

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 28, 1983

Dear Mr. Wiggins:

Thank you for your good letter of November 9th.

Your nice words of praise regarding the White House advance team, and most particularly your compliments concerning Walt McCay and Bill Craycraft were welcome indeed.

I am most grateful that you took your time to write.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



MICHAEL K. DEAVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Vernon R. Wiggins  
Federal Co-Chairman  
Alaska Land Use Council  
Post Office Box 100120  
Anchorage, Alaska 99510

rec'd 11/14/83



# ALASKA LAND USE COUNCIL

P.O. Box 100120  
Anchorage, Alaska 99510



State Co-Chairman  
Bill Sheffield  
Governor

(907) 272-3422

Federal Co-Chairman  
Vernon R. Wiggins

November 9, 1983

*Thank and  
cc to Kenkel*

Michael K. Deaver  
Assistant to the President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Deaver:

A Presidential visit to your city is an exciting event. But, few people ever witness the extensive work and extreme effort that must go into making that visit a success. As a member of the Reagan "family" I want to express my sincere appreciation for the work and effort put in by the advance team this past two weeks in Anchorage. Without doubt, Walt McCay and Bill Craycraft are two of the finest gentlemen I have ever met among advance personnel.

I hope that if the President ever returns to Anchorage, these two gentlemen can again be assigned to the advance team.

Kindest personal regards,

Vernon R. Wiggins  
Federal Cochairman  
Alaska Land Use Council

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 28, 1983

Dear Pete:

Thank you for your letter and well studied attachments of October 20. The work of the Bipartisan Budget Appeal Group continues to make a valuable contribution to discussions on the Federal deficit and how it should be addressed. I have circulated your papers among staff members within the Executive Office and at Treasury who are engaged in analyses of the deficit problem.

Certainly, the Administration is very concerned about the deficit projections for the next several years. Yet another disturbing set of projections sees tax revenues rising to historically high levels of between 19 and 20 percent of GNP. The convergence of these two conditions strongly argues for a continued reduction in the growth of outlays, as opposed to an increase in taxes, to reduce the deficit. A more detailed analysis of this fundamental concept is made in the attached October 21 testimony of Manuel H. Johnson, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy.

Again, I appreciate the analytical effort that you and your group have invested in this matter that so vitally concerns us all. I will gladly receive any future updates on the budget outlook that you would care to provide.

Sincerely,

*Mike*

MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

The Honorable Peter G. Peterson  
The Bipartisan Budget Appeal  
Bowling Green Station, Box 9  
New York, New York 10004

**The Bipartisan Budget Appeal**  
**Bowling Green Station**  
**Box 9**  
**New York, NY 10004**

**The Hon.**  
**W. Michael Blumenthal**  
Secretary of the Treasury  
1977-1979

**The Hon.**  
**John B. Connally**  
Secretary of the Treasury  
1971-1972

**The Hon.**  
**C. Douglas Dillon**  
Secretary of the Treasury  
1961-1965

**The Hon.**  
**Henry H. Fowler**  
Secretary of the Treasury  
1965-1968

**The Hon.**  
**Peter G. Peterson**  
Secretary of Commerce  
1972-1973

**The Hon.**  
**William E. Simon**  
Secretary of the Treasury  
1974-1976

October 20, 1983

*ask  
of for  
draft response*

181059

The Honorable Michael K. Deaver  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mike:

This is in the nature of an update that I promised you.

You will remember that our 500-member Bipartisan Budget Appeal group has addressed itself repeatedly in the past to the national, and even international problem of our Federal budget deficit.

We continue to believe -- despite presidential campaigns now heating up -- that the issue of the Federal deficit is so important to the future of the nation's economy that it transcends party politics.

For that reason I thought you would be interested in reading the attached letter and most recent analysis of the problem sent today on behalf of the founding members of our group to its entire membership.

Forgive the length. Neither the subject nor the possible alternative solutions are simple.

Sincerely,

Peter G. Peterson

*D.B.*

*Please. Send to*

*G. Fuller. asking  
for a response*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 28, 1983

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your letter of October 19 concerning food shortages in Africa.

