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Executive Registry
84-1745

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 17, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: WILLIAM J. CASEY
DIRECTOR, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

FROM: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY *JRW*
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT: The Central American Outreach Effort

I would like to bring you up-to-date on our efforts to increase public awareness of Central America and to develop support for the Administration's policies in the region.

Since last May, the Office of Public Liaison has conducted weekly briefings on Central America, established a Speakers' Bureau which has sent spokesmen to 150 platforms nationwide, and published a series of eight White House Digests which counter the myths about Central America.

The weekly Outreach briefings provide supportive business and private foundation leaders with key up-to-date information which they disseminate through their writings and speeches. The briefings feature top Administration spokesmen, as well as distinguished speakers from outside the Administration. Past speakers include the President, Dr. Henry Kissinger and Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica. A list of all featured speakers at the Wednesday meetings is attached.

The Speakers' Bureau was established to respond systematically to requests for speakers on Central America. These are being received from business, professional, governmental, academic, community and religious organizations throughout the country. To date we have placed 150 speakers in 68 cities. A list of speakers placed by the Office of Public Liaison is attached.

The White House Digests are short factual papers addressing key aspects of the Central American issue. They give us the ammunition we need to counter the falsehoods and misconceptions about Central America. Copies of all Digests published so far are attached, as well as a list of the papers awaiting final clearance.

Support for the President's Central American initiatives depends on the accuracy and timeliness of information the American people receive. Our effort is designed to meet that vital need. We are constantly seeking new ways to increase our effectiveness and welcome your advice.

DCI
EXEC
REG

1984 SPEAKERS
FOR THE
WHITE HOUSE OUTREACH WORKING GROUP ON CENTRAL AMERICA

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 4, 1984

General John W. Vessey, Jr.
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
TOPIC: "CENTRAL AMERICA AS PART OF A LARGER GLOBAL
STRATEGY"

Dr. Constantine C. Menges
Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director for Latin American Affairs,
National Security Council

TOPIC: "CENTRAL AMERICA UP-DATE"

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1984

William C. Doherty, Jr.
Executive Director
American Institute for Free
Labor Development

TOPIC: "THE STATUS OF AND PROSPECTS FOR THE LABOR
MOVEMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA"

Dr. Michael A. Ledeen
Senior Fellow in International Affairs
Georgetown Center for Strategic and
International Studies

TOPIC: "REVELATIONS OF THE CAPTURED GRENADA DOCUMENTS"

Dr. Constantine C. Menges
Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director for Latin American Affairs,
National Security Council

TOPIC: "CENTRAL AMERICA UP-DATE"

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1984

Mr. Arnaud de Borchgrave
Author: The Spike, Monimbo

Dr. Constantine C. Menges
Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director for Latin American Affairs,
National Security Council

TOPIC: "CENTRAL AMERICA UP-DATE"

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1984

Senator Jeremiah Denton
United States Senator From Alabama

TOPIC: "REPORT ON MY TRIP TO CENTRAL AMERICA"

Senor Wycliffe Diego
Miskito Indian

TOPIC: "HUMAN RIGHTS AS PRACTICED BY THE
SANDINISTAS"

Dr. Constantine C. Menges
Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director for Latin American Affairs
National Security Council

TOPIC: "CENTRAL AMERICA UP-DATE"

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1984

Mr. Herbert Romerstein
Member, Inter-Agency Working Group
on the Grenada Documents

TOPIC: "THE GRENADA DOCUMENTS: SOVIET ACTIVE
MEASURES VIA CUBA"

Mr. Richard Holwill
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Congressional and
Business Affairs
Department of State

TOPIC: "MY TRIP TO CENTRAL AMERICA"

Dr. Constantine C. Menges
Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director for Latin American Affairs
National Security Council

TOPIC: "CENTRAL AMERICA UP-DATE"

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1984

Ambassador Harvey Feldman
Washington Representative to United Nations
Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick

TOPIC: "UNITED NATIONS" VIEWS ON POLICIES, INFORMATION
AND DISINFORMATION ABOUT CENTRAL AMERICA"

Mr. Ramiro Gurdian
President, National Agriculture
Producers of Nicaragua

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TOPIC: "ECONOMIC SITUATION AND RELATION OF PRIVATE SECTOR
WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA"

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1984

Father Falvian Mucci
Catholic Priest and Educator

TOPIC: "CAUGHT UP IN THE CROSSFIRE: THE FATE OF THE
NON-COMBATANTS"

Geraldine O'Leary Macias
Former Maryknoll Nun

TOPIC: "WITNESS TO THE BETRAYAL OF A REVOLUTION"

Jacqueline Tillman
Executive Assistant to United Nations
Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick

TOPIC: "CENTRAL AMERICA UP-DATE"

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1984

Mr. Bruce Cuthbertson
Vice President, Association of American Chambers of
Commerce in Latin America

TOPIC: "BUSINESS PERSPECTIVE ON CENTRAL AMERICA"

Stan Atkinson
TV Journalist

TOPIC: "CENTRAL AMERICA THROUGH THE NEWSMAN'S LENS"

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1984

Mr. James H. Michel
Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Inter-American
Affairs, Dept. of State

TOPIC: "LEGAL REFORM IN CENTRAL AMERICA"

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7, 1984

Mr. Arnaud de Borchgrave
Author: The Spike, Monimbo

TOPIC: "INFORMATION AND DISINFORMATION"

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Jacqueline Tillman
Deputy Director for Latin American Affairs
National Security Council

TOPIC: CENTRAL AMERICA UPDATE

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14, 1984

Stanley Levchenko
Former Soviet Official

TOPIC: "SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES"

Jose Manuel Casanova
United States Executive Director
Inter-American Development Bank

TOPIC: "MULTI-LATERAL ECONOMIC AID IN CENTRAL AMERICA" .

Colonel Louis Alonso Amaya
General Coordinator
National Commission for Area Restoration
(CONARA) El Salvador

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21, 1984

His Excellency Marco Revelo
Bishop of Santa Ana
President of Episcopal Conference of El Salvador

TOPIC: "THE SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR TODAY"

The Honorable Eugenia Charles
Prime Minister of Dominica

TOPIC: "TO SET A NATION FREE"

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28, 1984

Colonel John A. Cash
United States Army
Former Military Attache in El Salvador

TOPIC: "THE MILITARY IN EL SALVADOR"

Steve Dachi
Director, Office of American Republics Affairs
United States Information Agency

TOPIC: "PUBLIC OPINION IN THE CARIBBEAN BASIN IN REGARD
TO U.S. POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA"

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Jacqueline Tillman
Deputy Director for Latin American Affairs
National Security Council

TOPIC: "CENTRAL AMERICA UPDATE"

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4, 1984

Dr. Howard Penniman
American Enterprise Institute

TOPIC: "THE ELECTIONS IN EL SALVADOR"

Reverend Monsignor John P. Foley, Editor
The Catholic Standard and Times

TOPIC: "REFLECTIONS OF AN OBSERVER"

Mr. William Perry
Center for Strategic and International Studies,
Georgetown University

TOPIC: GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE EL SALVADORAN ELECTIONS"

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11, 1984

Daniel James
Director, Americas Coalition

TOPIC: "QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE EL SALVADORAN ELECTIONS"

Francis X. Gannon
Advisor to the Secretary General
Organization of American States

TOPIC: "CENTRAL AMERICA: A DEMOCRATIC PERSPECTIVE"

1983 SPEAKERS

FOR THE

WHITE HOUSE OUTREACH WORKING GROUP ON CENTRAL AMERICA

Wednesday, May 25, 1983:

Mrs. Jacqueline Tillman,
Executive Assistant to Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick,
United States Representative to the United Nations
TOPIC: "The Sandinistas"

Dr. Roger W. Fontaine,
Director for Latin American Affairs,
National Security Council
TOPIC: "El Salvador"

Wednesday, June 1, 1983:

The Honorable Richard McCormack,
Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of
Economic and Business Affairs
TOPIC: "Changes at the Department of State"

Mrs. Jacqueline Tillman,
Executive Assistant to Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick
TOPIC: "Central American Update"

Mr. Robert Baldwin,
Executive Director,
Central American Freedom Alliance
TOPIC: "Outside Coalitions"

Wednesday, June 8, 1983:

The Honorable H. Eugene Douglas,
U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs
TOPIC: "Where the Refugee Problem is Headed"

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

Senor Adolfo Calero,
Director, Fuerza Democratica Nicaraguense (FDN)
TOPIC: "Flight from Nicaragua"

Mr. Stedman Fagoth Mueller
Miskitos Sumos Ramas Indian Organization
TOPIC: "Persecution of the Miskito Indians by the Sandinistas"

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Wednesday, June 15, 1983:

Dr. John Lenczowski,
Staff Member, National Security Council
TOPIC: "The Soviet Effort in Central America"

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

Wednesday, June 22, 1983:

The Honorable Richard B. Stone,
Ambassador-at-Large
TOPIC: "The United States Policy in Central America"

