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DOC NO	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
1	LETTER	TO M. DEEVER RE ALLEGATIONS	2	6/1/1984	B6
2	MEMO	TAD THARP TO BILL SITTMANN RE CASTINE MEMO	1	5/31/1984	B6
3	MEMO	MICHAEL CASTINE TO SITTMANN RE ATTACHED MEMO	1	5/22/1984	B6
4	MEMO	CASTINE TO SITTMANN RE PERSON RECOMMENDED FOR POSITION	1	1/7/1984	B6

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 1, 1984

Dear Pete,

In reviewing the plans for the Federal Government's activities in Los Angeles during the 1984 Olympics there are some issues that need addressing. In particular, there are items which several federal agencies are negotiating with the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC), that are incomplete at this time. In light of the fact that the opening of the Summer Games is close at hand, we are looking forward toward making more rapid progress in our joint undertaking with the LAOOC.

Of particular importance is continued cooperation with the Secret Service and Department of State in their role of dignitary protection. By law, it is reasonably well prescribed exactly who, or what groups of individuals, are afforded federal protection. Of course, this responsibility is taken very seriously. The involved agencies have indicated to me that while there has been close cooperation and coordination with the LAOOC to date, enough joint operational decisions are still pending so that we are beginning to fall behind schedule on our security planning. Specific points such as motorcades, posting of protective detail agents, seating charts, etc., are currently not being addressed. As you will readily recognize, aiding us in the preparations of our plans will go a long way in assuring that each event will be as secure as possible, and at the same time, exposing nearby spectators, there to see an athletic contest, to the least amount of inconvenience.

While everyone recognizes that the LAOOC is indeed a private organization, it has fallen to the U.S. Government to provide assistance to some of those visiting the Olympics this summer, specifically, foreign governmental officials. The Department of State has recently received several diplomatic notes from foreign governments raising questions concerning their officials' attendance at the Games. In this regard, it is important that we continue to discuss ways to alleviate this thorny issue. As many of the countries involved are deemed vital to our national interest, it is imperative that we be as accommodating as circumstances permit. In future discussions with the LAOOC we are prepared to offer suggestions and possible alternatives to this problem.

An example of an issue that includes both protocol and security, is that of airport accreditation. As LAOOC's policy is currently understood, it is mandatory that all officials (including Heads of State and other high threat dignitaries) be shuttled from their

aircraft to a central accreditation center at LAX for photographs and identification processing. This procedure could easily be accomplished prior to arrival by the various foreign consulates in Los Angeles. The present policy, I believe, is unproductive in terms of what both the LAOOC and the Federal Government is trying to accomplish in the way of protocol and security.

The U.S. Government, through the endeavors of the Department of Defense (DOD), is involved in an enterprise of extraordinary proportions. The benefits from their support to local law enforcement is obvious, providing advantages to all interested parties, including the LAOOC. One particular item that is not progressing as well as hoped, is the installation of the intrusion detection systems; state of the art equipment being placed at the Olympic Villages. Due to unforeseen problems in gaining necessary access for installation and discussions between the LAOOC-LAPD about where to place command posts, fence lines, etc., we may be forced to install a less sophisticated system than first envisioned. As I know you've given the security of the Villages the highest priority, the need to resolve this issue is obvious.

With the recent unfounded barrage of complaints from the Soviet Union concerning a perceived lack of security at the Summer Games, you'll agree that we must do everything within reason, to assure the people visiting and living in Los Angeles that every effort has been put forward to ensure their welfare. The previous examples are only a few of the agenda items that should be addressed, but they represent those that are most pressing. I view these issues with great concern and look forward to hearing your thoughts on these matters.

This is truly an extraordinary event with which we're all involved. We are pleased with the exceptional cooperation that has existed between all jurisdictions working on the 1984 Olympic Games. As an admirer of the ability and perseverance you and your staff have brought to the task of organizing these Summer Games, I wish you ongoing success and continue to offer you our total support in this undertaking.

Sincerely,



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

Mr. Peter Ueberroth
President,
Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee
Los Angeles, California 90084

25
Phone (301) 433-3344

Arun R. Anjaria
534 Kirkwood House
6401 Loch Raven Blvd.
Baltimore, MD 21239
April 24, 1984

The Executive Office
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W..
Washington, DC 20500

SLR
Dear Sir:

SUBJECT: President's Award of Freedom and Presidential
Citizen's Medal.

I am a blind man and I would like to know that for the Presidential Award of Freedom and also about Presidential Citizen's Medal, to nominate somebody, whether any specific nomination application or forms are needed or only by writing a letter nominating somebody is OK for the nomination. Please also inform me that any person can nominate anybody or only some people can nominate others. About stated awards are given only once in a year? Please answer to above three questions by writing to me in Braille since I cannot read regular letters being blind. To repeat my main question, I would like to know that only by a letter nomination can be sent to you for above stated two awards or any forms or a special application is needed for nomination? Thanking you.

Sincerely yours,

Ar R. Anjaria

Arun R. Anjaria

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 7, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER, DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: FAITH R. WHITTLESEY, ASSISTANT TO THE
PRESIDENT FOR PUBLIC LIAISON *FRW*

SUBJECT: Transcript on Central America

Please find enclosed a transcript of a briefing held on May 4th by our Outreach Working Group on Central America. The subject of the briefing was "Religious Persecution in Nicaragua," and one of the four eye witnesses from Nicaragua was a Sandinista torture victim. This document contains extremely dramatic and moving evidence of the nature of the Sandinista regime. We are making every effort to circulate it widely.

UNEDITED
TRANSCRIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 4, 1984

OUTREACH WORKING GROUP ON CENTRAL AMERICA

"RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN NICARAGUA"

FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON
CHAIRMAN

9:30 - 12:00 P.M., Room 450 OEOB

A G E N D A

I. Introductory Remarks:

Faith Ryan Whittlesey
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

II. Geraldine O'Leary Macias
Former Maryknoll Nun

III. Prudencio de Jesus Baltodano
Pentecostal Preacher, Farmer,
Victim of Sandinista Torture

IV. Wycliffe Diego
Co-Founder of ALPROMISU
Political Coordinator of MISURA

V. Humberto Belli
Former Editorial Page Editor of La Prensa
Founder of the Puebla Institute

MRS. FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY: On behalf of the President, we welcome you to this White House complex and the 53rd meeting of our White House Outreach Working Group on Central America. We have been having these meetings for almost a year to provide more information to the American people about the President's policies in Central America and the facts upon which those policies are based. The subject of the meeting for today is religious persecution in Nicaragua, and we have a group of eyewitnesses who will speak to us on that subject.

History has shown us that Communist regimes inevitably seek to either eradicate the Church or to subvert it. Ideologically the Church's existence is repugnant to them. Allegiance to God prevents total allegiance to and subjugation by the state, which according to Marx, is the vehicle for the secular transformation of man into God. The communists cannot tolerate this limitation on their absolute power. Thus, in the Soviet Union all but a tiny percentage of churches have been closed and religious affiliation routinely brings the loss of precious privileges and sometimes brings more serious persecution.

In Nicaragua, the self-admitted Marxist-Leninist leaders of the government are following the same path. Any traveler will tell you it is difficult to choose a route without having a destination in mind. For the Marxist-Leninist leaders of Nicaragua the destination has been clear since their training days in Cuba. They desire a totalitarian state in which no organization will challenge their supreme authority.

Standing in the way of this goal are the deep-seated religious convictions of the Nicaraguan people. Since they cannot simply outlaw the churches without sacrificing what international support still exists for their revolution, the Sandinista leadership is following a two-track policy of persecution and subversion.

A Sandinista document, called the "72-hour Document", outlined the strategy to be used as the regime consolidated its power. That document was published by the regime in October of 1979, and it stated that the Catholic Church was to be treated cordially and I quote: "Following a cautious policy designed to neutralize conservative elements, develop close ties to sympathetic elements, and stimulate the revolutionary sectors." Protestants, they said, and I quote, "have to be watched closely, restricted, and expelled if detected in any untoward acts."

In the intervening four and a half years, the Sandinistas have been true to their word. Believers have been harassed, arrested, and even tortured. This violates not only international standards of decency and behavior, but the Sandinistas' own law. Article 19 of the Statute on the Rights and Guarantees of Nicaraguans provides that..."Even in cases of emergency"...freedom of thought and religion cannot be suspended. But this is, unfortunately, equivalent to the guarantees of religious freedom in the Soviet

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Mrs. Macias has recently contributed a chapter to Ethics and Public Policy Center's just-released book, Crisis and Opportunity: United States Policy in Central America. And I would also point out to you that Mrs. Macias has written this book of essays called, "Only Another Tyranny", which is available for any of you who may be interested if you contact Mrs. Macias. Geraldine, Welcome to our White House Outreach group...

GERALDINE MACIAS: Thank you. I think she gave you a lot of facts about where I came from or what I was in the last, say 15 years; as a Maryknoll sister, and then working for Protestant Social Services.

But I'd like to talk today about what I am now, and first of all I am a refugee; one of the thousands who have left Nicaragua in the last four years. My husband is a Nicaraguan. I have watched him in the last year and a half lose contact with his family, his elderly parents; struggle with the English language, which he never planned to learn before; send in resumes--hundreds of times and be refused because he cannot speak English.

I have watched him lose his culture, lose contact with his language and suffer the fact of being a political refugee, and basically it's because he's two things: A Christian and a politician. Now, specifically we left Nicaragua in '82 because, of course, there were these threats to eliminate my husband. We were informed of this by a security policeman and also informed shortly after that by a friend of ours who saw the arrest order.

Ironically though, this was confirmed for us here in the United States by the security policeman who organized the whole campaign against us. I don't think it's too many times that someone who is set up for elimination and meets the person who set him up and receives his apology. This happened to us when Miguel Bolanos informed us that he was told to do this elimination campaign and the security police to watch our house, to put in the media lies about my husband. Miguel Bolanos came to apologize.

Now that was the first reason why we left. The second reason, I think, pertains to you people. Because my husband had been arrested under Somoza and had received death threats under Somoza also -- so many people have said to us: "Why under Somoza would he stay in the country and under the Sandinistas would he leave?" And he said: "That belongs to the churches and human rights groups in the world to answer. Because under Somoza I felt that if I went to jail there would be an international clamor. If I died, I would die as a martyr. At least something would be left to my children. But in 1982, when I received death threats and there was an arrest order to me, I felt sure that if I was put in prison, international groups would not clamor for my release, international groups would not protest against the Sandinistas. These groups that had been so supportive against Somoza now are silent or covering up for the Sandinista government. Therefore, I felt, 'Why die and have my

children be told that I was a counter-revolutionary?' It would be better to be alive and struggling from outside."

When you talk about the FSLN and the Sandinistas, I would like to make it clear that there are lots of Sandinistas who are not FSLN, The Sandinista Liberation Front. The original Sandinista coalition was more than 20 groups, amongst which were labor union congresses, labor union groups, community groups, and political parties.

The FSLN made it impossible for any group to use the word Sandinista shortly after revolution, because they wanted to identify themselves as the revolution. I do not agree. There were too many of us that spent years -- people like my husband -- other people who spent even longer than him fighting against the Somoza government; seeking change for Nicaragua, who could consider themselves Sandinista revolutionaries and they were never Marxists, nor members of the FSLN.

Today, there are people leaving Nicaragua. People like ourselves who are forced to leave -- people who see the only choice is either to be silent or to leave their country. I have had the privilege of translating for some of these people here in this area and also in the Midwest, where I am from, and the tragedy I find for many of them are from 18 to 25 year olds.

These are young people who are leaving their country because they have been members of the Sandinista Army and do not want to continue. And they do not want to continue because indoctrination is only Marxist-Leninist and is very anti-church. Others are leaving because of the Conscription Law--they have no choice. I find it very ironic that groups here in the United States that support pacifism do not support it in Nicaragua.

These people are leaving in droves, coming to the United States, many times without their families and trying to survive here. My own experience is that it's very difficult to get help not only from church groups and the same human rights groups many times have told us that they wouldn't help Nicaragua refugees because they are coming from a "progressive" government and there is no reason to leave. Others have told me that the FSLN doesn't kill people. Well, it's very hard to bring the bodies up here to show them. Fortunately, we have a few people like Prudencio, who survived the attempt to murder him.

Also, many people look at Nicaragua and talk about popular support. Well, when I was still there in '82, and I was director of a small private organization, I weekly had people coming to me, wanting to leave their government positions to work for me in any way at all--as a chauffeur, as a secretary--because they were being forced to belong to the militias and the militias were being sent to the frontiers to do the fighting while the Sandinista Army was being kept in the quartels.

These people told me that the militia training was very inadequate, that they weren't given sufficient arms when they went to the borders, and they weren't given sufficient arms when they went to the borders, and they weren't convinced about that they were fighting for. To me there has been a slaughter of Nicaraguans; people forced to go and defend the Sandinista political party as the bishops have said in the pastoral letters.

People going into the militias and armies are not defending Nicaragua, they are defending a Marxist-Leninist party. Not only that, many of them find out that the persons in charge of their units are foreigners. Many times Cubans. And the Cubans have taken over, not only the many forces fighting (especially in the South), but also the security police and even the community organizations. There is a lot of protest in Nicaragua, a lot of unrest.

I think most of you are aware of the group called ARDE/MISURA in the South of Nicaragua, which in May of 1983 had 500 people when they first started to fight. In December of last year they had 8,600, and the latest report is they are growing to 10,000 by the end of next month. Why are all these people joining to fight against the Sandinistas if they are popular government? There has been repression, there has been persecution, mostly against the politicians to begin with, then gradually against the church people and I look at the people who deny this as being very short-sighted and ostriches with their heads in the sand.

Eventually, it will get to all of them who try to be outspoken, who try to defend human rights in Nicaragua. I find that our best friends are the Central American countries around us: Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, El Salvador; they understand that the problem is not just of those Nicaraguans and after 10 years there, my children were born there, I feel at least half Nicaraguan.

The problem is Central America. Because Nicaragua has destroyed, has betrayed a revolution--has destroyed and betrayed the hopes of many people that were giving their lives, risking their lives for fundamental change. The Sandinistas have made 'revolution' a bad word, when for us it was originally a very good concept. And they have threatened our neighboring countries; threatened the neighboring citizens with violence, with terrorism, and attempts in other countries to impose Marxism-Leninism as they have done in Nicaragua.

Once again, I'd like to say one of the reasons we are here is because there was no one outside to give us the protection of protests, when my husband was threatened with arrest. There is no one outside yet for many people who will say to you if you are still in Nicaragua--"if you speak out, we will support you. If you take a risk, we're there to defend you." And as long as there's not international pressure on Nicaragua, we have to keep on leaving and you have to keep on supporting us. Thank you.

MRS. WHITTLESEY: Thank you, Geraldine.

Persecution of Protestant groups has been even more direct and brutal because of their smaller size. They have been more vulnerable to these kinds of attacks. We have with us today Prudencio Baltodano. Mr. Baltodano was a Pentacostal preacher and farmer in El Tendido near the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua. He is a witness to the repression in his homeland and has suffered himself from Sandinista torture.