The shortages described are primarily the result of drought conditions which have swept the African continent. The consequences, in terms of suffering and malnutrition, have been devastating in some countries, and the U.S. has sought to bring its resources to bear promptly to alleviate this suffering. In Fiscal Year 1983, for example, more than \$40 million of emergency food assistance under PL-480 was provided to Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as over \$200 million of non-emergency food aid. In Fiscal Year 1984, to date, the U.S. has approved more than \$15 million in emergency food aid programs under PL-480 to Sub-Saharan Africa, and we have under review a considerable number of additional emergency food aid programs.

Drought relief supplies, including PL-480 food shipments, are delivered to recipient nations by means of the most cost-effective transportation available. The South African Railways system has been used in the past to move emergency food aid under PL-480 to a number of countries in the region -- in part because the Republic has a number of modern ports that are capable of receiving and handling both bulk and bagged food aid.

I would be remiss in addressing the issue you have raised if I did not point out that the drought has afflicted South Africa itself, particularly that portion of the Black population which the South African Government has confined to the so-called "homelands." Much of the suffering which exists in the rest of Africa can also be found among these areas of Africa's wealthiest country. The U.S. has channelled some assistance, in the amount of \$55,000, in disaster relief funds to private organizations engaged in relief efforts in the homelands. It

would be our hope that the South African Government would begin to take decisive measures to relieve the suffering of Blacks within its own territory.

I hope this information is useful.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Mike*

MICHAEL K. DEAVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

The Honorable James W. Symington  
Suite 400  
1700 K Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006

JAMES W. SYMINGTON  
SUITE 400  
1700 K STREET, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

October 19, 1983

*Bill*  
*Get me a*  
*response*  
*pls.*

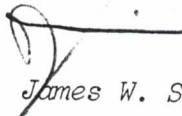
180776

Dear Mike,

The attached brings again to mind a notion I've had re "Constructive engagement" with South Africa. Combining their logistic, transportation and storage capabilities, with our PL 480 supplies of wheat, feed grain and dry milk and cheese, we could embark on a bold joint effort to relieve suffering - at least in the neighboring states.

I wrote Bill Clark along these lines some time back, and just thought I would try again.

With best,

  
James W. Symington

The Honorable Michael Deaver  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 28, 1983

Dear Mr. Finn:

The Deaver family join me in sending sincere thanks for the Burger King Whopper cards you sent to me after finding out from Jim Lake we were such loyal Burger King customers. We will think of you and your thoughtfulness when we enjoy our next meals there.

Thank you for sending them and for your good words of support for the President you enclosed in your letter.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



MICHAEL K. DEAVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Stephen A. Finn  
Vice President, Corporate Relations  
Burger King Corporation  
7360 North Kendall Drive  
Miami, Florida 33156

182574

17  
can I accept?

October 31, 1983

Mr. Michael K. Deaver  
Deputy Chief of Staff and  
Assistant to President  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Deaver:

Jim Lake just told me that you and your family are loyal BURGER KING® customers. I'm delighted to know that you enjoy our food, and hope that you will use the enclosed WHOPPER® cards to have your next hamburgers as my guest. And, please don't worry about taking Jim's last WHOPPER® card, I've sent him a re-supply today.

In the meantime, if I can ever be of assistance to you in any way, I hope you will let me know.

Sincerely,

*Steve F*

SAF:HMT

Encls.

P.S.  
The President is doing  
a magnificent job!!!  
He was right about Lebanon,  
and he is right about Grenada.  
Hang in there!!!

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 1983

Dear Ted:

Thank you very much for your recent letter explaining your and the other OCC's opposition to the FCC's access charge ruling. I believe the attached Statement of Administration Policy explains our position on this matter.

Basically, the Administration believes that any attempt to overturn the FCC decision would be a step backward for the nation's consumers. The inefficiencies that result from the ongoing cross-subsidies will further delay the introduction of new equipment and will inhibit competition in the marketplace. Furthermore, the opposing legislative attempts, such as that of Congressman Wirth (H.R.4102), contain many additional features that we believe are not in the best interests of the nation as a whole.

