

# **Covert Action**

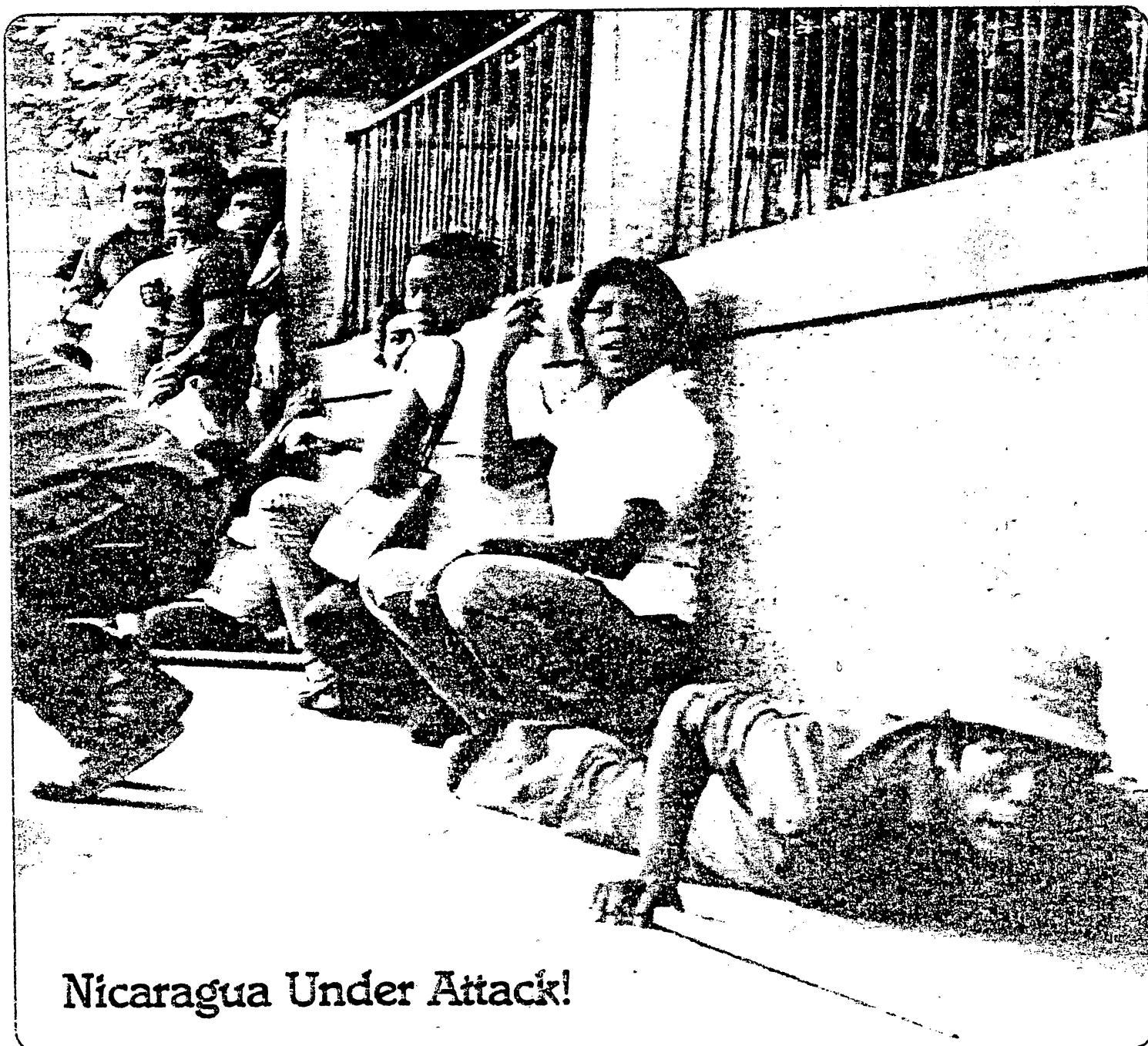
## **INFORMATION BULLETIN**

Number 18

Winter 1983

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**Special: The CIA and Religion**



**Nicaragua Under Attack!**

# Editorial

In this issue we concentrate on the CIA and religion, especially in Central America. We believe that an understanding of the degree to which intelligence agencies attempt to manipulate religion and organized churches is even more essential today than it was in 1975, when Senator Church's Committee examined the CIA's use of missionaries as spies.

Central America threatens to become another Vietnam for U.S. involvement, and in many countries repression against the poor has become brutal beyond comprehension. The people of Central America are very religious, a factor on which the CIA has always relied, as noted in *Sources and Methods*, and elsewhere in this issue. Using religious beliefs against the people and controlling and manipulating religious-sponsored relief agencies is nothing new for the CIA, as is shown in our articles on Thailand and Guatemala, and on the Miskitu Indians of Nicaragua.

## Liberation Theology

The reason for the critical role of religion in Central America is clearly the development of what is known as liberation theology. For hundreds of years, until the late 1950s and early 1960s, the church in Latin America—primarily the Catholic Church—was essentially conservative and therefore supportive of the repressive national security states. But in recent decades there has been a decisive shift in the emphasis of religious workers to an identification with the poor and underprivileged. Grass roots work flourished; the Second Vatican Council (1962-5) encouraged this work; and in 1968 the Medellin, Colombia conference of Latin American Bishops recognized the primacy of struggles against social injustice—and the legitimacy of those struggles even when violence was the only means left to achieve those goals.

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On the Cover: Pro-Government Townspeople in Masaya, Nicaragua Take Cover as Counterrevolutionaries Fire at Them From Inside Catholic School. Credit: *El Nuevo Diario*.

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Of course, the rank and file, the "base communities," as they are called in Latin America, often moved faster than the Church hierarchy, as our articles on Nicaragua show. And the Reagan administration was quick to recognize the overwhelming significance of this spiritual conflict. The Santa Fe document, prepared for President-elect Reagan, noted: "The war is for the minds of mankind. Ideo-politics will prevail. . . . U.S. foreign policy must begin to counter (not react against) liberation theology as it is utilized in Latin America by the 'liberation theology' clergy. The role of the church in Latin America is vital to the concept of political freedom . . . [found in] private property and productive capitalism."

