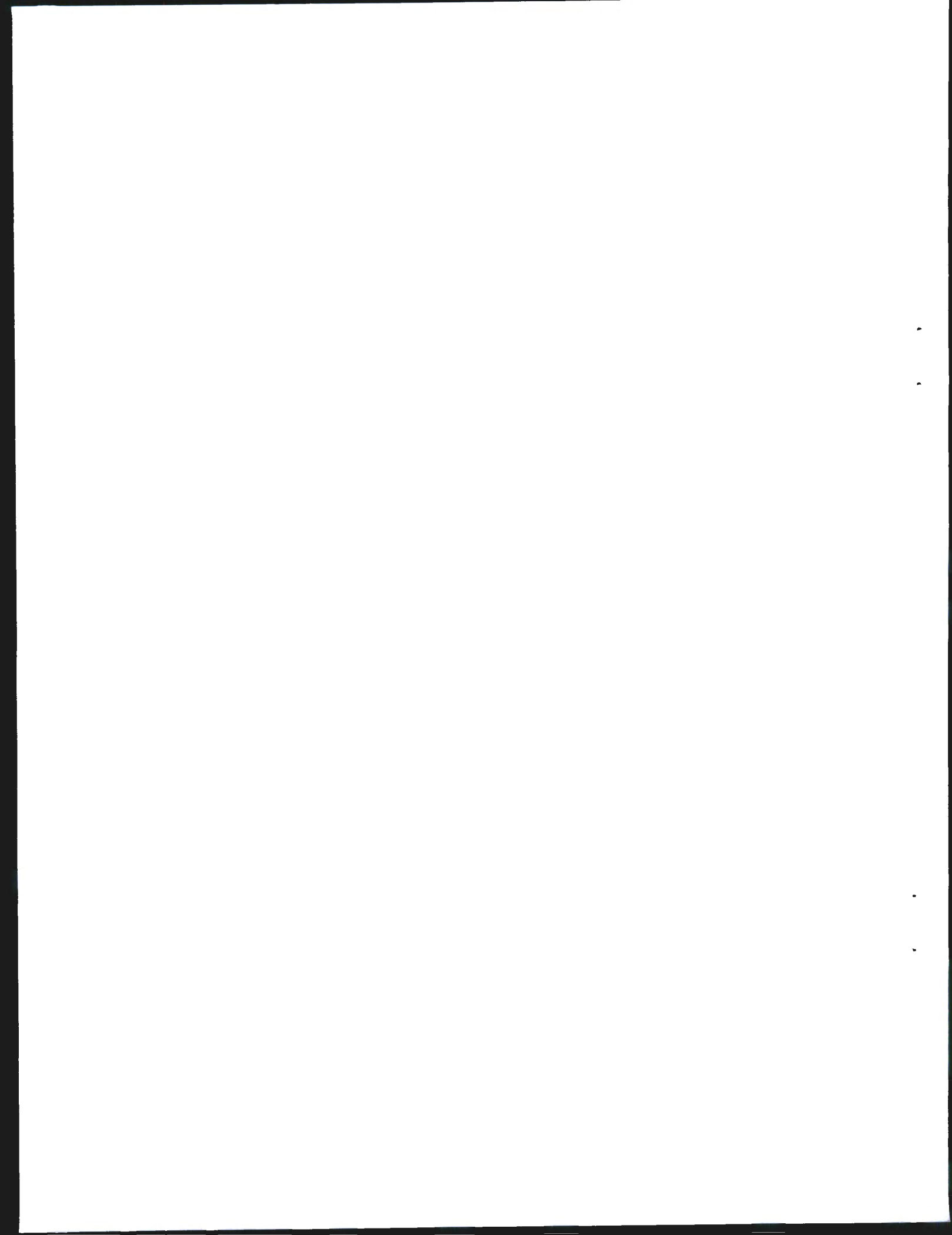
Although the offensive failed, it led President Carter to authorize U.S. military aid for arms, ammunition and equipment for the first time since 1977 to "support the Salvadoran government in its struggle against left-wing terrorism supported covertly with arms, ammunition, training and political and military advice by Cuba and other communist nations."

Throughout 1981, Cuba, Nicaragua and the Soviet bloc aided in rebuilding, rearming and improving the Salvadoran guerrilla forces, which expanded their operations in the fall. By 1982, the Salvadoran FMLN guerrillas had about 4,000 to 6,000 full-time fighters and an estimated 5,000 to 10,000 part-time activists who provided logistical and political support as well as combat services. The FMLN headquarters in Nicaragua evolved into an extremely sophisticated command-and-control center--more elaborate in fact, than that used by the Sandinistas against Somoza. Guerrilla planning and operations are guided from this headquarters, where Cuban and Nicaraguan officers are involved in command and control. The guidance flows to guerrilla units widely spread throughout El Salvador. The FMLN headquarters in Nicaragua also coordinates propaganda and logistical support for the insurgents, including food, medicines, clothing, money and--most importantly--weapons and ammunition.

Although some guerrilla actions take place as targets of opportunity appear, the headquarters in Nicaragua decides on most locations to be attacked and coordinates supply deliveries. The guerrillas themselves have centralized their control procedures. For example, on March 14, 1982, the FMLN clandestine Radio Venceremos, then located near the Salvadoran border, broadcast a message to guerrillas in El Salvador urging them "to maintain their fighting spirit 24 hours a day to carry out the missions ordered by the FMLN general command (emphasis supplied)." The murder and

Major Central American Arms Routes





alleged suicide of leaders of El Salvador's largest guerrilla group (the FPL) residing in Managua in April 1983 provided dramatic evidence of the guerrillas' base in Nicaragua.

After El Salvador scheduled free elections for a Constituent Assembly for March 28, 1982, the Salvadoran Government invited the Social Democrats (MNR) and the Communist-front UDN, both of which support the FMLN, to compete openly in those elections. This offer was rejected and the top priority of the guerrillas became the disruption or prevention of these elections. In December 1981, after meetings in Havana with Salvadoran guerrilla leaders, Fidel Castro directed that external supplies of arms to FMLN units be stepped up to launch an offensive to disrupt the elections.

During the first 3 months of 1982, arms shipments into El Salvador surged. Cuban-Nicaraguan arms flowed through Honduras into El Salvador by sea, air, and overland routes. In February, for example, Salvadoran guerrilla groups picked up a large shipment on the Salvadoran coast, near Usulután, after the shipment arrived by sea from Nicaragua.

In addition to vitally needed ammunition, these supply operations included greater quantities of more sophisticated heavy weapons. Deliveries in 1982 included M-60 machineguns, M-79 grenade-launchers and M-72 antitank weapons, significantly increasing the guerrillas' firepower. One guerrilla unit received several thousand sticks of TNT and detonators from Nicaragua (only five sticks are needed to blow up an electrical pylon). Individual units also regularly received tens of thousands of dollars for routine purchases of supplies on commercial markets and for payments (including bribes) to enable the clandestine pipeline to function. On March 15, 1982, the Costa Rican Judicial Police announced the discovery in San Jose of a sizable cache of arms, explosives, uniforms, passports documents, false immigration stamps from more than 30 countries, and vehicles with hidden compartments--all connected with arms smuggling through Costa Rican territory, and Nicaragua or via third countries, to the Salvadoran guerrillas. Map #2 displays the known major infiltration routes for arms being illicitly infiltrated into El Salvador.

With this support, thousands of Salvadoran guerrillas attempted to prevent the March 1982 election by destroying public buses, blocking highways and attacking villages, towns, and voting places. Nonetheless, with several hundred election observers from democratic countries and about 700 foreign journalists as witnesses, the people of El Salvador repudiated the extreme left by voting in overwhelming numbers. More than 80% of the eligible voters participated.

Following their obvious repudiation in the elections, the FMLN leaders reacted as they had after their failed 1981 "final offensive." They consulted the Nicaraguan and Cuban officials to



plan strategy and to obtain more and better military and communications equipment for their forces. For the next 6 months, they continued terrorist harassment and economic sabotage. In mid-October 1982, they used their expanded capabilities to begin a new series of military attacks. By early 1983 the guerrillas had controlled about a dozen towns for more than 2 months, and their morale clearly had recovered--in part due to the continued Cuban, Nicaraguan and Soviet bloc support, which enabled them to sustain operations despite their rejection by the Salvadoran people. During 1982, guerrilla operations resulted in about 2,500 government forces wounded and 1,300 killed. These intensified attacks have continued through the first 5 months of 1983.

Although Castro has often denied responsibility for shipping weapons to the Salvadoran guerrillas, German Social Democrat leader Hans-Jurgen Wischnewski stated publicly in 1981 that Castro had admitted the Cuban role. Cuban Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez confirmed Cuban training of Salvadoran guerrillas in interviews given in the fall of 1981. In an article published in the Toronto Globe and Mail on February 12, 1982, a reporter interviewed a Salvadoran guerrilla trainee who described courses for Salvadoran guerrillas in demolition and intelligence operations, taught by Cubans, and attended by the Salvadorans at that time.

A guerrilla leader told a San Diego Union reporter (March 1, 1981) in El Salvador that "the Salvadoran guerrillas have a permanent commission in Nicaragua overseeing the smuggling of weapons from that country to here." He also said there have been Cuban advisers in the Province of Morazan, and that even Vietnamese advisers had made trips to guerrilla camps in El Salvador.

The use of Papalonal airfield is an example of the smuggling of weapons from Nicaragua to guerrillas in El Salvador. Papalonal is a commercially underdeveloped area 23 miles north of Managua. The airfield is accessible only by dirt roads. In late July 1980, the airfield was an agricultural dirt airstrip approximately 800 meters long, but by early 1981 the strip had been lengthened by 50 percent to approximately 1,200 meters. Hangars were constructed to stockpile arms for the Salvadoran guerrillas. C-47 flights from the airbase were confirmed by photographic evidence and unidentified aircraft were frequently sighted in El Salvador. Several pilots who regularly flew the route into El Salvador have been identified in Nicaragua. This particular route has been closed down, but air infiltration over new routes continues to this day.

In addition to the air infiltration routes, the Salvadoran guerrillas make extensive use of sea and overland infiltration routes through Honduras and Guatemala from Nicaragua. Photo #5 taken in May 1983, in San Salvador, demonstrates that the guerrillas use sophisticated vehicular concealment devices to confound detection by local authorities.

Details of Cuban/Nicaraguan support have been provided by two high-level FMLN leaders captured in mid-1982. One of them, known as "Alejandro Montenegro," was seized on August 22, 1982, in conjunction with a raid on an FMLN safehouse in Honduras. Montenegro's importance is underscored by the fact that the September 1982 taking of 108 civilian hostages in San Pedro Sula, Honduras, was essentially an attempt by a leftist Honduran terrorist group (with close ties to the Salvadoran insurgents) to secure his release. The hostage seizure failed because Montenegro had already been transferred to Salvadoran military authorities. Montenegro provided some significant information:

- He said that the Cubans played a major role in training those who conducted the successful January 27, 1982, raid on the Salvadoran air base at Ilopango, which damaged or destroyed a dozen aircraft.
- Montenegro himself directed the attack, leading an eight-man team that had received 5 months of special infiltration and sabotage training in Cuba.
- He said that he personally had attended two high-level meetings with Cuban officials in 1981--one in Havana and the other in Managua--to review the situation in El Salvador and obtain strategic advice.
- One of the guerrillas captured with Montenegro made five trips to Managua in 1982 to pick up arms for the insurgents, using a truck modified by the Sandinistas to carry concealed weapons.
- The Sandinistas have three repair shops for such vehicle modifications under the direction of a special section at the Nicaraguan Ministry of Defense. Vehicles similarly modified are shown in Photo #5.

Montenegro also confirmed that Nicaragua remains the primary source of insurgent weapons and ammunition, although he added that the guerrillas do capture some weapons and ammunition from the Salvadoran military.

The other captured Salvadoran guerrilla leader, Lopez Arriola, admitted attending a platoon leaders' course in Cuba in July 1979. He said that:

- Hundreds of Salvadoran guerrillas have received military training in Cuba;
- Cubans give special courses for combatants, commanders, staff officers, and intelligence officials;
- He had attended an insurgent strategy meeting in Havana in June 1981, at which Castro himself appeared.

Lopez Arriola also revealed that the Sandinistas control weapons delivered from Vietnam to Nicaragua for the Salvador insurgents and that the guerrillas must ask for permission to draw on the supplies. He added that the Sandinistas give the insurgents an extensive base of operations in and around Managua and provide a school for their children.

IV. Guatemala

In Guatemala, although there was increased guerrilla activity in the months proceeding the elections, this violence failed to disrupt the national elections of March 7, 1982. A widespread, but unconfirmed, perception of extensive electoral fraud by the government together with pervasive and excessive government corruption and international isolation led to a junior officer coup on March 23, 1982. The new President, General Efraim Rios Montt, who had been on inactive duty for four years, acted quickly.

He disbanded various semi-official groups that had taken part in violence against opposition leaders and offered amnesty for guerrillas who surrendered before the end of June 1982. (The Guatemalan Government has since renewed this offer and it is currently in force). From that point on, the Guatemalan Government implemented an intensive counter-insurgency program. This included the establishment and arming of village self-defense forces in the Indian highlands, and the start of programs to provide medical, food and economic assistance.

In April and July 1981, Guatemalan security forces captured large caches of guerrilla weapons at safehouses in Guatemalan City. Traces made on the serial numbers of U.S.-manufactured weapons revealed that 17 of the M-16/AR-15 rifles found had been shipped to American units in Vietnam in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Several vehicles captured at the safehouses bore recent customs markings from Nicaragua.

During 1982, both Cuba and the Soviet Union increased their efforts to bring about a firmly unified guerrilla command in Guatemala. On February 9, 1982, a Guatemalan guerrilla leader called a press conference in Havana to proclaim the unity of the four principal Guatemalan guerrilla groups. The Cubans and the Soviet bloc have continued to provide military training and support to various factions of the Guatemalan insurgency.

V. Honduras

The new democratic government of Honduras--inaugurated in January 1982--increased its cooperation with the United States and neighbors in the region to neutralize the threat posed by the large military buildup in Nicaragua as well as by the guerrillas in the region. Having failed in 1981 to persuade Honduras to be neutral by promising that Cuba and Nicaragua would "spare Honduras" from

the terrorism affecting El Salvador and Guatemala, Cuba now seeks to intimidate Honduras and its leaders into passivity through acts of terrorism. By doing so, the Cubans hope to eliminate a major obstacle to arms shipments to El Salvador and thus to increase the chance that the Salvadoran guerrillas can succeed.

Cuba and Nicaragua have worked actively to keep the Honduran Government from cooperating with El Salvador's efforts to prevent the transit of guerrilla supplies. Increased Cuban/Nicaraguan training and support have been provided to the Honduran extreme left, and Havana has stepped up efforts to promote unity among the Honduran leftist groups as part of a campaign to destabilize the Honduran Government. Examples of extreme leftist actions in Honduras during 1981 included the following:

- In early January 1981, Honduran police caught six persons unloading weapons from a truck enroute from Nicaragua. The six identified themselves as members of the International Support Commission of the Salvadoran Popular Liberation Forces, a part of the FMLN. They had in their possession a large number of altered and forged Honduran, Costa Rican, and Salvadoran passports and other identity documents. One truck contained more than 100 M-16/AR-15 automatic rifles, 50 81mm mortar rounds, about 100,000 rounds of 5.56mm ammunition, machinegun belts, field packs, and first aid kits. More than 50 of the M-16 rifles were traced to U.S. units assigned to Vietnam in 1968-69.
- In April 1981, Honduran authorities intercepted a tractor-trailer that had entered Honduras from Nicaragua at the Guasule crossing. Ammunition and propaganda materials were hidden inside the walls of the trailer. The same arms traffickers operated a storehouse in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, with a false floor and special basement for storing weapons.

The link between Cuba/Nicaragua and the regional infrastructure behind the expanded guerrilla activity is evident from information obtained following a raid late in 1981 by the Honduran police on a safehouse for the Morazanist Front for the Liberation of Honduras. This organization was described in the pro-government Nicaraguan newspaper *El Nuevo Diario*, by "Octavio," one of its founders, as a political-military organization formed as part of the "increasing regionalization of the Central American conflict." The raid occurred on November 27, 1981, in Tegucigalpa. Following a gunfight the Honduran police captured several members of this group. This cell included a Honduran, a Uruguayan, and several Nicaraguans. The captured terrorists told Honduran authorities that the Nicaraguan Government had provided them with funds for travel expenses, as well as explosives.

Captured documents and statements by detained guerrillas further indicated that the group was formed in Nicaragua at the instigation of high-level Sandinista leaders. The group's chief of operations resided in Managua. Members of the group received military training in Nicaragua and Cuba. The documents included classroom notebooks from a 1-year training course held in Cuba in 1980. Other captured documents revealed that guerrillas at one safehouse were responsible for transporting arms and ammunition into Honduras from Esteli, Nicaragua.

Our information shows that Nicaraguan agents and Salvadoran extreme left groups have played a leading role in the Honduran operation:

- The Salvadoran guerrillas have links with almost all Honduran terrorist groups and assist them in subversive planning, training, and operations.
- The December 1982, kidnapping of Honduran President Suazo's daughter in Guatemala was the work of a Guatemalan Marxist-Leninist guerrilla faction.
- Discussions reportedly were held in mid-1982 among the Cubans, Sandinistas and Salvadoran insurgents about terrorist activities against the Honduran Government.
- Captured Salvadoran and Honduran terrorists have admitted that explosives used in bombing attacks in the Honduran capital were obtained in Nicaragua.

IV. Costa Rica

Costa Rica has a long democratic tradition and the highest standard of living and social services in Central America. In 1978 and 1979, some Costa Rican government officials cooperated in the supply of military equipment to the Sandinistas. In May 1982, Luis Alberto Monge, a social democrat strongly opposed by both the extreme right and left, was inaugurated as President.