Wednesday, June 29, 1983:

Senor Miguel Bolanos Hunter,
Nicaraguan Defector
TOPIC: "The Soviet Influence Over Nicaragua"

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

Wednesday, July 6, 1983:

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

Wednesday, July 13, 1983:

The Honorable J. William Middendorf, II,
Ambassador and U.S. Permanent Representative
to the Organization of American States
TOPIC: "Central America from the Perspective of the
Organization of American States"

Wednesday, July 20, 1983:

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

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

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Wednesday, July 20, 1983 (continued):

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

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan,
President of the United States
TOPIC: "Central America"

Wednesday, July 27, 1983:

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

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

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

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

Wednesday, August 3, 1983:

The Honorable John Lehman,
Secretary of the Navy
TOPIC: "The Strategic Importance of the Caribbean Sea Lanes"

Wednesday, August 10, 1983:

Mr. W. Dennis Suit,
Free-lance photographer - ABC News
TOPIC: "A View of El Salvador from the Other Side of the Lens"

The Honorable Fred C. Ikle,
Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
TOPIC: "Prospects for Central America"

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Wednesday, August 17, 1983:

The Honorable M. Peter McPherson,
Administrator
Agency for International Development
TOPIC: "United States Economic Assistance to Central America"

Colonel (Ret.) Samuel T. Dickens, USAF,
Director, New World Dynamics
TOPIC: "El Salvador Today"

Wednesday, August 24, 1983:

The Honorable Vernon A. Walters,
Ambassador-at-Large
TOPIC: "Central America -- Background and Prospects"

Wednesday, August 31, 1983:

The Honorable John O. Marsh,
Secretary of the Army
TOPIC: "Soviet and Cuban Influences in Latin America"

Wednesday, September 7, 1983:

Lieutenant General James A. Williams, USA,
Director, Defense Intelligence Agency
TOPIC: "Central America Today"

Wednesday, September 14, 1983:

Mme. Monique Garnier-Lancon,
Deputy Mayor of Paris, RPR-France
TOPIC: "A European Looks at Central America"

His Excellency Ernesto Rivas-Gallont,
Ambassador of the Government of El Salvador to the U.S.
TOPIC: "El Salvador"

Wednesday, September 21, 1983:

The Honorable Richard McCormack,
Assistant Secretary of State,
Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs
TOPIC: "An Overview of Central America"

Mr. Peter Romero,
Special Assistant to Ambassador Otto Juan Reich
TOPIC: "An Overview of Central America and a Comparison
of the Carter and Reagan Administration Policies"

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Wednesday, September 28, 1983:

The Honorable Verne Orr,
Secretary of the Air Force
TOPIC: "Central America - A View from the Air Force's
Perspective"

Senor Adolfo Calero,
Director, Fuerza Democratica Nicaraguense (FDN)
TOPIC: "Nicaragua Today as Viewed by a Nicaraguan Freedom
Fighter"

Wednesday, October 5, 1983:

Mr. Kenneth Bleakley,
Deputy Chief of Mission, United States Embassy, El Salvador
TOPIC: "El Salvador Today"

Mr. Donald R. Hamilton,
Public Affairs Officer, U.S. Embassy, El Salvador
TOPIC: "How the Press Covers El Salvador"

Senor Mario Rietti,
President, COFINSA
TOPIC: "Honduras as a Balancing Factor in Central America"

Wednesday, October 12, 1983:

Colonel Earl J. Young, USAR,
TOPIC: The El Salvadoran Military and the United State's
Advisory Effort

Wednesday, October 19, 1983:

Mrs. Geraldine O'Leary Macias,
former Maryknoll Nun
TOPIC: "Nicaragua, Witness to the Betrayal of a Revolution"

Wednesday, October 26, 1983:

Mr. Irving Brown,
Director
Department of International Affairs, AFL-CIO
TOPIC: "A Perspective on the Communist Threat"

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Wednesday, November 2, 1983:

The Honorable James H. Michel,
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
for Inter-American Affairs

TOPIC: "Grenada"

Mr. Robin Luketina,
Father of Sgt. Sean Luketina (the most seriously
wounded of the American casualties from the Grenada
rescue mission)

TOPIC: "Freedom Isn't Free"

Miss Lynne Burtan of Saddle River, New Jersey,
Student - St George's University Medical School-Grenada

Mr. Dennis Sheridan of Glen Head, New York
Student - St. George's University Medical School-Grenada

Mr. Robert Shapiro of Butler, Pennsylvania
Student - St. George's University Medical School-Grenada

TOPIC: "Rescue from Grenada"

Wednesday, November 9, 1983:

Senor Eduardo Torres,
Student, Jose Matias Delgado University, El Salvador

Miss Ana Victoria Morales,
Student, Albert Einstein University, El Salvador

TOPIC: "Life in El Salvador, As Seen by Its Youth"

Dr. Constantine C. Menges,
Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director of Latin American Affairs
National Security Council

TOPIC: "Central American Update"

Wednesday, November 16, 1983:

Senor Eden Pastora,
"Commandante Zero"

TOPIC: "The Anti-Sandinista Activities of ARDE"

Dr. Constantine C. Menges,
Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director of Latin American Affairs
National Security Council

TOPIC: "Central American Update"

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Wednesday, November 30, 1983:

The Honorable Jay F. Morris,
Deputy Administrator, Agency for International Development
TOPIC: "Economic Rehabilitation for Grenada"

Mr. Arnaud de Borchgrave,
Author, Monimbo, The Spike, and Lecturer
TOPIC: "KGB Disinformation in the Media and Other Soviet
Active Measures"

Wednesady, December 7, 1983:

The Honorable John D. Negroponte,
United States Ambassador to Honduras
TOPIC: "Honduras Today and Its Prospects for Tomorrow"

Mr. Daniel James,
Author/Lecturer
TOPIC: "Mexico, the Untold Story"

Wednesday, December 14, 1983:

The Honorable Elliott Abrams,
Assistant Secretary of State,
Bureau of Human Rights & Humanitarian Affairs
TOPIC: "Human Rights in Central America"

Dr. Constantine C. Menges,
Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director of Latin American Affairs,
National Security Council
TOPIC: "Central American Up-date"

Wednesday, December 21, 1983:

The Honorable Langhorne Motley,
Assistant Secretary of State for
Inter-American Affairs
TOPIC: "Central America: Its Economic and Strategic
Importance to the United States"

Dr. Constantine C. Menges,
Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director of Latin American Affairs,
National Security Council
TOPIC: "Central American Up-date"

OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON - CENTRAL AMERICA

SPEAKERS BUREAU ACTIVITY REPORT

PAST/PRESENT/FUTURE

1983

JUNE

- 28 The Latin American Parliamentarians Delegation
Speakers: Otto Reich, Jacqueline Tillman
OEOB 191

JULY

- 7 The Farm Bureau State Presidents Briefing
Speakers: John Lehman, Nestor Sanchez
Capitol Holiday Inn, Washington, D.C.
- 13 The American Legion Pennsylvania State Convention
Speaker: Nestor Sanchez
Pittsburgh, PA
- 13 U.S. Business Leaders Briefing
Speakers: Ambassador J. Kirkpatrick, Ambassador W. Middendorf, Roger Fontaine, Richard McCormack
OEOB 474
- 15 American Legion Maryland State Convention
Speaker: Ambassador Middendorf
Ocean City, MD
- 19 Captive Nations Briefing
Speakers: Roger Fontaine, Col. Lawrence Tracy
OEOB 450
- 20 U.S. Jewish Leaders Briefing
Speakers: Jacqueline Tillman, ** President Reagan
OEOB 450
- 21 U.S. Women's Leaders Briefing
Speakers: Ambassador J. Kirkpatrick, Ambassador Douglas, Col. L. Tracy
OEOB 450
- 21 Queen's County Republicans Briefing
Speaker: D. Droge
VFW, Queens, NY
- 21 Girls Nation Finalists Delegation Briefing
Speaker: Ambassador J. Kirkpatrick
OEOB 474

1983

JULY (CONT.)