I hope this conveys a clear understanding of our position on this complex issue. Thank you again for expressing your views and concerns.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Theodore F. Brophy  
Chairman of the Board  
GTE Corporation  
One Stamford Forum  
Stamford, CT 06904



# STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

November 3, 1983

H.R. 4102 - Universal Telephone Service Preservation Act of 1983  
(Wirth (D) Colorado and 31 others)

The Administration strongly opposes enactment of H.R. 4102 and believes that the bill would be a major step backwards for consumers. H.R. 4102 would encourage retention of inefficient cross-subsidies, would delay introduction of new equipment and services, and would inhibit competition in the telecommunications marketplace.

*Need a  
draft  
response  
from CT*



*161895*

GTE Corporation

Theodore F. Brophy  
Chairman of the Board

One Stamford Forum  
Stamford, CT 06904  
203 965-2000

October 4, 1983

Mr. Michael K. Deaver  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
and Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mike:

Attached is a copy of a letter to the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission from eight of the largest potential competitors of AT&T for interexchange voice telephone service ("OCCs").

The letter advises the Chairman that if the access charges proposed to be imposed by the FCC in its Docket No. 78-72 upon the OCCs are implemented, the now profitable OCCs will operate at substantial losses and the opportunity for effective intercity competition will be destroyed.

If the reorganization of AT&T in accordance with the modified final judgment is not to be an exercise in futility, the opportunity for competition must exist.

The OCCs do not seek a subsidy but an equitable opportunity to compete.

I would appreciate your thoughtful consideration of the attached letter.

Sincerely yours,

Theodore F. Brophy

TFB:rh

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE  
**PRESIDENTIAL GIFT REQUEST FORM**

Requested By: Michael K. Deaver  
Office of: Michael K. Deaver  
Extension: 6475 Room Number: WW  
Date Requested: 11/28/83 Date Needed: 11/28/83

| ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE USE ONLY |       |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Request Approved By:           | _____ |
| Request Filled By:             | _____ |
| Date Dispatched:               | _____ |
| Receipt Confirmed:             | _____ |

Request  
Authorized  
By: \_\_\_\_\_

(Department Head)

**PURPOSE:** Event: To be sent to Embassy of countries he has just returned from

Trip To: \_\_\_\_\_

Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**ITEMS REQUESTED:**

1 Box

1 Box

to Japan

to Korea

3 good cuff links  
3 good pen sets

5 cheap tie bars  
5 cheap stick pins

FROM

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

☐ **DELIVER TO:** labels attached

**OR**

**SAME AS ABOVE**

FROM

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

Mr. Michael Gutensohn  
General Service Office  
American Embassy  
Seoul, Korea  
PO San Francisco, CA 96301

The Honorable Michael J. Mansfield . Deaver's card and  
American Ambassador  
United States Embassy  
Tokyo, Japan  
APO San Francisco, CA 96503  
*(box for travel, enclosure)*

*Sent 11/28/83*

Bill  
pls handle

Handy

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
TOKYO, JAPAN

Nov. 12, 1983

Dear Mike, -

The Presidents' visit was a rousing success - on T.V., Radio, the Press & in results. It was, in my opinion, much more than a ceremonial visit & what he was able to achieve will be very apparent in the weeks ahead.

I'm enclosing a letter from former P.M. Mike to the President & some extra menus from the Emperor's Dinner which you might like to have.

Incidentally, Mike, would it be possible for you to send me some of the Presidential cuff links, tie clasps, etc., to present, in the President's name to Bill Clark & some of the others who were so helpful? I know they would be highly treasured. Thanks for coming. Come again, stay longer & see more of the country. It was a pleasure to have you here.

Sincerely  
Mike Mansfield

|       |                  |                                                               |                                                                                            |
|-------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| NAME  | Mr. Stan Hidalgo | REMARKS                                                       | On Nov 29th you wrote to <i>ful</i>                                                        |
|       | GTE              | <i>let me see correspondence</i><br>Set-up Yes _____ No _____ | Mr. Ted Brophy Chr. of GTE                                                                 |
| Time  | 10:22 AM         |                                                               | re: FCC access...Mr. Brophy will be in DC on Friday and will like to come in to see you... |
| Phone | 463-5200         |                                                               | Re: This correspondence....                                                                |

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

12/13

TO: Donna Blume

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER

☒ FYI

☐ Comment

☐ Action

Meeting held this morning - Fuller & Brophy.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO: *naig*