Because his government has attempted to stop the continued use of its territory for the supply of weapons to the region's Marxist-Leninist guerrillas, Cuba and Nicaragua also have made Costa Rica a target for subversion. During 1982, for example:

- Cuba funded a new leftist political party designed to unify various leftist elements and attract broader popular support;
- The Cubans and Sandinistas provided weapons and training for Costa Rican leftist terrorists;
- Since the beginning of 1982, several guerrilla arms caches and safehouses have been discovered in Costa Rica.

- In March 1982, the Costa Rican Judicial Police discovered a large arms cache in a house in San Jose. Among the nine people arrested there were Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, an Argentine, a Chilean, and a Costa Rican. Costa Rican police so far have seized 13 vehicles designed for arms smuggling and more than 170 weapons, including machineguns, TNT, fragmentation grenades, a grenade-launcher, ammunition and 500 combat uniforms.
- Nicaragua has instigated terrorist actions in Costa Rica, leading to increased tensions between the two countries. Although the Sandinistas denied complicity, the July 3, 1982, bombing of the Honduran airlines office in San Jose took place at Nicaragua's direction, according to a Colombian M-19 member arrested by Costa Rican authorities on July 14, 1982.
- The captured terrorist also stated that the July 3, bombing was part of a broader Nicaraguan plan that included sabotage, kidnappings, bank robberies, and other terrorist acts designed to discredit Costa Rica internationally.
- In November 1982, Salvadoran guerrillas attempted to kidnap a Japanese businessman in San Jose. The attempt was stopped by the Costa Rican authorities. More than 20 other Salvadoran extreme leftist cells continue to work inside Costa Rica to destabilize the government.

VII. Soviet and Cuban Propaganda Activities

Beginning in early 1980, the Soviet bloc and Cuba complemented their subversive activities in Central America by launching a worldwide propaganda and disinformation campaign. Initially the campaign focused on U.S. policy toward El Salvador, in an effort to block U.S. aid, although it also dealt with U.S. involvement in Guatemala and Honduras. The campaign was intended to expose an allegedly U.S.-sponsored plot, "discovered" by Cuban intelligence, to invade El Salvador using the armies of Honduras and Guatemala with assistance from Brazil, Argentina, and Colombia. This "plot" was characterized as a last ditch effort by the U.S. President to transform the situation in El Salvador in favor of government forces prior to the U.S. elections in November 1980.

Captured documents indicate that the FMLN has coordinated the FDR's international activities (in the United States, Canada, and Europe) from Mexico City. The Soviets in Mexico City are also in contact with the Salvadoran guerrillas. Logistics and international relations policy, however, are handled in Havana. The Cuban press agency, Prensa Latina, provides international communications for the FDR and its representatives abroad.

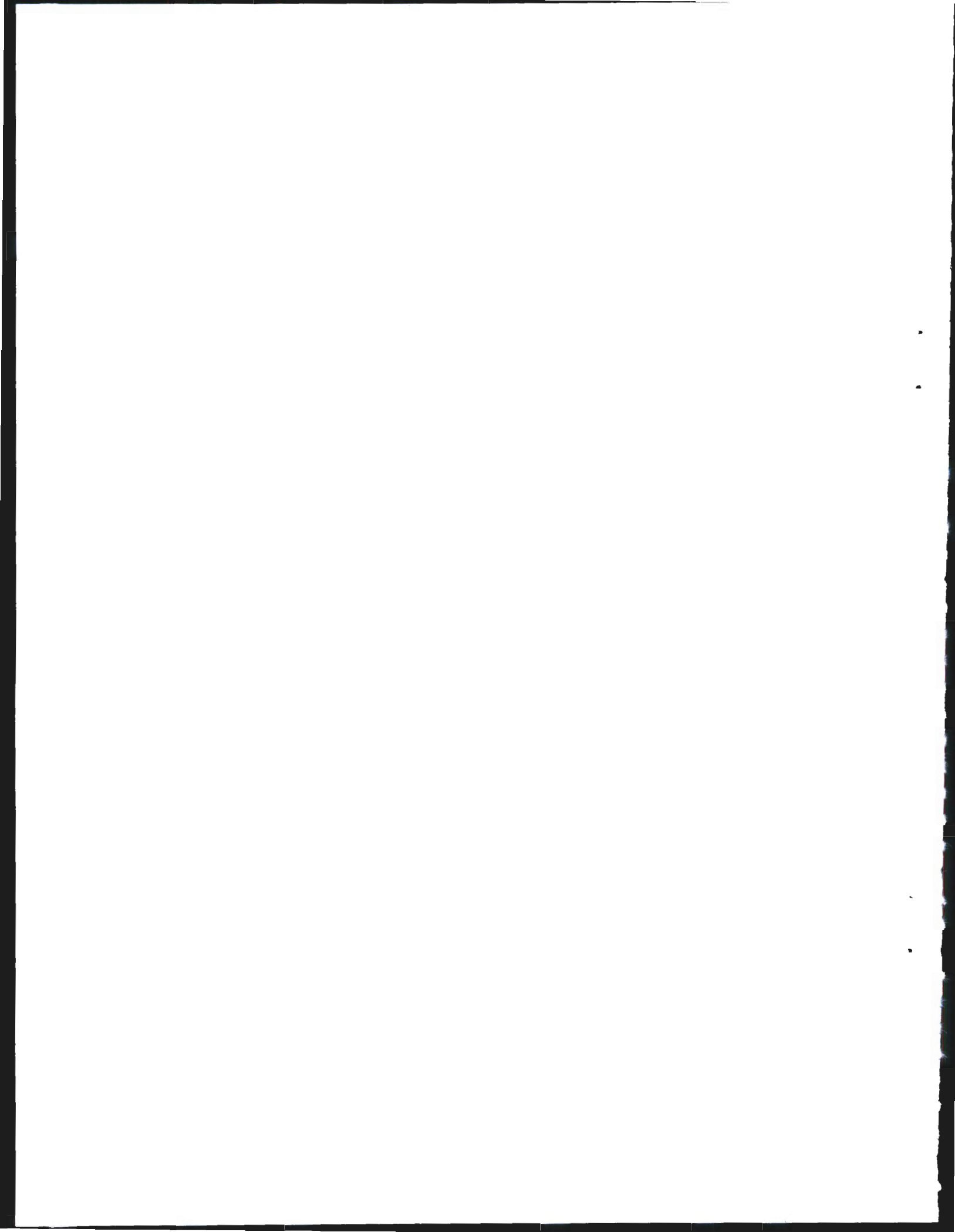
The Soviets and Cubans met in June 1980 with several Salvadoran insurgent leaders in Havana to establish a strategy for an international political campaign on El Salvador. Evidence from captured guerrilla documents indicates that the strategy includes:

- Propaganda: Spokesmen should emphasize that the Salvadoran "revolution" represents the people and is fighting against oppression and for freedom from outside intervention. The United States seeks direct military intervention in El Salvador to keep the "junta" in power.
- International Support: Representatives should gain recognition and support for the insurgents from a broad range of international organizations and political and regional groups.
- U.S. Initiatives: Representatives should strengthen ties with sympathetic American organizations and seek support from American politicians.
- Public Posture: From the outset, representatives should call for a dialogue to seek resolution of the conflict. "The policy of a dialogue is a tactical maneuver to broaden our alliances, while at the same time splitting up and isolating the enemy." Representatives should take up the banner of peace, and maintain that they seek only lasting peace and justice.
- Humanitarian Organizations: The Salvadoran insurgents should establish a front organization to funnel aid and money from humanitarian organizations.

A comparison of the strategy laid out in guerrilla documents with actual events, shows that the Soviets, the Cubans and the Salvadoran guerrilla leadership in Nicaragua have followed it closely. During the past three years, they have engaged in various overt and covert activities designed to influence public opinion in Western Europe, Latin America, Canada and the United States.

Soviet propaganda has been aimed at discrediting U.S. policy in El Salvador, and widespread use has been made of disinformation to substantiate the message. Moscow also has employed its international fronts, such as the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions, in support of the propaganda campaign.

Communist parties in Europe, Latin America, Canada and Australia have participated in the propaganda campaign and helped organize demonstrations. Their publications have continuously printed articles on El Salvador and contributed to disinformation circulating about the situation in that country. For instance, the Communist Party of Spain, in its magazine Mundo Obrero Semanal, amid pictures of blood-covered bodies, accused the United States of



encircling El Salvador with the aid of Honduras and Guatemala, of sending tanks and helicopters "piloted by Yankees," of invading El Salvador, and of murdering Salvadoran Archbishop Romero.

Meanwhile, the FDR-FMLN, with Soviet and Cuban support, has directed the establishment of "Solidarity Committees" throughout Europe and Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These serve as propaganda outlets and conduits for contributions to the guerrillas. These committees also have helped plan, in conjunction with Communist parties and local leftist groups, many of the demonstrations that have taken place in support of the Salvadoran guerrillas. The timing and location of the demonstrations, such as those held worldwide after the failure of the January 1981 FMLN "final offensive" and those to protest the March 1982 Salvadoran elections, show that they resulted from a well-coordinated effort.

VIII. Extent of Outside Support

Since the Sandinista victory in July 1979, both Cuba and Nicaragua have steadily increased the size and quality of their "Revolutionary" military forces. The Soviets have played a major role in this militarization of the region.

Soviet military deliveries to Cuba increased dramatically in 1979 to an average of more than 65,000 tons by 1981. They apparently remain at this level today.

The Soviet bloc, with Cuban support, has been assisting Nicaragua's large military buildup which includes weapons, military equipment, airfields, military bases and extensive military training.

- In February 1982, a Soviet ship delivered about 270 military trucks to the port of Corinto, bringing the total Soviet bloc truck inventory in Nicaragua to more than 800.
- In April 1982, a communist bloc ship delivered four Soviet heavy tank ferries, one small patrol boat, and 12 BM-21 mobile multiple-rocket-launchers.
- The tank ferries provide the Sandinista army with an offensive water-crossing capability, while the mobile rocket-launchers gave them a mass firepower weapon unmatched in the region.
- In mid-1982, the Sandinistas completed a new garrison for their Soviet T-54/55 tank battalion just outside of Managua. They also completed two new infantry battalion garrisons near Managua and have begun work on another major military installation south of the capital.

- As is evident from photos #6-8, all of these military installations have a common layout similar to Cuban garrisons designed and constructed with Cuban assistance.
- It is noteworthy that Cuban Defense Minister Raul Castro visited Nicaragua in mid-1982 with a high-level military delegation, ostensibly to offer aid for flood damage. It was announced later that 2,000 Cuban construction workers were being sent to Nicaragua. Since then, we have detected a spurt in military construction activity.
- In November 1982, a Soviet bloc ship delivered an additional group of 25 T-54/55 tanks, bringing the total to about 50. The delivery followed a visit by Sandinista Directorate member, Daniel Ortega, to Moscow earlier in the year. To enhance the mobility of Sandinista ground forces, the Soviets have delivered MI-8 helicopters. AN-2 aircraft and armored personnel carriers also have been provided.
- During early December 1982, eight new 122mm howitzers were delivered, supplementing the twelve 152mm guns delivered in 1981.
- Finally, in late December 1982, the first delivery was made of sophisticated Soviet electronic gear--a high frequency/direction-finder intercept facility of a type seen previously in Cuba. This type of equipment is able to intercept signals from throughout Central America and would be especially useful in pinpointing Honduran military communication sites.
- The Cubans also have constructed a strategic road between Puerto Cabezas and the interior. This road facilitates the movement of troops and military supplies to the troubled northeast border area.

In Nicaragua, in addition to the 1,500 to 2,000 Cuban military and security advisors there are about 50 Soviet military and 100 economic advisors. About 25 of the Soviet personnel are assisting the security services, and the others are attached to the Nicaraguan general staff and the headquarters of various military services. By mid-1982, they had concluded military agreements with Nicaragua estimated to be worth at least \$125 million.

There are also about 35 military and 200 economic advisors from East European countries in Nicaragua. Most are East Germans, but some Bulgarians, Czechoslovakians, Poles and Hungarians are also present. The East Germans are most active in the Nicaraguan internal security organizations.

CUBAN-STYLE SPECIAL TROOPS TRAINING FACILITY LAKE MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

19 FEBRUARY 1982

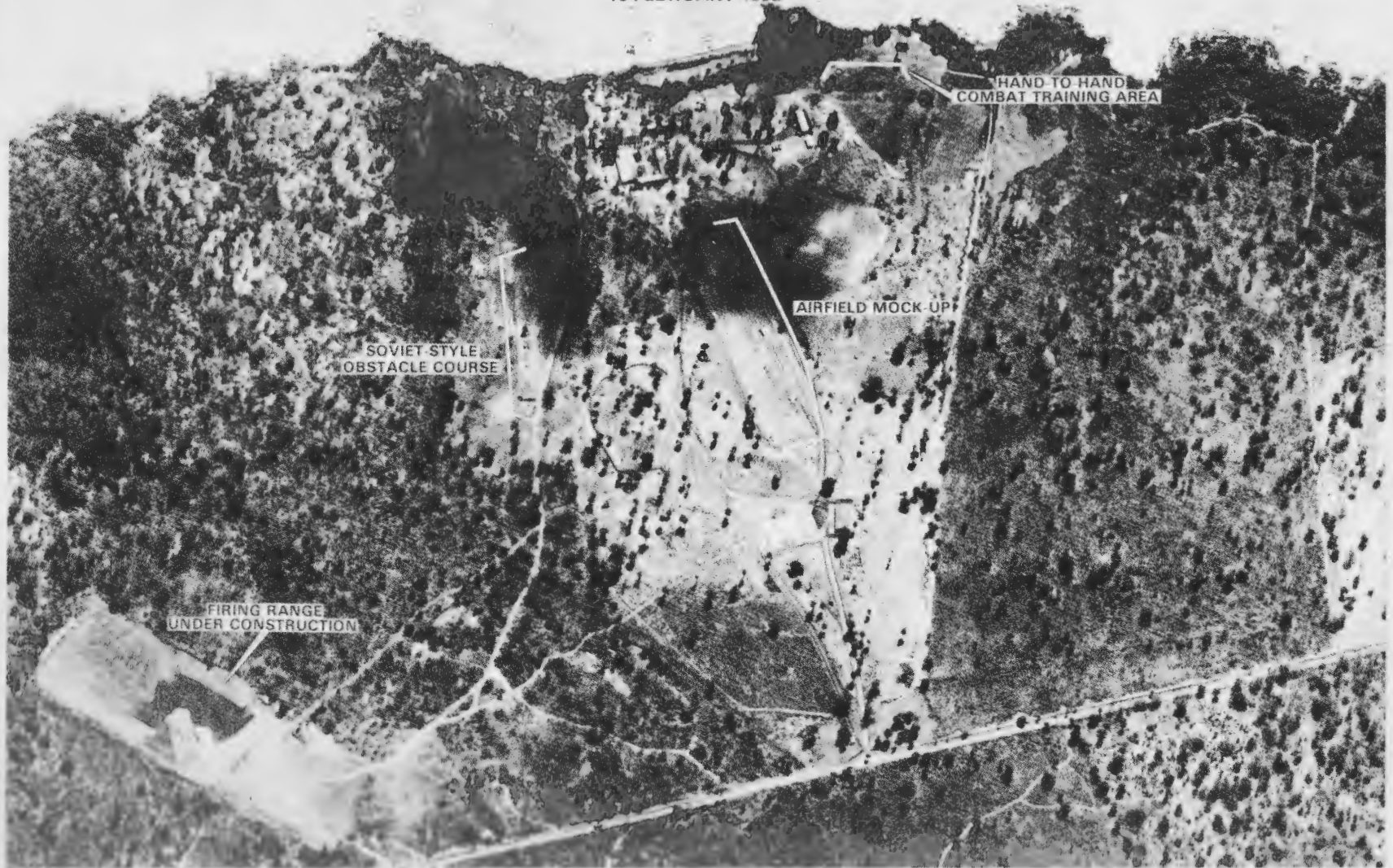


PHOTO # 6

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5

4
5

TEMPORARY ARMOR STORAGE AREA MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