He now lives in Costa Rica and is in Washington taking his case to the Congress, the Organization of American States, and the American People. Mr. Baltodano's story for us today will be interpreted by the lady from the State Department who has kindly consented to help. A copy of Mr. Baltodano's testimony is also in your packets. I neglected to mention that.

PRUDENCIO BALTODANO: I would like to greet you all in the name of Christ Jesus. And in the hope that Christ Jesus will bring hope to the people of Nicaragua and to the world. Because Christ is the only one who can do that--who can bring peace to the world and I would like to invite all believers to work for peace in Nicaragua and in the world.

I guess a lot of you know me. I'm getting to be pretty well known in Washington, but for all of those who don't know me yet, here I am.

This is what happened to me. This is my case: I was at home with my wife and with my children. In the place where I live is called El Tendido Punta Gorda, in the province of Southern Zelaya. One morning at the beginning of February, I was surprised by witnessing a combat in this area between Sandinista troops and a group who turned out to be from ARDE.

This was such a harsh combat that we had the impression that the mountains were falling in on us. So we decided we would have to leave home and we went into the mountains, about 2 kilometers. We spent that day, that night and the next day in the mountains and about 2 p.m. in the next afternoon, we were surprised by the gunfire from the Sandinista forces. We were immediately tied --bound by the Sandinista. When I say 'we', what I mean is I was accompanied by one other man, Christanto Jaime. When we fled, we were joined by some neighbors. There were about 40 women and children, but just one other man and myself.

One of the ladies that was caught started to cry and the soldiers said: "What are you crying about?" And she said, "I know that the soldiers are going to kill my son." The soldier said: "No, we are no bad people. It is the Contras who are the bad ones."

At that time the soldiers told the women to go home and not to worry and they went back down across the river. They took us to the third farm. We crossed through two farms and came to the third one belonging to a man named Miguel Fernandez. They took us to a little opening and told us to take off our clothes. They took off our clothes and replaced our own clothes with military clothes. At that point they began to knock us to the ground and began hitting us to different parts of our bodies until we were practically unconscious.

Then the soldiers asked us: "Have you ever seen the famous Sombreristas - the Little Hats?" We said that we have never heard of the "Little Hats" and this group of soldiers said: "Well, for your information we are those famous "Little Hats."

Then they began asking us questions -- "What is your name?" My friend said: "My name is Chrisanto Jaime." and they said: "What is your name and I said Prudencio Baltodano," and the soldiers said: "Oh, you're the one." He said to me that I was on their list. "You are an evangelical pastor, preacher. You are one of the ones that go around convincing the peasants to join the Contras."

This was an accusation that was not based in fact, not true. I was not trying to convince anyone to join with the Contras. The only kind of conquest that I was attempting to make was to conquer people to convince them to come over to God and Christ and certainly not over to the Contras. The soldiers said to me: "Pastors and preachers are our enemies. We do not believe in God. In case you're interested, and for your information, we are Communist." Then he introduced me to one of his colleagues and said: "This is God."

Then he said to me: "Start to pray and see if your God will save you." Then he ordered another soldier to take me up to a hill. They took me into a wooded area about 10 meters (30 feet) away. One guy said to another: "Tie him up." So they tied my hands behind my back to a tree. When the one had finished tying my hands to the tree, he hit me with the butt of his weapon. Still I have the scar over here.

Then he took a bayonet out of his belt and he hit me in the jaw with it. The soldier tried to put the bayonet on the end of his rifle, but he was not able to get it in, so he threw the rifle down and took the bayonet, took me by the hair and cut one ear off and then the other, as you can see. The one that had been doing this said to one of his colleagues: "Shall I go ahead and shoot him?" The other one said: "No, it's not worth wasting a bullet on a so-and-so like that. Let him die suffering. Anyway, it won't take him long to bleed to death. That's because I cut his jugular vein."

It was at that point that I fainted and didn't hear anymore voices or anything else. That was sort of the end of it because

although I was feeling a great deal of pain at that point, I fainted and didn't feel anything. This all happened around 3 in the afternoon. When I recovered consciousness, it was about 5 pm. I was still at the same tree and there was a puddle of coagulated blood there. I began to try to move and try to see if I could get loose, as I was of course still tied to the tree. And with God's help I was able to loose those bonds. I walked a bit; I saw a truck and I changed my mind and went back to the jungle, the woods. I walked through one night and the next day and I fainted again.

It was then I realized I had worms both in my ear and in the wound I had in my forehead. Then the next day I started out very early and finally got back -- walking from 5 in the morning to 4 that afternoon. I finally reached the property of the man named Chrisanto Jaime. I found him there in his garden. He took care of my wound, treated the worms, the infection in both my ear and forehead. At that point two men came along looking for a family who turned out to be member of ARDE. Upon seeing me there they said: "What are you doing? How can you stay there without any treatment -- you will die. Let us take you to where you can be helped." I said that I couldn't; that if I would walk, I would faint.

As I think you can all realize, this is not an isolated case. This is one of many which has occurred in Nicaragua and even in this same area of mine, El Tendido. I know of one case of a man named Miguel Flores who was a pastor of the Central American Evangelical Mission. I worked with him as the first deacon of his church. He was taken, tied up, his nose cut off, his eyes put out, his face was cut up, his ears were cut off, and he was tied and shackled.

This was not the only case. More people have died. Mostly me, although there were some women. There was a total of 59 in all.

Going back to when I was being helped by the people from ARDE, they said that they would give me a day to see if I felt any better. They came back the next day and took me out to a place called La Gloria. They told me that my family had been evacuated from El Tendido also and taken to La Gloria. In Tendido all the houses were burned, they were all reduced to ashes by the Sandinistas.

From La Gloria we walked to the San Juan river. This took 14 days of walking through the jungle. There, at the San Juan river, there were some reporters from Costa Rica -- San Jose, interviewed me and some doctors arrived and took me to San Jose, Costa Rica. Those doctors asked me whether I could go to the United States to testify and I said yes I would be willing. I had made a promist to God to testify before God and man to what had happened to me.
THANK YOU.

MRS. WHITTLESEY: Thank you Mr. Baltodano and also Stephanie Von Rickensburg for the excellent translation.

The East Coast region of Nicaragua has long been physically, historically, and culturally isolated from the country's mainstream. The population is primarily Indian, mostly Miskito, and Black. These groups are traditionally religious -- Moravian, Roman Catholic, and Church of God. Conservative in manner and keenly proud of their ethnic uniqueness. They were allowed relative autonomy even under former Nicaraguan dictator, Anastasio Somoza.

Despite Miskito support for the Sandinistas against Somoza, the Nicaraguan government in 1979 embarked on a program to, as they call it, rescue the Atlantic Coast. Cuban and Nicaraguan personnel began to flood into the area. The net effect of this program, according to the human rights group, Freedom House, is to: "Deprive them of their social and cultural identity, and identity based on a communal lifestyle, a democratically based selection of leadership, and a passable way of life centered on their churches."

Almost immediately the Indians' long cherished autonomy began to fade away. Their traditional and freely elected leaders were replaced with Sandinista appointed authorities. MANY WERE Cuban, most were strangers. The lives of the Indians were redrawn along Marxist lines.

From the outset, the triumphant Sandinistas experienced difficulties bringing the Indians under their domination. Demonstrations, some turning violent, broke out along the East Coast as Indians and Blacks protested the presence of Cuban security force advisors and teachers in 1980.

Beginning in 1981, thousands of Indians were evacuated from communities in an attempt to move the entire Indian population to areas under close governmental control. The reason given for this was the danger of attacks by anti-Sandinista forces; however, the evacuations began before Contra activity along the border with Honduras began in earnest.

Briefly stated, the Sandinistas have implemented a policy of Indian ethnocide. One-fourth of the coast's 165,000 Indians are either in relocation camps or refugee camps. One-half of Miskito and Sumo villages have been destroyed.

One thousand Indian civilians are in prison, missing, or dead. Indian rights to self-government, land and resources have been abolished. Subsistence cultivation -- fishing and hunting -- are strictly controlled to the point of non-existence in many areas and access to staple foods are so limited that hunger is an everyday problem and starvation a real possibility.

Many villages have had no medicine or doctors for over two years. Freedom of movement is denied or severely restricted, and in many areas, canoes, the people's major means of transport, have been confiscated or their use prohibited.

More than 35 communities have suffered massive Sandinista military invasions, during which innocent civilians are subjected to arbitrary arrests, killings, interrogations, tortures, rapes, theft, and destruction of property. The Sandinistas tried to force the people to divulge the location of the Indian secret base camps and to terrorize the villagers so that they will not support or join the military resistance.

The Miskitos have not accepted this situation. And with us this morning we have one of the leaders of the Indian group, Wycliffe Diego. He is co-founder of Alpromiso, an Indian organization formed in 1973 to protect Indian autonomy and tribal land from the Somoza regime. After the Sandinistas came to power, he coordinated Misurasata, a creation of the Sandinista government to foster cooperation between the Indians and the regime.

Mr. Diego is now the coordinator of the political commission of Misura, an organization comprising the Miskito, Suma, and Rama Indian tribes in opposition to the Sandinista regime. Will you kindly welcome to our podium today, Mr. Wycliffe Diego. Mr. Diego will be assisted by Donald Barnes from the State Department.

MR. DIEGO: First of all, I would like to greet all of you on behalf of our organization of the Miskitos, Sumos, and Ramas and Drumans. At the present time, this current junction of world history -- not enough is known about the Communist system throughout the world. It's not something that would surprise you, but we're always trying to bring out more information about this problem of Communists in Nicaragua.

The Moravian church came into Nicaragua on the 17th of March in 1849. Sixty percent of the Moravian church population was composed of Miskitos, Blacks, Ramas, and Sumos Indians. Twenty-five percent of this same population are Roman Catholic. The rest belong either to the Church of God or are Baptists, Anglicans, Adventists, or belong to some other denomination.

When the Moravian missionaries came to Nicaragua in 1849, they came bearing the Word of God, bearing the message to the people -- the message of love. They not only brought with them the Word of God, but they also brought with them the means of educating the people and medical care. The roots of the Moravian church are in Germany.

The father was called Juan Busch. The Moravian church has been in existence for over 500 years. In 1937, the Moravian church in Nicaragua built a Bible Institute in Bilwaskarma and several pastors graduated from the Institute. And the total number of pastors that the Moravian church has in my country is 127. The Moravian church has a total of 128 individual churches along the Atlantic coast.

They had two large schools, one in Bluefields and one in Puerto Cabezas. They built two large hospitals, one in Puerto

Cabezas and one in Bilwaskarma. They also built several small clinics, smaller communities. In 1964, Tomas Borge came into the Rio Coco area; he went into the Moravian church in Raiti. He came in like a sheep, speaking well of church work, and the Indians believed the word spoken by Tomas Borge. And in the beginning of 1964 the Indians gave their support to the revolution.

Because the Indians have been suffering for several years, under the oppression of the government of Nicaragua, and the Indians have been awaiting a vision to attain progress in the future. But then after the 1979 revolution, for the first two months, the representatives of the Sandinista government worked hand in hand with the Indians.

In 1981, The Sandinistas burned 5,000 dwellings in Rio Coco, and 69 communities. They burned 57 churches. They are at the present time using several of these churches as local headquarters.

The Bilwaskarma, which is such a large institute, is now a barracks. The same thing happened with the rest of the churches. They killed 3 Moravian pastors, Olfilario Yutan, Mario Peralta, and Pudi Simons. They arrested eight pastors: Maurice Vidaurr, Efrain Omier, Santos Cleban, Yurintin Toledo, Sanalio Patron, Abel Flores, Serminio Nicho, Iginio Morazan, Pedro Bello, Angel Bello, Adrian Pasquier, and Finida Wilson. In December of 1983, they announced their famous amnesty, but this did not help these pastors at all. They tortured them in several ways. And they also killed two Roman Catholic pastors -- Roberto Peralta and Fernando Justiniano.

A total of twenty-six Moravian pastors have fled to Honduras refugee camps. Among the twenty-six Miskitos and Sumos include: Silvio Diaz, Mullins Tilleth, Genaro Bell, Nabuth Zacarias, Alberto Fraiss, Arnaldo Pedro, Ignacio Macdeth, Celso Perez, Donald Peralta, Milano Enriques, Daniel Gonzalez and Rodolfo Rivera.

There is a great deal of pressure on the Moravian church pastors in Nicaragua. They are not really free to preach their sermons as they would like. Because of the military control and pressure, not only on the Moravian churches, but on the other evangelical denominations, as well as the Catholic churches.

Starting six months ago, the pastors have to present their sermons to the commadantes before they can deliver their sermons. At the present time, however, they have been allowed a certain amount of freedom to preach the Gospel. Not only that, but in my country, Nicaragua, the military exert great control over all of the people, particularly in the area of Zelaya. The Indians are not allowed to work their fields in the mountains to sow their crops, they are not allowed to fish, they are not allowed to hunt, and so on a daily basis we see young people and children and old people dying of hunger.

This is not only happening in Nicaragua. This also happening in the refugee camps in the Honduras and Costa Rica. And the

children are dying daily because of hunger and lack of medicine. At the present time, there are some 20,000 Miskito Indians that have sought refuge in Honduras and another 6,000 or 7,000 in Costa Rica.

And there are some 3,000 to 4,000 Indians that have either got killed or otherwise disappeared. We have searched for them in the jails and were not able to find them. At the present time, a large number of them are in jail or in concentration camps located in Nicaragua, in the Zelaya, and in the Pacific areas.

And so we appealed to a number of government organizations and other organizations throughout the world that are devoted to the defense of human rights, organizations that speak of human rights. We said, "Where were you when the human rights of Indians are concerned?"

In 1979, when the Sandinistas came to power, they promised the countries throughout the world that they were going to defend and protect human rights. But since the time that they have been in power, they have been in constant violation of the human rights of the Indians. And so we ask that these organizations provide us with moral support because what will happen if they do not -- within ten or fifteen years, all of the Miskito, Suma and Rama Indians will disappear from the face of the earth.

And that will be the fault of all of these organizations that talk so much about human rights. Throughout the world now, we find that people don't want to hear the voice of the Nicaraguan, to find out what is going on in our country. This is the end of our presentation, I will be happy to answer -- to try to answer -- any questions you may have.

MRS WHITTLESEY: Thank you Mr.Diego and Mr. Barnes.

Our next speaker is Humberto Belli. He is a former Marxist and collaborator with the Sandinistas who became a convert to Christianity in 1977. He was also editorial page Editor of La Prensa, Nicaragua's only remaining independent newspaper.

He left Nicaragua in April of 1982, after the imposition of total prior censorship by the Sandinista regime. Mr. Belli has established an educational center called La Puebla Institute, which is formulating a Christian response to problems of social change and seeking to counter the so-called Liberation Theology. He is the author of the recently-published book, Christians Under Fire. For any of you who would like copies of this book, it is available from Mr. Belli. Please join me in welcoming to this podium, this morning, Humberto Belli.