As we demonstrate throughout this issue, the New Right has attacked liberation theology both within the Catholic Church, among the Jesuits (see the article on Opus Dei), and within the Protestant denominations. The liberal National Council of Churches has been attacked and spied upon relentlessly, as have several of its denominational members which have actively supported social progress in Latin America. The attacks have come from sources as diverse as the Pope, evangelists, and Reagan administration officials like Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, who has taken to telephoning bishops to ask if they know "what's happening in Nicaragua." His cynicism and hypocrisy are apparently boundless, as he defends the regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala whose death squads systematically torture, mutilate, and murder thousands of poor people.

The significance of the evangelical groups—of which there are now hundreds in Central America—is described in our articles on General Rios Montt of Guatemala, and on the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

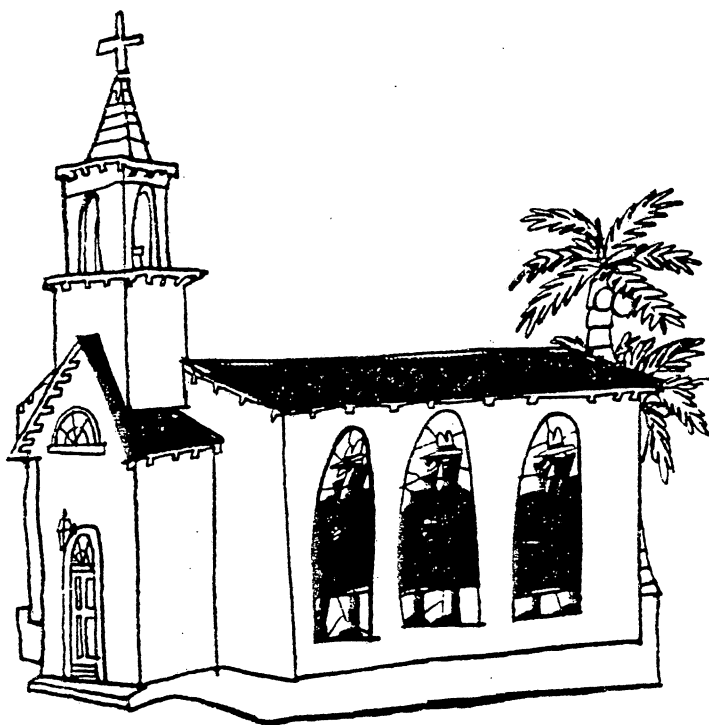
### The Destabilization of Nicaragua

The return to an era of rabid anti-communism and of a CIA unleashed is epitomized by the massive program to destabilize and overthrow the government of Nicaragua. In three articles in this issue we analyze various facets of that program, manipulation of the Church, manipulation of the Miskitu Indians, and the use of paramilitary bands.

Paramilitary mercenary gangs have found great favor with the new administration, and meet, train, practice, and recruit in this country with impunity. Perspectives have become so warped that in Miami, for example, the city government voted a \$10,000 grant for a "homeless refugee center" to Alpha 66, a terrorist group dedicated to the overthrow of the government of Cuba. Alpha 66 admitted that its concern for refugees extended only to training them to "send them back as fighters."

### This Issue

Once again, we must apologize to our readers for the lateness of this issue. Our subscribers are a loyal and patient group and we hope the size and content of this issue make up for our tardiness. The rumors of our demise, as Mark Twain said, are premature!



### Grenada:

## Nobody's Backyard

A sixteen mm., 60-minute color documentary celebrating the Grenadian Revolution on its first anniversary and examining the campaign of destabilization being waged against Grenada, the tiny "jewel" of the Caribbean. Includes interviews with Maurice Bishop, Cheddi Jagan, Isabel Letelier, Trevor Monroe, and Philip Agee.

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# The Masaya Affair

By Ellen Ray and Bill Schaap

The market town of Masaya, less than half an hour's drive from Managua, is considered the center of the Nicaraguan revolution; the barrio of Monimbo there, its very heart. In July 1982, the third anniversary of the triumph of the revolution was celebrated in Masaya, with the slogan, "Monimbo is Nicaragua," honoring the legendary bravery of the people of that poor district in the struggle against the bloody Somoza regime.

Thus, to the enemies of that revolution there would be enormous propaganda value to an anti-Sandinista riot in Monimbo. And in August there was a concerted effort to create just such an illusion. All the elements of a complicated script were present: preliminary skirmishes, rumors, wild tales in the media, outside agitators, and more.

The events themselves are well worth studying.

## The Father Carballo Incident

One might have guessed that the right-wing press—especially those professing to be Catholic—would have a field day. According to William Buckley's venomous *National Review* (September 17, 1982): "Sandinista thugs jumped the archbishop's spokesman, Father Bismarck Carballo, at lunch, forced him to strip, and drove him through the streets." Reactionary columnist Patrick J. Buchanan was equally strident (*Washington Inquirer*, September 3, 1982): "In the most recent and outrageous incident, Rev. Bismarck Carballo, spokesman for the archdiocese, was set upon while lunching with a woman friend; both were stripped naked and paraded through the streets to jail where he was held six hours."

But even some of the wire services, which purport to give both sides in a dispute, presented the above version as fact. The September 3 Associated Press article entitled, "Church, Sandinistas On Collision Course," gave this rendition: "In mid-August, the Rev. Bismarck Carballo was at the home of a woman parishioner when a gunman entered the house, forced the couple to undress and then pushed them into the street where a crowd of photographers and television crews from pro-government media were waiting."

What none of these "objective" journalists reported was that the couple was caught *in flagrante delicto*, and the "gunman" was the woman's lover. Media people were nearby covering an embassy demonstration into which the terrified, naked priest practically collided. The journalists also failed to note that the government ordered the media *not* to publish reports or photos of the incident out of respect for the Church. However, when Father Carballo broke the silence by calling a press conference and presenting his incredible version, the censorship order was lifted and the incident—as well as Carballo—was fully revealed. Moreover, *El Nuevo Diario* subsequently learned that the priest and his "parishioner" had been having an affair for years, and it published an interview with the woman in which she admitted their relationship and produced photos of the couple in bathing suits, trysting at the seaside.

These additional facts appeared well before the pious denunciations by Buckley and Buchanan, including a report on the August 19 Reuters wire; they were not, of course, alluded to by the right-wing press. The same day as the Reuters report, the State Department denounced the "treatment meted out to Carballo" as a sign of a "systematic campaign against religion in Nicaragua."

As recently as mid-December, a CBS-TV network news report made passing reference to the priest who had been stripped and beaten. Big lies, even outrageous and inherently unbelievable big lies, die slowly.