11 NOVEMBER 1981

SOVIET ARMORED
PERSONNEL CARRIER

SOVIET
T-54/55 TANK

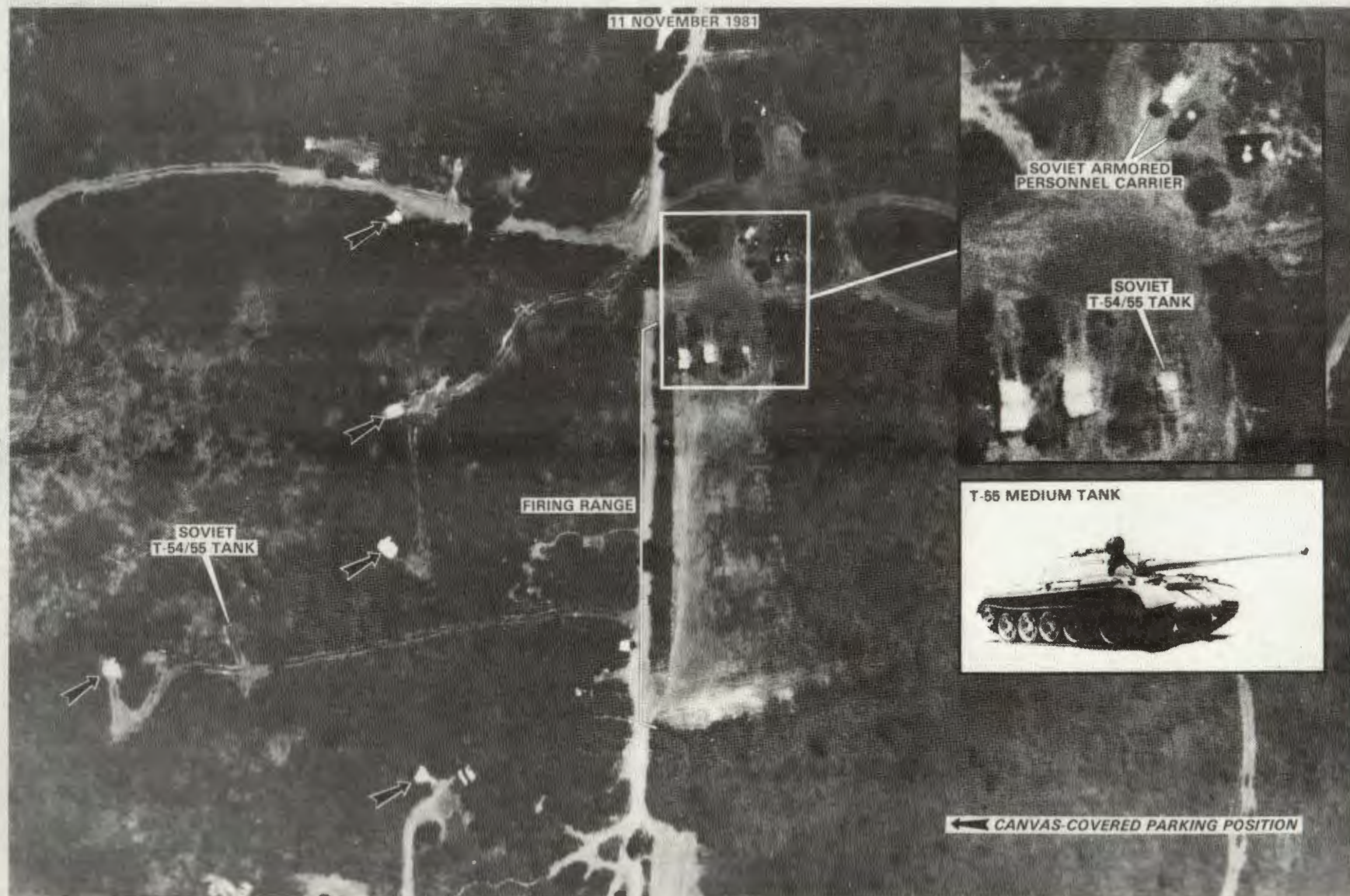
FIRING RANGE

SOVIET
T-54/55 TANK

T-55 MEDIUM TANK

CANVAS-COVERED PARKING POSITION

PHOTO #7



SOVIET/EAST GERMAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT DIRIAMBA, NICARAGUA



PHOTO #8

As many as 50 Libyan and PLO advisors have been active in Nicaragua. The Libyan advisors have been engaged mostly in servicing the Polish-built MI-2 light helicopters they provided the Nicaraguans. Last May, the Libyans also provided the Sandinistas with four small Italian aircraft useful in counter-insurgency operations.

In April 1983, Brazil detained four Libyan aircraft transporting large quantities of weapons to Nicaragua, including two jet aircraft. This event, and a high-level delegation to Managua in May, underscores Libyan leader Qadhafi's commitment to the Central American struggle (see photos #9 and 10). (Salvadoran guerrilla leader Cayetano Carpio returned to Nicaragua from Libya immediately before his April 12 purported suicide in Managua.)

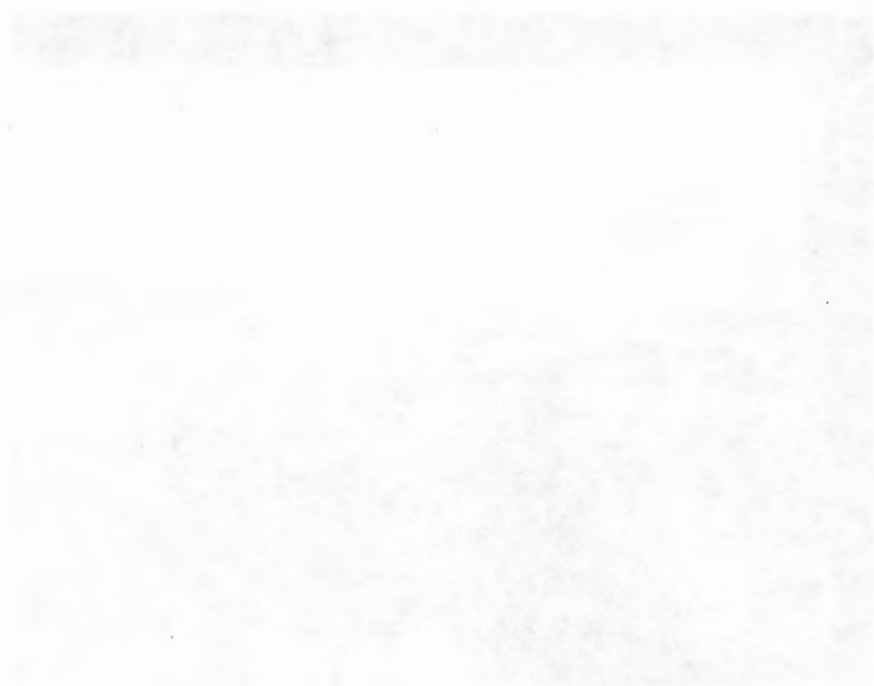
PLO leader Yasir Arafat agreed to provide military equipment to Nicaragua, including arms and aircraft, when he was in Managua on July 22, 1980. The PLO has trained selected Salvadorans in the Near East and in Nicaragua. Arafat affirmed to a group of Palestinian journalists in Beirut on January 11, 1982, that "there are Palestinian revolutionaries with the revolutionaries in El Salvador..." About 30 PLO personnel are providing pilot training and aircraft maintenance in Nicaragua.

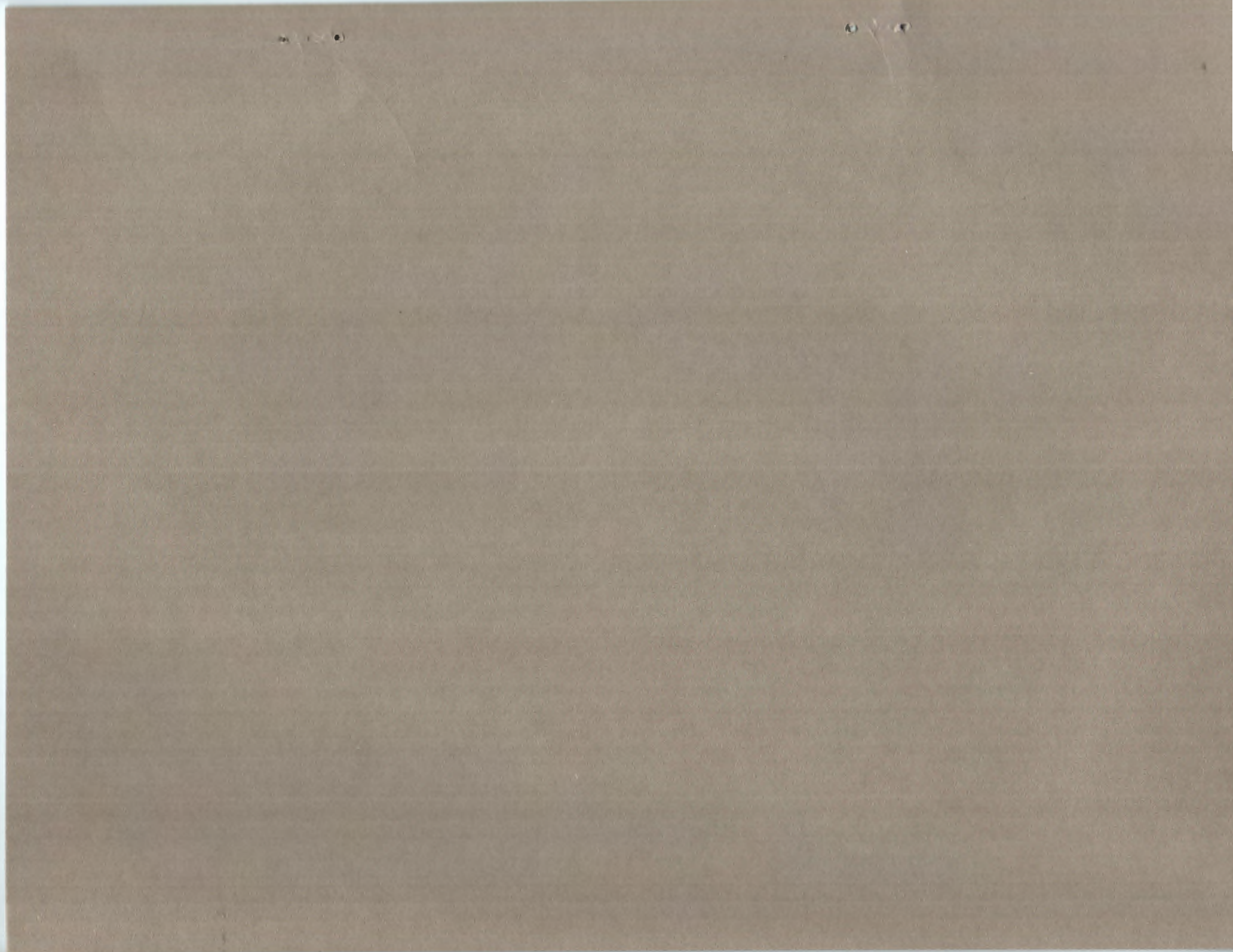
This level of outside support adds up to far more than merely marginal assistance for essentially indigenous guerrilla activity. It is large-scale intervention in the political affairs of the nations directly concerned, for the clear purpose of bringing to power governments on the Cuban model.

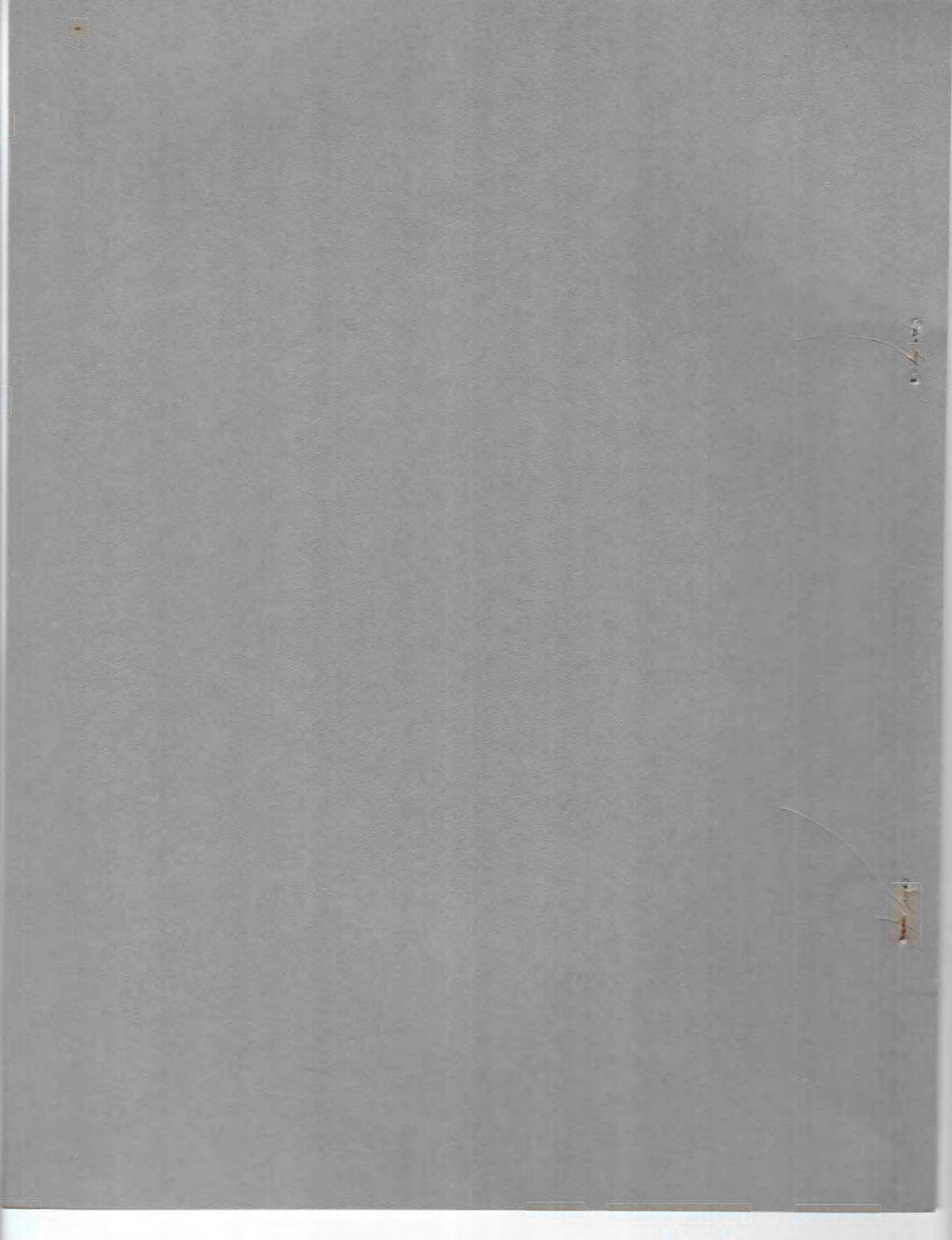
LIBYAN ARMS AIRCRAFT IN BRAZIL



PHOTOS #9 and 10







THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Orlando, Florida)

For Immediate Release

March 8, 1983

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE 41ST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS

Citrus Crown Ballroom
Sheraton Twin Towers Hotel
Orlando, Florida

3:04 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Thank you very much. And reverend clery all, Senator Hawkins, distinguished members of the Florida Congressional delegation and all of you, I can't tell you how you have warmed my heart with your welcome. I'm delighted to be here today.

Those of you in the National Association of Evangelicals are known for your spiritual and humanitarian work. And I would be especially remiss if I didn't discharge right now one personal debt of gratitude. Thank you for your prayers. Nancy and I have felt their presence many times in many ways. And believe me, for us they've made all the difference. The other day in the East Room of the White House at a meeting there, someone asked me whether I was aware of all the people out there who were praying for the President and I had to say, "Yes, I am. I've felt it. I believe in intercessory prayer." But I couldn't help but say to that questioner after he'd asked the question that -- or at least say to them that if sometimes when he was praying he got a busy signal it was just me in there ahead of him. (Laughter).

I think I understand how Abraham Lincoln felt when he said, "I have been driven many times to my knees by the overwhelming conviction that I had nowhere else to go."

From the joy and the good feeling of this conference, I go to a political reception. (Laughter). Now, I don't know why but that bit of scheduling reminds me of a story -- (laughter) -- which I'll share with you. An evangelical minister and a politician arrived at Heaven's gate one day together. And St. Peter, after doing all the necessary formalities, took them in hand to show them where their quarters would be. And he took them to a small single room with a bed, a chair and a table and said this was for the clergyman. And the politician was a little worried about what might be in store for him. And he couldn't believe it then when St. Peter stopped in front of a beautiful mansion with lovely grounds, many servants and told him that these would be his quarters. And he couldn't help but ask, he said, "But wait, how -- there's something wrong -- how do I get this mansion while that good and holy man only gets a single room?"

And St. Peter said, "You have to understand how things are up here. We've got thousands and thousands of clery. You're the first politician who ever made it." (Laughter). (Applause).

But I don't want to contribute to a stereotype.
(Laughter).

MORE

So I tell you there are a great many God-fearing, dedicated, noble men and women in public life, present company included. And, yes, we need your help to keep us ever mindful of the ideas and the principles that brought us into the public arena in the first place. The basis of those ideas and principles is a commitment to freedom and personal liberty that, itself, is grounded in the much deeper realization that freedom prospers only where the blessings of God are avidly sought and humbly accepted.

The American experiment in democracy rests on this insight. Its discovery was the great triumph of our Founding Fathers, voiced by William Penn when he said: "If we will not be governed by God, we must be governed by tyrants." Explaining the inalienable rights of men, Jefferson said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time." And it was George Washington who said that "of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports."

And finally, that shrewdest of all observers of American democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville, put it eloquently after he had gone on a search for the secret of America's greatness and genius -- and he said:

"Not until I went into the Churches of America and heard her pulpits aflame with righteousness did I understand the greatness and the genius of America. America is good. And if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great." (Applause.)

Well, I am pleased to be here today with you who are keeping America great by keeping her good. Only through your work and prayers and those of millions of others can we hope to survive this perilous century and keep alive this experiment in liberty, this last, best hope of man.

I want you to know that this administration is motivated by a political philosophy that sees the greatness of America in you, her people, and in your families, churches, neighborhoods, communities -- the institutions that foster and nourish values like concern for others and respect for the rule of law under God.

Now, I don't have to tell you that this puts us in opposition to, or at least out of step with, a prevailing attitude of many who have turned to a modern-day secularism, discarding the tried and time-tested values upon which our value civilization is based. No matter how well intentioned, their value system is radically different from that of most Americans. And while they proclaim that they are freeing us from superstitions of the past, they have taken upon themselves the job of superintending us by government rule and regulation. Sometimes their voices are louder than ours, but they are not yet a majority. (Applause.)

MORE

An example of that vocal superiority is evident in a controversy now going on in Washington. And since I'm involved, I've been waiting to hear from the parents of young America. How far are they willing to go in giving to Government their prerogatives as parents?

Let me state the case as briefly and simply as I can. An organization of citizens sincerely motivated and deeply concerned about the increase in illegitimate births and abortions involving girls well below the age of consent sometime ago established a nationwide network of clinics to offer help to these girls and hopefully alleviate this situation.