MR. BELLi: I want to begin with the last remarks that Mr. Diego made. He said that he was referring to the fact that many people

in the world don't seem to care very much to what is going on in Nicaragua, what is effecting the Nicaraguan Christians.

One of the most frustrating experiences for me, personally, was that when I came to the United States, wishing to find a sympathetic audience -- given that this is mostly a Christian country -- I would find that especially among Christian groups, sympathies were toward the Sandinistas, especially on some sectors of the clergy.

This reminds me of a statement presented by a Cuban poet who had spent 22 years of imprisonment in Castro's Cuba, Armando Valladares. He said during those years: "with the purpose of forcing us to abandon our religious beliefs and to demoralize us -- the Cuban Communist indoctrinators repeatedly used the statements of support for Castro's revolution made by certain representatives of American Christian churches.

"Every time that a pamphlet was published in the United States -- every time that a clergyman would write an article in support of Fidel Castro's dictatorship, a translation would reach us and that was worse for the Christian political prisoners than the beatings or the hunger. While we waited for the embrace of solidarity from our brothers in Christ, incomprehensively to us. those who were embraced were our tormentors."

This is taking place again. If we review a good deal of the Christian literature -- nowadays written in this country -- we find again that those who are being embraced are our tormentors of many Nicaraguan Christians. The Nicaraguan Christians were victimized by these policies -- are not given a hearing -- they are portrayed as conservatives, reactionaries, or perhaps as agents of the CIA, just echoing the same accusations of the Sandinistas.

This concern was recently voiced by the bishops in Nicaragua, in their speech, of the Holy Week. They said one, albeit a small sector of our church, has abandoned ecclesiastical unity and has surrendered to the tenets of a materialistic ideology. These sectors sow confusion inside and outside Nicaragua through a campaign extolling its own ideas and defaming the legitimate pastors and the faithful who follow them.

Censorship of the media make it impossible to clarify the positions and offer other points of view.

So there is an alliance, I would say, between the Sandinistas and the so-called revolutionary Christians in Nicaragua, who are those Christians who have embraced Marxist Liberation theology as their new Gospel and some groups outside Nicaragua.

These revolutionary Christians in Nicaragua constantly organize tours. They invite American visitors, they give them very well-prepared tours around the country, they interview all the members of this so-called People's Church of Revolutionary

Christians, and they come back to the United States saying as I heard a priest in Lansing, Michigan, that the kingdom of God had arrived in Nicaragua.

I think that one of the best weapons of the Sandinistas to legitimize their repression on the Nicaraguan Christians has been the complicity of these Christians around the world. And I say, that in the name of God, this has to stop. It is a sign against truth and it is helping to oppress Christians who like these fellow members have suffered either on their own flesh the brutality of the Sandinista regime.

But it is a brutality about which no media -- very seldom newspaper or newsmen want to talk about it. It is embarrassing to talk about violation of human rights committed by left wing regimes. It is very nice and it is encouraging, sophisticated and elegant to talk about violations of human rights committed by the right, by the Salvadorans and by the Guatemalans. But when it comes to Nicaragua, there is silence or complicity. I just want to give you two short statements from the Nicaraguan bishop, that were published, although not openly published; they have no access to the media -- even the homilies and sermons of the bishop have to be censored in order to be broadcasted.

However, just recently I read a letter by the Center of Concern here in Washington, written by a Jesuit priest claiming that there was no religious persecution in Nicaragua. The bishops don't have access to the mass media, they have to submit, as I said, their sermons or homilies to censorship.

Moravian pastors have been arrested, Christian lay leaders are being killed. It is true that you can go to Nicaragua and you can go to Mass; you can buy a Bible on the street. But to say in that fact that there is religious freedom, is not to be able to see the typical religious persecution that Communists usually develop.

No Communist country acknowledged that it persecutes Christians. When they do repress a Christian, they claim they are doing it without political reasons. They keep some churches open, but underneath they are developing policies aimed to undermine the churches, to destroy the leadership of the churches, in order to submit them to a state power -- and eventually eradicate religious belief.

But getting back to the document of the bishops. The one was published in November 9, by Monsignor Pedro Vilchez, the Bishop of Jinotega in Northern Nicaragua. He sent a letter to a Sandinista leader -- pointed out the following events: People in the countryside escape just by knowing the Sandinistas or the Compas are coming, for they are afraid of the tortures, the violations, and the death for the "great crime" of attempting against the security of the estate. Usually they sent to jail, members of our pastoral teams -- a member of Catholic action.

They also report the burning down of several chapels and churches in the peasant areas. Mentioned how the Sandinistas had been developing a net of spy networks, in order to keep track of all Christian leaders, of all members of all denominations. Now there is another letter also published by Monsignor Pablo Antonio Vega, who is the President of Nicaraguan Bishops Conference, ... I do not know if these people have any credibility or not -- before the downfall of Somoza they were regarded as heroes by the Sandinistas.

After the triumph of the revolution, when they kept denouncing the violations of human rights, because they feel they used double standards, they were blamed as reactionaries and enemies of the people. Yet, I feel that nobody can question the credibility of Monsignor Vega. And he says, when he refers to the murder of three Christian leaders by the end of 1983 in Nicaragua.

The first is the case of Alphonso Galliano from the peasant region of Las Pauas. He had been threatened with death on several occasions, and then one day a group of burglars appeared in his house. They didn't steal anything, but killed him. A few times later, we saw this so-called burglar as a member of the Popular militia going around. Another case -- the case of Daniel Sierra Ocon. He was captured, accused of anti-revolutionary activities, something that was never proved. After saying that he was going to be freed, his wife was told that he committed suicide.

Another case: Yamilet Sequelra de Lorio. She was pressured into becoming a member of the State Security by the Sandinistas. She and her husband refused. Some days later their bodies were found on the mountains nearby with clear signals of torture and violent mutilations.

These are endless stories. The very sad aspect of this is the fact that these stories are not known or the fact that so many people don't want to listen to them. I thank you very much for your attention, because you have listened to me.

QUESTIONS:

General Superintendent of the United States Pentacostal Church International and Prudencio was one of our pastors. We've lost two other churches -- we don't know what has happened to them. In this persecution that has assailed, these two churches have been completely eradicated and we can't find any of them. This is the first contact that we've had when we heard that Prudencio was here. We would do anything to take care of his family, while he is here, anything he wishes, or wants.

(Emotional embrace with Prudencio.) Let me give you this ...

MRS. WHITTLESEY: Thank you very much for being here and your generous offer.

MARLIN MADDOUX WITH INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN MEDIA: Mr. Belli, in talking about the Liberation Theology, I would like to address a question to Mrs. Macias. Do you, or some of the people you knew the several years that you were involved in the revolution against Somoza, I'm sure you discussed these issues quite a bit as the years went by, I'm having some difficulty in understanding how there might have been some compromises in faith -- in embracing Liberation Theology -- while the revolution was embryonic -- and then the turning of the revolution towards Marxism -- how could it have come as a surprise? Was there an area somewhere that you made an intellectual compromise to embrace some areas and then realize that you've made a mistake?

GERALDINE MACIAS: First of all, the FSLN, the Sandinista Liberation Front, didn't become Marxist; it had been from its origin -- always known to be a Marxist-Leninist group.

Church people, I don't think, study politics sufficiently. I certainly don't think my training emphasized political analysis, and so when you talk about Liberation Theology, that was presented as some type of Bible Study -- emphasizing an option for the poor. What happens, I think is that the Marxists realized that -- Fidel Castro realized this a long time ago -- is that they can infiltrate the churches or co-opt on what the churches are going; especially by using the same language the church does -- they can confuse Christians very easily because Christians are not trained in politics and also most Christians tend to feel that other people have good intentions. So what happened in Nicaragua was two things. some priests, especially the Cardenal brothers, obviously became Marxist-Leninists (they are self-confessed Marxist-Leninists).

Others have come to the belief that somehow Marxist-Leninism is somehow compatible with Christianity. That they have some of the same long-term goals. But that does not mean that all of them are that way.

You can't say that there is a certain number of people that think that way, but there has been a consistent protest about the basic difference between Marxist-Leninism and the Christianity. There has been constant comments from Bishop Obando against Armed Struggle as the only alternative against totalitarian Marxism. There is a struggle going on as to what has happened. I think that for one thing the Sandinista FSLN kept the arms and disarmed the other groups and began to eliminate them systematically. After say, a honeymoon period of a year or so. And church people don't want to acknowledge that. I don't think that it's a theological reason; it's very personal.

They got on a bandwagon in favor of revolution. They have taken these young FSLN heroes as heroes and they don't want to admit that they have made a mistake. My husband can say -- it was a tactical error to align themselves in any way at all with the FSLN. I don't find the same humility amongst Christians in Nicaragua.

FATHER BOB BERRY: I'm a Dominican priest (or Theologian). To members of the panel, I am curious that you reported that there were two Catholic priests killed, given the supposedly cordial relationship that developed between the FSLN and the Catholic Church. What were the circumstances of their deaths, being this is the first I've head of this?

MR. DIEGO: The Miskito pastors -- Catholic pastors. They work in small communities far from Bluefields and Managua. And many people don't know what's going on on the Mosquita coast. Even the pastors, Reverends, and the Fathers themselves don't know. And I think it's up to the Catholic priests to investigate what's happening to their pastors, their representatives. And apparently they don't know who are Roberto Pilato and Fernando Justiniano. But they are Roman Catholic pastors.

MRS. WHITTLESEY: Mr. Belli would also like to comment on that question.

MR. BELLI: Father Berry, did you say that there are friendly (cordial) relationships between the Catholics and the FSLN?

FATHER BERRY: The original policy statement said the Catholic church was to be treated cordially.

MR. BELLI: I thought that he was implying that there was friendly relationships within the Catholic church and the FSLN, which is not the case. I was surprised by that remark, but it was my misunderstanding.

ROBERT REILLY: If I could refer to what that original reference was to the 72-hour document in which appearance of cordial relations would be maintained by the FSLN, while in fact, what they would be doing is hurting the church.

FATHER RUEDA: My name is Enrique Rueda; I am a Catholic priest. I work in the diocese of Arlington, Virginia, and I was much moved by Mr. Belli's reading of a poem by Armando Valladarez. About 4-5 years ago, when Mr. Valladarez was still in prison, I did go to the United States Catholic Conference looking for support in getting Mr. Valladarez out of jail; at that time I was Vice-Chairman of the Cuban Human Rights Commission and I am afraid that I was turned down.

I have a question for Mr. Belli and Mrs. Macias: The United States Catholic Conference and many Catholic dioceses have units who are supposed to be involved with the promotion of human rights and justice and peace. Have you received any support either by the United States Catholic Conference or from any Catholic dioceses against the violations of human rights and religious persecution of the church in Nicaragua? Have you detected any support for the Nicaraguan bishops and the Nicaraguan Conference of Bishops as part of the American hierarchy?

MR. BELLI: I think that we have with us Mr. Tom Quigley who might tell about the -- if there is any known support here. I have met with several bishops. Usually I have a very receptive meeting and I have been pleased by their interest in learning about the situation of Nicaragua. In all fairness it should be said that the United States Bishops Conference -- the President of the United States Bishops Conference -- Monsignor Roach (I am afraid I do not pronounce it well) after the Sandinistas tried to villify Father Carballo, the Assistant of the Archbishop of Managua presented him naked on television, on all the Sandinista newspapers, saying that he had been caught in an affair with a woman, which happened to be a setup.

Monsignor Roach issued a very strong statement criticizing this flagrant violation of human rights. But I really like to hear more statements of this kind. When the Holy Father was heckled and mobbed in Nicaragua there was a big silence in the United States among most Christian groups both Catholic and Protestant and I think that it is time to speak otherwise, those who refrain from speaking up will lose all their credibility. Because the facts are crystal clear today.

MRS. MACIAS: The answer is NO. There has been no interest, no assistance, no concern. It's just a blank area. It's very ironic, I think, even more for myself than for my husband. My husband worked for a private institute that was financed basically by German Bishops and Canadian Bishops. All of my work was financed by Catholic Relief and World Relief Methodist church groups. None of them have ever asked either of us to give a talk or an explanation of why we are now in the United States.

QUESTION: First, I want to thank Mrs. Whittlesey for bringing us these Outreach programs to the public. My question is to Mrs. Macias and to Mr. Belli. It is a known fact concerning us 29 million Catholics that we have been in a holocaust with the media as anti-Catholicism in this country. Do you feel, Mrs. Macias, that this anti-Catholicism by some of these groups in the United States has been carried on to Nicaragua and to the other 23 Spanish countries in order to destroy Christianity in those 23 countries and the United States, as a Christian country, and how long since you were there, would you feel that this was infiltration coming in?

MRS. MACIAS: I think it's definitely; Marxist-Leninism will destroy religion eventually because it prevents freedom of thought and freedom of organization of any religion -- not just Catholicism. But I think that what the Sandinistas have said themselves -- they see that they have to do it cautiously because the Catholic church is a major force in these countries.

So what they have attempted to do is in many ways -- is besides the attacks on certain religious leaders -- is to form what they called the Revolutionary Church, which is a state-controlled party-controlled church. I think we have to be aware of the fact

that we aren't always going to find direct persecution of the church as much as formation of a parallel church that they can manage and that to me is more dangerous in many ways than direct persecution because people don't always acknowledge the danger of that and what it really is.

It's been going on for a long time, since; basically, I've been in Latin America since 1969, before that time Liberation Theology was also being pushed -- which has a lot of Marxism in it and people were forming Christians for Socialism and promoting Liberation Theology in all the rest of this movement.

SARA MCQUENTIN (News Service): I think it's time we tell you people that the press have been trying for a year to get into these White House Outreach meetings. We were trying to find out what meetings were being held, trying to get a chance to attend them and cover them and we've been denied it until suddenly there is a change. Thank God for the change. I am delighted.

(APPLAUSE)

We've never been allowed in here before.

MRS. WHITTLESEY: We're delighted that you are here and showing interest. We have had the press invited to some meetings prior to this and there has been a limited turnout.

NEGATIVE COMMENTS:

MRS. WHITTLESEY: Sorry about that, but unfortunately the security precautions are the way they are because of the condition our country is in today.

ISRAEL VALDEZ: My name is Israel Valdez, and I have a question for Mrs. Macias. At the very beginning you indicated that there were some 20 groups that supported the Sandinistas.

MRS. MACIAS: Can I clarify that -- they didn't support the Sandinistas, the Sandinistas were three of those groups. And they were all considered Sandinistas in a very general sense.

MR. VALDEZ: Were any of those groups Christian groups and what has happened to the rest of them, where are they now?

MRS. MACIAS: Well of course the Social Christian Party, the Popular-Social Christian Party were definitely Christian parties by their names. My husband was president of the Popular-Social Christian Party; he is now in exile. There is now a Social-Christian Alliance in exile in Costa Rica. Many of their principal leaders have left the country.

The activists within the country are no longer able to move freely or be activists. They have been threatened, many of them have been jailed. Also within that Alliance there were Christian Sandinista Commandos, which were armed groups. Coming out of some

of the Christian parties. They have all been disarmed (immediately) and their command posts taken away in July 1979. Many of those people by 1981 had started to rearm and to form groups to fight against the present government.