## The Reporting On Masaya

On certain events, everyone agreed. Monday, August 16, nearly 100 people barricaded themselves inside the Catholic Salesian School in Monimbo. Late in the day, when a large group of protesters assembled in the streets in front of the school, shots rang out—three people were killed and six wounded.

Patrick Buchanan wrote that "outraged Catholic students seized high schools around the country, and in Monimbo . . . barricades were thrown up against Sandinista mobs and troops, and three people were killed and six wounded." Elliott Abrams, whose title is Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, wrote a column for the August 22 *Washington Post* in which he claimed, "violent clashes in Masaya between Sandinista mobs and Catholic school students and their supporters have resulted in three deaths. . . ." Even some progressive reporting was fuzzy; the September 1 *Guardian* said that "shooting between pro- and anti-Sandinista demonstrators left at least two dead and seven wounded in Masaya August 16." (One of the wounded later died.) Most of these accounts give the impression, stated in some media reports, that "Sandinistas killed students."

What none of the explanations clarifies, however, is that the shooting came exclusively from inside the school, where the only armed people were gathered. The dead and wounded were government supporters, outside protesting the closing. Moreover, there were students on both sides, and virtually everyone was Catholic.

When the dust settled it turned out that of the 18 people arrested inside the school—in rooms littered with spent rifle shells—only nine were local residents. The major role of outsiders as *agents provocateurs* and the rapid dissemination of false and misleading propaganda suggest a well-planned scenario. Several days after the incident, CAIB editors visited Monimbo and interviewed residents.

## What Really Happened at Masaya?

The Father Carballo incident led, indirectly, to the events which caused the greatest distortions in the media, as part of what appears to have been a carefully staged plan. A few days after the Carballo affair, there was a significant confrontation in Monimbo. On August 14, Miguel Obando y Bravo, the conservative Archbishop of



Managua (see sidebar) came to Masaya to participate in a religious ceremony. During the procession, a large group of townspeople gathered and confronted the Archbishop, angry that he had not publicly denounced the recent massacre at San Francisco del Norte. Other priests had spoken out against the brutal raid in which counterrevolutionary exiles from Honduras had killed 15 villagers and kidnapped eight others, but Obando y Bravo, the senior religious figure in the country, had been strangely silent. The petitioning townspeople were rebuffed by followers of Obando y Bravo, a right-wing mob who took the opportunity to throw rocks at them.

Then, on the morning of Monday, August 16, the director of the Silesian School in Monimbo ordered it closed in protest against "aggressions suffered by the Church." A number of youths who supported the closing occupied the school, barricading it against a large number of students, supporters of the government, who did not want it closed.

Students and townspeople began gathering in the streets in front of the school, some in favor of the closing, most against. In one incident, a pedestrian was hit by a passing government car. The victim later stated that he had been pushed into the car by some strangers who were not from Monimbo. But this incident led to a near rampage by armed bands who appeared from the hills behind Masaya and attacked a police substation. It was these same armed bands who brought their weapons inside the school, although the people outside did not realize this at the time.

Ultimately, after attempts to negotiate an opening of the school failed, townspeople and students began to march along the street in front of the school. As they neared the building shots rang out from inside. The marchers, who had no guns, dove for cover; three people were killed in the street and six others wounded. Shortly thereafter, security forces cleared the school, arresting 81 people. Five priests—a Spaniard who had evidently instigated the boycott and four Costa Ricans—were taken by the police to their respective embassies for protective custody.

Within the next few days most of those arrested were released. Only those determined to be connected with the shootings were held. The residency permit of the Spanish director of the school was revoked and he was in effect deported; the other four priests returned to work at the school.

Most revealing about the whole incident was the immediate, totally inaccurate reportage which swept around the world. Items noted above were mild compared to some. An Associated Press report which went out over their New York wire early the morning of August 17 stated that students "took over at least 17 Roman Catholic schools around the country and protesters in Masaya barricaded their slum neighborhood against security forces." There were, in fact, three or four other student protests that day, though nothing as dramatic as in Monimbo. Moreover, protesters did not barricade the neighborhood from security forces; they demanded that security forces come in and arrest the persons inside the school who were shooting. At no time were the townspeople armed, which renders questionable the following paragraph from the AP wire: "'At this moment, as you can see, we're building barricades with paving stones to keep out police and groups of government supporters. They will surely come and we'll be obliged to confront them," one armed resident of Monimbo, a slum on the edge of Masaya, told reporters."

The article went on to report that "some 2000 residents built barricades." This is incredible, since the only people barricaded anywhere were the 81 people inside the school—and only nine of them were local residents. Moreover, the AP story "from the scene" doesn't even mention that people were killed! It is possible the story was outlined even before the events occurred.

But even the AP reportage paled by comparison with some of the blatant Latin American disinformation pieces. The local reporter for *Excelsior*, the prestigious Mexico City daily, sent, he later said, two separate stories to his paper. One dealt with the subject of 81 people being arrested. The other covered the fact that five foreign priests were in their embassies. The front page headline in *Excelsior*: "Eighty-one Priests Arrested in Nicaragua." The following day *Excelsior* ran a correction confirming that there were no priests in jail in Nicaragua, but their original story was picked up all over the world.

This anti-Sandinista media blitz indicates considerable coordination, exacerbated by the apparent willingness of the foreign press corps to believe anything anti-government. It is a sad indictment of the "investigative" journalists of Latin American coverage. Only now that the covert plot against Nicaragua has become so obvious are these same journalists jumping on the bandwagon. How many deaths might have been averted if they had done their homework earlier?

### Other Media Manipulation

Some of the blatant distortions which have appeared in the Nicaraguan opposition press, and in papers in neighboring Honduras and Costa Rica and elsewhere, strongly suggest a coordinated campaign which can only be seen as an integrated part of the destabilization plot aimed at Nicaragua. The photograph on the cover of this issue shows townspeople in Masaya who were protesting the right-wing takeover of the Salesian School diving for cover as they were shot at from inside the school. The photo was sent by AP wire to Honduras and elsewhere, with, AP later insisted, the correct caption. Nevertheless, the following day it appeared in a major Tegucigalpa newspaper with a caption which said that it showed "Catholics" dodging "Sandinista bullets."