Now, again, let me say, I do not fault their intent. However, in their well-intentioned effort, these clinics have decided to provide advice and birth control drugs and devices to underage girls without the knowledge of their parents.

For some years now, the federal government has helped with funds to subsidize these clinics. In providing for this, the Congress decreed that every effort would be made to maximize parental participation. Nevertheless, the drugs and devices are prescribed without getting parental consent or giving notification after they've done so. Girls termed "sexually active" -- and that has replaced the word "promiscuous" -- are given this help in order to prevent illegitimate birth or abortion.

We have ordered clinics receiving federal funds to notify the parents such help has been given. (Applause.) One of the nation's leading newspapers has created the term "squeal rule" in editorializing against us for doing this and we're being criticized for violating the privacy of young people. A judge has recently granted an injunction against an enforcement of our rule.

I've watched TV panel shows discuss this issue, seen columnists pontificating on our error, but no one seems to mention morality as playing a part in the subject of sex. (Applause.)

Is all of Judeo-Christian tradition wrong? Are we to believe that something so sacred can be looked upon as a purely physical thing with no potential for emotional and psychological harm? And isn't it the parents' right to give counsel and advice to keep their children from making mistakes that may affect their entire lives? (Applause.)

MORE

Many of us in government would like to know what parents think about this intrusion in their family by government. We're going to fight in the courts. The right of parents and the rights of family take precedence over those of Washington-based bureaucrats and social engineers. (Applause).

But the fight against parental notification is really only one example of many attempts to water down traditional values and even abrogate the original terms of American democracy. Freedom prospers when religion is vibrant and the rule of law under God is acknowledged. (Applause). When our Founding Fathers passed the first amendment they sought to protect churches from government interference. They never intended to construct a wall of hostility between government and the concept of religious belief itself. (Applause).

The evidence of this permeates our history and our government. The Declaration of Independence mentions the Supreme Being no less than four times. "In God We Trust" is engraved on our coinage. The Supreme Court opens its proceedings with a religious invocation. And the Members of Congress open their sessions with a prayer. I just happen to believe the schoolchildren of the United States are entitled to the same privileges as Supreme Court Judges and Congressmen. (Applause). Last year, I sent the Congress a constitutional amendment to restore prayer to public schools. Already this session, there's growing bipartisan support for the amendment and I am calling on the Congress to act speedily to pass it and to let our children pray. (Applause).

Perhaps some of you read recently about the Lubbock school case where a judge actually ruled that it was unconstitutional for a school district to give equal treatment to religious and nonreligious students groups, even when the group meetings were being held during the students' own time. The first amendment never intended to require government to discriminate against religious speech. (Applause).

Senators Denton and Hatfield have proposed legislation in the Congress on the whole question of prohibiting discrimination against religious forms of student speech. Such legislation could go far to restore freedom of religious speech for public school students. And I hope the Congress considers these bills quickly. And with your help, I think it's possible we could also get the constitutional amendment through the Congress this year. (Applause).

More than a decade ago, a Supreme Court decision literally wiped off the books of 50 states statutes protecting the rights of unborn children. Abortion on demand now takes the lives of up to 1½ million unborn children a year. Human life legislation ending this tragedy will some day pass the Congress and you and I must never rest until it does. (Applause). Unless and until it can be proven that the unborn child is not a living entity, then its

MORE

right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness must be protected. (Applause.)

You may remember that when abortion on demand began many, and, indeed, I'm sure many of you warned that the practice would lead to a decline in respect for human life, that the philosophical premises used to justify abortion on demand would ultimately be used to justify other attacks on the sacredness of human life, infanticide or mercy killing. Tragically enough, those warnings proved all too true: only last year a court permitted the death by starvation of a handicapped infant.

I have directed the Health and Human Services Department to make clear to every health care facility in the United States that the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 protects all handicapped persons against discrimination based on handicaps, including infants. (Applause.) And we have taken the further step of requiring that each and every recipient of federal funds who provides health care services to infants must post and keep posted in a conspicuous place a notice stating that "discriminatory failure to feed and care for handicapped infants in this facility is prohibited by federal law. It also lists a 24-hour, toll-free number so that nurses and others may report violations in time to save the infant's life. (Applause.)

In addition, recent legislation introduced in the Congress by Representative Henry Hyde of Illinois not only increases restrictions on publicly-financed abortions, it also addresses this whole problem of infanticide. I urge the Congress to begin hearings and to adopt legislation that will protect the right of life to all children, including the disabled or handicapped.

Now, I'm sure that you must get discouraged at times, but you've done better than you know, perhaps. There is a great spiritual awakening in America -- (applause) -- a renewal of the traditional values that have been the bedrock of America's goodness and greatness. One recent survey by a Washington-based research council concluded that Americans were far more religious than the people of other nations; 95 percent of those surveyed expressed a belief in God and a huge majority believed the Ten Commandments had real meaning in their lives.

And another study has found that an overwhelming majority of Americans disapprove of adultery, teenage sex, pornography, abortion and hard drugs. And this same study showed a deep reverence for the importance of family ties and religious belief. (Applause.)

I think the items that we've discussed here today must be a key part of the nation's political agenda. For the first time the Congress is openly and seriously debating and dealing with the prayer and abortion issues -- and that's enormous progress right there. I repeat: America is in the midst of a spiritual awakening and a moral renewal and with your biblical keynote

MORE

And with your biblical keynote, I say today, "Yes, let justice roll on like a river, righteousness like a never failing stream."
(Applause.)

Now, obviously, much of this new political and social consensus that I have talked about is based on a positive view of American history, one that takes pride in our country's accomplishments and record. But we must never forget that no government schemes are going to perfect man. We know that living in this world means dealing with what philosophers would call the phenomenology of evil or, as theologians would put it, the doctrine of sin.

There is sin and evil in the world. And we are enjoined by scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might. Our nation, too, has a legacy of evil with which it must deal. The glory of this land has been its capacity for transcending the moral evils of our past. For example, the long struggle of minority citizens for equal rights once a source of disunity and civil war is now a point of pride for all Americans. We must never go back. There is no room for racism, anti-semitism or other forms of ethnic and racial hatred in this country.
(Applause.) I know that you have been horrified, as have I, by the resurgence of some hate groups preaching bigotry and prejudice. Use the mighty voice of your pulpits and the powerful standing of your churches to denounce and isolate these hate groups in our midst. The commandment given us is clear and simple: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." (Applause.)

But whatever sad episodes exist in our past, any objective observer must hold a positive view of American history, a history that has been the story of hopes fulfilled and dreams made into reality. Especially in this century, America has kept alight the torch of freedom, but not just for ourselves, but for millions of others around the world.

And this brings me to my final point today. During my first press conference as President, in answer to a direct question, I pointed out that, as good Marxists-Leninists, the Soviet leaders have openly and publicly declared that the only morality they recognize is that which will further their cause, which is world revolution. I think I should point out, I was only quoting Lenin, their guiding spirit who said in 1920 that they repudiate all morality that proceeds from supernatural ideas -- that is their name for religion -- or ideas that are outside class conceptions. Morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of class war. And everything is moral that is necessary for the annihilation of the old, exploiting social order and for uniting the proletariat.

Well, I think the refusal of many influential people to accept this elementary fact of Soviet doctrine illustrates an historical reluctance to see totalitarian powers for what they are. We saw this phenomenon in the 1930s. We see it too often today. This does not mean we should isolate ourselves and refuse to seek an understanding with them. I

MORE

intend to do everything I can to persuade them of our peaceful intent, to remind them that it was the West that refused to use its nuclear monopoly in the '40's and '50's for territorial gain and which now proposes 50-percent cuts in strategic ballistic missiles and the elimination of an entire class of land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles. (Applause.)

At the same time, however, they must be made to understand we will never compromise our principles and standards. We will never give away our freedom. We will never abandon our belief in God. (Applause.) And we will never stop searching for a genuine peace, but we can assure none of these things America stands for through the so-called nuclear freeze solutions proposed by some.

The truth is that a freeze now would be a very dangerous fraud, for that is merely the illusion of peace. The reality is that we must find peace through strength. (Applause.)

I would agree to a freeze if only we could freeze the Soviets' global desires. (Applause.) A freeze at current levels of weapons would remove any incentive for the Soviets to negotiate seriously in Geneva, and virtually end our chances to achieve the major arms reductions which we have proposed. Instead, they would achieve their objectives through the freeze. A freeze would reward the Soviet Union for its enormous and unparalleled military buildup. It would prevent the essential and long overdue modernization of United States and allied defenses and would leave our aging forces increasingly vulnerable. And an honest freeze would require extensive prior negotiations on the systems and numbers to be limited and on the measures to ensure effective verification and compliance. And the kind of a freeze that has been suggested would be virtually impossible to verify. Such a major effort would divert us completely from our current negotiations on achieving substantial reductions. (Applause.)

A number of years ago, I heard a young father, a very prominent young man in the entertainment world, addressing a tremendous gathering in California. It was during the time of the cold war and communism and our own way of life were very much on people's minds. And he was speaking to that subject. And suddenly, though, I heard him saying, "I love my little girls more than anything -- " And I said to myself, "Oh, no, don't. You can't -- don't say that." But I had underestimated him. He went on: "I would rather see my little girls die now, still believing in God, than have them grow up under communism and one day die no longer believing in God." (Applause.)

There were thousands of young people in that audience. They came to their feet with shouts of joy. They had instantly recognized the profound truth in what he had said, with regard to the physical and the soul and what was truly important.

MORE

Yes, let us pray for the salvation of all of those who live in that totalitarian darkness -- pray they will discover the joy of knowing God. But until they do, let us be aware that while they preach the supremacy of the state, declare its omnipotence over individual man, and predict its eventual domination of all peoples on the Earth -- they are the focus of evil in the modern world. It was C.S. Lewis who, in his unforgettable Screwtape Letters, wrote: "The greatest evil is not done now in those sordid 'dens of crime' that Dickens loved to paint. It is not even done in concentration camps and labor camps. In those we see its final result. But it is conceived and ordered (moved, seconded, carried, and minuted) in clear, carpeted, warmed, and well-lighted offices, by quiet men with white collars and cut fingernails and smooth-shaven cheeks who do not need to raise their voice."

Because these "quiet men" do not "raise their voices," because they sometimes speak in soothing tones of brotherhood and peace, because, like other dictators before them, they're always making "their final territorial demand," some would have us accept them at their word and accommodate ourselves to their aggressive impulses. But, if history teaches anything, it teaches that simple-minded appeasement or wishful thinking about our adversaries is folly. It means the betrayal of our past, the squandering of our freedom.

So, I urge you to speak out against those who would place the United States in a position of military and moral inferiority. You know, I've always believed that old Screwtape reserved his best efforts for those of you in the church. So, in your discussions of the nuclear freeze proposals, I urge you to beware the temptation of pride -- the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.

I ask you to resist the attempts of those who would have you withhold your support for our efforts, this administration's efforts, to keep America strong and free, while we negotiate real and verifiable reductions in the world's nuclear arsenals and one day, with God's help, their total elimination. (Applause.)

While America's military strength is important, let me add here that I have always maintained that the struggle now going on for the world will never be decided by bombs or rockets, by armies or military might. The real crisis we face today is a spiritual one; at root, it is a test of moral will and faith.

Whittaker Chambers, the man whose own religious conversion

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made him a witness to one of the terrible traumas of our time, the Hiss-Chambers case, wrote that the crisis of the Western World exists to the degree in which the West is indifferent to God, the degree to which it collaborates in communism's attempt to make man stand alone without God. And then he said, "For Marxism-Leninism is actually the second oldest faith first proclaimed in the Garden of Eden with the words of temptation, 'Ye shall be as gods.'"

"The Western world can answer this challenge," he wrote, "but only provided that its faith in God and the freedom he enjoins is as great as communism's faith in man."

I believe we shall rise to the challenge. I believe that communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written. I believe this because the source of our strength in the quest for human freedom is not material but spiritual. And because it knows no limitation, it must terrify and ultimately triumph over those who would enslave their fellow man. For in the words of Isaiah: "He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might He increased strength ... But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary ..." (Applause).

Yes, change your world. One of our Founding Fathers, Thomas Paine, said, "We have it within our power to begin the world over again." We can do it doing together what no one church could do by itself. God bless you and thank you very much. (Applause).

END

3:36 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 14, 1983

OUTREACH WORKING GROUP ON CENTRAL AMERICA

FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON,
CHAIRMAN

A G E N D A

MEETING WITH

HISPANIC EVANGELICAL RELIGIOUS LEADERS

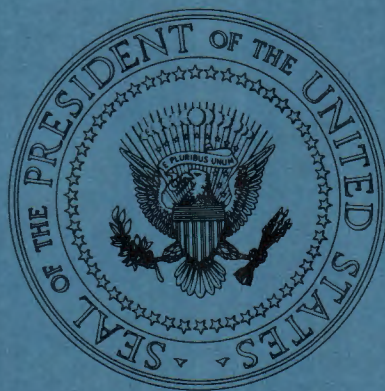
- I. WELCOME TO THE WHITE HOUSE,
FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY,
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
- II. AMBASSADOR OTTO JUAN REICH,
The Secretary's Special Coordinator
for Public Policy on Latin America
Department of State
- III. MAJOR OLIVER L. NORTH,
Senior Staff Member
National Security Council
- IV. MR. KERRY PTACEK,
Central American Specialist
Institute on Religion and Democracy

TIME: 4:00 p.m.
DATE: Wednesday, September 14, 1983
PLACE: Room #450 - Old Executive Office Building



Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation

President Ronald W. Reagan



**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation

THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY of the Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade* is a good time for us to pause and reflect. Our nationwide policy of abortion-on-demand through all nine months of pregnancy was neither voted for by our people nor enacted by our legislators—not a single State had such unrestricted abortion before the Supreme Court decreed it to be national policy in 1973. But the consequences of this judicial decision are now obvious: since 1973, more than 15 million unborn children have had their lives snuffed out by legalized abortions. That is over ten times the number of Americans lost in all our nation's wars.

Make no mistake, abortion-on-demand is not a right granted by the Constitution. No serious scholar, including one disposed to agree with the Court's result, has argued that the framers of the Constitution intended to create such a right. Shortly after the *Roe v. Wade* decision, Professor John Hart Ely, now Dean of Stanford Law School, wrote that the opinion "is not constitutional law and gives almost no sense of an obligation to try to be." Nowhere do the plain words of the Constitution even hint at a "right" so sweeping as to permit abortion up to the time the child is ready to be born. Yet that is what the Court ruled.

As an act of "raw judicial power" (to use Justice White's biting phrase), the decision by the seven-man majority in *Roe v. Wade* has so far been made to stick. But the Court's decision has by no means settled the debate. Instead, *Roe v. Wade* has become a continuing prod to the conscience of the nation.

Abortion concerns not just the unborn child, it concerns every one of us. The English poet, John Donne, wrote: "... any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

This article first appeared in the Spring 1983 issue of *The Human Life Review*.

We cannot diminish the value of one category of human life—the unborn—without diminishing the value of all human life. We saw tragic proof of this truism last year when the Indiana courts allowed the starvation death of “Baby Doe” in Bloomington because the child had Down’s Syndrome.

Many of our fellow citizens grieve over the loss of life that has followed *Roe v. Wade*. Margaret Heckler, soon after being nominated to head the largest department of our government, Health and Human Services, told an audience that she believed abortion to be the greatest moral crisis facing our country today. And the revered Mother Teresa, who works in the streets of Calcutta ministering to dying people in her world-famous mission of mercy, has said that “the greatest misery of our time is the generalized abortion of children.”

Over the first two years of my Administration I have closely followed and assisted efforts in Congress to reverse the tide of abortion—efforts of Congressmen, Senators and citizens responding to an urgent moral crisis. Regrettably, I have also seen the massive efforts of those who, under the banner of “freedom of choice,” have so far blocked every effort to reverse nationwide abortion-on-demand.

Despite the formidable obstacles before us, we must not lose heart. This is not the first time our country has been divided by a Supreme Court decision that denied the value of certain human lives. The *Dred Scott* decision of 1857 was not overturned in a day, or a year, or even a decade. At first, only a minority of Americans recognized and deplored the moral crisis brought about by denying the full humanity of our black brothers and sisters; but that minority persisted in their vision and finally prevailed. They did it by appealing to the hearts and minds of their countrymen, to the truth of human dignity under God. From their example, we know that respect for the sacred value of human life is too deeply engrained in the hearts of our people to remain forever suppressed. But the great majority of the American people have not yet made their voices heard, and we cannot expect them to—any more than the public voice arose against slavery—until the issue is clearly framed and presented.

What, then, is the real issue? I have often said that when we talk about abortion, we are talking about two lives—the life of the mother and the life of the unborn child. Why else do we call a pregnant woman a mother? I have also said that anyone who doesn’t feel sure whether we are talking about a second human life should clearly give life the benefit of the doubt. If you don’t know whether a body is alive or dead, you would never bury it. I think this consideration itself should be enough for all of us to insist on protecting the unborn.

The case against abortion does not rest here, however, for medical practice confirms at every step the correctness of these moral sensibilities. Modern medicine treats the unborn child as a patient. Medical pioneers have made great breakthroughs in treating the unborn—for genetic problems, vitamin deficiencies, irregular heart rhythms, and other medical conditions. Who can forget George Will’s moving account of the little boy who underwent brain surgery six times during the nine weeks before he was born? Who is the *patient* if not that tiny unborn human being who can feel pain when he or she is approached by doctors who come to kill rather than to cure?