- 26 Latin Americans for Freedom Vigil
Speakers: Ambassador W. Middendorf, Asst. Sec. E. Abrams, C. Johnstone
Simon Bolivar Park, Washington, D.C.
- 28 Religious Broadcasters Briefing
Speakers: Sec. J. Lehman, Ambassador E. Douglas, Major O. North
OEOB 450

AUGUST

- 9 St. John's College
Speakers: Deputy Sec. of Defense, Nestor Sanchez
Santa Fe, NM
- 16 West Germany Young Leaders Briefing
Speaker: Col. L. Tracy
OEOB 194
- 18 Peace through Strength/AIM Briefing
Speakers: Geraldine Macias, D. Droge
Sharon, MA
- 19 Peace through Strength/AIM Briefing
Speakers: Geraldine Macias, D. Droge
Manchester, MA
- 20 American Legion National Convention
Speakers: Nestor Sanchez, ** President Reagan
Seattle, WA
- 25 Special Briefing for Alan Nairn PBS-Filmmaker
Speakers: Peter Romero, D. Droge
Department of State
- 26 American Security Council National Speakers Bureau Briefing
Speakers: Ambassador E. Douglas, Dep. Sec. Gary Matthews, Und. Sec. Def. Dr. Fred Ikle, Peter Romero
OEOB 474
- 27 A.S.C. Speakers Bureau Central America Workshop
Speakers: Jacqueline Tillman, D. Droge, Col. Sam Dickens
Boston, MA
- 27 Cuba, Independent, Democratic National Convention
Speaker: Dep. Coordinator, Richard Krieger
Los Angeles, CA

1983

SEPTEMBER

- 1 Special Briefing for President & Secretary Treasurer of
International Union of Police Associations
Speaker: Col. L. Tracy
OEOB 194
- 2 Latin America Chambers of Commerce
Speakers: Sec. F. Ikle, Admin. Peter McPherson
New Orleans, LA
- 2 Sun Oil Executive Board CEO Briefing
Speakers: Sec. N. Sanchez, Major O. North, Peter
Romero (DOS)
DOD, Washington, D.C.
- 2 National Convention of U.S. Naval Reserve
Speaker: Ass. Sec. Cox
Phoenix, AZ
- 3 California State American Legion Executive Committee
Speaker: Ambassador V. Walters
Palm Springs, CA
- 8 Washington Semester American University Briefing
Speaker: D. Droge
OEOB 194
- 9 Kiwanis Annual Meeting
Speaker: D. Droge
Leisure World, MD
- 9 Literary & Debate Society of University of Virginia
Speaker: Col. L. Tracy
Charlottesville, VA
- 13 National Republican Hispanic Assembly
Speakers: Ambassador J. Kirkpatrick, Ambassador L.
Motley, Ambassador O. Reich, Admin. P. McPherson,
Col. L. Tracy
Crystal City, VA
- 14 Hispanic Evangelical Leaders Briefing
Speakers: Ambassador O. Reich, Major O. North, Kerry
Ptacek (IR & D)
OEOB 450
- 15 Metal Bellows Corporation and Entire Factory Work Force
Briefing
Speaker: D. Droge
Sharon, MA
- 16 Farm Bureau Federation of Utah
Speaker: Dep. Sec. N. Sanchez
Salt Lake City, UT

1983

SEPTEMBER (CONT.)

- 17 VFW National Commander's & Executive Board Briefing
Speaker: D. Droge
VFW Headquarters, Washington, D.C.
- 17 American Legislative Exchange Council Annual Meeting
Speaker: Ambassador E. Douglas
Philadelphia, PA
- 18 Eagle Forum National Speakers Workshop
Speaker: D. Droge
Washington, D.C.
- 20 Rotary Club of Alexandria
Speaker: D. Droge
Alexandria, VA
- 21 American Lutheran Church Briefing
Speaker: Ambassador O. Reich, Major O. North
DOD, Washington, D.C.
- 21 Robert Morris College Briefing
Speaker: Col. L. Tracy
Pittsburgh, PA

OCTOBER

- 1 New York State RNC Hispanic Assembly
Speaker: Dep. Sec. N. Sanchez
New York City, NY
- 2 Quarterly Meeting Washington, D.C. American Legion
Speaker: D. Droge (Substitute for Roger Fonataine)
Washington, D.C.
- 7 Prince William County Virginia Republicans Fall Banquet
Speaker: Ambassador W. Middendorf
Haymarket, VA
- 8 Michigan Conservative Union
Speakers: Rep. Mark Siljander, General Daniel Graham
Detroit, MI
- 11 WQXR Radio Interview
Speaker: William Dowd (ASC)
New York Times Station, New York City, NY
- 13 Accuracy in Media Conference
Speaker: D. Droge
Houston, TX

1983

OCTOBER (CONT.)

- 14 Accuracy in Media Conference
Speaker: Ambassador V. Walters
Houston, TX
- 14 Retired Officers Association
Speaker: D. Droge
Concord, NH
- 14 San Francisco State University
Debate: Robert Doran
vs Senator Christopher Dodd
San Francisco, CA
- 15 Freedom Rally
Speakers: G. Macias, General Gordon Sumner
Boise, Idaho
- 20 New Jersey State Convention of Manufactured Housing
Association
Speaker: D. Droge
Atlantic City, NJ
- 22 North Carolina American Legion State Fall Meeting
Speaker: Col. Heyward Hutson
Charlotte, NC
- 22 SW Cattlemen's Association
Speaker: Ambassador E. Douglas
Laredo, TX
- 24 International Conference on Latin American Freedom and
Development
Speakers: Ambassador O. Reich, Ambassador Dean Hinton
Baltimore, MD
- 24 The Austin, Texas Council on World Affairs
Speaker: Ambassador E. Douglas
Austin, TX
- 25 Corpus Christi State University, Hispanic Luncheon,
Press Conference
Speaker: Ambassador E. Douglas
Corpus Christi, TX
- 26 San Antonio, Texas Media Briefings
Speaker: Ambassador E. Douglas
San Antonio, TX
- 27 Dallas WAC and Foreign Affairs Council/Media
Speaker: Ambassador E. Douglas
Dallas, TX

1983

OCTOBER (CONT.)

- 27 Sheet Metal Executives Briefing
Speaker: Roger Fontaine
OEOB 474
- 27 Jefferson Foundation and Arlington, Virginia Young
Republicans
Speaker: D. Droge
Arlington, VA
- 28 El Paso, Texas/Media Briefings
Speaker: Ambassador E. Douglas
El Paso, TX
- 28 American University International Relations Course
Briefing
Speaker: D. Droge
Washington, D.C.
- 28 Foundation for American Communication Conference
Speaker: Steve Bosworth (Substitute for Ambassador
Motley)
Dallas, TX
- 31 Freedom Federation Briefing
Speakers: C. Menges, P. Romero
OEOB 474

NOVEMBER

- 3 American Christian Trust Briefing
Speaker: Dep. Sec. Gary Matthews
NEOB 2010
- 5 National Security of the Western Hemisphere Seminar
Speaker: Ray Warren (DOD) (Substitute for Roger
Fontaine)
Denver, CO
- 5 South Carolina American Legion Fall Meeting
Speaker: Col. Heyward Hutson
Greenwood, SC
- 5 Virginia American Legion Fall Meeting
Speaker: Col. L. Tracy (Substitute for Ambassador
Middendorf)
Norfolk, VA
- 6 Texas Coalition for Freedom Rally
Speaker: Col. Sam Dickens
City Hall, Houston, TX

1983

NOVEMBER (CONT.)

- 7 The Washington Center - Student Workshop
Speaker: D. Droge
Washington, D.C.
- 8 United Church of D.C. Briefing
Speaker: G. Macias
Washington, D.C.
- 10 U.S. Catholic Conference and Lay Leaders Delegation
Speakers: J. Lenchowsky, G. Macias, M. Bolanos
OEOB 450
- 10-11 St. Paul School Convocation & Visits to Classes
Speaker: D. Droge
Concord, NH
- 14 Princeton University Lecture Series & Media Tour & Area -
Campus Visits: Duquene, Rutgers
Speaker: Ambassador O. Reich
- 14 Annual National Board of Directors Banquet of the
Retired Officers Association Briefing
Speaker: D. Droge
Crystal City, VA
- 15 Rice University
Debate: Dr. David Brody vs Col. Sam Dickens
Houston, TX
- 15 Birmingham, Alabama Kiwanis/Junior College/High
Schools/PBS Video Taping & Media Tour
Speaker: D. Droge
Birmingham, AL
- 16 Freedom through Strength Briefing
Speaker: Col. Sam Dickens
Littleton, NH
- 16 Annual Meeting of Military Order of World Wars
Speaker: Michael Skol
Annapolis, MD
- 17-18 University of Oregon Briefing
Speaker: Col. L. Tracy
NW Area Tour of 10 Colleges
- 17 D.A.R. Luncheon
Speaker: Ambassador O. Reich
Washington, D.C.

1983

NOVEMBER (CONT.)

- 19 National Security Affairs Conference
Speaker: Roger Fontaine
Portland, OR
- 19 Radio Clubs of America Convention
Speaker: Ken Tomlinson
New York City, NY
- 22 Humboldt College
Speaker: Col. Sam Dickens
Eureka, CA
- 28 Yale University
Debate: Robert Dornan vs Senator Christopher Dodd
New Haven, CT
- 29 The 19th Hemisphere Insurance Association Conference
Speaker: P. Romero
San Francisco, CA

DECEMBER

- 1 Moral Majority Interns
Speaker: D. Droge
OEOB 208
- 5 James Madison University Briefing
Speaker: Col. L. Tracy
All Campus, Harrison burg, VA
- 6 Iowa State University
Speaker: Col. L. Tracy
Ames, IA
- 10 Special Central America Security Conference
Speakers: Ambassador Middendorf, C. Menges
Valley Forge, PA

1984

JANUARY

- 8 New Jersey Inter-Faith Coalition
Speaker: Col. L. Tracy
Westfield, NJ
- 9 American Legislative Exchange Council Briefing
Speakers: Ambassador O. Reich, C. Menges, Ambassador
Middendorf
OEOB 450
- 12 The National Conservative Foundation
Speakers: Ambassador Middendorf, Ambassador
Kirkpatrick, Ambassador E. Douglas
OEOB 450

1984

JANUARY (CONT.)