At the height of the tensions over events in Masaya, Bishop Salvador Schlaefter from the Atlantic coast was asked by the government to come to Managua to help in the various negotiations and meetings that were taking place. He was provided with government transportation. *La Prensa* editor Horacio Ruiz reported to the Brazilian paper *Correio Brasiliense*, for which he was a correspondent, that Schlaefter had been arrested by the Sandinistas. He also gave this "information" to other reporters in Managua, and the story, which was a complete lie, was reprinted everywhere. The situation became so confused that Bishop Schlaefter found it necessary to call a press conference to inform the media that he had not been arrested and was not in jail!

Ruiz also writes for the conservative Costa Rican paper, *La Nacion*. His articles, denouncing press censorship in Nicaragua, have been reprinted in U.S. newspapers, including the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, without mentioning that he was *La Prensa* editor, a fact he finds convenient to omit. (For a detailed analysis of the role of *La Prensa*, see CAIB Number 16.)

## Conclusion

Religion is a powerful force; religious symbolism is the most powerful tool which exists for the manipulation of people. And the Nicaraguans are a religious people. But the struggle is not between those who are for religion and those who are not; it is a struggle between progressive religious people and reactionary religious people. In such a struggle, when it is known that the largest propaganda agency in the world, the CIA, is actively involved, it is important for all

observers to study events carefully, to be sure of what is really happening.

Just as in the case of the Miskitus, discussed in detail elsewhere in this issue, the big lie is being used constantly. Total fabrications appear on the front pages of major newspapers around the world. Such covert operations are pernicious; the corrections never have the impact of the original lies. Nicaragua's friends must be extremely vigilant and must expose these lies immediately and consistently.

## Archbishop Obando y Bravo and the Institute on Religion and Democracy

During the 1970s, the Catholic Church in Nicaragua became progressively more anti-Somoza, with the rank and file always leading the hierarchy. By 1974 the bishops would not attend Somoza's inauguration, and by 1977 they openly condemned the human rights violations of the regime. But throughout this period church leaders, headed by the Archbishop of Managua, Msgr. Miguel Obando y Bravo, continued to stress the differences between the tactics and politics of the rank and file opposition and that of themselves.

The division was over the conflicting views of the revolution held by the two groups—clearly a class division—though often couched by the hierarchy in religious terminology. They represented the upper class opposition to Somoza which, after the triumph of the revolution, became more concerned with threats to its own class privileges.

Obando y Bravo has become the focal point of opposition to the Sandinista leadership. He plays a deeply political role, aligning himself often with U.S. interests, while pretending to speak "only" in his religious capacity. He makes political statements with impunity, and at the same time criticizes the progressive priests for being "political." In 1980, in fact, Obando y Bravo and his bishops ordered four priests serving in the government and in the party to resign their posts. The popular opposition was so widespread that the order was rescinded.



Msgr. Obando y Bravo (second from right) receives right-wing IRD's Religion and Democracy Award.

The hierarchy has also generated considerable conflict within the Church and its parishioners by transferring popular priests from their parishes whenever they think the local church is too supportive of the revolution. Emotions have run so high that one congregation occupied a church to prevent the bishop from removing the sacraments after their priest was transferred, and a scuffle ensued. The Archbishop excommunicated all those involved, though there is considerable question whether he has the authority to do so.

Obando y Bravo's role is highlighted by the fact that he has become the darling of the Institute on Religion and Democracy (IRD), a shady New Right outfit with deep ties to the CIA. IRD appears to be something of a cross between an intelligence proprietary and a front for Reagan administration policies. In January 1982, the IRD honored the Archbishop in Washington and devoted considerable space in its newsletter to him. They also published a propaganda pamphlet entitled, "Nicaragua: A Revolution Against the Church?"

The IRD was founded in April 1981 as an autonomous project of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority (CDM). The CDM is a leading neo-conservative group, whose board includes Jeane Kirkpatrick. IRD shared offices with another CDM special project, the defunct Citizen's Committee for Freedom in the Americas, whose board included Constantine Menges, now a high CIA official (see *CAIB* Number 16), and William C. Doherty, Jr. of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a CIA front.

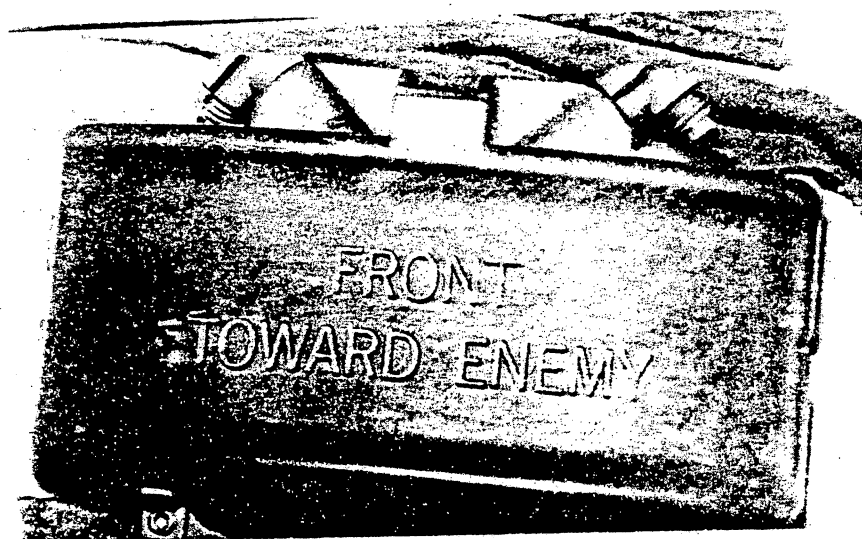
IRD itself is the brainchild of David Jessup, a right-wing Methodist layman, who has been attacking the progressive churches in the U.S. for several years. IRD's board members cover the neo-conservative spectrum, with notables from the American Enterprise Institute, Social Democrats U.S.A., the Ethics and Public Policy Center (of Nestle hack Ernest Lefever), *Commentary* magazine, and assorted evangelical and fundamentalist religious groups.

IRD's affairs are worthy of further study. A recommended starting point is IDOC International Bulletin Number 8-9 (1982), "An American Dream: Neo-Conservatism and New Religious Right in the USA: The Institute on Religion and Democracy." (Write to IDOC at 30 via S. Maria dell'Anima, Rome 00186, Italy.)

# Nicaragua Under Siege:

## CIA's "Secret" War Escalates

By Ellen Ray and Bill Schaap



U.S. Army Claymore mine captured from *contra* in Nicaragua.