The real question today is not when human life begins, but, *What is the value of human life?* The abortionist who reassembles the arms and legs of a tiny baby to make sure all its parts have been torn from its mother’s body can hardly doubt whether it is a human being. The real question for him and for all of us is whether that tiny human life has a God-given right to be protected by the law—the same right we have.

What more dramatic confirmation could we have of the real issue than the Baby Doe case in Bloomington, Indiana? The death of that tiny infant tore at the hearts of all Americans because the child was undeniably a live human being—one lying helpless before the eyes of the doctors and the eyes of the nation. The real issue for the courts was *not* whether Baby Doe was a human being. The real issue was whether to protect the life of a human being who had Down’s Syndrome, who would probably be mentally handicapped, but

who needed a routine surgical procedure to unblock his esophagus and allow him to eat. A doctor testified to the presiding judge that, even with his physical problem corrected, Baby Doe would have a "non-existent" possibility for "a minimally adequate quality of life"—in other words, that retardation was the equivalent of a crime deserving the death penalty. The judge let Baby Doe starve and die, and the Indiana Supreme Court sanctioned his decision.

Federal law does not allow Federally-assisted hospitals to decide that Down's Syndrome infants are not worth treating, much less to decide to starve them to death. Accordingly, I have directed the Departments of Justice and HHS to apply civil rights regulations to protect handicapped newborns. All hospitals receiving Federal funds must post notices which will clearly state that failure to feed handicapped babies is prohibited by Federal law. The basic issue is whether to value and protect the lives of the handicapped, whether to recognize the sanctity of human life. This is the same basic issue that underlies the question of abortion.

The 1981 Senate hearings on the beginning of human life brought out the basic issue more clearly than ever before. The many medical and scientific witnesses who testified disagreed on many things, but not on the *scientific* evidence that the unborn child is alive, is a distinct individual, or is a member of the human species. They did disagree over the *value* question, whether to give value to a human life at its early and most vulnerable stages of existence.

Regrettably, we live at a time when some persons do *not* value all human life. They want to pick and choose which individuals have value. Some have said that only those individuals with "consciousness of self" are human beings. One such writer has followed this deadly logic and concluded that "shocking as it may seem, a newly born infant is not a human being."

A Nobel Prize winning scientist has suggested that if a handicapped child "were not declared fully human until three

days after birth, then all parents could be allowed the choice." In other words, "quality control" to see if newly born human beings are up to snuff.

Obviously, some influential people want to deny that every human life has intrinsic, sacred worth. They insist that a member of the human race must have certain qualities before they accord him or her status as a "human being."

Events have borne out the editorial in a California medical journal which explained three years before *Roe v. Wade* that the social acceptance of abortion is a "defiance of the long-held Western ethic of intrinsic and equal value for every human life regardless of its stage, condition, or status."

Every legislator, every doctor, and every citizen needs to recognize that the real issue is whether to affirm and protect the sanctity of all human life, or to embrace a social ethic where some human lives are valued and others are not. As a nation, we must choose between the sanctity of life ethic and the quality of life ethic.

I have no trouble identifying the answer our nation has always given to this basic question, and the answer that I hope and pray it will give in the future. America was founded by men and women who shared a vision of the value of each and every individual. They stated this vision clearly from the very start in the Declaration of Independence, using words that every schoolboy and schoolgirl can recite:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We fought a terrible war to guarantee that one category of mankind—black people in America—could not be denied the inalienable rights with which their Creator endowed them. The great champion of the sanctity of all human life in that day, Abraham Lincoln, gave us his assessment of the Declaration's purpose. Speaking of the framers of that noble document, he said:

This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the Universe. This was their lofty, and wise, and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to His creatures. Yes, gentlemen, to all His creatures, to the whole great family of man. In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on . . . They grasped not only the whole race of man then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the farthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages.

He warned also of the danger we would face if we closed our eyes to the value of life in any category of human beings:

I should like to know if taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle and making exceptions to it where will it stop. If one man says it does not mean a Negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man?

When Congressman John A. Bingham of Ohio drafted the Fourteenth Amendment to guarantee the rights of life, liberty, and property to all human beings, he explained that *all* are "entitled to the protection of American law, because its divine spirit of equality declares that all men are created equal." He said the rights guaranteed by the amendment would therefore apply to "any human being." Justice William Brennan, writing in another case decided only the year before *Roe v. Wade*, referred to our society as one that "strongly affirms the sanctity of life."

Another William Brennan—not the Justice—has reminded us of the terrible consequences that can follow when a nation rejects the sanctity of life ethic:

The cultural environment for a human holocaust is present whenever any society can be misled into defining individuals as less than human and therefore devoid of value and respect.

As a nation today, we have *not* rejected the sanctity of human life. The American people have not had an opportunity to express their view on the sanctity of human life in the unborn. I am convinced that Americans do not want to play God with the value of human life. It is not for us to decide who is worthy to live and who is not. Even the Supreme Court's opinion in *Roe v. Wade* did not explicitly reject the traditional American idea of intrinsic worth and value in all human life; it simply dodged this issue.

The Congress has before it several measures that would enable our people to reaffirm the sanctity of human life, even the smallest and the youngest and the most defenseless. The Human Life Bill expressly recognizes the unborn as human beings and accordingly protects them as persons under our Constitution. This bill, first introduced by Senator Jesse Helms, provided the vehicle for the Senate hearings in 1981 which contributed so much to our understanding of the real issue of abortion.

The Respect Human Life Act, just introduced in the 98th Congress, states in its first section that the policy of the United States is "to protect innocent life, both before and after birth." This bill, sponsored by Congressman Henry Hyde and Senator Roger Jepsen, prohibits the Federal government from performing abortions or assisting those who do so, except to save the life of the mother. It also addresses the pressing issue of infanticide which, as we have seen, flows inevitably from permissive abortion as another step in the denial of the inviolability of innocent human life.

I have endorsed each of these measures, as well as the more difficult route of constitutional amendment, and I will give these initiatives my full support. Each of them, in different ways, attempts to reverse the tragic policy of abortion-on-demand imposed by the Supreme Court ten years ago. Each of them is a decisive way to affirm the sanctity of human life.

We must all educate ourselves to the reality of the horrors taking place. Doctors today know that unborn children can feel a touch within the womb and that they respond to pain. But how many Americans are aware that abortion techniques are allowed today, in all 50 states, that burn the skin of a baby with a salt solution, in an agonizing death that can last for hours?

Another example: two years ago, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* ran a Sunday special supplement on "The Dreaded Complication." The "dreaded complication" referred to in the article—the complication feared by doctors who perform abortions—is the *survival* of the child despite all the painful attacks during the abortion procedure. Some unborn children *do survive the late-term abortions* the Supreme Court has made legal. Is there any question that these victims of abortion deserve our attention and protection? Is there any question that those who *don't* survive were living human beings before they were killed?

Late-term abortions, especially when the baby survives, but is then killed by starvation, neglect, or suffocation, show once again the link between abortion and infanticide. The time to stop both is now. As my Administration acts to stop infanticide, we will be fully aware of the real issue that underlies the death of babies before and soon after birth.

Our society has, fortunately, become sensitive to the rights and special needs of the handicapped, but I am shocked that physical or mental handicaps of newborns are still used to justify their extinction. This Administration has a Surgeon General, Dr. C. Everett Koop, who has done perhaps more than any other American for handicapped children, by pioneering surgical techniques to help them, by speaking out on the value of their lives, and by working with them in the context of loving families. You will not find his former patients advocating the so-called quality of life ethic.

I know that when the true issue of infanticide is placed before the American people, with all the facts openly aired, we will have no trouble deciding that a mentally or physically handicapped baby has the same intrinsic worth and right to life as the rest of us. As the New Jersey Supreme Court said two decades ago, in a decision upholding the sanctity of human life, "a child need not be perfect to have a worthwhile life."

Whether we are talking about pain suffered by unborn children, or about late-term abortions, or about infanticide, we inevitably focus on the humanity of the unborn child. Each of these issues is a potential rallying point for the sanctity of life ethic. Once we as a nation rally around any one of these issues to affirm the sanctity of life, we will see the importance of affirming this principle across the board.

Malcolm Muggeridge, the English writer, goes right to the heart of the matter: "Either life is always and in all circumstances sacred, or intrinsically of no account; it is inconceivable that it should be in some cases the one, and in some the other." The sanctity of innocent human life is a principle that Congress should proclaim at every opportunity.

It is possible that the Supreme Court itself may overturn its abortion rulings. We need only recall that in *Brown v. Board of Education* the Court reversed its own earlier "separate-but-equal" decision. I believe if the Supreme Court took another look at *Roe v. Wade*, and considered the real issue between the sanctity of life ethic and the quality of life ethic, it would change its mind once again.

As we continue to work to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, we must also continue to lay the groundwork for a society in which abortion is not the accepted answer to unwanted pregnancy. Pro-life people have already taken heroic steps, often at great personal sacrifice, to provide for unwed mothers. I recently spoke about a young pregnant woman named Victoria, who said, "In this society we save whales, we save timber wolves and bald eagles and Coke bottles. Yet, everyone wanted me to

throw away my baby." She has been helped by Sav-a-Life, a group in Dallas, which provides a way for unwed mothers to preserve the human life within them when they might otherwise be tempted to resort to abortion. I think also of House of His Creation in Coatesville, Pennsylvania, where a loving couple has taken in almost 200 young women in the past ten years. They have seen, as a fact of life, that the girls are *not* better off having abortions than saving their babies. I am also reminded of the remarkable Rossow family of Ellington, Connecticut, who have opened their hearts and their home to nine handicapped adopted and foster children.

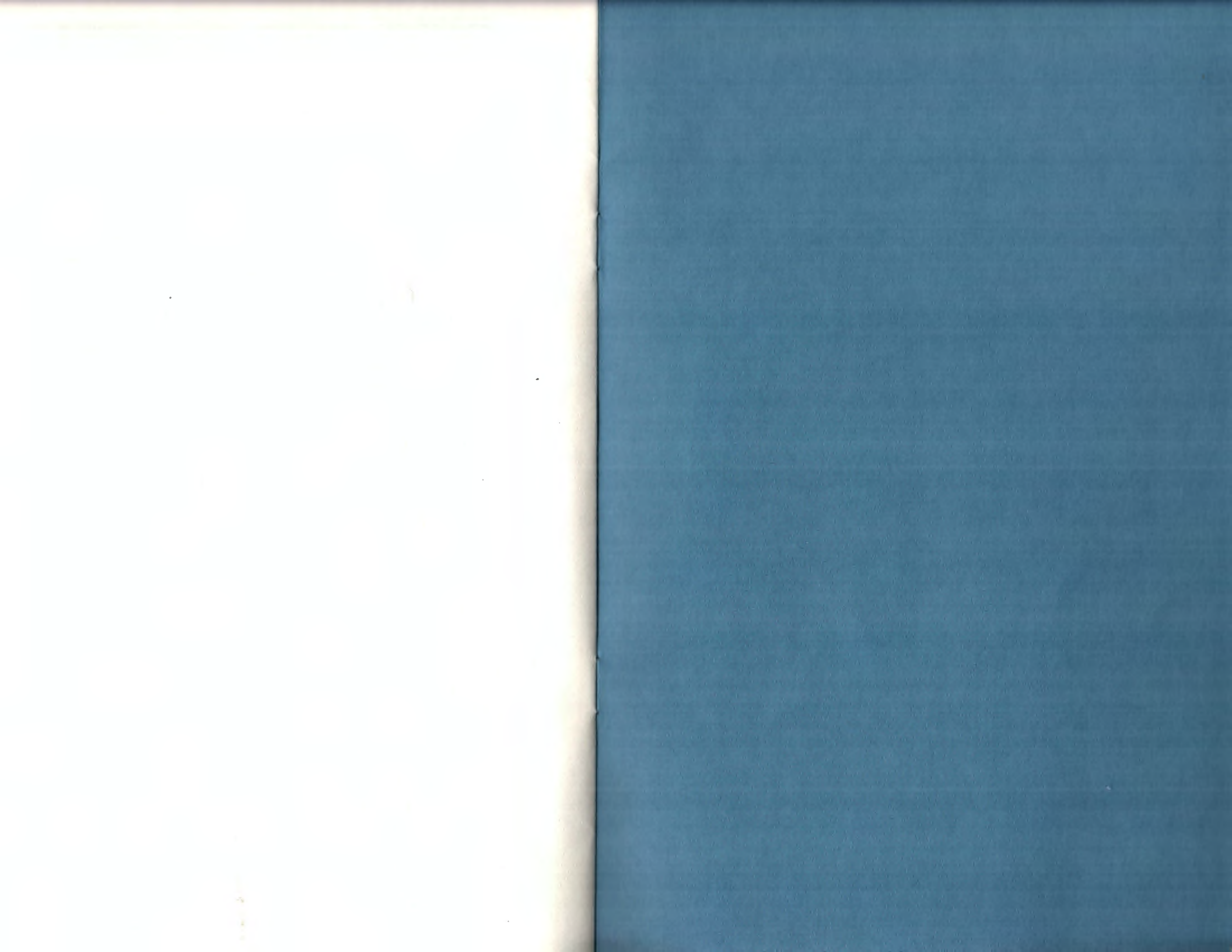
The Adolescent Family Life Program, adopted by Congress at the request of Senator Jeremiah Denton, has opened new opportunities for unwed mothers to give their children life. We should not rest until our entire society echoes the tone of John Powell in the dedication of his book, *Abortion: The Silent Holocaust*, a dedication to every woman carrying an unwanted child: "Please believe that you are not alone. There are many of us that truly love you, who want to stand at your side, and help in any way we can." And we can echo the always-practical woman of faith, Mother Teresa, when she says, "If you don't want the little child, that unborn child, give him to me." We have so many families in America seeking to adopt children that the slogan "every child a wanted child" is now the emptiest of all reasons to tolerate abortion.

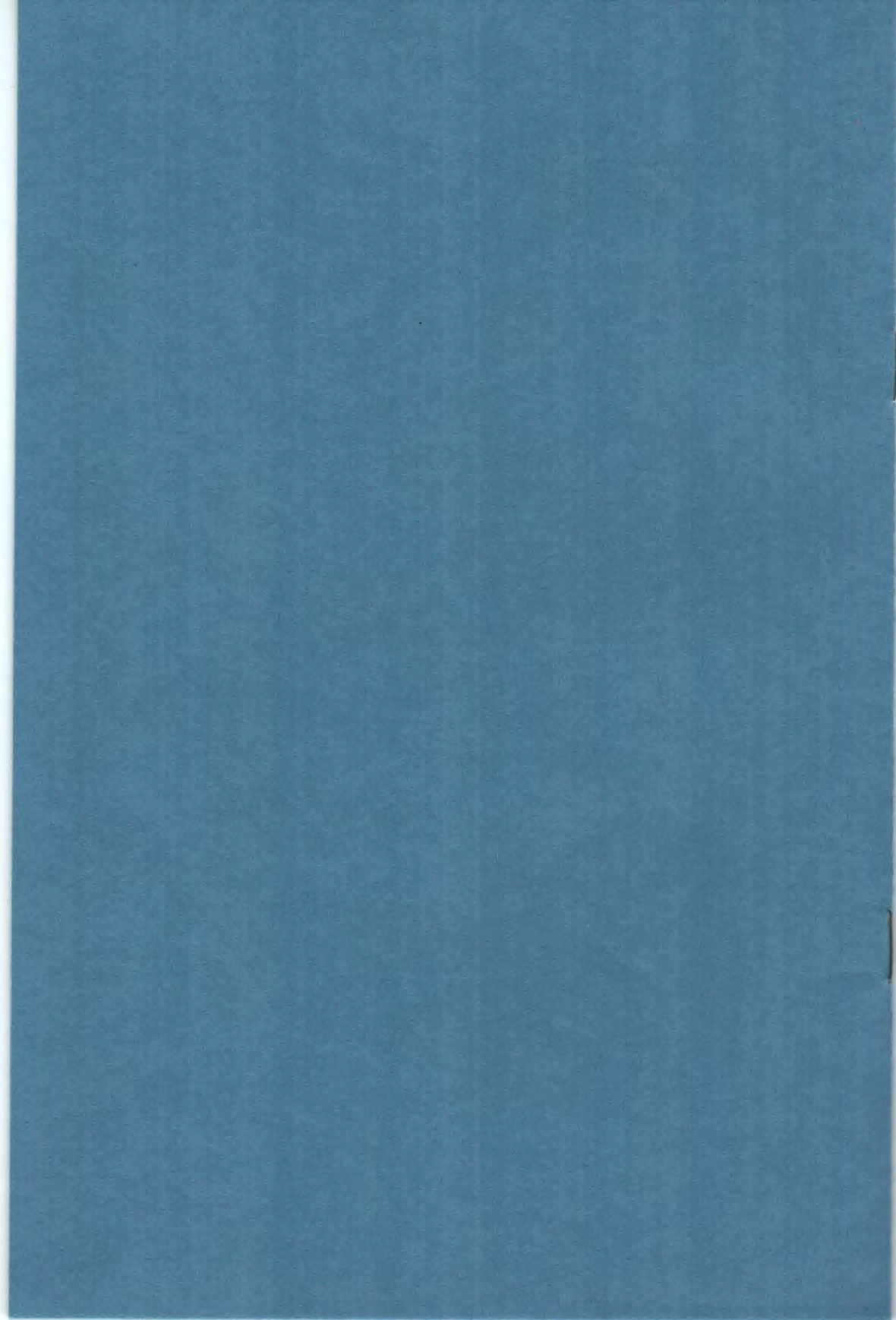
I have often said we need to join in prayer to bring protection to the unborn. Prayer and action are needed to uphold the sanctity of human life. I believe it will not be possible to accomplish our work, the work of saving lives, "without being a soul of prayer." The famous British Member of Parliament, William Wilberforce, prayed with his small group of influential friends, the "Clapham Sect," for *decades* to see an end to slavery in the British empire. Wilberforce led that struggle in Parliament, unflaggingly, because he believed in the sanctity of human life. He saw the fulfillment of his impossible dream when Parliament outlawed slavery just before his death.