- 21 Western Hemisphere Security Foundation
Speaker: Roger Fontaine
San Antonio, TX
- 24 The Pomfret School - Convocation & Visit to Classes
Speaker: D. Droge
Pomfret, CT
- 26 Virginia Commonwealth Republican Women
Speaker: D. Droge
Alexandria, VA
- 27 George School
Speaker: Steven Tomchik (DOS)
Newtown, PA

FEBRUARY

- 1 National Convention of Religious Broadcasters
Speaker: Ambassador O. Reich
Washington, D.C.
- 10 Iowa Agriculture Delegation
Speaker: D. Droge
OEOB 175
- 11 Rocky Mountain Forum
Speaker: R. Fontaine
Denver, CA
- 11 Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation Conference
Speaker: D. Droge
Los Angeles, CA
- 14 American Legion
Speaker: Dep. Sec. N. Sanchez
Santa Fe, NM
- 14 American Program Bureau
Speaker: D. Droge
Boston, MA
- 16 Latin America/Central America Conference
Speaker: G. Macias
San Antonio, TX
- 19 Business Executives Conference, Gene Sit Associates
Speaker: Ambassador Middendorf
Scottsdale, AZ
- 22-23 Peace through Strength Conferences
Speaker: D. Droge
Bradford, VT and Littleton, NH

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FEBRUARY (CONT.)

- 27 American Legion National Security Conference
Speakers: J. Tillman, Col. Earl Young
Washington, D.C.
- 28-29 Middlebury College - Convocation & Class Visits
Speaker: D. Droge
Middlebury, VT

MARCH

- 3 Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation Conference
Speaker: D. Droge
Chicago, IL
- 5 American Legion National Auxiliaries Conference
Speaker: D. Droge
Boston, VA
- 5 Kissinger Briefing
Speaker: Dr. Henry Kissinger
Washington, D.C.
- 6 Christ the King Seminary - Diocesan Priests
Speaker: R. Reilly
Buffalo, NY
- 8 Iowa Farm Bureau Delegation
Speaker: D. Droge
OEOB 175
- 15 Jefferson Foundation Briefing
Speakers: C. Menges, Sec. Abrams, U. Belli, G. Macias
OEOB 450
- 16 American Catholic Conference Delegation
Speakers: Ambassador Motley, J. Tillman, U. Belli, G. Macias, Admin. Adelman, S. Kraemer (NSC)
OEOB 450
- 19 National Jewish and Christian Leaders
Speakers: Ambassador Middendorf, Dep. Sec. N. Sanchez, J. Tillman
OEOB 450
- 19 Catholic Union of Missouri
Speaker: R. Reilly
St. Louis, MO
- 22 Peace through Strength/AIM Coalition Conference
Speaker: D. Droge, B. Yoh (AIM)
Concord, CA

1984

MARCH (CONT.)

- 22 Association of Military Colleges and Schools
Speaker: A. de Borchgrave
Rosslyn, VA
- 26 Southeast Asia Captive Nations Delegation
(Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam)
Speaker: Col. L. Tracy
OEOB 450
- 27 Chattanooga, Tennessee Kiwanis/High Schools/College
Speaker: D. Droge
Chattanooga, TN
- 29 Catholic University - Jefferson Foundation & Catholic
School of Politics
Speaker: G. Macias
Washington, D.C.
- 29 Valley Community College Rally
Speaker: R. Dornan
Van Nuys, CA
- 29 Washington Semester American University
Speakers: D. Droge, E. Lynch
OEOB 175
- 29 Moral Majority Interns
Speaker: D. Droge
OEOB 175
- 30 Iona College Delegation Briefing
Speaker: D. Droge
OEOB 175
- 31 International Youth Year Commission Briefing
Speaker: E. Lynch
OEOB 175
- 31 University of Idaho
Speaker: Roger Fontaine

APRIL

- 1 State Convention of College Republicans
Speaker: TBD
Birmingham, AL
- 1 Young Americans for Freedom, Niagara University
Speaker: TBD
Niagara, NY

1984

APRIL (CONT.)

- 3 Peace through Strength/AIM Coalition
Speaker: D. Droge
Mobile, AL & Ocean Springs, MS
- 5 Bucks County Community College
Speaker: E. Lynch
Newtown, PA
- 6 St. Johns College
Speaker: Col. L. Tracy
New York City, NY
- 7 Western Hemisphere Security Conference
Speaker: Mark Falcoff (AIE)
Montreal, Canada
- 9 Northwood Institute
Speaker: D. Droge
Midland, MI
- 11 Lockhaven University
Speaker: Dr. William Walsh
Lockhaven, PA
- 13 Central America Conference
Speaker: G. Macias
Omaha, NE
- 17 University of Georgia
Speaker: Melville Blake (UN & DOS)
Athens, GA
- T Univeristy of Mississippi
- T University of Arkansas
- T Louisiana State University

OPEN DATES

Yale University Political Union
NYU YAF
University of South Carolina
Harvard Law School

MAY

- 4 Eagle Forum
Speaker: D. Droge
St. Louis, MO
- 18 Association of U.S. Army, Northern New Jersey Chapter
Speaker: Col. L. Tracy
Edison, NJ (Requested by Congressman Chris Smith)

1984

MAY (CONT.)

- 21 Sons of American Revolution
Speaker: D. Droge
Whitestone, VA

JUNE

- 1 Peace through Strength/AIM Coalition
Speaker: D. Droge
San Diego, CA
- 31 Eagle Forum & Hofstra University
Speakers: D. Droge, G. Macias, Col. L. Tracy
& Pope's Visit to Nicaragua Video

AUGUST

- 8 National Fur Farmers of America Convention
Speaker: D. Droge
Seattle, WA

WHITE HOUSE DIGEST

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April 4, 1984

The Strategic and Economic Importance of the Caribbean Sea Lanes

The Caribbean Basin includes Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and some two dozen small developing nations in Central America, the Caribbean and northern South America.(1) These countries are our close neighbors -- Washington, D.C., for example, is closer to Costa Rica than to San Francisco -- and form, in a very real sense, our "third border."

The major shipping lanes crisscrossing the region make it one of our major lifelines to the outside world, and, as a result, an area of crucial importance to the continued prosperity and security of the United States. The defense of the Caribbean, however, is complicated by hostile forces in Cuba and Nicaragua within easy reach of these shipping lanes.

Economic Importance

Nearly half our total exports and imports, representing over two-thirds of our seaborne foreign trade, pass through the vital commercial arteries of the Panama Canal, the Caribbean, or the Gulf of Mexico. Of the 11,000 ships that pass through the Panama Canal each year, over 60 percent are carrying cargo to and from U.S. ports, providing one-quarter of our nation's total seaborne imports.

1. The group of Caribbean Basin countries is not the same as the group included in the Administration's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI).

-2-

Last year, the four principal U.S. Gulf ports -- Houston, Galveston, New Orleans and Mobile -- alone accounted for over one-third of our seaborne exports and one-quarter of our seaborne imports. The port of Miami, situated on the strategic Straits of Florida, handled about an eighth of our seaborne exports and a tenth of our seaborne imports.

In addition to these southern ports bordering the Caribbean Basin waterways, every other significant U.S. port is connected to the network formed by the major Caribbean shipping lanes. The port of New York, for instance, not only relies on the Basin's waterways for its trade with the region itself, but also depends on these same Caribbean sea lanes, including the Panama Canal, as the vital links for its extensive commerce with Asia.

The Caribbean trade routes are of particular importance to the U.S. economy since they carry three-fourths of our imported oil. While some of this imported oil comes from the Caribbean Basin area itself, most notably from Mexico and Venezuela, much is shipped from the Persian Gulf and other producing areas to the approximately dozen Caribbean ports that serve as transshipment points for supertankers bringing petroleum destined for U.S. refineries.

The supertankers must offload oil at these transshipment points to smaller tankers since the U.S. eastern seaboard has no deep water port which can handle the very large tankers. Other supertankers deliver crude oil to the numerous refineries located within the Caribbean itself. Facilities such as those in Curacao and Aruba can process approximately five million barrels of crude oil per day.

The refined products are then transported by smaller tankers to East and Gulf Coast ports in the U.S. In addition, almost one half of Alaskan crude oil shipments pass through either the Panama Canal in small tankers or the newly constructed pipeline across Panama to be loaded onto smaller tankers in the Caribbean. This pipeline provides an easy target for terrorists.