FROM: DONNA L. BLUME  
Executive Assistant to  
Michael K. Deaver

☐ Information

☒ Action

*naig would like you to call / see Stan Hidalgo. Tr*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 1983

Dear Ted:

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I hope this conveys a clear understanding of our position on this complex issue. Thank you again for expressing your views and concerns.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Mike*

MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

*I really don't want to see  
if I would be  
the last  
person.*

Mr. Theodore F. Brophy  
Chairman of the Board  
GTE Corporation  
One Stamford Forum  
Stamford, CT 06904

*Statement of  
Admin Policy  
11/3 -  
HR. 4102  
Univ*



# STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

November 3, 1983

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161895

*Need a  
draft  
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GTE Corporation

Theodore F. Brophy  
Chairman of the Board

One Stamford Forum  
Stamford, CT 06904  
203 965-2000

October 4, 1983

Mr. Michael K. Deaver  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
and Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mike:

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I would appreciate your thoughtful consideration of the attached letter.

Sincerely yours,

Theodore F. Brophy

TFB:rh

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 1983

Dear Tom:

It was good to hear from you in your letter of November 21st which was awaiting my return from China. I'm sorry I was not in Washington to meet with you when you were in town recently.

Thank you for writing and for your continued efforts and support for the Administration. Hope to see you in 1984.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Thomas M. Jones  
Attorney at Law  
Commerce Bank Tower  
1201 Dove Street, Suite 490  
Newport Beach, California 92660

**THOMAS M. JONES**

ATTORNEY AT LAW

COMMERCEBANK TOWER  
1201 DOVE STREET, SUITE 490  
NEWPORT BEACH, CALIFORNIA 92660  
TELEPHONE (714) 476-2540

*note*

November 21, 1983

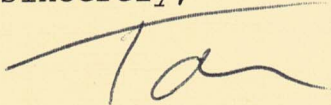
Michael K. Deaver  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20050

Dear Mike:

I was in Washington last week and had a good visit with Ed Meese, Jim Jenkins, Lynn Wood, Tim Cole, et al. You were in China and I was sorry to have missed you.

I also had a good meeting with John Rousselot and will be assisting him and Gordon Luce here in California. I will look forward to seeing you in 1984 and send my best wishes to you, Carolyn and the family.

Sincerely,



Thomas M. Jones

TMJ:11



MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Harold

Thanks for sending on the  
Benenson piece. I just returned  
from China and look forward  
to reading it. Stay in touch.  
Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Mr. Harold Burson  
Burson-Marsteller  
866 Third Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

11/20/82

# Burson-Marsteller

866 Third Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022  
212.752.8610

*card*

November 21, 1983

Mr. Michael K. Deaver  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mike:

Here's a copy of a statement that I think is worth reading.

Starting on Page 5, it is one of the most convincing arguments in support of the President's policy in Central America that I have seen.

Mark Benenson is a long-time friend who has been active in Amnesty International. However, he has sound Republican credentials, starting with his deceased father who was closely associated with Tom Dewey.

After the new year, I hope we can get together. Meanwhile, all good wishes to you and yours for a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

*HB 21.*

Harold Burson

HB:hs  
Encl.

NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION

ON

CENTRAL AMERICA

Henry A. Kissinger, Chairman

STATEMENT OF MARK K. BENENSON

September 29, 1983

Benenson, Kates & Hardy, Esqs.  
747 3rd Avenue  
New York, New York 10017

(212) 759-2822

My name is Mark K. Benenson. I am a New York City attorney. I appreciate this opportunity to appear before the Commission and give my views on the vexing and complex relationship between human rights principles and our foreign policy in Central America. From 1966 through 1981, I was active in the United States branch of Amnesty International, serving continuously on the Board of Directors and as general secretary, chairman, vice-chairman and general counsel. I am now counsel and a director of Democracy International, a new organization which seeks to promote plural democracy throughout the world. Today, I speak only for myself, not for those organizations.

For most of our history, human rights factors were not considered important in the making of foreign policy. Americans have usually supported in other countries, the democratic principles which are part of our own political heritage. In the nineteenth century, for instance, Americans supported the Greek independence effort and the 1830 and 1848 revolutionary upheavals against Continental autocracies.