Let his faith and perseverance be our guide. We will never recognize the true value of our own lives until we affirm the value in the life of others, a value of which Malcolm Muggeridge says: "... however low it flickers or fiercely burns, it is still a Divine flame which no man dare presume to put out, be his motives ever so humane and enlightened."

Abraham Lincoln recognized that we could not survive as a free land when some men could decide that others were not fit to be free and should therefore be slaves. Likewise, we cannot survive as a free nation when some men decide that others are not fit to live and should be abandoned to abortion or infanticide. My Administration is dedicated to the preservation of America as a free land, and there is no cause more important for preserving that freedom than affirming the transcendent right to life of all human beings, the right without which no other rights have any meaning.

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WHITE HOUSE DIGEST

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June 1, 1983

NICARAGUA'S SANDINISTAS: HAVING IT ALL WAYS

When the Nicaraguan revolutionaries succeeded in overthrowing the reviled Somoza regime in 1979, they received enormous support from within and outside of the country because of their promises to replace a dictatorship with a democracy.

The Sandinista regime that subsequently came to power in Nicaragua promised elections, respect for human rights, a mixed economy, and other long-sought reforms. But as President Reagan pointed out:

The Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua turned out to be just an exchange of one autocratic rule for another, and the people still have no freedom, no democratic rights, and even more poverty. Even worse than its predecessor, it is helping Cuba and the Soviets to destabilize our hemisphere.

Yet, the Sandinistas still claim extensive overseas support because of their ability to "have it all ways" in the court of international opinion. Distinguishing the myths and realities of the Sandinistas is vital to understanding the nature of many of the so-called "national liberation movements" in Central America.

WESTERN AID/COMMUNIST ARMS

Many Americans were misled by the Sandinistas because the coalition that overthrew Somoza was broad-based and contained many democrats, including representatives from labor, the press, political parties, the business community and the church. But from the beginning, many of the best-organized revolutionaries were armed Marxist-Leninists with long-standing ties to Fidel Castro, the PLO, the other anti-democratic groups. When the coalition finally overthrew Somoza, the democrats and communists pursued different goals.

Various members of the international community also sought different objectives in Nicaragua. The United States and other Western countries rushed economic assistance to the battle-torn nation while the communist bloc sent arms and military advisors.

At the end of the revolution, Nicaragua's economy was devastated; 40,000 people had lost their lives, and many more were homeless. In the first 10 weeks, the U.S. provided \$14.6 million in emergency relief such as food, medical supplies, housing assistance and a grant to the grain stabilization institute. During the first year and a half, the U.S. government authorized \$118 million in economic assistance for the Sandinista government from the U.S. -- more than from any other developed country.

In addition, the U.S. actively supported all loans to Nicaragua from international lending institutions, helping them receive \$262 million from the InterAmerican Development Bank, about twice what Somoza received in total between 1960 and 1979.

But while the U.S. was helping Nicaragua recover economically from the revolution, the Soviet bloc helped to arm the Sandinistas. Because of the buildup of military supplies, the Nicaraguan arsenal now includes advanced weapons such as Soviet-made T-55 tanks, amphibious ferries, helicopters, and transport aircraft. Airports are being upgraded to accommodate sophisticated jet fighters, such as Soviet MIG jets. And the entire society has been militarized, with a new secret police, an expanded army and militia, more reservists and new neighborhood bloc committees.

Nicaragua, with a population of 2.7 million, now has 22,000 active duty forces -- at least twice the size of Somoza's National Guard -- and with its 50,000 reservists and militia, has forces under arms larger than the armies of the rest of Central America combined. To accommodate and train this force, 36 new Cuban designed military garrisons have been built, adding to the 13 inherited from Somoza. Sandinista soldiers are trained by Cubans, the PLO, Bulgarians, and other Soviet-bloc soldiers; arms are supplied by Vietnam, Libya, the USSR and their allies.

In all, the West provided Nicaragua with about \$1.5 billion in economic aid while the Soviets helped the Sandinistas build up a military arsenal far beyond its defense needs. The U.S. offered assistance not only because of its traditional humanitarian principles but also because it hoped the democrats would prevail with Western support. On the other hand, the Communist bloc hoped that by militarizing the country, they would further Soviet expansionist policies.

Unfortunately, U.S. assistance and the good faith that came with it had no moderating effect on the communist Sandinistas in the new government. As is often the case, those with the guns won the power struggle and the communists defeated the democrats.

INTERNAL REPRESSION/EXTERNAL RESPECTABILITY

Many Americans are also confused about the nature of the Nicaragua regime because the Sandinistas enjoy a degree of international respectability that such a repressive regime would ordinarily not receive. Nicaragua won a seat on the U.N. Security Council in 1982 and hosted a preparatory meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement last winter. They continue to receive support from the Socialist International and many Western countries, despite the repressive measures used to consolidate their totalitarian control over the nation's population and institutions.

The Sandinistas worked hard to attain their international standing. The Nicaraguan foreign minister and other government officials during extensive travels abroad stressed the alleged Sandinista commitment to non-alignment, pluralism and peace. The worldwide Cuban and Soviet propaganda networks also provided extensive aid to the Sandinistas.

Yet while Sandinista diplomats are hailed internationally, their government at home has systematically abridged the most basic freedoms of the Nicaraguan people.

For example, despite their promises to hold "the first free elections (their) country will have in this century," the Sandinistas now say no elections -- certainly no elections of a kind we would recognize -- are in sight. They originally said their countrymen would be allowed to choose their own leaders in 1985, but a member of the Directorate recently said that elections may not be held even then. In the meantime, government decisions are made by the Sandinista-dominated Council of State, which ratifies the decrees of the nine-member Directorate.

Furthermore, the Sandinistas have harassed independent political parties, denied them permission to have political rallies, and attacked their headquarters. Leaders from MDN, the Social Democratic Party, and the Democratic Conservative Party are now living in exile.

The Sandinistas have also nearly extinguished the freedom of the press. La Prensa, for years the voice of opposition to the Somoza regime, has been closed repeatedly; it and other independent news services are now heavily censored. Government-controlled newspapers and the media publish news as ordered by the Ministry of Interior.

The freedom of religion is also under attack. The Sandinistas banned Archbishop Obando Baravo from performing mass on television, and have shut down the Catholic Church's radio station several times. Clergy have been attacked and harassed. And in an eight page letter of support to the nation's Bishops, Pope John Paul II described the Sandinista attempt to organize a

parallel "People's Church" as "absurd and dangerous" and a "grave deviation." When the Pope visited Nicaragua in March 1983, his mass was interrupted by heckling and chanting, insulting the Pontiff in a manner unprecedented in modern history. A variety of Protestant sects, including Evangelicals, Mormons, Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Moravians, have been attacked; their centers taken over by the Sandinista Defense Committees and in some cases, they have not been returned to the sects. The Sandinista military has burned more than 50 Moravian churches in the Atlantic Coast area.

The Sandinistas' totalitarian attempts to control every aspect of Nicaraguan life has been especially tragic for the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians on the country's Atlantic Coast. The government has tried to replace the traditional governing Councils of Elders with Sandinista Defense Committees. Villages that resist and even some that do not have been burned to the ground. Indians have been moved from their traditional homelands to detention centers. Many Indians and Indian leaders have been arrested or killed; more than 15,000 are in exile in Honduras.

The business community, too, has been under attack by the Sandinista leaders. In October, 1981, the Sandinistas arrested leaders of COSEP, the umbrella private sector organization, and jailed them for four months because they issued a statement criticizing official policy. Moreover, economic freedoms are subject to the whims of the Directorate: the government has expropriated so many businesses that it now owns close to half the economy. Predictably, shortages and rationing of basic goods are chronic.

Labor organizations have fared little better. The Sandinistas have harassed independent labor unions as they attempted to organize, and have beaten and arrested their leaders. Tightly controlled Sandinista labor and peasant organizations have been established to take the place of independent groups.

Since all this adds up to a disheartening human rights record, it is not surprising that about four years after the Sandinistas took power, there are still 3600 political prisoners in Nicaragua. Allegations of political arrests and disappearances have increased since Somoza's fall. And human rights leaders who opposed Somoza have been persecuted by the new regime as well because they continue to call for the end of repression.

AGGRESSOR/VICTIM

Another popular myth concerning the Sandinistas is their charge that they are the victims of U.S.-sponsored aggression and intervention. They make this claim repeatedly to justify their internal repression, their military build-up, and their intransigence in negotiating with neighbors seeking peaceful reconciliation in the region.

But the plain truth is that the real victims of aggression and intervention in Central America are Nicaragua's neighbors: Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador. The real aggressors in the region are the Sandistas.

Within two weeks of coming to power, the Sandinistas were sending large shipments of arms to the communist guerrillas in El Salvador. By January 1981, more than 200 tons of military material had been sent. The Sandinistas began providing training and support to the guerrillas within months of taking power. It was not long before the Sandinistas were assisting and directing guerrilla military, logistical, and support actions in El Salvador from command and control centers inside Nicaragua.

The arms shipment to the Salvadoran guerrillas continually violate the sovereignty and territory of Honduras. Worse, the Sandinistas helped establish a new communist guerrilla front that, from the safety of Managua, Nicaragua, declared war against the democratically-elected government of Honduras. The Sandinistas have also stocked arms inside Honduras; more than ten tons of explosives, thousands of rounds of ammunition, small arms, sophisticated communications equipment, uniforms, passports, propaganda, and trucks and cars for transporting arms were uncovered in safe houses by Honduran authorities by the end of 1982.

The Sandistas have also harassed Costa Rica. They try to deny the Costa Ricans the use of the San Juan River, violate their border, and make arrogant threats that would deny Costa Ricans the right to develop and use their own territory. The Costa Rican government was forced to expel at least one Nicaraguan diplomat assigned to Costa Rica because of direct involvement in the San Jose bombing of a SAHSA airline office on July 3, 1982.

The real threat to the Sandinistas is not from their neighbors but from the Nicaraguan people themselves. The rage, anguish, and frustration borne of the betrayal of Sandinista promises for democracy has been exacerbated by the controlling presence of international communism. No one denies that there are Nicaraguan patriots who oppose the Sandinista regime. But they are not an "invading force." They are the same democrats who had joined the Sandinistas to rid their country of dictatorship and now hope to pressure them into fulfilling the commitment to democracy made in 1979.

U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS

Some of those who opposed Somoza simply wanted freedom and democracy; others wanted to create communist dictatorship. The friends of freedom lost and a communist state was established in the heart of Central America.

The Sandinistas accomplished these feats through lies and threats and through misuse of the good will of the Western world. They managed to have it all ways: to receive humanitarian assistance from the West and military hardware from the communists, to repress their own people but gain international respectability, and to portray themselves as the victims of continuing aggression while they themselves were destabilizing their neighbors.

The Soviet and Cuban backed Sandinista campaign to overthrow the other Central American countries and eventually to incorporate the region into the Soviet orbit is a direct threat to the national security of the United States.

It is also a potential human tragedy for the citizens of Central America, since communist regimes invariably produce misery and desolation for the people they subjugate. Communist countries do not bring freedom; they create refugees fleeing the Communist dictatorships. They pursue aggression instead of peace and produce deprivation instead of prosperity. As freedom-loving humanitarian people, Americans should care deeply what happens to our neighbors.

As President Reagan has said:

Are democracies required to remain passive while threats to their security and prosperity accumulate? Must we just accept the destabilization of an entire region from the Panama Canal to Mexico on our southern border? Must we sit by while independent nations of this hemisphere are integrated into the most aggressive empire the modern world has seen? Must we wait while Central Americans are driven from their homes like the more than a million who have sought refuge out of Afghanistan, or the 1 1/2 million who have fled Indochina, or the more than a million Cubans who have fled Castro's Cuban utopia?...

The national security of all Americans is at stake in Central America. If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail elsewhere. Our credibility would collapse, our alliances would crumble, and the safety of our homeland would be put in jeopardy.

We have a vital interest, a moral duty, and a solemn responsibility.

WHITE HOUSE DIGEST

WHITE HOUSE DIGEST

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White House Office of Media Relations and Planning

July 6, 1983

This edition of the White House Digest focuses on Soviet and Cuban activities in the Caribbean region. In three parts, the information contained herein provides a brief outline of the basic facts about the extent and nature of that activity.

I. Soviet/Cuban Threat and Buildup in the Caribbean

Since 1978 we have seen an ever increasing Soviet presence in the Caribbean Region. The USSR through its surrogate--Cuba--has been able to establish a permanent presence in the Western Hemisphere.

The Characteristics of the Soviet/Cuban Build-up: Men, Money, Material

- The Soviet Union maintains and reinforces its presence by:
 - Deploying its long range Bear reconnaissance and anti-submarine warfare aircraft to the region on a regular basis.
 - Deploying its naval combatants for joint training exercises with Cuba.
 - Providing a Soviet Brigade of approximately 3,000 men stationed near Havana and an additional presence of 2,500 military advisors.
 - Providing Cuba with 8,000 civilian advisors.
 - Maintaining the largest intelligence monitoring/telecommunications facility outside the USSR.
- In 1982, the Soviets and Cubans had 50 times as many military advisors in Latin America as did the US. Last year the Soviets increased their military advisors in Cuba by 500.
- The USSR has also provided a steady stream of military equipment to Cuba. In 1981 alone, Moscow provided 66,000 metric tons in military assistance valued at \$600 million. Deliveries in 1982 exceeded 1981 by 2,000 metric tons and amounted to over \$1 billion in military assistance in the last two years.

- Cuban armed forces have grown to a size disproportionate for defensive needs:

- Cuba possesses an Army of over 225,000; a Navy of 11,000 and air defense forces of 16,000, not including 500 thousand paramilitary troops.
- Cubans have well over 200 MIG fighter aircraft.
- Castro has about 65,000 Cubans serving overseas: 40,000 military (25,000 troops in Angola, about 12,000 in Ethiopia) and 25,000 civilian technicians.
- Cuba has 2.3% of its population in the regular armed forces, one of every 20 Cubans participates in some security mission.

- Moscow underwrites the activities of its Cuban surrogate at a cost exceeding \$4 billion annually (1/4 of Cuba's GNP) and supports efforts to collect funds, arms, and supplies from the communist bloc for guerrilla activities in Central America and the Caribbean.

- The number of Soviet Bloc academic grants offered annually to Latin American students jumped from 400 in the 1960's to about 7,000 now. In 1979 Moscow admitted to sponsoring 7,000 Cubans for studies in the Soviet Union. Last year 700 Nicaraguans were reported studying there and an additional 300 scholarships were being provided. Scholarships include free room, board, tuition, transportation, medical care and a small stipend.

- About 3,000 Latin American students, including 1,600 Nicaraguans, are studying in Cuba. Cuba has constructed 17 schools for foreigners, each costing about \$2 million to build and about \$600,000 to operate annually.

SOVIET MILITARY DELIVERIES TO CUBA



II. Spreading Soviet/Cuban Intervention Throughout The Region

- The implication of the Soviet/Cuban buildup is that it provides a platform for spreading subversion and supporting guerrillas throughout the region.

- It was Cuba that acted as the catalyst to organize and unify the far-left groups in El Salvador, assisted in developing military strategy, and encouraged the guerrillas to launch the ill-fated "final" offensive in January 1981. Cuba continues to be vital in training and supporting continuing offensives in El Salvador by funneling weapons and supplies via Nicaragua to rebel forces in El Salvador.

- Castro is actively engaged in converting Nicaragua into another Cuba. There are approximately 5,500 Cuban civilian advisors and about 1,750 Cuban military and security advisors in Nicaragua.