Apart from our oil lifeline passing through the Caribbean, over half our imported strategic minerals pass through the Panama Canal or the Basin's sea lanes. Virtually all (over 90 percent) of the U.S. supply of cobalt, manganese, titanium and chromium, all vital for industrial or military use, comes either directly from Basin countries or from Africa, with the normal trade route passing through the Caribbean. The Caribbean states also provide three-fourths of our nation's aluminum requirements.

-3-

The Basin's shipping lanes also provide a vital sea link to the significant U.S. economic interests found in the region. U.S. direct investment in the Caribbean Basin countries accounts for over 8 percent of the total U.S. direct investment abroad -- some \$19 billion at the end of 1982.

In addition, U.S. trade with Basin countries is about one-eighth of the total U.S. world trade (exports plus imports), and again the dollar amounts are substantial -- almost \$68 billion of exports and imports in 1982.

U.S. imports from the region include significant amounts of oil, sugar, coffee, bauxite and meat while our major exports include transport equipment, industrial machinery, chemicals and grain.

Finally, the economic importance of the Caribbean Basin to this country has increased dramatically over the past decade as the U.S. has shifted its dependence on imported petroleum from the Middle East to Latin America.

For the first quarter of 1983, only 30 percent of U.S. oil imports came from the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), down from 70 percent in 1977. As imports from OPEC have decreased, those from Latin America and the Caribbean have risen. Excluding OPEC member Venezuela, the share of U.S. gross imports of crude oil and refined products from Latin America and the Caribbean increased from 17 to 38 percent between 1977 and 1983.

When Venezuela is included, the total jumps to 45 percent. Oil imports from Mexico, in particular, have assumed greater importance, rising from 2 percent of the total in 1977 to 20 percent now.

Strategic Importance

World attention has recently focused on the possibility of a closure of the Straits of Hormuz, the vital choke point of the Persian Gulf. Less well known, but of at least equal importance to the security of the U.S., is the possibility of a disruption by our adversaries of the strategically and economically crucial Caribbean shipping lanes.

-4-

Both the strategic importance and the vulnerability of the Basin's sea lanes have long been recognized. Thomas Jefferson, for instance, understood the strategic value of the Caribbean area when he observed that whoever controlled the island of Cuba could exercise effective control over all shipping bound for, or leaving, the port of New Orleans.

We as a nation are not accustomed to thinking of security threats in our own neighborhood, but examples from the past suggest that such threats could appear. During World War II our defenses in the Caribbean were so weak, our lifeline so exposed, that during the first six months of U.S. involvement, a handful of Nazi submarines, without a naval base in the area, sank more tonnage in the Caribbean (114 allied ships) than the entire German fleet did in the North Atlantic.

These German submarines acted with such impunity that they shelled refineries in Aruba and lay in wait for ships to transit the Panama Canal and enter the Caribbean. The logistical importance of the Caribbean soon became evident as over 50 percent of the supplies and reinforcements bound for the European and African theaters passed through ports in the Gulf of Mexico.

Today, in the event of a European crisis, a significant number of NATO reinforcements and half of the resupply material needed to reinforce the NATO allies would originate at these same Gulf ports.

It is not a coincidence that the Soviet Union is increasing dramatically its military support for Cuba. In both 1981 and 1982, deliveries of military equipment to Cuba were triple the yearly average of the previous twenty years and were higher than any year since the 1962 missile crisis. Deliveries in 1983 have fallen off some but are still well above pre-1981 levels.

Cuba, which sits astride the vital sea lanes of communication, has become the most significant military power in the region after the U.S. Within its military arsenal are modern MIG jets and missile and torpedo patrol boats. Additionally, Cuba has three attack submarines in its Navy. Soviet combat ships regularly make port calls to Cuba. Cuban ground forces include 950 tanks.

In short, Cuba has become a significant military force with the potential for delaying the reinforcement of NATO in time of general war. Given the conventional imbalance that exists between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, such a delay could be decisive.

-5-

The USSR sees the southern flank of the U.S. as NATO's "strategic rear" and consistent with its military doctrine, is attempting to exploit what Soviet planners correctly see as a highly vulnerable area, affecting U.S. force projection and economic well-being.

Like the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea is, in a strategic sense, virtually an inland sea that can be bottled up by hostile air and naval power deployed in or near the strategic sea lines of communication.

The 53 mile wide Windward Passage, for instance, passes between the eastern tip of Cuba and Haiti and is by far the most important shipping lane between the Panama Canal and U.S. East Coast ports. Similarly, the narrow St. Vincent Passage in the Eastern Caribbean, only 27 miles wide, provides one of our most valuable lifelines to the Persian Gulf, Southern Africa, the Indian Ocean and South America -- all areas of crucial economic and strategic importance to the United States.

The crucial strategic and logistic link provided by the Panama Canal, which can be used by virtually all U.S. naval vessels except the large attack carriers, is similarly vulnerable, especially with Nicaraguan airfields only 400 miles away. Some of these airfields are being upgraded to accommodate sophisticated jet fighters, such as Soviet MIGs.

The 52 mile long Canal, with its numerous mechanical locks, could be effectively and fairly easily closed by a terrorist group or hostile air power by destroying a single lock or sinking a ship in transit. The vital trans-Panama oil pipeline provides an even easier target.

The vulnerability of our southern flank is a matter of serious concern since our ability to effectively project power to Europe, the Middle East and the Far East has always been dependent upon having a secure southern flank.

WHITE HOUSE DIGEST

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February 29, 1984

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIAN GROUPS IN NICARAGUA

"The religion of the workers has no God, because it seeks to restore the divinity of Man."

Karl Marx

"Every religious idea, every idea of a god, even flirting with the idea of a god, is unutterable vileness of the most dangerous kind, 'contagion' of the most abominable kind. Millions of sins, filthy deeds, acts of violence, and physical contagions are far less dangerous than the subtle spiritual idea of a god."

Lenin

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 salvific 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 (1) leaders of the government are following the same path. They are seeking to turn the Catholic Church, by far the largest in Nicaragua, into an arm of the government.

For additional information on material contained in this issue of the DIGEST call: PETER ROMERO (202) 632-7023

-2-

A small number of Catholic clergy have the government's official approval and sponsorship. They are used to generate support for the government, to spread the idea that only Marxists are true Christians, and to defame and divide the mainstream Church.

Meanwhile, the Sandinistas have harassed, persecuted and defamed legitimate church leaders, including Pope John Paul II. Church telecasts are subject to prior censorship and the Sandinistas seek to isolate the Church leadership from the people.

Suppression of minority Protestant groups has been much more brutal. Dozens of Protestant churches have been burned, Protestant leaders have been arrested, beaten, and deported. Certain Protestant churches have been officially denounced as instruments of American imperialism.

THE CHURCH VS. SOMOZA

Under the Somoza dictatorship, which was overthrown in 1979, the Catholic Church had been in the forefront of those forces calling for reform. Indeed, in 1979 the prelate of Nicaragua, Archbishop Obando y Bravo, took the extraordinary step of announcing that the Somoza regime had become intolerable and that Christians could in good conscience revolt against it.

At that time, the revolution against Somoza was broad based and included most of the mainstream leadership of Nicaragua. The revolution was publicly committed to democracy and pluralism. But, shortly after Somoza's ouster, the Communist faction -- with the control of the military -- began to consolidate its power.

Despite early danger signals, the Catholic hierarchy was initially supportive of the revolutionary government.

THE FIRST STEP

But, in October of 1980, the Sandinistas took their first real step toward the dual Communist goal of a) limiting the Church's influence, and b) coopting what is left of that influence for the government.

In a publicly promulgated policy on religion, the Sandinistas declared that Christians were not permitted to evangelize within Sandinista organizations. Moreover, only those religious who fully accepted the objectives of the Revolution, as put forth by the Sandinista leadership, were to be permitted to take an active role in public affairs. (2)

-3-

The Bishops responded swiftly and firmly, saying that such attempts to limit the influence of the Church were "totalitarian." Totalitarian systems, the Bishops argued, seek to turn the Church into an "instrument" by tolerating only those activities the government finds convenient. (3)

Edgard Macias served the Sandinista government as Vice Minister of Labor, but left Nicaragua when he realized the Sandinistas were intent on establishing a totalitarian Marxist-Leninist regime. Of the Sandinistas' attempt to turn the Church into an "instrument" Macias writes:

"The FSLN (the governing Sandinista organization) has had its plan of action drawn from the beginning, including unremitting harassment and the reduction and suppression of the social programs of the churches...They wish to reduce them [the churches] to a strictly liturgical function, which would be to keep them within their temples...the social pastoral of the churches should not exist since it generates an influence that 'interferes' with the unique leadership that the Front pretends to be." (4)

For some time after this exchange between the Bishops and the Sandinistas, the Church went out of its way to say conciliatory things about the regime, hoping to salvage a relationship. The Sandinista leadership is attempting to publicly represent itself as being pro-Church, something the overwhelming majority of the Catholic clergy seriously doubts. The historical record underscores these reservations.