However, professional diplomats in the State Department were always uneasy at complaining to other governments about their treatment of their own citizens. They followed John Quincy Adams' dictum, "We are friends of liberty everywhere, but the custodians only of our own."

That attitude ignored the special role of our country as a catalyst of progressivism in the history of civilization. For all of our materialism and capitalism, we Americans are not just economic men. Woodrow Wilson once said we were "... the only

idealistic nation in the world." Many of us believe that our country and our institutions exist for more than merely to assure security and comfort for ourselves. Despite all our flaws and faults, history requires America to illuminate for humanity the potential for national success in the pursuit of happiness. We have also felt that our own security was greater if other countries had stable democratic governments, and we have sought to help them along their way.

The Holocaust demonstrated that indifference to human rights violations could have catastrophic consequences. When the United Nations was established, an international declaration of human rights was adopted, modeled on our own Bill of Rights. Virtually every member of the U.N. has adopted the Declaration. Too many of them promptly proceeded to ignore those parts of it which it was inconvenient for them to honor.

In the Soviet Union, in South Africa, on every continent, governments which faithfully professed their adherence to the Declaration tilted towards barbarism. Firing squads flourished and in gulags in dozens of countries, prisoners of conscience were incarcerated and forgotten.

These abuses led in 1961 to the founding of Amnesty International by my British cousin Peter Benenson. The American section was established five years later. Amnesty's efforts, together with those of such other organizations as the International League for Human Rights and the International Commission of Jurists, have created a human rights constituency. Bipartisan,

institutionalized in government, the media, the churches, in academia and foundations, that constituency above all commands a broad base of support among our citizenry. It holds our own government to strict account when it deals with repressive and inhumane regimes. Supporting human rights around the world is now essential to our foreign policy continuum. Every administration, Republican or Democratic, must accept that reality.

In 1972 in an article in the Christian Science Monitor, I called for the creation of an Assistant Secretaryship of Human Rights in the State Department. I may have been the first person to do so. That office was established during the Carter administration. Unique among the nations, our statutory scheme insists upon the observance of human rights principles in foreign policy-making. The Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs issues reports and statements which, mirabile dictu, frequently criticize our own friends and allies. The Bureau and its activities in both the Carter and Reagan Administrations exemplify the principles of humanity and liberty on which the United States was founded, and in the light of which, I hope and trust, we have by and large continued to function.

But an adherence to principles of human rights by no means requires that other imperatives involving the welfare of the United States should be slighted or ignored. The national security cannot be made secondary to satisfy what Michael Novak has called the humanitarian "dream of ... a non-ideological Archimedean point ... above the fray." Today, mankind's liberties rest in the last analysis upon the freedom and power of the United States.

There are ethical differences between our coalition and the communist world which reasonable people may discern. The new neutralists of West Germany should compare the national origins of most of this generation's innumerable refugees and exiles with their destinations, and be enlightened thereby. The principal danger to liberty at this moment in history emanates not from fascism, but from the formidably organized totalitarianism of the Soviet Union, crushing independent nations, arming its surrogates and threatening the peace around the world. There lies the real threat.

No doubt the governments of Honduras and Guatemala and especially of El Salvador, which we support and in the last-named sustain, are contemptible regimes. They richly deserve the condemnation they regularly receive in, among other places, the United States Congress. Dominated by military and civilian oligarchies, the phrase "the public welfare" has little meaning. As we all well know, human rights and especially the right to life are regularly violated; torture, murder, imprisonment without charge or trial are the normal and accepted ways in which those establishments deal with their opponents and with dissenters. Even those who have no political stake, but believe that they are morally required to help all of the disadvantaged, like members of the religious and health care professions, regularly have been made the victims of official repression.

Tens of thousands have died in Central America. Arguably, there is less personal security and more risk of death in El Salvador than in any other country in the world at the present time

except, I suppose, Afghanistan. I don't intend to relate the detailed statistics to you, on the number of persons killed, maimed, or missing as a result of actions by official and semi-official security forces. The precise numbers in each category of cruelty in each country, and the details of the outrages, may be the subject of dispute. However, none, including to its credit our own State Department, deny that the statistics are horrifying. There is no doubt that American assistance, both economic and military, goes to brutal and abusive regimes and unquestionably helps perpetuate them in power.