Throughout late 1981 and early 1982 there were persistent reports of a rapidly escalating paramilitary campaign against the government of Nicaragua. Counter-revolutionary forces were being assembled and trained in camps in Florida, California, and elsewhere in the U.S., and a network of bases were being established in Honduras, along the border with Nicaragua. Sprinkled throughout the reports were the names of wealthy Nicaraguan exiles, former members of Somoza's bloody National Guard, renegade Miskitu Indian leaders, and many vicious Cuban exiles—with long histories of working for the CIA.

From the outset it was clear to the Nicaraguans, and to many outside observers, that the operations bore all the hallmarks of another CIA-sponsored plan. What distinguished this plan from earlier escapades, however, was the rapidity with which confirmation was forthcoming in the establishment media. In the past it had taken years before U.S. officials, even anonymous ones, admitted the extent of covert U.S. operations in Southeast Asia, in Angola, in Iran, and elsewhere. Reports in foreign and progressive domestic media were discounted as paranoid fantasy or rhetoric. But in the case of Nicaragua, revelations are following hard on the heels of the incidents themselves. Covert actions have become almost overt actions.

What the orgy of leaks and deep background admissions

really means is a hotly debated point. Some observers believe that the revelations are designed to prepare the public for more and deeper involvement, to inure the public to further embroilment. But others believe that there is a sharp split within the intelligence complex and within the administration itself over the efficacy of paramilitary operations in the Nicaraguan context, with some strong voices urging a more sophisticated plan. To develop some understanding of what the future—the near future—will bring, it is helpful to review both the plan and the revelations.

### The National Security Council Plan

The Reagan administration clearly inherited from its predecessor the germ of a program to destabilize the Sandinistas, but by and large that program was relatively non-violent. Economic and political pressures were already in place and there were hints of paramilitary activity, but no widespread movement in that area. Under the Reagan team a new emphasis and a new urgency came into play. Some activity on the part of the exiles and their supporters was anticipatory. They knew that the Reagan administration would be very supportive, both ideologically and financially, and they began to create some of the infrastructure which would ultimately fit into the government's plan. "At last we have a man in the White House

with pants on," one exile leader was quoted as saying.

But although paramilitary attacks against Nicaragua began to escalate during 1981, it was not until the end of that year that matters reached dramatic proportions. Why this came about was made clear in revelations which surfaced in the media only a few months later, in February, March, and April of 1982. We now know that in November 1981 the administration asked the CIA to prepare an option plan for increased covert paramilitary operations against Nicaragua; we also now know that in December the National Security Council approved various options including, most significantly, a plan to devote at least \$19 million to the recruitment and training of a 500-man paramilitary force. This force, assembled directly by the CIA, would supplement the various anti-Sandinista groups which were also to be bolstered with financial and logistical support. All of them were to be coordinated along the Florida-Honduras-Costa Rica axis.

### The Role of Honduras

As the operation was geared up, the CIA complement in Honduras more than tripled. The November 8, 1982 *Newsweek* magazine article put the figure at 50, the December 4 *New York Times* at 150, the December 6 *Time* magazine at "about 200," some of whom are said to be operatives under cover as AID officers, Peace Corps volunteers, and Delta Force anti-terrorist troops. Honduras became the focus for operation coordination under the direct supervision of U.S. Ambassador John D. Negroponte. Additional work was performed by Assistant Secretary of Defense Nestor Sanchez, a veteran CIA officer (see *CAIB* Numbers 4 and 16) who was taken on by the Weinberger Pentagon. Sanchez was seen in Honduras frequent-



J.D. Negroponte, the NSC's destabilizer in Tegucigalpa.

ly in recent months. CIA Director William Casey personally inspected the operation in a secret trip to Honduras.

The direct cooperation of the Honduran military was essential, and was willingly provided by the commander in chief, strongman General Gustavo Adolfo Alvarez. Alvarez was, if anything, overanxious, and had to be restrained from prematurely instigating an invasion of Nicaragua in mid-1982. Fortunately, there are nationalistic elements within the Honduran military who fear, with considerable justification, that there would be no winner in such a confrontation, and that a lot of Hondurans would be killed needlessly. (See the Statement of John Buchanan, in this issue.) Nevertheless, Alvarez works closely with Negroponte and the commanders of the U.S. military advisers, and sees that his forces provide needed logistical support to the counterrevolutionary camps spread along the border with Nicaragua.

### The Argentina Connection

Although the role of Honduras is clear and well-documented, a key part was assigned to Argentina, details of which have recently come to light. It was known for some time that a contingent of Argentinean military trainers was in Honduras, helping to train the *contras*. The size of this force was reduced, though not eliminated, during the Malvinas crisis, when the U.S. did not support Argentina; but Argentinean participation has now, once again, expanded.

In November, a defector from Argentina's military intelligence organization appeared on a long videotape first shown to journalists in Mexico City. The defector, Hector Frances, explained that Argentina was assisting the counterrevolutionaries in Honduras, in Costa Rica, and in Argentina itself, where more than 50 Nicaraguan exiles were being trained.

Argentina has served as a conduit for much of the CIA money being pumped into this plan, with Argentinean military officers meeting with and making payments to exile groups in Buenos Aires and in San Jose.

### What's Going On in Costa Rica?

It was becoming clear to many journalists, and was confirmed by the Frances interview, that Costa Rica has been playing an ever expanding role in the campaign against Nicaragua. The administration of President Luis Alberto Monge has become more pro-U.S. as it has faced greater economic pressures. The situation was evidently so bad that President Monge was overheard to remark, on the way to the U.S. that he felt like a *puta*, but he did not want to be remembered as the president under whose administration Costa Rica went bankrupt. Frances confirmed that much of his work with the CIA, and with rightwing Costa Ricans, was to devise ways to pressure Monge, work which has been exceedingly successful. Monge has aided with Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, and against Mexico and Venezuela in the diplomatic battles over Nicaragua, and even more importantly has begun to allow Costa Rica to be used for *contra* bases and attacks against Nicaraguan territory.

In fact, splits in the counterrevolutionary forces have led to the establishment of two key forces in Costa Rica. One involves the renegade Miskitu Indians. The principal group, led by Steadman Fagoth, works closely with the hated former National Guardsmen, and is based in Hcndu-

ras, on the Atlantic Coast. A rival, Brooklyn Rivera, apparently fed up with playing second fiddle to Fagoth, moved to Costa Rica with some of his men, who are now staging minor, but annoying raids into Nicaragua constantly. Rivera states publicly that his men are not engaging in armed struggle, because "the time is not right," but his men belie this, offering to take journalists with them on their incursions.