Amongst those 20 parties there were three that were FSLN tendencies that split up. And there was another Marxist party called the Socialist Party, and, of course, the Communist Party. But all of those groups that were not FSLN have felt effects of oppression, in fact, even one, the Milpas, which were a Marxist Maoists were taken out of their houses one night and all were killed. The newspaper was destroyed also-- taken away from them. So there has been a constant oppression against anyone who is not FSLN, especially against the persons who are not Marxists, but also against Marxists who are not of the line of the FSLN.

KAREN MCKAY (Committee for a Free Afghanistan): At an earlier Outreach program the liquidation of the small Jewish community in Nicaragua was documented here in this room, and there is indication that a very strong PLO/Khoemeni/Iranian Involvement in Nicaragua. Could some of your panelists address that facet of it?

MRS. WHITTLESEY: I don't think any of these particular panelists would feel comfortable addressing that narrow subject at this time. However, we do have information that we would be happy to provide to you when we have another meeting on that subject again.

MRS. MACIAS: It's just that most of us don't have much contact with the PLO in Nicaragua because their contacts are with the FSLN, but that goes way back. There was a Nicaraguan called Patricio Arguello, who was killed several years ago in London airport attempting to kidnap an airplane. He was trained by the PLO. I also know personally many of them, people in the FSLN who were trained in Libya and by the PLO overseas. So there is a long historical contact with them, which is now much more open.

PATRICIO MUTIEL: I'm a Nicaraguan refugee, now working for the Nicaraguan Development Council. My question is open to the panel with regards to the religious context in which the other religious groups are able to practice. For instance, I heard more about the Christian groups -- they were repressed to practice in Nicaragua. I remember in my early years, my childhood in Nicaragua, there were other nationalities -- Jewish groups, Moslem practitioners and so forth. Are they being allowed, are they being protected to practice freely or are they part of the whole repression that you are speaking of today?

MR. BELLI: I will say that repression against Christian groups is very selective to some extent. Some groups are not harassed or very little harassment. Others are very much so. It has been that those communities or religious denominations, which are weaker or which are located in the most remote region of the country where there is no press coverage -- they get the harshest kind of repression.

As it had been with the Moravians, and with some Protestant groups, even in Managua in 1982. And the Jewish community is one of the weak, small groups which was practically obliterated. They had their synagogue taken over and most Jews were expelled from the country. As a propaganda measure, recently the Sandinistas said that the Jewish could practice their faith in Nicaragua, but there were no longer Jews to do it.

However, I would say that there is no repression against those sections of the Christian churches, both Protestant and Catholic, who are fully Sandinistas, who support the government as it is in the case in all Communist regimes -- for instance in Czechoslovakia where there are two churches: Let's say the Byzantaries group which is a pro-state church, with the full support of the state and then the Catholic church. And it is the Byzantaries church, the one who has the access to the media, the one who can ordain priests, etc.

And the same thing is developing in Nicaragua. The so-called Reactionary Church, which is the non-Sandinista church, is the one which insists it is self-deprived of the media, under harassment. Where the other church -- the Revolutionary Church -- the Sandinista one gets all the facilities.

MRS. WHITTLESEY: Is Mr. Jose Esteban Gonzalez here? I'm sure he could respond to some of these questions, since Mr. Gonzalez is also a Nicaraguan and was present at another briefing this week that (on Wednesday, which took place, which was also opened to the press). Mr. Gonzalez founded the Permanent Commission on Human Rights in Nicaragua in April 1977. He served as its national coordinator during both the Somoza and the Sandinista regime. During the Somoza regime, Mr. Gonzalez defended leader, Tomas Borge.

In August of 1978, the Sandinistas endorsed the commission as the official Human Rights Commission of Nicaragua. However, in May of 1982, Mr. Gonzalez was sentenced in absentia to 16 years in jail, 2 years of forced labor, and 5 years of compulsory surveillance. He presently lives in exile and heads a Nicaraguan Committee on Human Rights based in Costa Rica. Mr. Gonzalez, would you like to respond to that question?

MR. GONZALEZ: We don't have specific information about direct persecution against the Jewish community in Nicaragua. We only have the results of an attitude from the government. Their synagogue in Managua was occupied by the Sandinistas and was handed to a group of young activists of the Sandinistas and was all painted with insults against the Jewish people and the Jewish position. Also, there are practically no Jewish left in Nicaragua. I think that the Jewish, themselves, by their attitude and practical position are responding to the question.

MR. REILLY: You might notice in the White House Digest (in your packet) on the persecution of religious groups in Nicaragua there

is reference to what has happened to the Jewish community there. We also have separately available a White House Digest on the relationship between the PLO and the Sandinistas, tracing it back to the early 1970's when some of the Sandinistas fought with the PLO in Jordan against King Hussein. If you would like a copy of that, please contact our office afterwards.

DeBreis--Arlington, VA--minister of Assembly of God Church there, I just wanted to ask one question. In regards to the current state of the government there in Nicaragua as to whether there are any forces or any voices of moderation inside the government there today that are sitting there and able to make some kind of sense out of the madness which appears to be reigning in Nicaragua today? And just to add on to that, could the very present be likened on to the state of what it was like when Castro was coming to power in Cuba?

MRS. MACIAS: The principle voice that I respect in Nicaragua is of Archbishop Obando. The Episcopal conference, which has from the very beginning, tried a real balancing act even before insurrection. Obando was very much trying to avoid armed conflict.

He consistently said that he was trying to avoid killing each other and in his most recent pastoral letter, which asks foreign negotiations to go on with the armed rebel groups is one more attempt to avoid further bloodshed. So I have a great deal of respect for Obando and what he says and his message of trying to work for peaceful settlement.

As far as what's happening there, I think you have to read what the Sandinistas say they are and they have said in their historical document when they were founded back in 1961, that they are Marxist-Leninist, that they are anti-U.S. in their policies, and their alignment with the Soviet bloc is very evident, especially since 1980 onward.

You have to know what they are in order to deal with them and in order to understand why we have problems with them and why we can't stay in our own country to deal with them--you have to understand who they are and what they say they are. Obando understands that, I think he knows that they are not to be trusted, that they've broken every agreement they've made internally or externally since 1979, and that our biggest problem is with the FSLN, who is a Marxist-Leninist concerned group and very, very difficult to believe.

MR. BELLI: I think that the historic experience is that whenever a moderate person has tried to promote a different position in the Nicaraguan government he has been isolated, he has been accused of being pro-American, pro-Somozan, and anti-revolutionary. You have a whole list of people of very distinguished reliable people. For example Arturo Cruz, the ambassador for the Sandinistas here in the United States; a member of the Junta, Mr. Ravelo, Mrs. Chamorro, several ambassadors of the Sandinistas in Geneva. For example, Mrs. Pasquier who could quote 20-30 names. And I think that the

best or the worst enemies of the Sandinistas are the people who are not telling them the truth or the people who are backing the present attitude, and their best friends would be we, who are trying to recall to them their original commitments, and also all the governments in the democratic countries who are trying to help the Nicaraguan people to find a path of democracy and peace (are the best friend of the Sandinistas). In the fact that they are rejected by the Sandinistas. They do not want any help.

NEXT QUESTION: (INAUDIBLE)-----

.....something about the "media likes to dramatize"..... but in this case.....(inaudible).....it's so in fashion to criticize the government of El Salvador of every little thing that happened. What can we do to animate the media to dramatize what is really happening, what can we do?

MR. BELLI: Just two things have occurred to me: One would be that it is very important people are well-informed about what is going on in Nicaragua and in Central America. The other part is that I think that it is necessary effort for Christians in the United States who are concerned about what is going on and who knows the truth to bombard their parishes, their bishops, their clergy, the media with letters asking them to pronounce themselves in some direction--or asking the media why they are not covering this on such and such views--let their voice be heard. Correspondence may be one of the means; maybe we can devise another.

DIEGO ABICH: I'm a director of "Of Human Rights". My question is directed to Mr. Belli. During 1982 hearings were conducted on religious persecution as a violation of human rights. You testified during those hearings.

Now I noticed that U. S. Catholic Conference, Father Hehir and Mr. Quigley testified during those hearings. Now Father Hehir said that religious freedom is not only a basic human right, but it has to be viewed in the context of the ability of the Church to function in a social and corporate way. I was glad for your testimony.

My question is this: I noticed that the conference treated the human violations in Nicaragua very briefly. My question is this: What can you do and what can we do to convince the U. S. Catholic Conference here in the States that these violations exist in Nicaragua? And the second question is: Were you satisfied with the average responses and their demonstration of human rights violations of Nicaragua?

MR. BELLI: I did not get the last part.

MR. ABICH: Were you satisfied with the U. S. Catholic Conference response on violations of human rights in Nicaragua and if not, what can you do or what can we do to convince them that the Church and the Christians and other religious groups in Nicaragua are suffering religious persecution?

MR. BELLI: Well, as I said before, I was very satisfied when I heard about the statement from Monsignor Roach. I would say that I am waiting and praying that more support will be forthcoming from the U.S. Catholic Bishops and from the U. S. Protestant groups, where Christians are concerned. I do what I can -- I am writing. I am publicizing this book reporting the original documentation about violations of human rights. There might be some time for people to begin to react. I think we should get the influx of people and nation toward them.

ROBERT REILLY: I think I might mention just as a postscript to Mr. Belli's answer that the White House has sent every Catholic bishop in the country a copy of the White House Digest on persecution of Christian groups in Nicaragua along with the interview with Miguel Bolanos on subversion of the Church. And the correspondence from the bishops in response to that has so far been extremely favorable.

DON SHANNON--LOS ANGELES TIMES: One of the charges the Sandinistas make most frequently and with some effect in this country is that ARDE, of the counter-revolutionary force, dominated by ex-Somoza national guard. How wide is that first perception? I noticed that Mr. Diego had mentioned that he had been picked up by an ARDE patrol. How wide is that perception among people in

INTERRUPTED BY MRS. MACIAS: You must have the groups mixed up. It's the FDN that's accused of being....

MR. SHANNON: Oh, I'm sorry. ARDE is Eden Pastora. ARDE is supposed to be okay.

(REACTION FROM THE GROUP)

MR. SHANNON CONTINUES: On the other side, how much of this is felt by people in Nicaragua to be true. When the Sandinista government says this, is this the generally support of the people inside the country or how do they feel about it?

MR. GONZALEZ: I think that to keep the Somoza alive is very bad service to the Sandinistas that they are doing to the Nicaraguan country. Somoza is dead. Somocismo is not anymore possible from the social or political viewpoint in Nicaragua. And I may say that the main enemies of Somoza now are those who were Somozas before because Somoza was such a failure that they do not want to hear from him anymore.

If you want to find the Somocistas you go to the Sandinista government and you go to Sandinista Junta. You have a Sergio Ramirez, who was a writer, who used to publish praise of Somoza in well-known magazine in Nicaragua. You have to go and see their curriculum of several of the ministers who were part of the most hard capitalistic establishment in Nicaragua.

I may mention for example Joaquin Cuadra, who is the father of a Comandante, the father-in-law of another Comandante--two Comandantes--and who is a person who was responsible for the Economic exploitation in Nicaragua. There the fight of the Nicaraguan

people to be liberated has no relation whatsoever with any Somoziian interest.

DON SHANNON--CANNOT GET NAMES, LOCATIONS--(INAUDIBLE). I was asking how successful is this inside the country? When the Sandinista government says this--Is this a position which gets public support?

MR. BELLI: The Sandinistas have an absolute control of the press and of the media that really is misleading information that are giving to the people. I also think that some of the very young people react only the basis of that information. That's why part of our work should be just to convey to them the correct information through radio stations--for example from neighboring countries.

MRS. MACIAS: Can I just say that as far as I know personally, people who are in all of the groups that are fighting (Misura, Misurasata, ARDE,) The majority of people are ex-Sandinistas in some form. Ex-members of the Junta, ex-members of the cabinet or ex-members of the government in some form. This tactic of the FSLN is completely wrong if you see who is actually fighting against them.

JOHN HVASTA: I am very involved with the Czech and Slovak organizations and operations. And I've been involved in Czechoslovakia during the late 1940's and '50's. As an American, I spent 3½ years in prison and escaped and was in hiding for a couple of years. What we've heard is a similar situation that exists in Eastern Europe (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland--all throughout Eastern Europe).

The message is the same--the method is the same. We have now a former Vice Counsel who was in Czechoslovakia, Claiborne Pell. We've asked him and he has sponsored the hearing in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on violations of religious and human rights, which will be held next month. I would suggest that you probably do the same thing right now in Central America.

MARGE MITCHELL---Cuba Independent and Democratic: It's obvious that this is a tragical situation and we don't have to dramatize it. But the thing is, are we doing the correct thing? Are the people really knowing what's going on nationwide. I don't want to sound optimistic that the world is going to change tomorrow, but obviously, (If -- a suggestion that I also want to make--) can the people, Christian leaders, the people of United States, this committee right here. Can everyone unite or go on the air some time and say these are the facts, we want to make a big committee--something has to be done--I'm talking kind of broad--but what exactly is being done so far?

MRS. MACIAS: Well, I've been here a year and a half, and it's been very slow trying to get people who are interested in listening. Trying to get both versions in the media, and it gets more

difficult as time goes on because the other version has been put out so strongly, so consistently and so distortedly that many groups that I talk to now are like cheerleaders who are just so convinced that they've heard it all. I think it has to go on, I think it's going to be a long struggle--hopefully not too long since too many Nicaraguan are dying in the meantime. But people like you coming to a meeting like this is the process.

MR. QUIGLEY: -----(inaudible)-----Just a word or two about where U. S. Catholic Conference has been on the issues of Nicaragua and indeed on Cuba. Part of the problem that this whole presentation reflects is precisely what Mr. Gonzalez call, or the lack of what he called, a sense of moderation, a sense of interpretation, a sense of understanding, and not as Mrs. Macias said "being a cheerleader".

USCC and many other church groups have spoken about human rights for a long time, long before this White House, the previous White House or the one before that--that's simply a fact. Human rights, throughout the world, generally speaking, without regards to the political orientation of the group committee violation of human rights. There are certain criteria by which difference churches address part of the world's human right question.

We look at Latin America. The USCC has for a long time. We've looked at human rights violations of Cuba; we've done things about them. Those who call for a crusade against the Castro government by U. S. Bishops simply do not understand the reality of the Cuban church. They don't understand the reality of how the Episcopal Conference is related one to the other. The church here, the Bishop's Conference, particularly does not simply lead a march, regardless of other conditions or circumstances. We are in a relationship with the Episcopal conference. We behaved the way according to what that relationship tells us.

Nicaragua's case is similar. I was just offering the observation that the Guatemalan, Nicaragua situation -- violations of human rights -- I think are not quite comparable. I think they are far, far worse in Guatemala. Even as far as the churches are concerned, religious groups are concerned. Thirteen Roman Catholic priests, a number of Protestant ministers have been killed in Guatemala in the last several years and the bishops there said openly that there was a state of persecution.