PRIESTS AND POLITICS

In 1981, responding to Pope John Paul II's desire to keep the Church free of political entanglements, the Nicaraguan Bishops called on all Catholic clergy to limit their political activities to something less than full time devotion to the regime, or to any political faction.

A long controversy ensued. The Sandinista clergy refused to leave their posts. The Bishops, stymied, agreed that the Sandinista priests could temporarily remain in government as long as they did not exercise their priestly functions.

These high-ranking Sandinista priests that chose to discontinue their priestly functions while continuing to occupy political office are: Miguel D'Escoto, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Fernando Cardenal, director of Sandinista youth organizations; and his brother Ernesto, Minister of Culture.

Since that time, the Sandinistas campaign to rigorously support church factions responsive to its interests steadily intensified. Priests who have expressed a desire to leave the regime have been told by the Junta that they cannot resign from their posts, according to Edgard Macias.

-4-

THE "PEOPLE'S CHURCH"

The first step was to coopt and expand a unique Latin American institution called the Christian base community.

The base community is a neighborhood group of Catholics who meet for prayer and religious services but who also work together for social and political reform. Over the years, most of these groups have not been Marxist, but have worked for reforms that most Americans would recognize as basic.

However, the bishops had long recognized that the base communities have had the potential to become "prisoners of political polarization or fashionable ideologies which want to exploit their immense potential." (5)

The Sandinistas began to exploit that potential. Many base communities have remained loyal to the Catholic hierarchy, but many have been made instruments of the revolution, part of what the Sandinistas refer to as "the People's Church," a church subservient to the government.

The Sandinistas began to speak openly of two churches, one, the "Popular Church" which is the friend of the people, and the other which oppresses the people.

Macias again:

"It is ridiculous to see the 'revolutionary commanders' (who are declared Marxist-Leninists) using Christian terminology and even ... giving homilies on what the role of religion and the bishops should be. They say that while there is Sandinismo (FSLN) there will be Christianity, letting it be understood that outside of themselves there is no Christianity...No better example of how a political group can 'appropriate' religion and model it to its objectives can be found...Remember that the structure of the FSLN as a political party is fascist and anti-democratic, where the National Directorate has been artificially mythified..." (6)

In reference to the traditional and "popular church", Sandinista junta member Sergio Ramirez stated that one of these "churches" was not revolutionary, but the other church was:

"[A] church of change. This church became the people's ally. This church boosted the revolution and committed itself to this revolution. This church is participating in the revolutionary process and is incorporating the patriotic and revolutionary priests of whom we are very proud into the government." (7)

-5-

In response, Archbishop Obando y Bravo has condemned "those who are trying to divide the Church" and spread the idea that there is "one bourgeois church and another church for the poor." The Vatican has become so alarmed at the attempt of the Sandinistas to divide the church in Nicaragua that the Pope issued a Pastoral letter on June 29, 1982 which criticized advocates of the "popular Church" for their

"...infiltration of strongly ideological connotations along the lines of certain political radicalization of the class struggle, of acceptance of violence for the carrying out of political ends. It is not through a political role, but through the priestly ministry that the people want to remain close to the Church."

THE CHURCH AND THE SECRET POLICE

One of the first steps the Sandinistas took was to combine many of the so-called Sandinista Defense Committees with Christian base communities. The Defense Committees provide a network of informers and neighborhood surveillance, and have the authority to bestow certain privileges, such as internal travel permits or rationed items. These basic units of totalitarian control are also found in the Soviet Union, Eastern Bloc and Cuba.

According to Edgard Macias these these "people's churches," made up of the combination of the base communities and the defense committees, are under the supervision of Interior Minister Tomas Borge, whose portfolio includes the internal security/secret police apparatus.

The People's Church accounts for only a minority of Nicaraguan Catholics. But the Sandinista controlled media pays enormous attention to their every action in support of the regime. The government endorses "liberation theology," the doctrine of the People's Church that portrays Christ as a Marxist revolutionary.

An underground publication from Honduras designed for group study, entitled "Reflections of an Honduran Christian Marxist," gives the typical perspective on "liberation theology": "[love for the poor] consists not only in giving them food, but in doing away with the cause of their poverty, that is their capitalist/imperialist system. And in order to do this a Christian not only can be, but must be a Socialist, Marxist-Leninist, violent revolutionary."

Geraldine O'Leary Macias, Edgard's wife, was for many years a Maryknoll missionary in Nicaragua where she worked for social reform. She has seen first hand the Communists' attempt to coopt genuine Christianity for their own purposes:

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"The Marxists have been very astute in using liberation theology to make it appear Marxist, making being a Christian synonymous with being a Sandinista, and defining revolution as Marxism. The only major change in this approach has been brought about by the non-Nicaraguan Marxists. As the Cubans, Bulgarians and East Germans have taken major roles as advisors to the police, army and militia, their anti-religious fervor has made apparent the very real contradictions between what the people of Nicaragua want and what the Sandinistas want." (8)

CENSORSHIP

While publicizing the People's Church, the Sandinistas, by July of 1981, had begun to cut off the Church's access to the media. Customarily, the Archbishop, or a priest designated by him, had celebrated mass every Sunday on Managua television, giving a sermon in the course of the Mass.

But in July, 1981, the Sandinistas announced that televised Masses would be rotated among Catholic priests. The Archbishop, seeing that pro-Sandinista "priests" would be chosen, refused. The televised Masses were cancelled.

According to Macias:

"The Archbishop's television Mass was suppressed when Commander Tomas Borge, Minister of the Interior, decided to impose a system that would eliminate his presence, substituting him for Sandino-Christian priests. The strategy was to substitute the authority of the Archbishop and his faculty of leadership of his faithful with the authority of the Supreme Chief of State Security [Borge] and his small group of loyal priests." (9)

Catholic Radio has since fallen under heavy daily censorship. Since March 1982, the independent newspaper La Prensa, through which the Archbishop also communicated with the people, has fallen under censorship at times far more severe than that of the Somoza dictatorship. However, the Archbishop is still permitted to publish his homily in La Prensa. (10)

By Easter of 1982, church leaders were required to submit their homilies to the Ministry of the Interior to be approved for broadcasting.

CENSORING THE POPE

In June 1982, the Pope sent a pastoral letter to the people of Nicaragua denouncing the government's attempts to establish a parallel Church, but publication of the letter was initially refused.

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Archbishop Obando y Bravo has commented extensively on the Pope's letter. His comments shed light on some of the specific groups and mechanisms the Sandinistas have used to create a parallel church:

"I believe that there is a true internal intention of dividing the Church as is mentioned by His Holiness. When we speak of a 'Popular church' we should understand that in Nicaragua there are several centers that support it. Five centers have been created, all very well supplied and organized: Centro Antonio Valdivieso, CEPA, Eje Ecumenico, CEPAD, and the Instituto Historico Centroamericano. Their resources are abundant, they have full-time employees, theologians and laity, recording and printing facilities and abundant international aid. These groups enjoy exclusive access to the State communications network which runs 100% of the television channels, 90% of the radio stations and two out of three newspapers...."

"The virulence of their attacks has already reached the extreme of physical violence against some bishops. Externally the promoters of this popular church have mounted vast international propaganda campaigns...Vehicles for this are the international editions of Barricada...also their connections with other organs of Liberation Theology and akin religious groups distributed throughout the world." (11) (Emphasis added.)

Several of the Centers the Archbishop mentioned are often cited in this country.

According to Edgard Macias, the Sandinistas are even trying to create a new religious rite, the Sandino-Christian rite, complete with icons to Augusto Sandino, prayers to a new pantheon of martyred Sandinistas who are to be revered as saints, and even the beginnings of a cult of resurrection:

"Hung on the front of the old cathedral in Managua [was] an enormous picture of General Sandino in his most characteristic pose, but drawn within a white host, which is bordered by the red and black colors of the FSLN flag...The Nicaraguans were not over being surprised by this when on radio and television the campaign for the third anniversary of the revolution was spearheaded by a short ad in which the dead are no longer simply Sandinista heroes, but are now 'the Sandinista saints.' One named Navarrito, it is said 'died with worms eating his feet but he arose the same day,' thus comparing him with Jesus Christ, who, as we all know, took three days to do the same."

-8-

The most brazen use of the "People's Church" was made during John Paul II's visit to Nicaragua when he said Mass at a huge open square in Managua. Film taken by the Sandinista television network clearly shows that the Sandinistas used the occasion to stage a demonstration against the Pope during Mass.

As happens nearly everywhere the Pope goes, he was received with fervent enthusiasm by the crowd. During his homily he was interrupted again and again by friendly applause and cheers and shouts of "Long live the Pope!" The applause was particularly strong during those parts of his homily in which he denounced the "People's Church."