↓  
Nevertheless, it is possible, in principle, to defend our present policies, even from the human rights viewpoint, and I am one of those who somewhat reluctantly finds himself doing so. First of all, there is no assurance, should a repressive government fall, that its successor will be more liberal. I am not an historian, but my impression is that in the twentieth century, the odds are that the next government will be as bad or worse. The Czar was followed by the Bolsheviks. The Weimar Republic lasted for only a few years after the fall of the Kaiser, then Hitler took power. The Koumintang was succeeded by Mao-Tse Tung, and Batista by Castro. In Latin America, the trend, now perhaps abating a little, has been for military autocracies to succeed more pluralistic governments.

Withdrawal of American assistance from despotic states by no means guarantees a transition to democracy. Many human rights advocates, myself included, were glad to see the Carter administration heavily pressure the Shah of Iran over human rights abuses.

Some of us, too late, have had second thoughts. The lessening of American support, in large part deriving from criticism of Iranian government repression, unquestionably emboldened the revolutionists. They overthrew a faithful ally; his successor, who hates our country and everything it stands for, governs Iran in a way that combines the worst features of the Spanish Inquisition and the Stuart Star Chamber. In Nicaragua, an idiosyncratic tyrant whom we could no longer assist has been replaced by well-organized Marxist totalitarians. Only reactionary Nicaraguans want to return to Somoza, but not everyone thinks the new government is an immense improvement. Certainly the Miskito Indians, whose villages have been burned, and many of whom have been killed by the Sandinists, were better off before. The tiny Jewish community in Nicaragua has fled and the pressures are beginning against the Catholic Church.

I don't mean to say that the Shah and Somoza would not have fallen if we had not withdrawn our help. By their own exactions and abuses they had probably alienated too many of the power centres in their own societies to survive. Perhaps they would still be in power if we had begun to hound them about their human rights abuses twenty years ago, and if they had paid attention. Those governments collapsed because their time was up, but the cause of human rights has not been served by their replacements. Thus there is no assurance, if we pulled out and El Salvador's government fell, that the victorious revolutionaries would be any less repressive. Perhaps they would be, but there is nothing objective to tell us so and the human rights situation could turn out to be no better, or even worse.

However, there is one thing we can be sure of. In the worldwide struggle between our system, which focuses on individual rights, and the other one which exalts the power of the state, a Marxist takeover in Central America would be disastrous. Mexico, which is hang-

The Panama Canal, still very important to our economic and military welfare, would be put at risk. Democratic Latin American governments would be endangered. The Russians would have yet another area nearby for airfields and submarine bases.

Thus our national interest sometimes may require, even if we have to hold our noses, giving economic or military aid to inhumane governments. Winston Churchill supposedly said, granted while Britain was at war, that if Hitler invaded Hell, he, Churchill, would at least make a favorable reference to Satan in the House of Commons. Like it or not, we are sometimes compelled, in the short term and with our eyes wide open, to support some truly odious regimes in Central America.

That does not mean we should ignore their repressive activities. We must continue to pressure our Central American clients to moderate their behavior. The certification process, which keeps the heat on, is essential. We must increase the kind of assistance that will make it possible to ameliorate the social and economic conditions which have given rise to revolutionary movements. I would rather see us spending money in Central America than in the Lebanese quagmire. It is curious that there can be so much objection to our expenditures in Central America, and so little to pouring our funds into the bottomless rathole of Lebanese anarchy.

In what I have said up to now I have basically agreed with our current Central American policy. I do not, however, support all of it in detail. I have always assumed our government has a duty to protect, at a minimum, the human rights of our own citizens. This administration and its predecessor have failed to make El Salvador punish the murderers of a number of American citizens. The most outrageous

cases are those of the four women, three of them members of a religious order, who were kidnapped, brutalized and then slain and buried in a common grave in 1980, and the two AFL-CIO land reform experts, who were killed in a restaurant the following year. Low-ranking National Guardsmen have been identified and charged with the murders of the American women, but the prosecution has been stalled. In any event, it seems clear that they would not have acted without authorization. New York magazine said in its September 12, 1983 issue, in an article by Michael Kramer, and I quote,