Archbishop Obando and Archbishop Vega have not said that there was a state of persecution of the Church in Nicaragua. They said many things which would lead one to put together the pieces and come up with that kind of a conclusion. But there is a difference between the situations and the two countries. The USCC has spoken more about conditions of violations of human rights in Nicaragua than it has about Guatemala. Archbishop Roach's statement that Humberto mentions is just one of those statements. After the Pope visited in March 1984, (sic) there was a statement in the U. S. Catholic Conference at that time.

There have been numerous statements in Congressional testimonies that Diego Abich has mentioned. The testimony dealt with three specific test cases in El Salvador, Chile and Brazil. Three countries in which the USCC has had a long history of involvement of the human rights. It did not deal with specifics with Guatemala, with Nicaragua, with other countries of the hemisphere. It was criticized for what it did not speak about, not what it did speak about. Armondo Valladares (to finish the very last point) when Enrique Rueda came to see me a couple of years ago, I don't know how many

FATHER RUEDA: Five.

MR. QUIGLEY: it was indeed to request our assistance on the case of Armondo Valladares. (I have totally forgotten that, I apologize)

FATHER RUEDA: I have not.

MR. QUIGLEY: But I will tell you that the conference did act on the case of Armando Valladares: The question is--the statement that he came to ask for help, but it was to me that he asked the help and he said to you, Sir, that he did not get the help--but I am telling you that he did indeed, whether it was directly in response to his request we acted on the behalf of Armando Valladares.

MR. BELLI: I think I should correct something that he said. Monsignor Obando has referred openly to the persecution of the Church in Nicaragua in explicit terms. He has said in his statement to La Nacion, the Costa Rican newspaper, after about 26 churches were attacked by mobs in October 1983.

I think that Monsignor Vega said at the same time, although I cannot quote him but I can quote Monsignor Obando, I have clipping in my files. When he really said that it was open persecution of the Church in Nicaragua, so I wanted to make this correction. Also, regarding the presentation for Congress, when Father Brian Hehir made his presentation, if you compare what is said about Nicaragua there and what was said about Brazil and Chile and the other countries that you mentioned, you could really sense that the wording and the context of the text referring to Nicaragua were framed in much, much softer terms than in the other cases.

There was a reference to the vilification of religious leaders in Nicaragua. On the case of Carballo, such a blatant case, considered one case that perhaps a case involving bad faith, possibly, leaving some sort of doubt. You will want to have heard the important statement in which they could compare--I don't think that there was a balance.

QUESTION, NAME AND LOCATION INAUDIBLE

INTERRUPTIONS FROM PANELISTS

ADRIANA GUILLÉN: I want to follow up on Humberto's--he said that the church in Nicaragua has open persecution. Not only Monsignors Obando and Vega, but Monsignor Schlaefer here, when he came out

with the Indians on December 1983, he said in Nicaragua there is persecution of the Indians and of the Church. It has been very clearly stated that there is bad persecution going on.

ENRIQUE RUEDA: I would just like to get the record straight: I did not want to mention Tom's name for obvious reasons, but I did 5 years ago go to the USCC publicly and openly as a member of the human rights commission for Cuba ask for help in trying to get Armando Valladares out of jail. I was flatly turned down when I was asked for original signed copies of a request from all the Cuban bishops asking that Valladares was let go, out of prison. I thought that this was disingenuous and I was very ashamed of the church.

MY NAME IS-----. I am a Nicaraguan. I work for 5 years very long with Senor Juan. I was in Nicaragua in February 1983, with the Catholic bishops. Our bishops of San Antonio, Senor Flores, the Archbishop from Washington, and Father O'Malley--they met with Monsignor Obando. By that time, I was in charge with Father Carballo to deal with censorship of our advertising on the Catholic radio station. We couldn't broadcast any kind of advertising latent with the future visit of the Pope. I was in charge of doing that with Father Carballo. We had to deal with (Names) of the office of the Censorship and we told that to the Catholic Bishop. I will tell you something--I've worked here very close with the Hispanic community of the Catholic church, but I don't trust in the commission of Catholic Conference of Catholic Bishops here.

I want to make this point. I know that I have some information and maybe Geraldine or Humberto have a wealth of information regarding the meeting in (more documentation) 1982-83, where I had met with some people of the U.S. Conference. They went to Nicaragua to meet with other people of the Nicaraguan Government to develop the network in the U. S. Do you have some type of documentation on this?

(INTERRUPTED)

MRS. MACIAS: Julio de Cortazar has written a book about that, about forming an alliance of intellectuals to promote the revolution. I just like to say that I get the feeling sometimes when the U. S. Catholic Bishops Conference they are waiting for last nail to be in the coffin then they will all mourn with us. I feel that it's better to keep protesting while you're still alive.

QUESTIONS: First of all I think that these statements that have gone back and forth this gentleman and those gentlemen should get their heads together. Secondly, I know we're all aware that Pope John has gone throughout the world and he has said that there is interest in human being's lives--whether they are priests, human beings--whatever country, he said they must be saved. And when one of the gentlemen said that the Jewish element was weak, that's not true.

We in this room know that the Jewish element and the Catholic element whenever present in a country it is because it has

authority behind it, so naturally we must do away with those. But, what I'm interested in, is because I am an American Indian, is to the gentlemen--what is happening to the Indian children--the population that we know has been killed--what about that population that has been growing because they are the citizens of tomorrow, what measures are being taken to make sure that that population remains as the numbers increase?

WYCLIFFE DIEGO: I would like to say that the outset, 80% of the Indian population of our country (The U.S.) supported the Sandinista revolution. As for me, I've visited several agencies in the U. S. that deal with Indian affairs; and I'd like to say out of all the peoples in the world that have suffered, the Indians have suffered the most.

That happened in the U. S. when so many of the Indians were killed--in Central America and South America throughout the hemisphere. At the present time the white people who are coming from Russia and other areas of the world, the bombs used to bomb our communities are foreign bombs. In 1982, the Sumo Indian children, 75 of them, were put on a helicopter as cargo, and they were going to be taken to another area of the country. The helicopter went down, and all of these children were killed. But you don't hear anyone in the world talking about this.

Now at the present time, the Sandinistas are taking out 13 and 14 year old boys and sending them to the border as cannon fodder. But the world is silent on this. And the Sandinistas have taken away a lot of the Miskito children and Sumo away from their parents and they're in an institution being taken care of by the Sandinistas.

They are not allowed to communicate with their parents. And we try and tell this to the world, but nobody seems to want to believe us.

At the present time, in concentration camps we have the Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indian children dying at the rate of 15-20 per day. And every day in the refugee camps in the Honduras and Mocoron and Costa Rica we have 12-13 of these children dying every day. And if you can visit for example, the refugee camp in Mocoron, you'd see these children are running around stark naked -- they have no clothing at all.

The American Indians have told the Sandinistas not to do these things. And we hope to continue to get the support of the American Indians. And as for the Church that preaches peace and love, we would like to ask you where is your love, because the world cannot exist without love.

You can say all the pretty words that you wish, but without love we cannot bring peace into the world. God says that he loves you. And where is this love evidenced? There are many people in this world who show more love and respect for a dog than they would

for a human being. I think you have a law here in the United States that if you kill a dog, you can go to jail... And I think that in Nicaragua now we have to consider people are being treated like dogs.

APPLAUSE

QUESTION FOR MRS. MACIAS: The statement you implicitly criticized human right organizations for ignoring human right abuses that have occurred under the Sandinista government -- your statement seemed to indicate the ideological bias of some human rights organizations has blinded them to deplore to those human rights violations that you all testified to today. I want to know if I'm reading you right, you seem to be saying that the fundamental rights of human beings transcend any particular ideology and therefore should be condemned wherever they occur, is that correct?

MRS. MACIAS: Yes, I think too many groups have a double standard. If it's a rightist government they'll condemn it and if it's a leftist government they cover up or they're soft in their criticism.

QUESTION: With that in mind, and given the human rights records as reported by the State Department Country Reports, by the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International, I'd like to know on that basis you refer to the governments of Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador as your best friends in Central America?

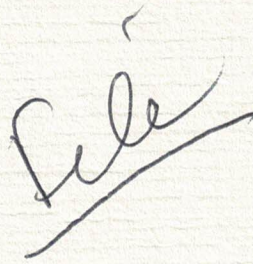
MRS. MACIAS: They're the ones that are our friends because they're the ones feeling the same problems we are as far as intervention and domination by the Sandinistas, who have created for the first time in history terrorism in Costa Rica, which is a very democratic country, terrorism in Honduras for the first time in its history, and terrorist groups in Guatemala, even in Columbia and Peru they have claimed their terrorist acts from Nicaragua. These countries are friends because they're facing the same problem we are, that is: Marxist-Leninism, financed and trained terrorism.

MR. BELLI: I just wanted to add on behalf of Geraldine that Geraldine and her husband Edgard Macias, and Jose Esteban Gonzalez, who is with us, they strongly and openly criticized the violation of human rights committed by Somoza. So I think they cannot be accused of playing a double standard. The emphasis now, since they are victims, the victims of a specific operation, that might make us sometimes over-emphasize what we are suffering; but in the history of Nicaragua, they have played a very fair, they have presented a very fair testimony of criticizing violatings when they occur, whether they come from the right or from the left.

MRS. WHITTLESEY: Thank you, it is now 12 o'clock and we would like to thank Mr. Baltodano, Mr. Belli, Mrs. Macias, and Mr. Wycliffe Diego and also Mr. Gonzalez who joined our panel and Mr. Barnes and Stephanie Von Rickensburg. Thank you all.

VALIS ASSOCIATES

Wayne H. Valis



June 4, 1984

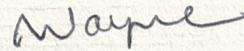
The Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and Assistant
to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mike:

Thanks so much for approving the President's videotape for the Elk's Convention. The Elks are very supportive and as I previously noted, the text of the President's remarks will be reprinted in the pre-election issue of the Elks Magazine, which has a circulation of 1.6 million.

We look forward to working with your fine staff on this project. My thanks to Carlton Turner, Doug Riggs and Fred Ryan for their fine assistance.

As ever,



Wayne H. Valis

June 5, 1984

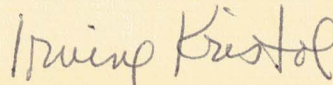
Mr. Michael Deaver
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Deaver:

I understand that Joseph Epstein is being recommended for membership on the Council of the National Endowment for the Arts, and the purpose of this letter is simply to say in the strongest possible terms that he would be an excellent appointment.

Joseph Epstein is the editor of the American Scholar, a distinguished quarterly that is the official publication of Phi Beta Kappa. He is also a good friend, personally and politically. He writes regularly for Commentary and similar journals and the American Scholar itself is very hospitable to conservative and neoconservative opinion. The National Endowment for the Arts would benefit greatly from his presence on its Council.

Cordially,



Irving Kristol

IK:rl

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO:

John Deaver

FROM:

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

☒ Information

☐ Action

EDITORIAL OFFICES: 10 East 53rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10022

June 20, 1984

EDITOR: IRVING KRISTOL • EDITOR: HATHAN GLAZER

Dear Mr. Kristol:

On behalf of Michael Deaver, thank you for your enthusiastic endorsement of Joseph Epstein for appointment to the National Council on the Arts.

June 5, 1984

We have received nothing but excellent recommendations on behalf of Mr. Epstein, and I can assure you he will be given my highest consideration for membership on the Council.

Thank you for taking the time to write. It is good to know of your support and esteem for Mr. Epstein.

I understand that Joseph Epstein is being recommended for membership on the Council on the Arts, and the purpose of this letter is simply to express my strongest possible terms that he would be an excellent appointment.

Yours truly,

Joseph Epstein is the distinguished quarter of Phil Bork Kappa. He writes for the political, journals and the conservative and The New York Times. The benefit of his appointment would be great.

John S. Herrington
Assistant to the President
for Presidential Personnel

Mr. Irving Kristol
Editor

Public Interest
10 East 53rd Street
New York, New York 10022

Cordially,

John S. Herrington

John S. Herrington

JSH/lwh

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Susan Borchart
Katja Bullock

5

Bill Littman

Vietnam Combat Veterans, Limited

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29 May 84



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JAMES RHODES
National Chairman
(602) 783-0034

INDIANA STATE HEADQUARTERS:

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Crown Point, Indiana 46307

LARRY STIGALL
Indiana Commander

To Whom It May Concern:

How is one considered for your Medal of Freedom?

Inasmuch as our organization has supported the policies and programs of the President; has actively assisted in the resettlement of IndoChina refugees; has met with the Vietnamese Communists at the United Nations in attempts to resolve complex issues; and so forth and so on...

We feel we merit consideration for this award.

Our group is self supporting. Nobody receives compensation or salaries for work performed for the organization-we believe this is unique.

We solicit your comments regarding this matter.

Sincerely,

James Rhodes

James Rhodes
1151 West 20th Street
Yuma, Arizona
85364

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JAMES RHODES, NATIONAL CHAIR
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UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MACK MATTINGLY
GEORGIA

June 5, 1984

File

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mike:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed copies of letters I recently sent to the President and the Attorney General regarding my line item veto proposal.

Sincerely,

Mack

Enclosure

MACK MATTINGLY
GEORGIA



UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

June 5, 1984

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

Dear Mr. President:

During the Senate debate on the Deficit Reduction Act, I offered an amendment to grant the President, by statute, line veto authority. The amendment was narrowly defeated, primarily because some members were concerned that such authority should be granted by a constitutional amendment rather than by legislation. Obviously, use of the line item veto would be expedited if the authority could be achieved by legislation, as opposed to the constitutional amendment route. To that end, I hope you will request an opinion from the Attorney General regarding the constitutionality of such authority being achieved by statute.

Enactment of the line item veto will be an important step in returning fiscal sanity to the budget process.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Mack Mattingly", with a stylized flourish at the end.

MACK MATTINGLY
GEORGIA



UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

June 5, 1984

The Honorable William French Smith
Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

During the Senate debate on the Deficit Reduction Act, I offered an amendment to grant the President, by statute, line veto authority. The amendment was narrowly defeated, primarily because some members were concerned that such authority should be granted by a constitutional amendment rather than by legislation. Obviously, use of the line item veto would be expedited if the authority could be achieved by legislation, as opposed to the constitutional amendment route. Therefore, I request an opinion from the Department of Justice regarding the constitutionality of such authority being achieved by statute.

Enactment of the line item veto will be an important step in returning fiscal sanity to the budget process.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Mack Mattingly".

American Association of Women Voters

NEW YORK

WASHINGTON, D.C.

LOS ANGELES



LESLIE C. DUTTON
Executive Director

2210 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 174
Santa Monica, California 90403
(213) 395-0244

June 4, 1984

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mike,

Just a note to let you know of our progress. We have retained the law firm of Nielsen, Hodgson, Parrinello & Mueller for the purpose of obtaining tax-exempt status on the State and Federal level (501.(c)(3) as an educational organization.

Because our primary purpose is to encourage discussion of the issues on a non-partisan basis, it was unnecessary and not desirable to establish a PAC.

Enclosed is a copy of our first AAWV newsletter which outlines our program. We have been receiving a great response to letters sent out last month and have a number of prominent people who have pledged support and participation in our events.