However, as the Sandinistas' own television film makes obvious, the places in the square nearest to the Pope were reserved for Sandinista activists, preequipped with microphones.

As the Pope came to the end of his homily these activists began to chant political slogans. When the Pope reached the most sacred part of the Mass, the Consecration of the bread and wine, the activists equipped with microphones actually began to make speeches, nearly drowning out the words of Consecration. The speakers demanded that the Pope insert into the Mass a prayer for the Sandinista martyrs -- perhaps as part of the plan to legitimize the Sandino-Christian rite.

The nine Sandinista "commandantes," who hold the real power in Nicaragua, stood on a platform near the Pope. They urged the demonstrators on, shouting slogans themselves and raising their fists in the air. At one point, uniformed men led the shouting activists in a protest march around the altar. Later, reliable sources revealed that the microphones used by the activists were actually being controlled by the same Sandinista technicians controlling the Pope's microphone.

UNDERMINING THE CHURCH HIERARCHY

The Sandinistas have begun to interfere with the hierarchy's right to assign priests to parishes. There are reports that replacement priests appointed by the Archbishop have been harassed by Sandinista controlled mobs. These mobs, organized by the Sandinista defense committees and the internal security forces, are referred to as las turbas divinas -- "the divine mobs."

Priests who do not preach or accept Marxist "theology," have been harassed by the mobs. Especially in the countryside, legitimate priests often have their services interrupted. Sometimes the mobs will turn the Mass into a political meeting.

-9-

In Managua the Sandinistas have staged physical attacks against the legitimate clergy, including the Archbishop Bosco Vivas, the auxiliary bishop of Managua, who was shoved and pushed to the ground by a Sandinista mob last August. (12)

The Sandinistas have also mounted campaigns to discredit Church leaders, such as Father Bismark Carballo, the director of Catholic Radio and public spokesman for the Archbishop. Having been called to the home of a parishoner, he was forced to disrobe by security force personnel and then forced into the street in front of T.V. cameras and Sandinista mobs planted in advance.

After the pictures of the incident and the story were printed in the Nicaraguan press, the Sandinistas were badly embarrassed by this transparent attempt to frame a major Church spokesman.

By September 1982 the situation had gotten so serious that Archbishop John R. Roche, the President of the U.S. National Conference of Catholic Bishops, issued a statement criticizing the Sandinistas:

"In recent weeks, institutions and persons of the Church, including bishops, have been subjected to attacks of a serious, at times disgraceful nature...We cannot fail to protest in the strongest possible terms, the attempted defamation and acts of physical abuse directed at prominent clerics, the inappropriate exercise of State control over the communications media, including those of the Church, the apparent threats to the Church's role in education, and, most ominous of all, the increasing tendency of public demonstrations to result in bloody conflict." (13)

Edgard Macias sums up well the treatment of the Catholic Church by the Sandinistas:

"It [religion] is something to be provisionally permitted because it already exists and despite their wishes, has to be permitted as a 'lesser evil' that cannot be immediately eliminated. But it has been sentenced to a gradual and progressive extinction." (14)

-10-

PERSECUTION OF PROTESTANT GROUPS

Persecution of Protestant groups has been even more direct and brutal because their smaller size has left them more vulnerable.

While the Sandinistas were still consolidating their power immediately after the revolution, they did little to harass the Protestant groups. According to Humberto Belli, a former editor of La Prensa, the only independent newspaper in Nicaragua, up through 1981 there was little persecution except for harassment of some village pastors.

Says Belli: "the Protestant pastors...were conscious of their vulnerability and tried to abstain from any kind of commentaries touching the political field. Some of them even preferred to reassure the government of their loyalty." (15)

Occasionally groups of "revolutionary Christians" published leaflets attacking Protestant denominations as agents of U.S. imperialism. The government controlled media often propagated these charges.

In 1982 these attacks became direct. According to Belli:

"In March, just a few days before the government cancelled all individual rights and decreed a state of emergency, Barricada, the official newspaper of the Sandinistas, published two front-page, 8 column reports on the Protestants, entitled: 'The Invasion of the Sects.'...In that Report many Protestant denominations such as the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Jehovah's Witnesses were portrayed as groups of fanatics and superstitious people who liked to manipulate people's emotions and were part of a world-wide strategy of cultural penetration orchestrated by U.S. imperialism."

"Shortly after these publications the attacks grew more and more vocal and the first physical threats were issued. Commander Tomas Borge...said there would be religious freedom for those who were with the revolution, but for those who were deceiving people and preaching negative attitudes their days were numbered." (16)

On July 30, 1982, Radio Sandino covered a speech on the subject by Borge. According to Radio Sandino:

"Borge said that the religious sects -- the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Adventists, the Mormons and other groups opposed to the revolution -- are under investigation...He noted that a bill is being submitted to the State Council that will require religious sects to register with the authorities before they begin operation." (17)

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In a speech on July 17 Borge had said:

"There are a large number of sects that are being funded by the CIA...Some of them have mother churches in the United States. The most famous sects -- and it is best for the people to know their enemies -- are: Jehovah's Witnesses, the Mormons and the Adventists...Other sects are the Voice of Acclamation and the Wesleyan Church, whatever the hell that means...It is evident that we have to make a serious study to counteract their diversionist activity financed by the CIA of the United States and take measures of a police nature according to the laws of the revolution in order to control and neutralize certain activities that disrupt the country's internal order. To begin with, a large number of these sects are not registered with the pertinent government offices, thus making them illegal." (18)

Borge encouraged mob action against the Protestant churches. By August 1982 more than 20 Managua Protestant Churches had been seized by the "divine mobs." Some, but not all, of the confiscated properties were returned, but only on condition that the ministers refrain from criticizing the government.

Among the Christian organizations forced out of Nicaragua is the Salvation Army, whose charitable and religious activities there ended in August, 1980 after "ominous verbal threats from authorities, and, finally, instructions to close up the program and leave the country." (19)

Religious persecution has also affected the small Jewish community in Nicaragua. The community had been so intimidated by Sandinista actions and rhetoric during and after the revolution that virtually the entire community has fled the country. An article by Shoshana Bryen in the Wall Street Journal summed up the situation well when it said:

"There are some who believe the actions taken against Jewish citizens were the result of severe Sandinista anti-capitalism, but the death threats, the immediate confiscation of businesses and private property, the torching of Managua's synogogue (and later its confiscation) and the arrest and harrassment of Nicaragua's Jews were not examples of burgeoning socialism... Other small, politically vulnerable communities in that area may suffer a fate similar to the Jews in Nicaragua, where the PLO is assisting the Soviet Union in the export of revolution and anti-Semitism." (20)

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RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION OF THE INDIANS

Perhaps the most tragic case of persecution perpetrated by the Sandinistas is that inflicted on the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians of Nicaragua's isolated Atlantic Coast.

Most of the members of these tribes are members of minority Protestant Churches, especially the Moravian church. Living in isolation from most of Nicaragua, they have had little to do with any government. The Moravian missionaries filled the gap by providing most of the schools, hospitals and support organizations that maintained the area.

The campaign of persecution against the Indians has thus far been directed largely at their religious leaders and institutions. In attacking the Indians' religious leaders, the Sandinistas are attacking their source of unity and strength more than attacking their religion itself.

As Belli explains, "When the Sandinistas came to power in 1979, they immediately announced that their top priority was to 'rescue' the Atlantic Coast." Cuban and Nicaraguan personnel began to flood into the area.

The Sandinistas began a heavy-handed attempt to redesign the lives of the Indians along Marxist lines, and "started to replace the people's own leaders with [the Sandinistas'] own authorities -- many of whom were Cuban teachers and strangers." Resentments, repression, and riots followed in short order. Reports Belli:

"The Sandinistas blamed the events on counter-revolutionary and CIA inspired forces, and began attacking the most influential Moravian pastors. Some of them were jailed and others expelled, stimulating new waves of protest and repression. [The government] stepped up its attacks and dismantled the network of charitable organizations that, after a century of work, the Moravians had established." (21)

The Sandinistas sealed off the entire Atlantic coast. Travel to the region was allowed only by special permit. Indians were drafted into the militia. Those who refused were shot or forcibly relocated. Villages were forcibly evacuated and then burned. According to Edgard Macias, by midsummer 1982 the Sandinistas had destroyed 55 Moravian churches.

Ministers who are still allowed to preach in the region must submit their sermons to local Sandinista censors. Indian leaders have been rounded up and jailed. The three-tribe umbrella organization created to represent the Indians' interest to the government was shut down.

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Two of the most prominent Moravian leaders, Rev. Norman Bent and Rev. Fernando Colomens had been prevented from staying in the Atlantic Coast area. The Moravian Social Action Committee has been closed by the FSLN.

In November of 1982, the Misurasata Council of Ancients (elders), the legitimate representatives of the people of the three tribes, officially denounced the Sandinista government before the Organization of American States.