The other force building up its base in Costa Rica is that of former Sandinistas Eden Pastora and Alfonso Robelo. Although Pastora was kicked out of Costa Rica some months ago, Monge has now allowed him back in, and he and Robelo continue to offer themselves as the "alternative" to the Somocistas in Honduras.

Pastora assumes an anti-U.S. stance publicly, but *CAIB* has learned that this is a sham. Journalists have discovered that although Pastora maintains that he has no contact with the U.S. Embassy, there is, in fact, regular contact through Robelo. An Embassy official admitted that it would "look bad for Pastora" if he were seen meeting with them, so they meet with Robelo and give messages for Pastora; Pastora responds in the same fashion, through Robelo. Pastora too claims that he is not encouraging armed attacks against Nicaragua at this time, but a recent large attack from Costa Rica appears to have been coordinated by his supporters.

#### Who Pulls The Strings?

It is obvious that Honduras and Argentina and Costa Rica are not in any manner serving their own interests, but are participants in an operation conceived and run by the U.S. It is also obvious that the aim of this operation is the overthrow of the Nicaraguan government, though recent revelations have led to some incredible weaseling on the part of the Reagan administration and its apologists in Congress.

When the details of the NSC plan first leaked out early in the year, the executive branch refused to comment, although some Members of Congress in the know, particularly Senator Barry Goldwater, the Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, confirmed the essentials of the plan. It was stated unequivocally at the time that the administration's chief concern was Nicaragua's alleged assistance in supplying arms to the FMLN in El Salvador. That this became, and has remained, the administration line shows a lot of gall, considering the facts. The U.S. government has been working hand in glove with exile fanatics dedicated to the overthrow of the Nicaraguan government; much of the paramilitary activity has been on the east coast, hundreds of miles from any potential route from Nicaragua to El Salvador, which in any event must pass through Honduras. Moreover, the *contras* themselves put the lie to the Salvador rationale. As recently as early December, Enrique Bermudez, a former colonel in Somoza's National Guard and one of the leaders of the so-called Nicaraguan Democratic Front, stated, "It is not acceptable to us to carry out missions to interdict Cuban and Russian supply lines to El Salvador. We are Nicaraguans and our objective is to overthrow the communists. . . ."

Bermudez's comments were significant, because they were made the same day that the House of Representatives voted unanimously that no CIA funds should be used for any operation which was intended to overthrow the government of Nicaragua or which was intended to instigate a

## The Vatican Connection: Vernon Walters and the Pope

In the world of the secret services, coincidences are much rarer than it would seem. That is why we can be forgiven for wondering whether there is any connection between the October 18 visit of Ambassador at Large Vernon Walters to the Vatican and the papal demand, a few days later, that Roman Catholic priests resign from any posts they hold in the Nicaraguan government.



Vernon A. Walters, CIA shuttler.

The disclosures were separated by several weeks. The November 9, 1982 *New York Times* reported that retired General Walters had seen Pope Paul II several weeks earlier, and that right-wing columnists Evans and Novak suggested he was interceding against the impending move by the U.S. bishops to come out against nuclear weapons. But, the *Times* also noted, they "discussed a range of issues, such as the situation . . . in Central America. . . ."

Then, on December 8, 1982, the *Times* reported that "in late October" the Papal Nuncio in Managua had delivered to Daniel Ortega, the coordinator of the Nicaraguan junta, an ultimatum from the Pope that five priests with high positions in the government resign. Unnamed church officials gave the story to the media although neither the Nuncio nor the Vatican would confirm it.

The timing is highly suspect, to say the least. Walters, a devout, conservative Catholic, and former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, would be the right man for the job, if the Reagan administration did decide to put pressure on the Vatican. Walters is something of an expert on Central America, with friends in high places in El Salvador and Guatemala. He also has been intimately involved in some of the bloodiest CIA-sponsored coups, including Iran in 1953, Guatemala in 1954, Brazil in 1964, and Chile in 1973. It seems he is trying to add a Nicaraguan feather to his cap.

He may not be successful, though. In mid-December there were reports that the Pope had agreed to a Central American visit including Nicaragua whether or not the five priests resign. The Pope was no longer dealing with Ambassador Walters though, but with his boss, Secretary of State George Schultz, who paid a highly publicized visit to the Pontiff, replete with photo sessions.



war between Nicaragua and Honduras. This language, which was *supported* by the Reagan administration, replaced infinitely stronger language proposed by Representative Harkin, which did not present the gaping semantic loophole found in this measure. The administration can continue to say that its *intention* is to interdict supplies, and if the groups they choose to do that work also happen to overthrow the government of Nicaragua, well, that was not their primary intention.

Allies like Bermudez do not help put this flimflam across. Nor do exposes from defectors like Frances. Nor, it is hoped, will the information which can come out during the course of a recently filed lawsuit.

#### Sanchez et al. v. Reagan et al.

On November 30, seven Nicaraguans, two Florida residents and one Member of Congress filed suit against President Reagan, Secretary of State Schultz, Secretary of Defense Weinberger, Director of Central Intelligence Casey, Negroponte, Sanchez, and an assortment of Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles and organizations.

The Nicaraguans are all victims of cross-border raids. One, Brenda Rocha, is a 16-year-old girl who was one of eight people tending a power plant in Bonanza, a mining town near the east coast. They were attacked by *contras* and the other seven were killed. She survived by pretending that she was dead; because of the wounds she received, she lost her right arm. Another plaintiff, Dr. Myrna Cunningham, is a medical doctor from the Miskitu Indian border area, where she practiced for seven years before the revolution. After the revolution she became health administrator for northern Zelaya province, and, on a hospital visit in December 1981, she was kidnapped by *contras*, both Somocistas and Miskitus, along with the hospital administrator, a nurse, and their driver. She and the nurse were beaten and repeatedly raped, taken to Honduras for several hours, taken back across the river to Nicaragua, and finally released when the nearby villagers interceded.

At the time of their release they were in the custody of Miskitus, who had been taking orders from the former Guardsmen who ran their camps in Honduras. Dr. Cunningham, touring the United States in connection with the filing of the case by the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, remarked that she was sure she escaped only because the Somocistas were late in returning to the camp where she was being held. Dr. Cunningham described the bizarre rape scene during which the Miskitus were singing religious hymns and chanting religious slogans. She noted that the manipulation of many of the Miskitus by a handful of renegade pastors has been so deeply felt that they can indulge in the self-delusion that it is permissible to torture, murder, and rape so long as you believe that your victims are communists.