Here is hoping that all is well with you. I look forward to seeing you at the Convention in August.

Sincerely,

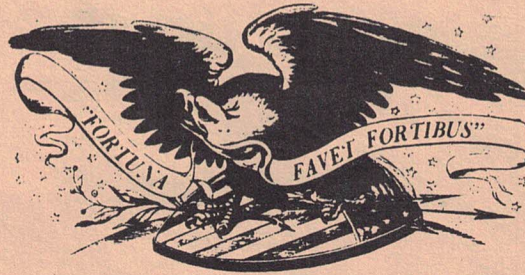
Leslie C. Dutton
Executive Director

American Association of Women Voters

NEW YORK

WASHINGTON, D.C.

LOS ANGELES



June/July 1984
Volume 1

2210 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 174
Santa Monica, California 90403
(213) 395-0244

MAINSTREAM AMERICAN WOMEN UNITE

Early in 1984, a group of long-time active California women came together to form a national association for the purpose of organizing MAINSTREAM American women who are interested in politics and concerned about vital issues which effect the security and economic well being of our country.

The American Association of Women Voters was founded to provide opportunities for women to meet national, state and local office holders, to learn through first-hand experience how the political world works and to take an active role in influencing the debate on public policy issues through a variety of non-partisan community and educational activities.

Majority Needs Voice

American women have been ill served by many of the most vocal, though least representative, of the existing political organizations purporting to speak for them. A national women's organization for example, promotes a radical, left-wing political agenda that utterly fails to reflect the genuine concerns of the majority of American women.

Women are mainly interested in the same two issues that concern men: peace in the world and prosperity at home. However, women by tradition, also play unique roles in the affairs of the community and effect public policy through their associations in the workplace, schools, churches, charities and all activities relating to family and business life. Women have a profound influence on community direction as it relates to themselves and their family members. Most do not realize that many of their everyday actions have "political" implications.

The American Association of Women Voters is founded upon the conviction that the two primary goals (peace and prosperity) can only be achieved by rely-

ing upon the fundamental values and institutions which Americans have always relied upon. One of the most prominent values is individual freedom and the belief that freely-made choices of the people are reflected and served by the actions of their government, if not that government loses its legitimacy. The people are primary and the state exists to serve them.

Our economic system is the most productive and the most widely beneficial to the greatest numbers of people in the history of the world because it too relies upon an essential respect for individual freedom. Only TRUE free enterprise allows the creative imagination and productive energy of the people to find the most efficient, least costly and most rewarding ways to produce the endless variety of goods and services upon which

our nation's economic and continued prosperity depends.

The American Association of Women Voters is dedicated to involving working women, young mothers and senior women who have not been active in the political arena before. By arranging community meetings to hear prominent speakers, elected and appointed officials, the AAWV will work to promote discussion of the issues which concern mainstream American women.

Research on issues, communications and media training are an important part of the political world which active citizens use to influence debate on public policy. The AAWV is dedicated to providing support services for those interested in their program. (see page 8)



AAWV Executive Director, Leslie Dutton, met with President Reagan in the Oval office this February. A former Vice President with The Hannaford Co.(public relations/public affairs), Dutton has long been active in California politics and community organizing. As a candidate for Santa Monica City Council in 1979 she challenged Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda's CED slate which still controls the socialist-leaning City Council.

HHS OFFICIAL SPEAKS OUT

"SINGLE-MOTHER FAMILIES"

An address made before the American Association of Women Voters by the Honorable Stephanie Lee-Miller, Assistant Secretary of Health & Human Services, May 11, 1984, Bel Air, California.

Single-parent families are on the rise. The quality of life of these families is not acceptable either in economic or emotional terms and the situation — which can legitimately be called a crisis — demands immediate and tough action.

The facts are these: approximately half of the marriages that took place in the 1970's have ended, or will end, in divorce. Meanwhile, the number of out-of-wedlock births has also increased dramatically. In fact, the number of single parent families has increased nearly 50 percent during the past decade.

Single-parent families now constitute 25 percent of all families with children. We know that in 1981, some 15 million American children lived in single-parent families. By the 1990's, only 56 percent of American children will spend their entire childhood living with both natural parents.

What has made an already troublesome problem all the more difficult is that 90 percent of single parent families are headed by women. There are now more than nine and a half million single mothers in America. Some are wives whose husbands have either divorced or abandoned them, leaving them with the responsibility of raising their children. Others are women whose male friends leave them to bear and raise their child, or children out of wedlock. Divorce and out-of-wedlock births are emerging as the key factors in the rise in single parent families. From 1970 to 1982, the divorce rate rose from 47 to 100 per 1,000 married couples and the percent of births to unwed mothers rose from 11 percent in 1970 to 17 percent in 1979.

And consider this: there are nearly 14 million children under the age of 18 who live with single mothers. What is the economic status of those American women who head single-parent families? Slightly more than 40 percent of these families live in poverty.

All this has changed the face of poverty. Single women and their offspring receive from 40 to 80 percent of the benefits in various welfare programs that cost the government \$40 billion a year, according to economist Alice Rivlin, former director of the Congressional Budget Office.

Single Moms/New Poor

Yes, being a single parent usually means being poor. But it also means something else: having to assume the role not only of mother, but also father, counselor, disciplinarian, teacher, and whatever else her children need. These demands on the mother too often leave her exhausted and unable to have the emotional and intellectual exchange her children require.

Where is the quality of life in the following scenario: Up at 6 a.m., two kids to wake, wash, clothe, feed; get ready for work herself; drop the children off by 8:30; rush to get to work by nine in an office situation that is most likely unsympathetic to single parents; dash from work at five; pick up the kids by six or risk incurring the wrath of and being rejected by the day-care provider; home by 6:30, fix and serve dinner, undress and wash the kids; help them with their homework, bathe and put them to bed.

Child Abuse

This scenario, described in a recent magazine article, clearly leaves no time for emotional or intellectual exchange with the children. It can cause increasing rates of child abuse, delinquency, family violence, and the continuing breakdown in the quality of American family life.

Why do so many of single-parent families headed by females live in poverty and have such a poor quality of life? For many of them it's because simply that their fathers are unable or unwilling to pay for their support.

In 1981, 1 million children did not receive their fair share of child support, or received none at all. Only 59 percent of women raising children alone have been granted support awards.

Furthermore, even among women who have been awarded support, less than half are receiving the full amount. In 1981 only half received their full payment from the fathers with the other half receiving partial payment, or no payment at all.

Total child support payments due to women in 1981 was \$0.9 billion. But



Stephanie Lee-Miller, serves as the HHS Secretary's principal public affairs adviser, participates in major decision-making affecting HHS policy and programs and provides functional department-wide management of public affairs, communicates with various segments of the public on behalf of the department and administers the Freedom of Information Act.

Ms. Lee-Miller was born in Los Angeles, graduated from California State College at Dominguez Hills and received her master's degree in urban studies from Occidental College in 1975. For five years she was with the Coro Foundation of Los Angeles as a fellow in public affairs and then as director of community programs for the foundation.

ADMINISTRATION PUSHES CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT LAWS

only \$6.1 billion was actually paid. Children lost about \$4 billion in support because of non-payments. With proper payments, the extent of their poverty would drop.

According to a 1982 Stanford University study, most men who are not meeting child support obligations are capable of doing so, and indeed are capable of paying significantly more than the amounts awarded.

Reagan Prompts Action

Real concern over this situation has prompted both the president and Secretary Heckler to do something about it.

With the Administration's public spotlight on the situation, my department's office of child support enforcement was able last year to inspire the collection of more than \$2.2 billion in child support payments, lifting 160,000 families off the welfare rolls. That is four times the amount collected in 1976.

Our office of Child Support Enforcement has also established the paternity of 800,000 children, renewing their sense of belonging and identifying non-paying fathers. We're making it harder for out-of-wedlock fathers to deny their responsibilities.

And we're making it just as hard for fathers to vanish after abandoning their families. The Federal Parent Locator Service is an automated information exchange service for states to obtain information to locate absent parents. So far more than 1.1 million requests have been processed and 70 percent of those inquiring have been provided address information.

States To Collect

We recognize, however, that existing regulations and enforcement authority do not go far enough. Therefore the Reagan Administration has proposed legislation that will require states to pursue and collect payments more aggressively. Our proposal would require states to use collection practices that have been proven effective in ensuring that money due is ordered paid.

Our legislation, HR 4325 — "The Child Support Enforcement Amendments of 1984," has three major provisions:

- establish mandatory and automatic wage withholding whenever an absent parent falls behind in payment. We know this approach can work after mandatory withholding went into effect in the state of New York, the payment rate doubled — from 40 to 80 percent,



Assistant Secretary of HHS, Stephanie Lee-Miller met with approximately 50 Southern California people who attended the AAWV luncheon on May 11 in Bel Air. From the left: Birute Prasauskas (Lithuanian-American Community organization), Stephanie Lee-Miller and Ruth Buteyn of Santa Monica.

- create a process to end court backlogs in issuing and enforcing child support orders,
- provide some \$200 million in incentive payments to states based on state efforts to improve their performance and levy penalties of between 3 and 10 percent of amounts owed on absent parents.

With strong Administration support HR 4325 was passed unanimously by the House of Representatives last year and by the Senate last month. We expect President Ronald Reagan to sign this law in a few weeks.

Taxpayers Burden

These regulatory and legislative actions are something very real the Reagan Administration is doing not only for the millions of women victims but also for the millions of their brother and sister taxpayers having to share the burden.

Those concerned with the plight of single mothers seem to limit their demands for government involvement in terms of more support services.

I believe they are missing a central truth: kids were not meant to be raised by one parent. I am not aware of any civilization or any society that has successfully raised children with only one

parent. If there is only one parent, the quality of family life will suffer, no matter how much allocations for day care or Aid to Dependent Children are increased.

Fathers Love Needed

What single families headed by single women need is not simply more government, but more fathers — responsible fathers, caring fathers, fathers who are not absent but present, fathers who can bring income, love, time, and emotional support to the single parent family.

If we need responsible fathers we need responsible mothers and women as well. Women owe it to their children not yet born — and they owe it to themselves — to weigh carefully the consequences of having children alone.

Let me conclude by saying that if we are to get at the core problems involving single-parent families, this issue must cease being one primarily discussed by women and women's groups. Somehow we must engage men in this dialogue — our fathers, brothers, sons, husbands, and boyfriends.

The dilemma of single motherhood took two people to create and it will take two people to resolve. Solutions which leave fathers out of the picture are hardly solutions at all.

I AM SICK

There are those who claim ours is a "sick" society; that our country is sick; that we are sick. Well, maybe they're right. I submit that I'm sick and maybe you are too.

I am sick of having policemen ridiculed and called "pigs" while cop killers are hailed as some kind of folk hero.

I am sick of being told that religion is the opiate of the people, but marijuana should be legalized.

I am sick of commentators and newspaper writers canonizing anarchists, revolutionaries and criminal rapists, but condemning law enforcement when such criminals are brought to justice.

I am sick of being told that pornography is the right of the free press, but freedom of the press does not include being able to read the Bible on school grounds.

I am sick of paying more and more taxes to build schools while I see some faculty members encouraging students either to tear them down or burn them.

I am sick of Supreme Court decisions which turn criminals loose on society, while other decisions try to take away my means of protecting my family and home.

I am sick of pot-smoking entertainers deluging me with their condemnation of my moral standards on late-night television.

I am sick of being told that policemen are mad dogs who should not have guns, but that criminals who use guns to rob, maim and murder should be understood and helped to find their way back into the mainstream of society.

I am sick of not being able to take my family to a movie unless I want to have them exposed to nudity, homosexuality and the glorification of narcotics.

I am sick of riots, marches, protests, demonstrations, confrontations and the other mob temper tantrums of people intellectually incapable of working within the system.

I am sick of hearing the same sick slogans, the cries of people who must chant the same thing like zombies because they haven't the capacity for verbalizing thought.

I am sick of those who say I owe them this or that because of the sins of my forefathers when YOU have looked down both ends of a gun barrel to defend their rights, their liberties and their pursuit of happiness.

I am sick of cynical attitudes toward patriotism; of politicians with no backbone.

I am sick of hearing about self-serving politicians and business executives who fly to Moscow over the graves of our fallen soldiers as they travel to beg the KGB and the Politburo to attend the Olympics.

I am sick of permissiveness; of the dirty, the foul-mouthed, the unwashed.

I am sick of being gouged along with all taxpayers, out of millions of dollars for parks that are filled with sleazy and dangerous characters.

I am sick of the neighborhood super markets selling hard-core pornography in sight of our children, in the name of free enterprise.

I am sick of being forced into supporting the young perpetual welfare recipient while I cannot help my elderly mother and father.

I am sick of the decline of personal honesty, personal integrity and human sincerity.

Most of all, though, I am sick of being told I'm sick. I'm sick of being told my country is sick — when we have the greatest nation that man has ever brought forth on the face of the earth. Fully 50 percent of the people in this world would willingly trade places with the most deprived, the most underprivileged among us.

Yes, I may be sick, but if I am only sick, I can get well. I can also help my society get well — and help my country get well.

I AM SICK is an anonymous contribution to the AAWV newsletter. The subject matter reflects a growing attitude of mainstream American Women. We regret that the author is unknown and cannot be given proper credit.

AAWV SPECIAL REPORT

THE NCC: THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARX?

As a result of a *Reader's Digest* article and Sixty-Minutes program in early 1983, attention has been drawn to the leftist sympathies, and in some cases direct support for radical-left and marxist causes, of the National Council of Churches (NCC).

The NCC is the largest ecumenical organization in the United States. Supported by the church contributions of millions of unsuspecting Americans the NCC has donated large sums of money to such "progressive" causes as:

- The "New Economic Zones" in Vietnam which are in fact forced labor camps for regime opponents.
- A "Literacy" campaign by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua used for Marxist indoctrination of the population.
- A leftist group known as EPICA whose declared goal is to combat U.S. "Colonialism" in Puerto Rico.
- The "North American Congress on Latin America" which openly advocates Marxist objectives.
- The Washington-based "Committee for Solidarity with the people of El Salvador," a pro-Marxist organization.
- "Christians Associated for Relationship with Eastern Europe" (CAREE), which is the U.S. affiliate of the well-known Soviet-front organization "Christian Peace Conference" based in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Much less-known, yet ultimately perhaps more important aspect of NCC activities is a concerted attack on corporate policies that are not to the liking of the left and attack on the Free-Enterprise system itself. These activities are planned and coordinated by the NCC affiliate which claims tax-exempt status as such — Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility (ICCR) based in New York.

The ICCR claims some thirteen protestant denominations, three ecumenical organizations and 170 Roman Catholic groups who hold stock in major companies among its members.

The ICCR strategy is to challenge corporate policies with which it does not agree through shareholder resolutions which under the guise of humanitarian

jectives. Characteristic of all of these challenges is their unmistakable leftist bias.

Corporations and banks that deal with South Africa or Chile for example, will be regularly challenged to terminate their business there, yet there is an overwhelming lack of criticism to companies dealing with much more oppressive communist regimes.