In that denunciation the Ancients explained that, despite their "active participation in the struggle for liberation [against Somoza] and our decided support for the revolutionary government headed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front...", their people had been subjected to "intense repression, lack of respect for our religious beliefs and traditions, imprisonment of our leaders, massive captures of peasants, women, the aged and children, rapes, beatings, torture, and the death and disappearance of prisoners..."

"The situation has progressively worsened... They have expelled us from the land we received from our ancestors... Thousands of members of our communities are at this time kept, on Nicaraguan territory, in concentration camps under strict military vigilance, while more than 1,500 Indians have been obliged to seek refuge in the sister republic of Honduras..."

"They live in refugee camps, almost at the mercy of the elements, with grave health and nutrition problems especially amongst the children who walk around practically naked and suffer from parasites and many illnesses."

The details of this persecution are particularly horrifying.

According to the Council of the Ancients, in January and February of 1982: "the FSLN with the pretext of 'spreading national sovereignty' destroyed 49 communities, burning more than 4,000 houses, and then, so that no one could return to their land of origin, cut down the fruit trees, shot all the domestic animals ... and forced the persons that lived there to begin a forced march that took 11 to 15 days in order to arrive at the different concentration camps..."

"During the forced march ... the invalids, lame, blind and paralyzed persons were gathered together in the village of Tulinbilia, they were put inside the Church and they were burned -- 13 persons thus died."

In February also, Rev. Sandalio Patron, the leader of the Sumo Indians, was imprisoned.

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Throughout the year the same story was repeated. In the third week of March, according to the Ancients, four more villages were burned, all the houses, churches, and domestic animals destroyed.

In April, religious leader Rev. Abel Flores and 13 deacons were arrested, mounted into a government helicopter and whisked away. No one is told where they were taken. A community called Suma de Kuahbul was occupied by the military. The villagers were forbidden to leave their homes, making normal life, including food gathering, impossible.

In May all churches in North Zelaya were told they must submit all messages for publication to the approval of State Security. The Indian community of Raity was destroyed; half the population fled to Honduras.

In June the Sandinista troops carried out the massacre of Musawas. Only the direct words of the Council of Ancients can adequately convey what happened in Musawas:

"On June 29, 1982, another military regiment of about 40 men appeared at about 9:00 PM. They captured [abducted] Mrs. Aquilina Robin, Calilda Lopez [and] Virginia Benjamin, and placed them in the church; about 30 minutes after, another group of soldiers brought two girls of 12 years each, [Maria Hernandez and Lodena Lopez] and they too were placed in the church. The women began to scream; about 11 o'clock that night, the relatives of the three women and two girls, filled with indignation and family love, approached the church and asked why they were ill-treating the women. They were also taken prisoners and brutally conducted into the church."

"Sometime around 12 o'clock that night, the Sandinista troop took the women out of the church. The girl, Maria Hernandez, of 12 years, was dragged out; because, after she was violated by the troop, she was unable to walk..."

"After the five women were carried outside the church, they were placed face down on the ground; one of the soldiers yelled 'not even as women are they any good; not even satisfaction can they give; I still remain with the desire, stinking daughters of sluts.' Presently a group of soldiers came out of the Church and machine gunned them."

Over the next 24 hours, 15 more villagers were murdered by the troops. "This act dispersed the community of Musawas. They went to the woodland looking how to save their lives. Thirty-three were captured and held hostage."

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"The Community of Musawas presently in refugee camp in Mocoron is witness to all that took place at Musawas."

In July martial law was declared in the communities of Tuara, Sisin, Kuaquil, Boomsirpi and Yulotigni. The villagers were not allowed to leave their homes or celebrate religious services. According to the Indian elders, eight armed Sandinistas raped the 12 year old daughter of Rev. Serminio Nicho, a religious leader in Ninayeri Sandebay North.

According to the Ancients, the "months of August, September and October are a true Calvary for the 10 Indian communities of Puerto Cabezas. The communities are put under a state of siege. The villagers are prohibited from fishing in the ocean, communal lands are expropriated, villagers are forbidden to leave the village. Masses and religious services are frequently closed down or can be celebrated only with previous permission."

The tactic of restricting the villagers to the village and of prohibiting them from fishing in the ocean or from using their communal lands is devastating because it can put the villagers on the brink of starvation. (22)

The Indians have given the Organization of American States (OAS) many pages of detailed eyewitness accounts of torture and murder by the Sandinistas. There is no need to recount all the gruesome stories here.

CONCLUSION

As the Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega has made clear, "Marxism is the scientific doctrine that guides our revolution... our doctrine is Marxism-Leninism." (23) Conforming to that doctrine, the Sandinistas are systematically attempting to coopt religious organizations that might threaten the FSLN's ability to dominate Nicaraguan political and social life.

Due to the strength of the Catholic Church, the Sandinista strategy has been to infiltrate, censor and control, rather than to eradicate outright.

At times, particularly when the weight of foreign opinion has been high, the Sandinistas have backed off, at least overtly, their persecution of the Church. During this five-day period, however, the following actions were taken against the Church:

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Midnight, Oct. 29, 1983: Mobs began to demonstrate at twenty-two churches in the Managua area, and at an unknown number of churches outside Managua. The mobs, which ranged in size from 50 to 200 persons, interrupted Masses, chanted at churchgoers, and in several cases threatened priests.

0800 Oct. 30: A mob armed with clubs arrived at Saint Jude church in Managua. According to the pro-government press, the mob was acting against a church planned demonstration against the new national military service law. The mob interrupted Mass, and reportedly struck Father Silvio Fonseca. The mob refused to allow Monsignor Bosco Vivas to enter the Saint Jude area. A second mob prevented the holding of a church bazaar (kermesse) later that day.

1030 Oct. 30: Catholic Church leadership (Curia) decided to cancel Masses for the day. Curia was unable to contact some priests, who carried out scheduled activities.

1700 Oct. 30: A mob armed with clubs interrupted Mass at the San Francisco church in the Bolonia area of Managua, breaking church windows and vandalizing cars.

Night of Oct. 30: A mob gathered in front of the Santa Maria church in the San Juan neighborhood of Managua. Another mob burned a tire on the front steps of the Santa Carmen church.

Oct. 31: The government revoked the residency of two foreign priests, in effect exiling them. The two priests were Luis Corral Prieto, of Spain, and Jose Maria Pacheco, of Costa Rica, respectively the director and assistant director of Salesian school in Masaya.

Oct. 31: The Government announced the arrest of a Father Antonio (a citizen of Italy) for allegedly preaching against the national military service and advocating counterrevolutionary activities.

Nov. 2: The Catholic Church leadership postponed religious services for November 2, (All Souls' Day), calling instead for a day of fasting and prayer. The postponed masses were held November 3.

Sixty-five years of applied Marxist-Leninist doctrine have shown that communism will not accept co-existence with any religion that does not concede supreme authority to it. To the extent that Marxist-Leninist regimes allow churches to operate they do so because they are forced to, as in Poland, or for tactical reasons aimed at the ultimate objective of eradicating religion from society.

The overwhelming evidence of the wide-spread persecution of Christian Churches in Nicaragua is a sad reminder of the sometimes forgotten nature of Marxism-Leninism and its total antipathy for freedom of religion.

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FOOTNOTES

1. See for example: August 25, 1981 speech of Humberto Ortega; Managua Domestic Service (Radio) 23 April, 1982 (Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) 28 April, 1982 p. P9); Managua Radio Sandino 26 February, 1983 (FBIS 28 Feb., 1983 p. P17)

2. "Comunicado Oficial de la Direccion Nacional del FSLN sobre la Religion," Barricada, October 7, 1980.

3. "Contestacion al Comunicado del FSLN sobre la Religion (October 17, 1980)," Revista del Pensamiento Centroamericano, July-December, 1980.

4. Macias, Edgard; "The Sandinista Revolution and Religion" presented to the White House Outreach Working Group on Central America; (July, 1983).

5. "Jesucristo y la Unidad de su Iglesia en Nicaragua," (Carta Pastoral, October 22, 1980), Revista del Pensamiento Centroamericano, July-December, 1980.

6. Macias, op. cit.

7. Radio Sandino, Managua, June 10, 1981.

8. Geraldine O'Leary de Macias; "Christians in the Sandinista Revolution," (January, 1983).

9. Macias, op. cit.

10. Washington Times, July 26, 1983.

11. Archbishop Obando y Bravo, "Comments on the Papal Letter," La Prensa, Managua, August 14, 1983.

12. Archbishop John R. Roche, comments on the United States Catholic Conference, Washington, D.C., September 9, 1982.

13. Roche, op. cit.

14. Macias, op. cit.

15. Humberto Belli, "Persecution of Protestants in Nicaragua: The Neglected Story," 1983.

16. Belli, op. cit.

17. FBIS Central America, August 2, 1982, p. 7.

18. FBIS, Central America, July 21, 1982, p. 13.