"The killer of the American nuns, well known in El Salvador, is still not convicted. The officer responsible for murdering two American officials in broad daylight at San Salvador's Sheraton Hotel in 1981 is also known. He has red hair and a red mustache -- extremely rare in El Salvador. For his lineup, he dyed his hair and shaved off his mustache. The witnesses couldn't identify him, and the court refused an appeal based on the soldier's altered appearance (Because of the war, the army has the power to move on its own in such investigations. A Salvadoran colonel was asked why the military couldn't correct the obvious injustice in the Sheraton case. He explained that the army's special powers could not be used for 'common crimes, and murder is a common crime in El Salvador').".

The women were not partisans - they were not taken in arms. From everything one learns about them they were, despite some contrary calumnies, innocent of political intent, unless to their slayers, relieving poverty and suffering was political. Few can doubt that the affair was other than a deliberate act of official terrorism by government security forces.

The unionists who were killed, in supporting the cause of land reform in El Salvador, were furthering not merely the ideals of their employer, the American labor movement, but our own

government's policies. Both the Carter and Reagan administrations correctly have emphasized land reform as a principal obstacle to Marxist success in El Salvador. It has been said by some that the two men were professionals knowingly going into a war, and that they assumed the risks of the assassination they suffered. The women too, it is asserted, were sophisticated enough to understand that they were courting danger. I cannot, and the United States should not, accept these convenient rationalizations.

The knowledge to accuse, convict, and punish all the murderers exists. They are known. The conspiracy of silence and complicity in El Salvador must be shattered. If we cannot persuade or indeed force that country's rulers to bring condign punishment upon the malefactors, of whatever rank, class or condition, our power to influence the treatment of Salvadorans, modest enough today, will surely even more be diminished. When we cannot even make that government punish killers of Americans, why should they care what we think of their crimes against their own population? How weak, and how contemptible in resolution, we must appear to the jackbooted oligarchs who are the real rulers of that unfortunate country!

Cannot proof be produced by the conventional law-enforcement methods, of promising one criminal immunity to testify against others, offering a substantial reward, protection during the trial, and U.S. immigration visas for witnesses and families? I do not suggest that an American's life is worth more than a Salvadoran's, but a nation that does not protect its own fails in the first function of statehood. I urge this Commission to press upon the administration the importance and urgency of seeing that these

Q There is one other issue I should like to touch on, the conflict in Nicaragua. According to the press, a substantial amount of American support is going to insurrectionaries who were associated with the deposed Somoza government. Rather less, it is said, flows to the group headed by Eden Pastora, "Commandante Zero", who has good revolutionary credentials and is respected within Nicaragua. If we are going to support these guerrillas, I would like to see the anti-Sandinist effort under the aegis of those concerning whose past no doubts can be raised.

I am aware that the media calling a man a Somocista does not necessarily make him one. Many officials of that regime, and many of its National Guard officers and soldiers, were unhappy and indeed, disgusted, with its excesses and did not personally support that government. Many, constrained by fears for themselves or their families, supported the revolution in their hearts but had to oppose it, however unenthusiastically, in their official role. Some of these men are now fighting the Sandinists, or say they are going to, and we are training, supplying and supporting them.

I know that one has to construct implements with the materials on hand. Nevertheless, it is imperative, in my judgment, that these doubtful elements, if we must utilize them, be brought under the control and leadership of Nicaraguan personalities who have no ties to the old regime.

Let me summarize briefly. Human rights issues, after a long neglect, have reached a more appropriate position in foreign policy-making. They deserve and now receive equal consideration with, for instance, economic and other political factors. For all that our present high interest in them reflects the best

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instincts of the American people, and for all the political heat they generate, they must remain subordinate, in Central America at least, to a dispassionate consideration of the hard necessities of national security.

When we assist, as undoubtedly we do, evil-doing governments, let it not be construed as approval. To the contrary, we must unremittingly press for reform, for renewal, for an attachment to democratic and humanitarian principles of governance. And in all of this, our government must actively protect our own citizens in these countries. I reiterate that the failure to bring the murderers of Americans in El Salvador to judgment dishonors the memory of the victims, and will not cease to trouble the nation's conscience.

Gentlemen, thank you very much.