In another example the Gulf Oil Corporation was successfully forced by the ICCR to terminate its support of political parties in South Korea, but once it became the major source of income (through its oil concessions) and indeed chief lobbyist in the U.S. Congress for the vastly more oppressive Communist regime in Angola, it has been spared all criticism.

Although few of the ICCR resolutions pick-up wide support from other shareholders, the process has been remarkably successful since many corporations, apparently afraid of adverse publicity, often quietly submit to the demands of leftist activists. Thus, ICCR is able to claim "rich results" from the shareholder resolutions, stating that "one-fourth to one-third of the church-sponsored resolutions are withdrawn because of mutually acceptable agreements which have been reached between the resolution sponsor and the management."

Politics Over Profits

The ICCR also proudly claims that "Many times a resolution is defeated, but management decides to comply in whole or in part in ensuing months."

The long-term impact of such policies, if they continue unchallenged, lies in the fact that they will have the effect of forcing companies to operate on the basis of political criteria rather than profitability — a situation totally incompatible with the free enterprise system. Moreover, this also presents a threat to the welfare of millions of Americans — particularly retired people and senior citizens, a majority of whom are women, due to their greater life expectancy. The material well-being of many of them often depends on the market performance of various pension funds. Yet there is already evidence of efforts to use pension fund investments as an instrument for the achievement of leftists political goals with little consideration to profitability.

If you want to know whether or not your church contributions are supporting radical-left and Marxist causes, ask your pastor or priest if your parish or church council is sending support to the NCC.

Greater details on the ICCR and related issues will be provided in upcoming issues of this newsletter.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES 1984 POLITICAL TARGET LIST FOR CORPORATE SHAREHOLDER RESOLUTIONS

Company Name	Issue
ABC	Media images of women
Allied	Disclosure of nuclear involvement
American Electric Power	Nuclear power review committee
American Home Products	Drug lobbying Third World
American Hospital Supply	Employment of Mexican women
AT & T	Criteria for military contracts; Plant closings; Termination of nuclear weapons contracts
Bankers Trust	World debt crisis
Caterpillar	Plant closings
CBS	Media images of women
Chase Manhattan Bank	World debt crisis
Chemical Bank	World debt crisis
Cigna	So. African loans
Cincinnati Gas & Electric	Stop nuclear plant construction
Citicorp	Report on loans to So. Africa
Commonwealth Edison	Nuclear power lobbying
Consolidated Edison	Evacuation plans; Lifeline rates; Nuclear power lobbying
Consumers Power	Stop construction of nuclear power plant
Continental Illinois	World debt crisis
Control Data	Computer sales in So. Africa
Dart & Kraft	Employment of women in So. Korea
Dayton Power & Light	Equal employment opportunity disclosure
Dresser	Stop construction of nuclear power plant
Eastman Kodak	Sign Sullivan principles (So. Africa)
Eaton	Disclosure of involvement in militarization of space
Emerson Electric	No expansion in So. Africa
Exxon	Criteria for military contract
General Dynamics	Pollution control
General Electric	Secret ballot
General Foods	Criteria for military contract
General Motors	Coffee imports from El Salvador & Guatemala
General Telephone Electric	No sales to So. African government
Honeywell	Criteria for military contract
Houston Industries	Criteria for military contract
IBM	Conservation
Ingersoll Rand	Stop nuclear power plant construction
K-Mart	Human rights
McDonnell Douglas	No expansion in So. Africa; sign Sullivan Principles
Martin Marietta	Minority economic development
Mobil	Criteria for military contract
J.P. Morgan	Disclosure of involvement in militarization of space
Motorola	Adopt Tutu's conditions or withdraw from So. Africa
Newmont Mining	No loans to So. African government
NL Industries	World debt crisis
North Carolina National	Employment practices in So. Korea
Philadelphia Electric	No sales to So. African government
Raytheon	No expansion in So. Africa
RCA/NBC	Radioactive contamination
Rockwell International	No loans to So. African government
Schlumberger	Conservation; Nuclear power
Singer	Criteria for military contract
Standard Oil of California	Media images of women and minorities
Sterling Drug	Nuclear weapons
Texaco	Report on sales to Soviet Union
Union Electric	Criteria for military contract
United Technologies	Adopt Tutu's conditions or withdraw from So. Africa
US Steel	Review committee on drug sales in Third World
Upjohn	Adopt Tutu's conditions or withdraw from So. Africa
Wells Fargo	Cancel construction of nuclear power plant
Westinghouse	Plant closings
Xerox	Plant closings
	Review committee on Depo-Provera
	World debt crisis
	Employment practices
	No nuclear contract with So. Africa
	Adopt Tutu's conditions or withdraw from So. Africa

BALTIC AMERICANS COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS SHAPE HISTORY

"This proves that citizens, without the support of government, can organize at the grass-roots level and have an effect not only on their country but throughout the world." These are the words of David Balsiger, President of "Ban the Soviets Coalition" (BAN) on the day the Soviet Union announced they would not participate in the 1984 Summer Olympics.

When the Soviet Union withdrew from the Los Angeles Olympic Games because of what they said were "extremist organizations who were creating unbearable conditions" many observers were quick to look for other reasons. Some thought it was due to the 1980 U.S. boycott of the Moscow games, others said the Soviets wanted to make President Reagan "look bad" in an election year. It seemed impossible for them to realize that a group of citizens could have provoked such a strong reaction from one of the world's super powers.

Soviets Fear Demonstrations

However, the Soviet Union pulled out of the Olympics for exactly the reasons cited. Most observers grossly underestimated the impact of media coverage of BAN demonstrations and press conferences on the Soviets. Plus they failed to understand the scope of activities and background of those who were involved in organizing the "Freedom '84" plan to encourage Soviet athletes to defect.

The Los Angeles Times referred to the Anti-Soviet groups as "the mouse that roared" and L.A. Olympic Organizing President, Peter Ueberroth called them "nuts." The simple fact is that the most prominent member of the BAN coalition, the Baltic-American Freedom League (BAFL) has been actively organizing a national grass-roots program on the community level to call attention to the plight of their Soviet-occupied homelands of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The countries were seized illegally in 1940 and the U.S. has steadfastly refused to recognize their incorporation into the USSR. It is for this reason the Soviets were particularly sensitive to BAN's activities and considering some of the BAFL accomplishments in the past few years, it is no wonder.

Sponsors Legislation

In 1982 BAFL introduced a joint resolution in Congress to establish "Baltic Freedom Day" and with the support of a grass-roots letter writing and lobbying campaign, the legislation passed unanimously and was signed into law by Presi-

dent Reagan. In 1983 Reagan again signed the legislation and hosted a White House reception and signing ceremony where BAFL leaders posed with him.

Because of the "detente years," this was the first time since the Eisenhower administration that a Baltic delegation had been received in the White House and now the Soviets were a little more than nervous. They had hoped the world had forgotten about the Baltic states and their continuing resistance to Russification.

Survival Of Baltic Cultures

American Baltic emigrés have always believed the Russians were counting on Baltic nationalism dying out with the passing of their generation. But renewed U.S. recognition and the fact that younger, American-born Balts are now carrying the banner, has caused a dramatic turn of events in their quest to preserve the Baltic cultures and heritage.

One significant milestone for the Balts was on May 11, 1984 when the Washington Post acknowledged in an editorial: *"The League (BAFL) led the effort to ban Soviet participation in the Los Angeles games, and if Soviet athletes came, to lure defectors from their ranks. It is clear, by the way, that the Kremlin was obsessed by the fear of defections; hence its designation of a KGB officer as an 'Olympic attache,' its insistence on housing all Soviet athletes on a ship and in some measure its decision to pull out."*

In a speech this March before the League in Los Angeles, Elliott Abrams,

Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, asked the question after predicting independence for Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. *"is it realistic to assume that the sole remaining colonial empire, the Soviet empire, will survive forever?"*

US Encourages Freedom

Just a few short years ago Baltic-Americans only dreamed that they would hear a high ranking State Department official raise the possibility of Baltic freedom. And now, with their community grass-roots organizations and activities the Balts have played a significant role in forcing the Soviets to withdraw from the Olympics and U.S. officials are openly encouraging freedom.

One of the most active leaders of BAFL is American-born Tony Mazeika, a vice president and founder. Mazeika, who has a personal commitment to the Baltic cause as an organizer, author and spokesman, commented in a May 16 guest editorial which appeared in the Santa Ana Register; *"The Soviets, after divisive discussions at the highest level of the Politburo, decided not to participate in the games. The political and ideological risks were too grave. Public humiliation caused by defections and worldwide publicity focused on ethnic American anti-Soviet demonstrations would cause incalculable damage to the Russian propaganda machine."* For Mazeika and BAFL the Soviet reaction was a surprising but profound recognition of their activities.



BAFL President Val Pavlovskis (left) and Tony Mazeika, Vice president are typical of demonstrators. Dressed in suits and ties with pro-American placards, BAFL demonstrations against the Soviets are very patriotic.

THE AAWV PROGRAM

AAWV activities are planned to attract working women, young mothers and senior women with special emphasis on addressing community problems and issues which effect women and their family members.

Conferences

For the purpose of reaching out to women who have not been involved in the political arena before and to encourage non-partisan debate on issues the AAWV's program includes sponsoring conferences on the community, state, regional and national level. The AAWV is dedicated to presenting high level, knowledgeable and qualified speakers, to attract citizen participation.

Typical conferences to address subjects as follows: Women and the justice system; Child abuse and pornography; Narcotic education; Women's conference on national security; How retirement pension plan investments effect women; Single-parent mothers, women and health care costs.

Seminars

Political education workshops, organized on a non-partisan basis, to inform interested citizens on how to become effectively involved in an issue or campaign. Background on how the parties and election process is structured and how the referendum, initiative, recall and resolution process works at the state, county and local levels.

Media workshops; presentations of how to write a press release, establish media contacts and turn out print and broadcast coverage for events. Instruction on how to use the public access T.V. stations. Develop video taping capability for AAWV seminars and conferences to be distributed as part of the educational program.

Community organizing workshop; How to organize within the community for issues and campaigns. Basic door to door and telephone techniques for mobilizing people on issues of concern: Such as crime in the parks and recreational areas, pornographic publications in neighborhood markets, traffic and congestion problems of neighborhoods, and issues effecting the schools such as truancy.

Research and Publications

Individuals qualifying for AAWV research grants will be provided with staff and financial support to research non-partisan issues as part of the AAWV educational program. Research reports will be published, distributed and publicized by the AAWV.

Newsletter; The AAWV publishes a bi-monthly newsletter which is distributed to subscribers, members, elected officials, media and educators. Content of the non-partisan, educational newsletter includes research reports, coverage of AAWV conferences and events, and announcement and sign-up forms for coming seminars/workshops. The purpose of the newsletter is to encourage participation in the AAWV's non-partisan educational program.

American Association of Women Voters

NEW YORK

WASHINGTON, D.C.

LOS ANGELES

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ROBERT P. ROTHENBERG
PRESIDENT

File
June 8, 1984

Mr. Michael Deaver
Deputy Chief Of Staff
And Assistant To The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

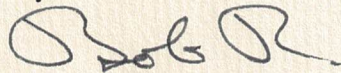
Dear Mike:

I have to believe that you and the rest of the President's team are aware of the enclosed and probably have, in fact, the full text of Rev. Jackson's remarks. However, just in case. . .

These comments may well provide some useful ammunition for the President's supporters this summer and in the fall.

With best wishes.

Very cordially,



Robert P. Rothenberg

cc: Mr. Edward J. Rollins
Mr. James Baker, III

Enclosure

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18 ★★

JACKSON: FRITZ LACKS REAGAN ABILITY TO LEAD

REV. JESSE Jackson charged yesterday that Democratic frontrunner Walter Mondale lacks President Reagan's capacity to lead.

To defeat Reagan in November, Jackson said, the Democratic candidate must assert "this X factor," an ability to mold public opinion and "make things happen."

Jackson, asked what worried him about Mondale as the Democratic candidate, said:

"I have great respect for his integrity, for Mondale as a person. I feel I can work with him.

"It's not his character, it's his leadership style, and in some instances, his substance.

"Somehow this X factor . . . and leadership . . . must be asserted."

Reagan "has this ca-

capacity to mold opinion," Jackson said.

He chided Mondale for "his inability to face the tough issues of our day and mold opinion, not just follow opinion polls. A leader to compete with Reagan must be an opinion molder who can make things happen."

Jackson said Reagan is vulnerable because he "has increased the misery index for the poor" and "increased the danger index for everybody."

But he said the Democrats will not win unless they find "a new direction" and "choose another course."

Jackson also expressed "grave reservations" about Mondale's commitment to "peace, jobs and justice," and the campaign team that Mondale might assemble if he wins the nomination.

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, JUNE 7, 1984

GIFTS FOR DA



Mondale

Alexander K. Christie

ALEXANDER K. CHRISTIE ASSOCIATES

5305 CROMWELL DRIVE

BETHESDA, MD 20816

4/10/84

Michael J. Deane, Visit to the President

Dear Mike:

I want to commend you for the brilliant address as spoken so eloquently and feelingly by President Reagan at the "Point" where the Rangers suffer such high losses.

This address will stand "the test of time."

The reference to the Pipes of the 51st and the change that followed will certainly be appreciated by Scots the World over, and most kindly in Edinburgh and all of Scotland, for who would have thought that 40-years later an incident such as this would be referred to by the President of the U. S. Scotland takes great pride in the Regiment.

The reference to the Polish Army was splendid, and the mention of Soviet losses will done.

Alexander K. Christie

ALEXANDER K. CHRISTIE ASSOCIATES

5305 CROMWELL DRIVE

BETHESDA, MD 20816

Bob Novak paid you a well deserved compliment on the McLaughlin Show, 7:30 p.m. 7.B.C., Saturday. (It might be well to get the transcript) Buchanan was quiet, if the 51st were Irish he probably would have more to say.

Jack Getman was rotten, his comments were vicious. He stated that Reagan was in Hollywood during the War and he felt he was "acting in the Point" oration. McLaughlin and Novak let him have it.

The vicious one on Sunday was Jody Powell on Dave Brinkley Show, he was worse than Jack Getman, but thank God, Brinkley had the decency to tell Powell his remarks were uncalled for. Sam Donaldson praised the President, which is hopeful for a change. The tour will help the President. He made you proud to be an American.