The other Nicaraguans are all residents of the village of San Francisco del Norte, on the western border with Honduras. On July 24, 1982, at 6:00 a.m., a band of 80 to 100 *contras* swept into the defenseless village, massacred 15 people, wounded dozens more, and kidnapped eight others. The victims were hacked with knives and machetes, and some actually had their hearts cut out. These raiders, too, shouted religious and anti-communist slogans. The plaintiffs from this village include a 15-year-old boy who was one of those kidnapped. He was subsequently forced to act as a servant to the leader of the camp in Honduras to

which he was taken and from which, two weeks later, he escaped. This boy, Javier Sanchez, reported seeing Honduran soldiers at the *contra* camp every day, and said that in their march back to the camp on the first day, the band was protected by Honduran forces. Two other plaintiffs were wounded in the raid, and two lost family members.

The Nicaraguan plaintiffs are suing under the Alien Tort Claims Act which allows foreigners to sue in U.S. courts for injuries received in violation of international law. They are arguing that the paramilitary attacks, which are often brutal beyond description, clearly violate international law—including the Nuremberg Principles. They argue that the government defendants, as well as the Florida-based *contras*, are all part of a conspiracy to commit these violations which stretches from the National Security Council right to the bandits in the camps on the border.

The two Florida residents are alleging that the camps in Dade County violate many federal and local laws, but that the appropriate officials refuse to commence any prosecutions. They have, they assert, a separate right, under Florida nuisance laws, to complain of the illegal activities and ask the court to order them shut, even if the administration will not prosecute.

Finally, a Member of Congress, Ronald V. Dellums of California, asserts that the secret war against Nicaragua violates the provision of the Constitution which states that only the Congress and not the President has the power to declare war. He also alleges that the action in Nicaragua violates the Neutrality Act, which prohibits hostile action against a nation with which the country is at peace, and the War Powers Resolution, which prohibits the introduction of U.S. personnel into hostile action without Congressional approval.

#### Recent Actions

The attacks which are described in the lawsuit represent incidents through July 1982; later assaults have escalated both in number and in intensity, with substantial evidence of the introduction of more sophisticated weaponry. The greatest tragedy to date occurred on December 9, when a Nicaraguan helicopter evacuating Miskitu children from the Rio Coco area crashed, causing the death of 75 children and nine women. The downed aircraft was one of two participating in rescue missions, evacuating the remaining Indians from a border area which had been subject to the most intensive *contra* invasions. At presstime the precise cause of the crash was not known, although other participating helicopters had been fired on by the *contras* during the day.

These recent evacuations have been taking place in northeastern Jinotega province, more than 100 miles from the Atlantic coast. The Miskitu in this area have been generally very supportive of the government, and have been subject to attacks from *contras* for more than a year.

#### Conclusion

The secret war against Nicaragua is being examined in the press and in the courts. But victory will come only in the minds and opinions of the American people. The exposes may show people what horrors are being committed in their name and with their tax millions. For once the clandestine operations are being exposed while they are still in progress, and not, as had been so often the case, after all the damage and destruction and death is done.

Opus Dei:

# Secret Order Vies For Power

By Fred Landis

Forgive Me Father

I Have Killed A Man

I Have Loved A Woman

I Have Stolen For The Church

I Am Opus Dei

The support for a nuclear freeze recently given by the Conference of U.S. Catholic Bishops has fueled the international counterreformation within the Church. This backlash is being encouraged by the CIA with charges of "Soviet influence," and is spearheaded by a secret Catholic lay order known as Opus Dei, who blame the liberal anti-nuclear position on their historic enemies, the Jesuits. In addition, the CIA views liberal Catholic support for liberation struggles in Central America as one of the principal obstacles in carrying out Reagan's directive to pacify El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala. While using various fronts and agents in the field, the principal effort is at the Vatican: to neutralize Jesuits, support Opus Dei, and artificially create a panic by spreading disinformation concerning assassination plots against the Pope.

During the space of one month (October-November 1982), Pope John Paul II elevated Opus Dei to the status of "Personal Prelature" and later to that of a Religious Order. This is a status that Opus Dei had sought since 1928 but which previous Popes had denied because 98% of the order are lay. Granting the status of religious order to a conspiratorial society of young, male, Latin, Fascists was a payoff for their considerable role in furthering the candidacy of Polish Cardinal Wojtyla as Pope.

## Origins

Opus Dei was founded in Spain in 1928, but played no public role until the end of the Spanish Civil War. Then it was assigned by Franco the role of intellectual pacification; Opus Dei took over several universities and launched an inquisition against Masons, Marxists, liberals, and heretics. By 1965, Opus Dei controlled half of Franco's Cabinet and about a third of his Legislature.

The founder of Opus Dei, Jose Maria Escrava de Balaguer, was ascetic, mystical, and crusading—closer in

spirit to the Inquisition than to Don Quixote. For 20 years published articles have reported world membership at around 70,000. This is probably more a reflection on the compulsive secrecy of Opus Dei than an accurate measure of membership. Only two percent are priests and members of a kind of third order, the *Societas Sacerdotalis Sanctae Crucis*. This "Sacerdotal Society of the Holy Cross" runs Opus Dei. The rest are lay members who raise the money and do the dirty work. The term Opus Dei is used loosely by the press to refer to both the priestly leadership and lay support, an ambiguity deliberately encouraged. As a strict legal matter, the recognition of the order accorded by the Vatican applies only to the priests, and not Opus Dei as a whole.

A strict hierarchy was established in the Constitution, a self-proclaimed elite order of, in descending order: "numeraries," "oblates," and "supernumeraries." In practice, there is a fourth category of "collaborators."

A "numerary" is described as "single, of irreproachable physical appearance, high social status, higher education or its equivalent in wealth." Character traits viewed with favor in recruits are: intransigence, audacity, and loyalty. Females are not eligible for membership in the inner council as they cannot be priests. Married individuals or those of lower social status are "supernumeraries."

Prostrate before a wooden cross, the initiate swears an oath of fealty and secrecy. Escrava de Balaguer insisted that instead of a crucifix, an empty cross should be used for the initiation rite so that the inductee be made aware that the cross he sees before him is *his* cross.