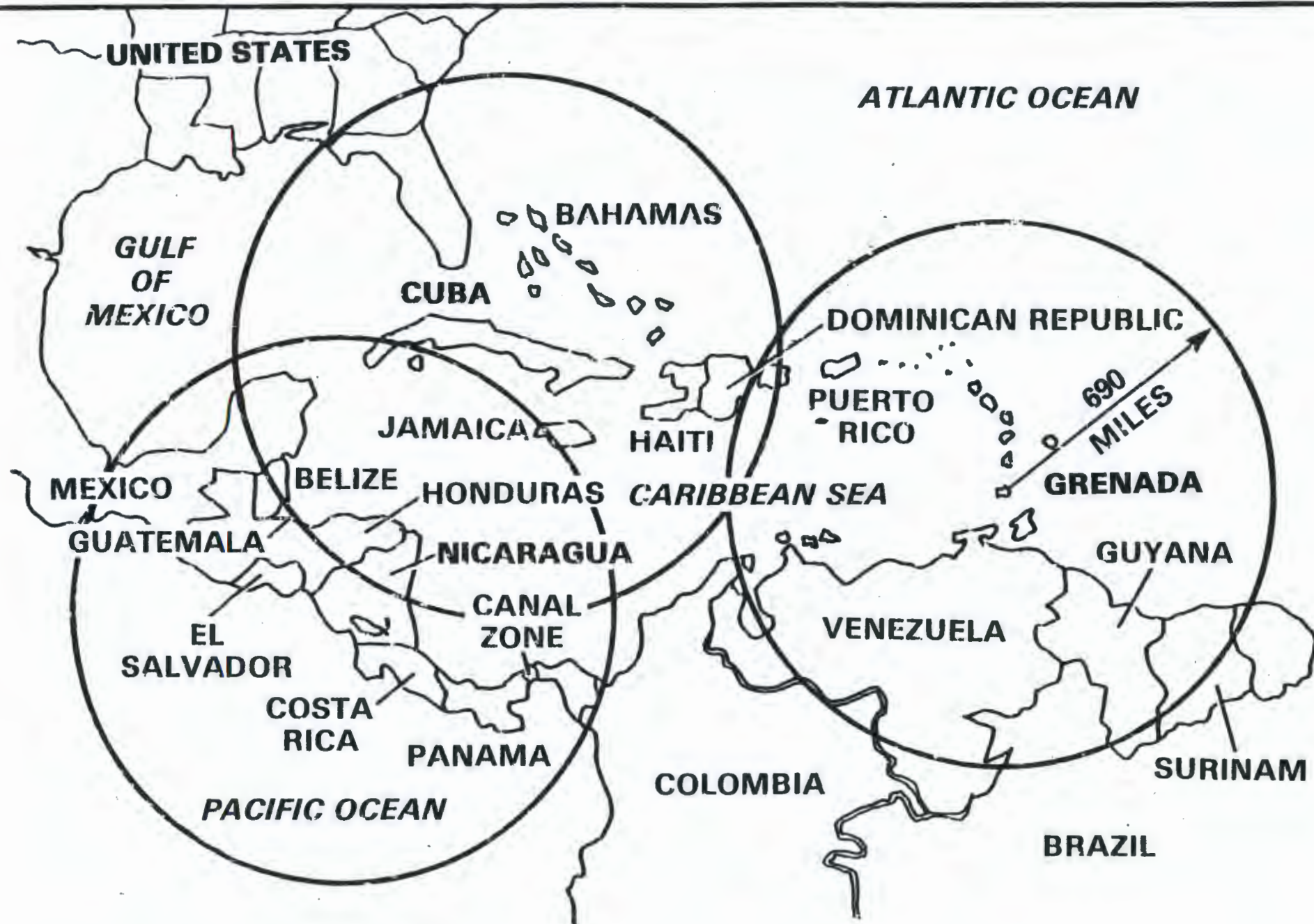
- The Sandinistas themselves have about 75,000 men under arms in their active armed forces, reserves, militia, police and security forces. At its present strength, the Sandinista Army represents the largest military force in the history of Central America. The Sandinistas have built 36 new military garrisons since Somoza's downfall.

- Approximately 70 Nicaraguans were sent to Bulgaria for training as pilots and mechanics. Existing landing strips in Nicaragua are being lengthened and will be able to accommodate the most sophisticated Soviet jet aircraft. MIGs could be flown in quickly from Cuba.

- In Grenada, which has a strategic location in the eastern Caribbean, we are concerned because the Soviets and Cubans are constructing facilities, including an airfield, the eventual use of which is unknown.

- In Suriname, the Cuban Ambassador is a senior intelligence officer who was formerly Chief of the Caribbean Section of the Americas Department of the Cuban Communist Party. The America department is responsible for Cuban covert activities, and is much more important in formulating Cuban policy toward Latin America than is the Cuban Foreign Ministry. The Cuban Ambassador maintains a very close relationship with LTC Desire Bouterse, Suriname's military leader, and has continuous access to key leaders.

RADIUS OF ACTION FOR MIG AIRCRAFT STATIONED IN CUBA, NICARAGUA AND GRENADA

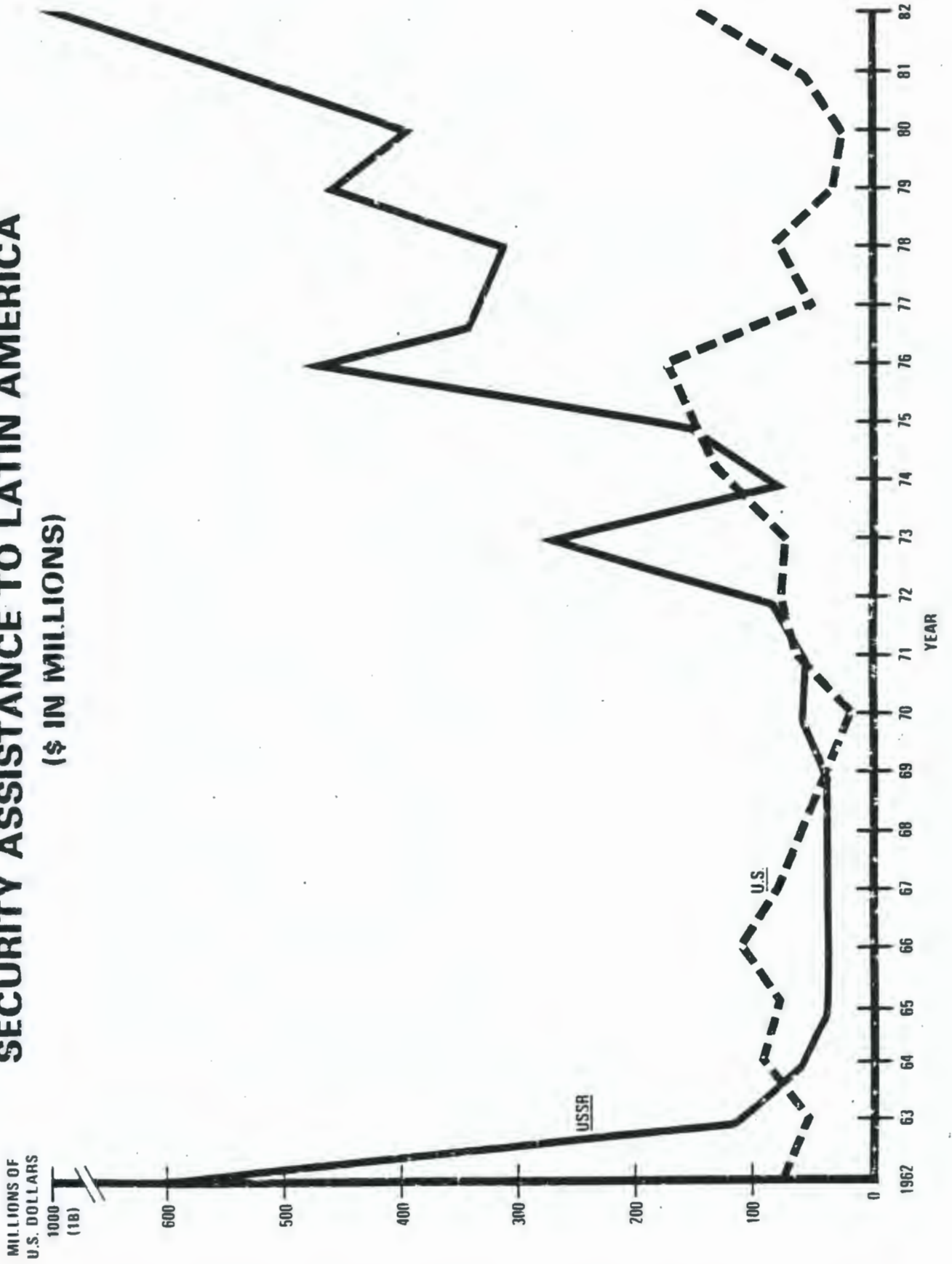


III. The Threat Posed by Soviet Expansionism

- Such communist expansion could lead to an extensive and permanent Soviet presence and an increased Soviet strategic capability in the region. This would create significant military consequences for the US:

- It could place hostile forces and weapons systems within striking distance of targets in the US.
- It could provide bases for use in covert operations against the US and our neighbors.
- It could provide for prepositioning of Soviet equipment, supplies and ammunition in our hemisphere.
- It could allow the Soviet Pacific and Atlantic fleets to operate near our shores without having to return to the USSR for maintenance.
- It could threaten our Caribbean Sea Lines of Communication through which a large volume of our goods pass; thus endangering the economic well-being of our nation.
- And finally, it could cause the US to divert scarce resources in manpower and materiel from other areas of the world to protect an area previously considered militarily secure.

SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO LATIN AMERICA (\$ IN MILLIONS)



WHITE HOUSE DIGEST

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July 13, 1983

CENTRAL AMERICA: FACTS NOT WIDELY KNOWN

MAY AND JUNE IN NICARAGUA

The first step in figuring out what is at stake in Central America is understanding the Sandinista regime. Are the Sandinistas merely "leftwing" reformers whose tilt towards Marxism is balanced by an equally strong commitment to Catholicism?

Or, are the present rulers of Nicaragua dedicated strong-Cuban Communists, enemies even of democratic socialism, and allies intent on subverting Central America into the Soviet bloc?

Knowing the answer is essential to understanding the threat, if any, to El Salvador and the rest of the region.

Unfortunately, it is increasingly clear that the present Sandinista government is a Communist one, ready and willing to bring the region into the Soviet orbit. The evidence has been mounting for several years, but even a brief selection of events from the past two months, which we give here, is revealing.

TRUE DEMOCRATS ABANDON SANDINISTAS

Much evidence comes from former allies and supporters of the Sandinista revolution. The case of Eden Pastora, Commander Zero, has been well known for some time. But only a month ago, on May 19, 1983, Misael Brenes, Nicaraguan Consul to Choluteca, Honduras, defected to that country, requesting political asylum. When the Sandinistas charged that Brenes had been kidnapped, he called a public press conference to refute the charge. He explained that he had abandoned the Sandinistas because he was "convinced that Communism has advanced in Nicaragua to the point where there is no other path than armed struggle to detain it." He added:

I am not the first and I won't be the last of the officials in the Nicaraguan foreign service to break with the regime of the nine Sandinista commandantes; I am just one more. I assert that presently Nicaragua is a colony of the Communist countries where the Russians and the Cubans are the owners of the Nicaraguan people.

There are 1500 to 2000 Cuban military and security advisors, and an additional 100 from the Soviet Bloc. There are 6,000 Cuban "civilian" advisors and 200 Soviet Bloc advisors.

REVOLUTION FOR EXPORT

One former Sandinista ally who is not a Nicaraguan recently gave even stronger testimony. Efraim Duarte Salgado had been chief of the most active cell of a Honduran terrorist group, the Popular Revolutionary Forces (FPR). He disappeared suddenly in May, then surfaced at a May 27 press conference in Guatemala. He not only called upon his former colleagues to give up armed struggle and pursue democratic means to power, he also detailed the history of foreign influence over his group.

The Sandinistas started providing economic support to his cell soon after it was founded in 1980. But the Nicaraguan aid "was always conditional in the sense that we had to undertake different violent acts to destabilize the Honduran government and try to create a Marxist-Leninist regime."

He also explained that intelligence and paramilitary training was easily available from Cuba, and that while in Cuba he had established contact with the Armed People's Revolutionary Organization (OPRA), a Guatemalan terrorist group. He claimed responsibility for the armed attack against the US Embassy in Tegucigalpa, Honduras in 1980, and for placing explosives in the offices of IBM and the Salvadoran airline, TACA, in 1982.¹/

Among Central Americans, there is little doubt about the Sandinistas' willingness to export the revolution. One recent example is a poll, taken by a reputable local firm in March of Costa Rican citizens. In this peaceful, democratic country 70 percent of the people see Nicaragua as a military threat and 56 percent say Nicaragua is trying to weaken the Costa Rican government. Interestingly, 50 percent see Cuba as responsible for conditions that could lead to war in the region and 40 percent say the same of the Soviet Union.

ELECTIONS?

If the Sandinistas seem eager to export Communism, their treatment of their own people is far more typical of Communists than of democratic socialists.

The Sandinistas came to power in 1979 promising elections that have yet to be held; they have been promised for 1985. But just last month, according to the official Radio Sandino, Interior Minister Thomas Borge threatened to postpone them again, blaming the threatened delay on American "aggression."²/It should be noted that during the first year and a half after the revolution the American government fully supported the Sandinistas with \$118 million in aid, yet there was no move to hold elections.

INTERNAL REPRESSION

Elections aside, the Nicaraguans have increasingly denied their people basic liberties, substituting Communist attitudes towards rights for Western ones.

On May 26, the Council of State extended the state of emergency for one year, until May 30, 1984, permitting the government to continue prior censorship of the media and to hold prisoners indefinitely without recourse to habeas corpus.^{3/} The state of emergency has been in effect since March 1982.

On May 18, Nicaraguan immigration authorities refused to allow Luis Rivas Leiva, president of the opposition Social Democratic Party, to leave the country. They stopped him at the airport as he was about to leave for a trip to Costa Rica.^{4/}

In late May, the Sandinistas expropriated a banana plantation belonging to Ramiro Guardian, president of an agricultural private sector organization, for political reasons. Commenting in an interview in La Prensa, on American restrictions on Nicaraguan sugar, Guardian had said, "The United States and Nicaragua are both sovereign and independent countries and each has the right to buy and sell as they see fit."^{5/} The junta responded by taking his farm. Junta member Sergio Ramirez explained, "We think that this gentleman cannot be associated with the revolutionary state because we need proprietors that are clear about the dangers represented by measures from the United States."^{6/}

SOLIDARITY?

Finally, the Sandinistas have fallen into the contradiction that afflicts all Communist governments -- the workers' state has been persecuting the working man and his right to organize freely. Further, in a typically totalitarian move the Sandinistas have outlawed strikes.

Again, there have been many examples, but the most recent involves the stevedores' union of the Pacific port of Corinto. After the 1979 revolution, the union affiliated with the Sandinista Workers Central (CST), a Sandinista-controlled union. But many dissatisfied union members wish to switch to the Confederation for Labor Unification (CUS), an independent organization that belongs to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and has strong ties to the AFL-CIO.

The Sandinistas have used arrests, mob action, threats, and other forms of intimidation to keep the union allied with the CST. Some union leaders have been forced to flee Nicaragua, and one, Zacarias Hernandez, has become a leader in the exile labor movement. Amnesty International has adopted two of the arrested stevedores as cases of special interest.

In mid-March, when the union's executive board attempted to switch from CST to CUS, the Sandinistas responded by having militiamen occupy union headquarters. And the Ministry of Labor disallowed the executive board's decision, ruling that only a two-thirds vote of the membership could effect the switch.

The Ministry, however, prevented a vote by initiating an audit of the union's books, forbidding it to hold a congress until the audit was completed. Turning up nothing of substance, the Ministry allowed the union to schedule a congress for June.

But on May 21, when leading CUS officials, including Secretary General Bayardo Lopez, traveled to Corinto to meet with several hundred stevedores, they found the entrance to the meeting place blocked by a Sandinista mob. Some were armed and wearing militia uniforms. The mob attacked the CUS leaders with fists and sticks and forced them to flee.⁷ Since then, nine union leaders have been arrested.⁸

Even this brief selection of incidents, all taken from a period of only a few months, illustrates the character of the Sandinista junta. It is not a collection of "leftists," or democratic socialists, or "Christian Marxists," but of totalitarians, dependent on the Soviets and eager to bring Central America into the totalitarian world.

NOTES

1. Unclassified State Department cable, Tegucigalpa 5570.
2. Radio Sandino, May 16, 1983.
3. State Department cable, Managua 2320, unclassified paragraph 1.
4. Panama City radio station ACAN, May 18, 1983.
5. La Prensa, May 12, 1983.
6. Barricada, May 26, 1983.
7. State Department cable, Managua 2268, unclassified paragraphs 2, 3, and 4.
8. Press release, 13 June 1983 from the Confederation of Central American Workers, San Jose, Costa Rica.1.

WHITE HOUSE DIGEST

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White House Office of Media Relations and Planning

July 20, 1983

THE PLO IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The Palestine Liberation Organization is an active ally of Communist revolutionaries throughout Central America. The PLO supplied training and materiel for the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, and is still supplying military aid and advisors to the Communist Sandinista government. For their part, Sandinista revolutionaries were fighting beside their PLO comrades in the Middle East as early as 1970, are anti-Semitic and are dedicated to the destruction of Israel.

Right now, the PLO is giving the Salvadoran Communists the same sort of help. Since the late 1960s, the PLO has been working with Fidel Castro and his network of Latin American revolutionaries and has developed ties to revolutionary organizations in a number of Latin American countries.

"BLOOD UNITY"

Though this alliance has received little attention in the press, neither the PLO nor its Latin Communist allies trouble to deny it. On June 7, 1979, six weeks before the

Sandinistas came to power, Sandinista press spokesman Jorge Mandi delivered a particularly strong testimonial to the alliance:

There is a longstanding blood unity between us and the Palestinians. Many of the units belonging to the Sandinista movements were at Palestinian revolutionary bases in Jordan. In the early 1970s, Nicaraguan and Palestinian blood was spilled together in Amman and in other places during the Black September Battles.

.

It is natural therefore, that in our war against Somoza, we received Palestinian aid for our revolution in various forms.

Mandi also made it clear that the Sandinistas had participated in PLO terrorist acts such as hijacking.¹

START WITH CUBA

Cuba has been the great organizing center and supply depot for Communist revolution in Central America. Fidel Castro introduced the PLO into the region and has vigorously promoted and supported the PLO's activities there.

Until the mid-1960s, Castro supported Israel. But, in 1966, Castro sponsored the First Conference of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, bringing together revolutionary leaders from three continents in order to get them to work together.