Respectfully,
Alb Christie

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MR MICHAEL K DEEVER, DEPUTY
CHIEF OF STAFF ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC 20500

RE: 5-30-84
DRAFT POSITION PAPER ON POPULATION PREPARED BY THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE
OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT:
I AM WRITING IN MY PERSONAL CAPACITY AS PRESIDENT OF THE POPULATION
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA (PAA), THE PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE
NATION'S 26 DEMOGRAPHERS. THE PAA TAKES NO POSITION ON THE POLITICAL
POLICY QUESTIONS INVOLVED.
HOWEVER, PLEASE BE ADVISED THAT THIS PAPER IS NOT A BALANCED
REPRESENTATION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE ON THE SUBJECT. IN PARTICULAR,
IT GIVES ONLY PASSING REFERENCE TO AGRARIAN COUNTRIES WITH HIGH
POPULATION DENSITIES, WHICH COMPLIES THE MAJORITY OF THE DEVELOPING
WORLD'S POPULATION.
IT WOULD BE PREMATURE AND INCAUTIOUS TO ADOPT DRAMATIC CHANGES IN
U.S. POLICY BASED ON THIS PAPER. SUCH A MATTER DESERVES SERIOUS
CONSULTATIONS WITH THE FULL RANGE OF EXPERTS IN THE FIELDS, E.G.,
THROUGH THE NEWLY-ESTABLISHED WORKING GROUP ON POPULATION GROWTH
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL AND RESEARCH COUNSEL, NATIONAL
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. ALTERNATIVELY, THE PAA STANDS READY TO TRY TO
PULL TOGETHER A BALANCE DISCUSSION GROUP OF AUTHORITIES AT YOUR
OFFICES WITHIN THE NEXT WEEK OR TWO.
TO PROCEED FURTHER WITHOUT SUCH CONSULTATION COULD PROVE HIGHLY
EMBARRASSING TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO THE PRESIDENT.
RESPECTFULLY,

SAMUEL H. PRESTON, PRES.
POPULATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

13:15 EST

MGMOOMP



dennis brack
staff photographer
black star
publishing co.
3609 woodhill pl.
fairfax, va. 22031
(703) 280-2285

Will

Bil Henkel
Bakaly

June 12, 1984

good work as usual

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

Dear Mike:

I've got to take a couple of minutes to thank you and your staff for making my photograph on pages 38 & 39 possible--and for getting me some ink in TIME this week.

The creativity of the advance combined with the good sense to take the advice of a professional photographer made this picture work. By having all of the photographers in a position to take a good picture, I think that we did not take away from the dignity of the Reagan's tribute to our men at Omaha Beach. This was quite a contrast to my last visit to the same crosses with another president. It was an undirected running battle at the graves with fifty French photographers, and as you can imagine, a great deal of pushing by the press that destroyed any meaning of the event. Most of the photographers left Omaha Beach without making a usable photograph.

Thanks again,

Sincerely,

D

Dennis Brack

cc. Larry Speakes



could be seen reminiscing with buddies, or recounting their deeds to wives and children and children's children, or simply gazing out to sea. Charles H. Sullivan, who had been a medic in the 29th Infantry Division, could only marvel at the dizzying sea of white crosses and Stars of David at Omaha Beach, where 9,386 G.I.s are buried. "If anything of this kind has to exist," he said, his eyes filled with tears, "this is about as fine a tribute as they could create."

Fine tributes came too from President Reagan at Pointe du Hoc, a rugged promontory jutting into the English Channel. Soon after dawn on D-day, 225 U.S. Rangers began to scale the sheer cliffs, inching upward under a hail of murderous gunfire; after two days of combat, only 90 could still fight. Last week 62 Rangers returned to the site. "These are the boys of Pointe du Hoc," read the President. "These are the champions who helped free a continent." Some of the men being congratulated for their toughness had to take off their glasses to brush away tears.

After the speech, the President and



Bright ceremonies on a beach once littered with bodies

his wife gamely descended into a German bunker, then flew to the American cemetery above Omaha Beach. Walking alone arm in arm among the geometrically perfect rows of graves, they paid silent homage to the American dead. At the grave of an unknown soldier, the First Lady placed some flowers; later she laid a spray of carnations and blue irises at the tombstone of Brigadier General Theodore Roosevelt Jr., the son of his presidential namesake, who landed on Utah Beach with the 4th Infantry Division and died of a heart attack one month later.

Then, before 2,000 people at the Omaha Beach memorial, the President read

from a letter sent to him by Lisa Zanatta Henn, 20, of Millbrae, Calif. Many years ago, Peter Robert Zanatta of the 37th Engineer Combat Battalion had told his little girl that he would one day return to Normandy. After he died of cancer, his daughter vowed to make the pilgrimage on his behalf. "I'm going there, Dad," she wrote in the letter Reagan read, "and I'll see the beaches and the barricades and the monuments."

As the President read, his voice began to crack. "I'll see the graves, and I'll put flowers there just like you wanted to do. I'll never forget what you went through, Dad, nor will I let anyone else forget. And, Dad, I'll always be proud."

By then, the President's eyes were red, and he could barely continue reading. Near him was Lisa, who wept openly. Afterward, the First Couple, still shaken, boarded their helicopter and flew to Utah Beach. In the end, pride and tears seemed the sweetest memorial to the fallen, and the most eloquent way of saying goodbye.

—By Pico Iyer.

Reported by Thomas A. Sanction/Normandy and Barrett Seaman with the President

Feeling the Stigma

For most West Germans, no matter what their age, the pomp surrounding the 40th anniversary of the Normandy landings came as a painful reminder that even after 35 years as a democratic country, the Federal Republic is not regarded in quite the same way as other West European nations. The D-day ceremonies posed a dilemma for West Germans. They would have liked to be part of a commemoration, but they could hardly be—and were not—expected to join in the celebration of what was for them a historic defeat. On the other hand, as key members of NATO, they could not ignore an occasion that brought together the major Allies in an event that was televised across Europe and reported in detail on every front page. Rightly or wrongly, West Germans were made to feel the stigma of a Nazi era that for many of them is as remote as Kaiser Wilhelm II.

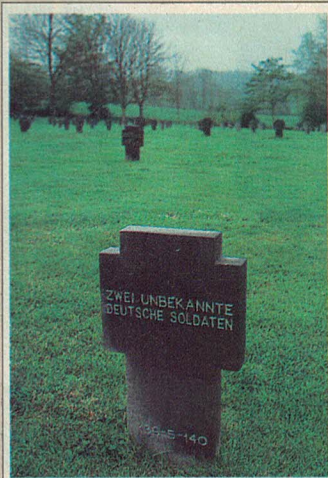
On the level of pure military history, West Germany observed the occasion much as its erstwhile enemies did. Television devoted hours to round-table discussions about what happened. D-day veterans talked about the confusion among commanders and the contradictory orders that flowed from German headquarters. Historian Hans-Adolf Jacobsen told the viewers that a major German failure in 1944 lay in bad intelligence: the Allied invaders were expected to strike in the Pas-de-Calais, not in Normandy. Stuttgart Mayor Manfred Rommel, whose father Field Marshal Erwin Rommel commanded the German Atlantic defenses, called D-day "one of the various great defeats in German history." But Rommel felt no sense of slight. Reminding West Germans that "it was better to lose the war with

Hitler than to win it with Hitler," he said, "I think it's quite in order that the Allies have their celebration."

Not all his countrymen shared that assessment. What grated most strongly perhaps was the perception that the commemoration stressed the notion of victory rather than the theme of postwar friendship. Though a number of newspaper editorials pointed to the absence of anything resembling a vindictive tone in the ceremonies, Alois Mertes, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, suggested that the celebrations "could make the German people feel alienated, vanquished and guilty," something that might "give impetus to pacifists and neutralists who are seeking a special German role between East and West."

Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who was 14 in 1944, had earlier denied reports that he officially sought to be included in the Normandy gathering. According to his aides, however, he had indicated to French President François Mitterrand last February that in the spirit of reconciliation, he would not mind being present. Mitterrand shrugged off the hint, and Kohl swallowed the rejection. Said Kohl last week: "The German Chancellor has no reason to celebrate when others celebrate a victory in battle that cost 10,000 German soldiers their lives." Neither Bonn nor the West German public took much comfort from a French compromise whereby, on June 8, French and German officials honored German soldiers killed during the first 24 hours of the landing.

Hundreds of West Germans called in to protest the coverage of the Normandy celebrations. Said a spokeswoman for one TV network: "Many of the callers were abusive, and most of them were male, many former soldiers. The callers said we should forget all about this talk of European unity when the victors get together among themselves to celebrate."



Two unknown German soldiers



Canada's Trudeau, Queen Beatrix of The Netherlands, King Olav V of Norway, King Baudouin I of the Belgians, Mitterrand, Queen Elizabeth II, Grand Duke Jean of Luxembourg, Reagan



At Pointe du Hoc, the Reagans visit a German bunker and two Rangers describe their ascent

World

Tributes and Tears

"We owe them what we are today"

Forty summers ago, they had sailed in the dark through howling winds and driving rain and later seen the sea behind them turn crimson with blood. Last week they arrived by bus and chartered plane, and the waves were calm, the heavens benign. The serene afternoon perfectly suited their mission: they had come to the windswept bluffs and lonely beaches of Normandy to encounter long-lost friends and to mourn those lost forever.

More than 4,000 veterans of D-day joined 6,000 other guests at Utah Beach last Wednesday, on the invasion's 40th anniversary. As the heads of state of eight wartime allies looked on, color guards slowly hoisted flags up eight tall poles, and eight national anthems rang out across the hazy air. At sea, where eight gray battleships idly drifted, the French destroyer *Montcalm* let off a 21-gun salute, and eight French Alpha jets roared through the sky, leaving

red, white and blue trails of smoke.

Stepping forward to deliver the gathering's only speech, French President François Mitterrand gallantly stressed that "the enemy of that time was not Germany but the power, the system, the ideology that held Germany in its grip." Mitterrand went on to applaud "the heroism of the Russian people." His main purpose, however, was to give thanks to the 10,000 Allied soldiers who lost their lives on D-day while helping to deliver France from captivity. "We owe them what we are today," said Mitterrand, "and I sometimes ask myself if we have ever paid them back all that we owe."

Yet amid the flawless pageantry, last Wednesday was, at heart, a day for silence and solitary reflection. Gray-haired by now, or balding, or round of girth, most of the returning veterans chose to observe their own private rituals of remembrance. During the long hours of waiting, they

DURCK HAALSTED

KENNEDY

DENNIS BRACK—BLACK STAR

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

The New Style of Exposure

then ticked off a list of conservative economic positions as the basis of unity for the leaders. Among them: that a strategy of economic recovery based on public-sector restraint and limited monetary growth "is the right one, and we intend to stick to it." Thatcher tossed in a plug for one of her favorite topics, "adapting our societies to an unprecedented pace of technological change."

During their deliberations, the summit leaders were forced to give close attention to the international debt issue. All seven heads of government had received a letter from seven major debtor countries (Argentina, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and Brazil) expressing "anxiety," in the words of a British official, and the hope that the debt discussion be given "the right priority." The summit finally came up with a plan that a senior U.S. official said would "reward" debtors who are making "successful efforts to improve their position." The plan includes the notion of extending and improving the terms of debt repayment where local efforts at austerity are being made.

The debt issue also led to the most serious strains of the meeting, when French President Mitterrand declared that "there can be no serious treatment of the debt problem without a lowering of real interest rates." That in turn paved the way for discussion of the U.S. budget deficit. Later, U.S. Treasury Secretary Regan refused to acknowledge a link between the deficit and high interest rates. The outcome in the communiqué was a declaration that high interest rates could threaten recovery, and a call for "prudent monetary and budgetary policies."

The meeting showed how far the concept of summitry has come—or gone—in a decade. The first economic summit took place in November 1975, when French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing came up with the idea of gathering fellow leaders literally around a fireside in the secluded French château of Rambouillet. The only press suite was in the Hotel George V in Paris, about 25 miles away. Something tangible was accomplished: an agreement to change the articles of the International Monetary Fund to accommodate a new economic world of floating exchange rates. Since then, there has been a steady escalation in pomp and politics as successive hosts have tried to use the meetings to serve their political ends.

Last week's costly extravaganza, swollen with hordes of simultaneous translators, government aides and journalists, managed to affirm Western solidarity, and it certainly did no harm to Ronald Reagan's chances for re-election. But for all its lofty declarations, it made little progress in finding solutions to the pressing problems the world's major industrial nations face. —By George Russell.

Reported by Bonnie Angelo/London and Douglas Brew with the President

In this era of world leadership, the metal detector is the altar and the minicam may be god.

In just 20 years, terrorism, communications, the jet plane and the increase of wealth and knowledge have forced, to varying degrees, world leaders into a haunted and secret peerage whose links with the people they guide are meticulously cleansed and staged. All of them lament this fact, from the Pope to the Prince of Wales, and none more than Ronald Reagan on his Old World pilgrimage, but they know their new age of isolation is nevertheless a stark fact of life.

The old order may have reached its zenith with John Kennedy's trip to Ireland in 1963. We just did not understand what was happening then. Kennedy rode through multitudes in an open car. He stood on the quay at New Ross from where his great-grandfather sailed for Boston, hugging and laughing with anybody who came, even shabby, unshaven figures who emerged unsteadily from the pubs to hail the visitor.

The small crowd allowed through security lines in Reagan's ancestral Ballyporeen was thoroughly infiltrated by security agents, both men and women dressed as camera-toting tourists. In the Ronald Reagan Lounge, John O'Farrell, an entrepreneurial genius, proprietor of O'Farrell's Pub, posed with his family as cast. They were positioned and tutored for pictures, including four-week-old Catherine Nancy O'Farrell, named for Mrs. Reagan. It was duly reported that a man in a cloth cap was ushered in as "a solitary representative of the plain people of Ballyporeen."



Traveling with ease: Kennedy visits Galway in 1963

Kennedy's motorcade inched into Dublin with thousands of swirling fans around him, the young President's profile etched in the afternoon sun. Reagan helicoptered from a secluded airport corner to his house in Phoenix Park; the streets of Dublin were nearly deserted.

But just as staid as the Reagan spectacle were the protests that helped to produce the President's protective script. The "ring around Reagan" of at least 5,000 marching Dubliners condemning Reagan's foreign policy played to television cameras. The Catholic prelates who snubbed Reagan in Ireland sought headlines, not answers. The 1,800 journalists who descended on Ballyporeen outnumbered the village's entire population more than 5 to 1.

And yet during all of this plotted pageantry through Ireland and the commemoration of D-day in Normandy came images of true affection, understanding and meaning. Beamed to an estimated 300 million people around the world, that may be a fair trade-off for the lost intimacy.

The future may bring even more changes for ceremonial visits and leadership councils like the London economic summit. Many events are already covered through "pool" arrangements, in which a small group of reporters is selected to represent and report back to the rest of the press corps. There may have to be more of that, because hard-pressed countries and communities can scarcely afford the millions of dollars and man-hours necessary to protect a leader as well as cope with a huge entourage.

It might be less fun for those folks who seem to relish the story of security agents and protective apparatus as much as what Presidents and Prime Ministers do and say. No more yarns about "the sinister black briefcase" carrying nuclear codes, or the "android image" of the Secret Service, or how agents switch revolver style when they change clothes from casual (Smith & Wesson Model 10) to formal (Walther PPK), or the press "baying for names and quotes." Unfortunately, the prose that would result would be far more prosaic. The sense of pomp and ceremony and history would be sacrificed. But by taking refuge in an electronic cocoon, those who run the world might be able to travel through it more quickly, quietly and safely.

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TAD THARP TO BILL SITTMANN RE CASTINE
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO:

TAD

FROM:

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

Bill Sitmann

☐ Information

☒ Action

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