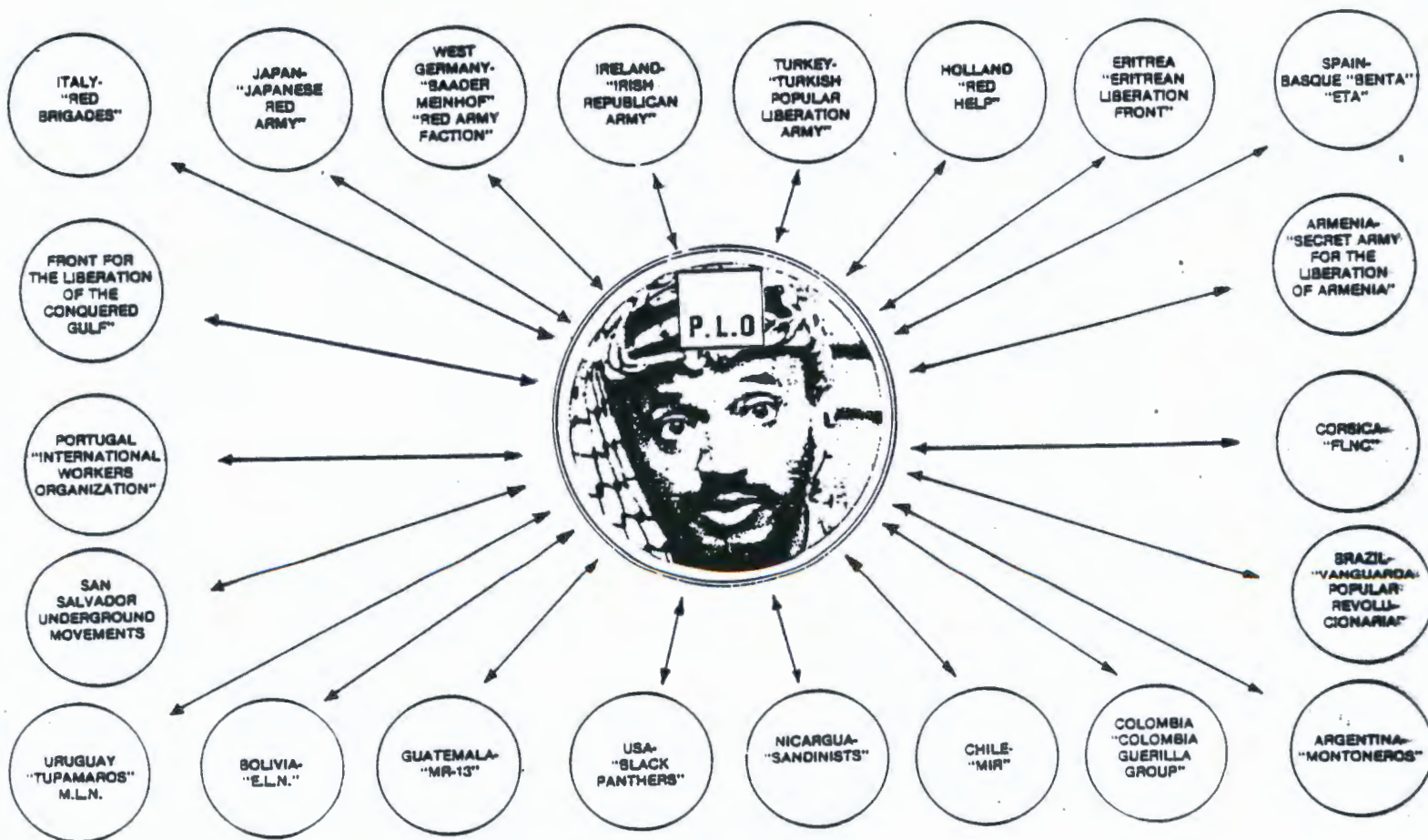
PLO representatives attended, and Castro began efforts to make the PLO a part of international revolutionary activities, especially in Latin America.

By 1968, Cuban intelligence and military personnel were assisting the PLO in North Africa and Iraq. By 1969,

Cuban officers were in joint training with PLO officers in the U.S.S.R. In June 1969, Cubans from that training class participated in a joint raid with the PLO in the Sinai desert.²

In 1972, Castro met with PLO leaders in Algeria and the two sides agreed to step up their joint activities.³ The PLO undertook to augment Cuban training of Latin American terrorists with specialized training in Lebanon, South Yemen, and Libya. In 1973, Castro broke relations with Israel. Cuba had become one of Israel's most dedicated enemies. In 1974, the PLO opened its first Latin American office in Havana.⁴

Since being introduced to the region by Castro, the PLO has developed ties with revolutionary groups in nearly half the countries in the region.



Intelligence information has linked the PLO with terrorist and guerrilla organizations around the world.

THE NICARAGUA CONNECTION

Cooperation between the Sandinistas and the PLO goes back at least to 1969, seven or eight years before most Americans had heard of the Sandinistas. That year, some 50 Sandinista guerrillas went to Tyre for training under the PLO.⁵ Other Sandinistas went to train in terror at PLO camps in Algeria.⁶

The Sandinista terrorists fit right in with their PLO counterparts. It has been reported that Pedro Arauz, a Sandinista who had hijacked a Nicaraguan airliner in 1969, trained under the PLO in 1970.⁷ As the quote from Jorge Mandi makes clear, Sandinista troops fought beside the PLO against King Hussein of Jordan in 1970.⁸

Thomas Borge, Interior Minister of the Sandinista regime, has confirmed that he and other Sandinist-leaders were trained by Al Fatah, the leading PLO group, prior to 1970. Borge repeatedly spent much of the early '70s working for Castro, and was frequently in the Middle East, where he used Libyan money and PLO assistance to obtain arms for Central American guerrilla movements.⁹

The first official confirmation of the PLO-Sandinista alliance came in February 1978. The two groups issued a joint communique in Mexico City that affirmed the "ties of solidarity" existing between the two revolutionary organizations. They were united in their hatred of what they called the "racist state of Israel."

In a similar incident in March of 1978, the Sandinistas went so far as to join the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine in a joint "declaration of war" against Israel.

As the Sandinistas became more confident of victory, PLO aid became more concrete. Early in 1979, shortly before the

final Sandinista victory, the PLO sent an arms shipment to the Sandinistas but it was intercepted by the government of Morocco.¹⁰ During the final weeks of the revolution, several large shipments of arms arrived from the Middle East.¹¹ According to one source, Thomas Borge arranged for a shipment of guns to be sent from North Korea on a ship owned and operated by the PLO.¹²

Within two weeks of the Sandinista victory in July 1979, the Sandinistas sent a mission to Beirut to establish official contacts with the PLO. The PLO facilitated a \$12 million loan to the Sandinistas.¹³ Today, Nicaragua is one of the few countries in the world where the PLO mission is officially designated as an Embassy and the ranking PLO official is referred to as "Ambassador" -- a testimony to the importance the Sandinistas attach to their PLO connections.

THE STORMS OF REVOLUTION

In 1980, on the first anniversary of the Sandinista Communist takeover, Yasser Arafat came to Managua as an honored guest. Thomas Borge proclaimed, "the PLO cause is the cause of the Sandinistas." And Arafat replied, "the links between us are not new; your comrades did not come to our country just to train, but to fight. . . .Your enemies are our enemies."¹⁴

The PLO information bulletin, Palestine, commented:

There is no doubt there is a common line between Nicaragua, Iran, and Palestine. A common front against a common enemy. . . .

The Palestinian revolution understands the international dimensions of its struggle and its international task of supporting, within its capabilities,¹⁵ international liberation movements.

Current estimates suggest that there are about 50 PLO personnel in Nicaragua. Some are involved in training Sandinista military in the use of Eastern Bloc weapons, some training pilots and flying helicopters, maintaining aircraft and training Salvadoran guerrillas to export Communist terror to that country.

IN EL SALVADOR

There is also a strong alliance between the PLO and the Salvadoran Communist guerrillas. The Salvadoran Communists, like the Sandinistas, share the PLO's fierce opposition to Israel.

One of the first clear signs of sympathy between the two groups emerged when one of the major Salvadoran Communist guerrilla groups, the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL) kidnapped and murdered the South African Ambassador to El Salvador. The FPL demanded, as part of the ransom, that the Salvadoran government break relations with Israel and establish official relations with the PLO.

Just a month later, the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), another Salvadoran communist guerrilla group, bombed the Israeli embassy in San Salvador to show "solidarity with the Palestinian people," and demanded that the government recognize the PLO.

In May 1980, a delegation from Revolutionary Coordination of the Masses (CRM), the unified political front for all the important Salvadoran Communist groups, met in Beirut with one of Yasser Arafat's deputies, Abu Jihad, and with George Habash, head of the terrorist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and arrived at agreements for training programs and arms purchases. The first group of Salvadoran trainees finished a "course" in PLO-style terrorism at an Al Fatah camp in June, 1980.¹⁶

On July 23, 1980 representatives of the Salvadoran United Revolutionary Directorate (DRU) which was then the unified military command for the various Salvadoran Communist groups, met with Arafat in Managua. Arafat promised them arms and aircraft.¹⁷ Later in the year, Arafat did send some arms to the DRU,¹⁸ and according to published reports, PLO fighters were sent to El Salvador in September.¹⁹

The alliance picked up steam in 1981. In March, Shafik Handal, a Salvadoran of Palestinian descent and head of El Salvador's Communist Party, met with Arafat and representatives of Habash's Popular Front in Lebanon. The meeting resulted in a joint communique that, among other points, included an agreement to continue cooperation between the unified Salvadoran guerrilla groups and Habash's group.²⁰

By early 1981, according to Congressional testimony from Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs John Bushnell, there had been "a massive influx of arms from Soviet and other Communist sources. Radical Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the terrorist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine have furnished funds, arms, and training.

In January 1982, Arafat said publicly that PLO guerrillas were serving in El Salvador.²¹ And documents captured in Beirut during the summer of 1982 reveal that there were Salvadoran guerrillas in PLO camps in Lebanon.

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Though these fragments of information have left a clear trail, even without them there would be no doubt about the relationship between the Central American Communists and PLO terror, because both sides have loudly proclaimed it. In 1981, Yasser Arafat spoke in words too clear to be mis-

understood or explained away:

We are a great revolution that can never be intimidated. We have connections with all the revolutionary movements throughout the world, in El Salvador, in Nicaragua -- and I reiterate Salvador²²-- and elsewhere in the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. Al Watan (Kuwaiti newspaper) June 7, 1979.
2. Palestine (PLO Information Bulletin), June, 1980.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Hadar, The Jerusalem Post, August 14, 1981.
6. Washington Post, July 12, 1979.
7. Bell, Human Events, November 25, 1978.
8. Israeli Defense Force paper, "Report -- The PLO and International Terror," March 1981.
9. Newsletter, Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, June, 1983.
10. State Department paper, "Communist, PLO and Libyan Support for Nicaragua and the Salvadoran Insurgents." May 25, 1983.
11. U.S. News and World Report, September 1, 1980.
12. Op. cit., Hadar.
13. London Daily Telegraph, December 2, 1981.
14. Op. cit., Israeli Defense Force
15. Palestine, July 16-31, 1980.

16. Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs Briefing, May 16, 1982.
17. U.S. Department of State Special Report #30, Feb. 23, 1981.
18. Op. cit., Israeli Ministry.
19. Op. cit., U.S. News.
20. Op. cit., Israeli Ministry.
21. Op. cit., Palestine, July 16-30, 1980.
22. Associated Press, April 14, 1981.

WHITE HOUSE DIGEST

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AUGUST 10, 1983

HUMAN RIGHTS IN CUBA

Since Castro's coming to power, Soviet supported Cuba has been violating her neighbors' right to self determination by attempting to "spread the revolution" throughout Latin America -- recruiting Communist and other radical leftist insurgents and providing them funds, arms, advisors, and organization. The Cubans and their Soviet allies are attempting to subjugate the entire Caribbean basin into a second Eastern Europe.

Cuban intervention has helped establish a pro-Soviet/Cuban regime in Managua. Today, the Communist leaders of Nicaragua are threatening the fledgling democracy in El Salvador. Cuban agents have tried to destabilize Guatemala for two decades. To fully understand what Cuban aggression means to the people of the region, it is important to look at the Castro government's appalling record on human rights.

CLASSIC TOTALITARIANS

In over two decades, that record has shown no sign of improvement. Like other Communist countries, Cuba is a tightly controlled, highly centralized, totalitarian state. The government fiercely represses those it identifies as being "in opposition to the state," wantonly violating their human rights.

Over the years Castro has jailed thousands of Cubans who opposed or were suspected of opposing or criticizing Communist rule. Most sources place the current number of political prisoners at up to 1000, some of whom have been in jail since 1959, making them some of the longest-held political prisoners in the world.

Prisoners are treated brutally. In defiance, several hundred prisoners, known as "Plantados," have refused "reeducation" and refuse to wear uniforms that would identify them as common criminals. As punishment they have been denied food, medicine, and clothing.

TORTURE

Beatings are common. Prisoners are sometimes punished by being held, naked, in cold, dark isolation cells for long periods. According to reports received by Freedom House, the non-partisan human rights organization, the Cubans, like the Soviets, are using psychiatric hospitals as prisons.

Recently a long-time political prisoner, poet Armando Valladares, gave the world a chilling first hand account of Cuban treatment of political prisoners. In December 1982, Valladares, only lately released, testified in Congress that repression of Cuban political prisoners is "ferocious." According to Valladares, the Cuban police forced his mother to write a letter denouncing him. The letter was dictated by a Cuban secret

policeman holding a court order that would have sent Valladares' sister to jail had her mother refused to cooperate.

Valladares testified that the imprisoned include children and that physical and psychological torture is common. While in prison, he was brutally beaten and at one point was denied food for more than 40 days, losing the use of his legs as a result.

Amnesty International has transmitted a report that last year 29 prisoners were executed for political offenses.

CUBAN DISSIDENTS

Though Castro claims that Cubans are free to emigrate, and though some emigration, as in the Mariel exodus in 1980, is strongly encouraged, the Cuban government routinely refuses to allow citizens to leave the country. This restriction is applied especially, though not exclusively, to political opponents of the regime, and especially to opponents who have been imprisoned.

Cuban poet Angel Cuadra Landrove was released from Castro's prisons in April 1982. Though he holds several foreign visas, the Cuban government will not allow him to leave the country. Andres Vargas Gomez, a Cuban intellectual and diplomat, also served many years in Castro's political prisons. Now out of prison, he is still denied the exit permit required for emigration.

The case of Cuban Ambassador Gustavo Arcos Bergnes is especially instructive. Arcos fought and was wounded at Castro's side during the famous July 26, 1953 attack on Bastista's Moncada barracks. When Castro took power, Arcos was named Cuban Ambassador to Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. But, in the mid-1960s, he was recalled and imprisoned for four years for his democratic beliefs.

In 1979, his son was gravely injured in a motorcycle accident in Florida. The U.S. Congress appealed to the Cuban government to allow Arcos to leave Cuba to visit his son. The appeal was refused. Months later, Arcos was charged with attempting to leave the island without the necessary papers and was given a seven year prison sentence.

The reverse policy, forced emigration, can be just as cruel. Suddenly, in 1980, the emigration gates were opened. During the rush that followed out of the port of Mariel, when 125,000 Cuban "boat people" fled to our shores, the Castro government shipped along many of Cuba's psychiatric patients. The American Psychiatric Association denounced this action on September 28, 1980, saying it was:

"deeply concerned about the plight of numerous recent refugees who have been identified as mentally ill. There is growing evidence that many of these Cuban citizens were bused from Cuban mental hospitals to the Freedom Flotilla to the United States. If this is the case, the transplantation of these patients constitutes a grossly inhumane act since it deprives the patients of their right to psychiatric treatment within the context of their culture and primary language."

DISAPPEARED

American citizenship has been no protection. Several dual-national Cuban Americans have been arrested while visiting relatives in Cuba. In eight cases the United States has not been given access to these Cuban Americans.

As in the Soviet Union, in Cuba opposition political parties, like all forms of dissent, are outlawed. There is no freedom of the press or of speech. All print and electronic media are owned and censored by the Ministry of Culture. Freedom of expression is further hampered by a widespread informer network, part of which is institutionalized in the neighborhood "Committees for the Defense of the Revolution."

"ARTISTIC" STANDARDS

Artists have been jailed for not conforming with the government's artistic guidelines. In 1977, for instance, journalist Amaro Gomez was arrested and sentenced to eight years in prison for possessing his own unpublished and uncirculated poems and plays. Freedom House states that "writing or speaking against the system, even in private, is severely repressed." Though literacy is growing in Cuba, less and less can be written or read.

Those who practice religion are excluded from the Communist Party and thus from responsible positions in the government or the army. The religious also face discrimination in employment, housing, and schooling. Some believers have been prosecuted for their differences with the government. Others have lost their jobs or have been excluded from universities. All Catholic Church-run schools have been closed and the church is forbidden its traditional role in education.

JAILING WORKERS

Free trade unions, collective bargaining, and strikes are all forbidden. In the last year, over 200 workers have been prosecuted for trying to organize strikes in the sugar and construction industries. Five trade unionists were condemned to death. But, according to reports, their sentences were reduced to 30 years after their cases became public knowledge. The Cuban government, after at first denying the facts, has said the "terrorists" received severe sentences.

At the recent conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague, the Cubans defended the sentences, explaining they were necessary to block any possible attempts to set up a Solidarity-style organization.

Rather than permit citizens to join independent groups, the government enrolls people in mass organizations such as the five million member Committee for the Defense of the Revolution. These non-democratic groups are used to channel the people's energies toward party-approved goals and to isolate people from more fruitful, but to the Party, dangerous associations.

As a result of 24 years of Communist control, more than one million Cubans, more than 10 percent of the island's inhabitants, have fled their homeland. An estimated 200,000 more have applied to emigrate, even though those who apply are usually stripped of their jobs, their ration cards, and their housing, and their children are forbidden to attend school.

THE GREAT CUBAN "EXPERIMENT"

All-in-all the great Cuban "experiment" has developed into nothing more original than a tropical version of the Soviet Union, complete with political prisoners and total government control of human freedoms. And that is precisely what those who are trying to spread revolution to other Central American countries have in mind for the entire region.

It is no wonder then that in Nicaragua there is growing opposition to the Sandinista regime, nor that the people of El Salvador, 80 percent of whom voted in recent elections, are resisting the attempts of Communist terrorists to destroy democracy in that country.

WHITE HOUSE DIGEST

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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 to 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, 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 have 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 censored 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 with the CST. In mid-March the union's 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.