Every March 19, Opus Dei members renew their vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Mortification of the flesh, ranging from cold showers to self-flagellation is common. The Constitution of Opus Dei is set forth in full as an Appendix to Jesus Ynfante's "La Prodigiosa Aventura del Opus Dei," published in Madrid in 1973. Among the peculiar provisions one finds:

"98.1. "After initiation, members may not leave of their own accord."

"191. "Members must never reveal the names of other members and must never admit that they themselves are members."

In recent years criticism of the internal workings of Opus Dei have focused on the practice of recruiting teenagers,



not allowing members to quit or contact parents, and the practice of mortification of the flesh.

Opus Dei moved its headquarters from Spain to Rome in 1947 but remains primarily a Spanish sect. Its current head is General Alvaro de Portillo, who first suggested to Pope John Paul II that Jesuit leader Pedro Arrupe be replaced. In an unprecedented move, the Pope appointed an outsider, the Reverend Paolo Dezza, as Superior General of the Jesuit order. This marked the first time in its history that the Jesuits were not allowed to select their own leader. Dezza is regarded as an Opus Dei ally and was formerly father confessor to John Paul I.

### The Influence on John Paul II

The courting of John Paul II by Opus Dei began when he was still Archbishop of Krakow. First he was invited to give speeches at various Opus Dei colleges and later at their headquarters in Rome. These speeches were then collected in book form and printed by Opus Dei. During subsequent visits to Rome, Cardinal Wojtyla furthered his image as "Papabile" by distributing copies of this Opus Dei book to all members of the Vatican Secretariat of State. During his

visit in August 1978, for the burial of Pope John Paul I, John Paul II prayed at the tomb of Opus Dei founder, Escriva de Balaguer.

After his ascension to office, John Paul II received a succession of Opus Dei delegations and threw his support behind them in their struggle against the Jesuits. In fact, the Jesuits' current predicament is ironic in view of the fact that historically they were the right arm of the Pope and before Vietnam, closely collaborated with U.S. foreign policy interests.

The sudden death of John Paul I was only one in a series of mysterious deaths of liberal Catholic officials. Only weeks before, the Bishop of Moscow died of a supposed heart attack at the age of 40 while in a Vatican antechamber waiting to see John Paul I.

The relationship between the CIA and the Vatican is an old and natural one. The Catholic Church could be described as the oldest continually operated intelligence agency in the world. Joseph B. Smith, former head of the Worldwide Propaganda Guidance desk at the CIA, stated that he never felt like he fitted into the clandestine service because everyone else was Catholic. In an age in which

## Claire Sterling, et al., and

Readers interested in pursuing the topic might want to begin with the urgent flight to Rome the night before the death of Pope John Paul I by Michael Ledeen. It is predictable that it would be Ledeen who would be in the forefront of those pushing the "KGB plot to kill the Pope" line.

The story of an international Israeli-CIA Terror Network begins with James Jesus Angleton, former head of counterintelligence at CIA and Catholic zealot. While stationed in Rome he set up a network of 60 media agents and controlled CIA-Israeli MOSSAD collaboration. Over a period of 20 years, many of Angleton's media agents were recruited from the staff of *Newsweek* or *The Washington Post* in Rome. Claire Sterling was one of these; Michael Ledeen is her protégé; Robert Moss is a fellow traveller.

After the firing of Angleton in 1975, these Rome-based media agents lost their main contact in the CIA and came to rely more on the Israelis. Having lost Angleton, the Israelis came to place greater importance on his network of agents. That is why Claire Sterling's post-1975 disinformation comes to rely more on Israeli sources.

"The KGB Plot To Kill the Pope" makes its first appearance in the CIA-controlled *Il Giornale Nuovo* of Milan, Italy in May 1981. Before his incarnation as an assistant to General Vernon Walters, Ledeen had been a reporter for this newspaper. The story gained international attention when the British Thames TV made a special on the plot citing as its source *Il Giornale Nuovo*.

The Denton Senate Subcommittee on Security and

Terrorism next offered itself as a platform for Claire Sterling, Michael Ledeen, and Robert Moss. They all agreed that Agca could not have acted alone, and that his passage through Bulgaria was proof of Communist Soviet-KGB complicity.

Robert Moss first came to public attention in 1973 as an Australian journalist writing about Allende's Chile. Claire Sterling worked in the 1950's for the CIA-controlled magazine *The Reporter* and later appeared at various conferences with CIA Director William Colby as an expert on Italian politics. Michael Ledeen is a Schlockmeister with an uncanny ability to turn serious and complex social issues into *National Enquirer*-type categories. He made his public appearance in the 1970s as a scholar uncovering the overlooked wisdom of Benito Mussolini. Ledeen once told his class at Washington University (St. Louis), "Fascism can be fun."

Whatever their background or claimed area of expertise, what immediately made them stand out was their skill and compulsion at disinformation. Since 1976 the author has been following their every utterance with the reverence certain French intellectuals reserve for Jerry Lewis films. What we are expected to accept is that after a career of spreading disinformation, boasting of it and specializing in it, Ledeen, Sterling, and Moss have suddenly reformed, are in touch with The Truth, and that Truth is that the KGB shot the Pope.

Robert Moss went on ABC's *Nightline* and proceeded to connect one of the missing plotters in the "Plot to Kill The Pope" (an Arab terrorist) to the elusive "hit team" sent by Qaddafi in the "Plot To Kill Reagan." The

every intelligence outfit has huge sums to spend, loyalty is most reliably based on belief, and the best true believers in the CIA are Eastern European or Latin Catholics. Today the vanguard of this crusade is the Holy Mafia, the Opus Dei.

### Opus Dei Today

There are no weekend activists in Opus Dei. It is a vocation, an all-absorbing passion. Opus Dei is today what the Jesuits were at the time of Ignatius de Loyola, and the Vatican was at the time of the Borgias. As an organization, Opus Dei, like the CIA, are kingmakers. They take obscure individuals and put them in key positions of power.

Today Opus Dei controls 52 radio and TV stations, 38 news agencies, and 12 film companies. Opus Dei-controlled media in Spain include the newspaper *ABC*, the magazines *Que Pasa* and *Arriba*, and the news agency EFE. In addition to the major media outlets in Chile noted below, Opus Dei has some influence at Zig-Zag, the Gabriela Mistral Publishing Co., and *Eva*. This refers to clandestine control rather than such overt Opus Dei organs as the magazine *Camino*.

At the Vatican, Opus Dei has replaced the Jesuits as the Pope's intellectual and diplomatic arm. They will probably soon take over the Vatican radio station. The Jesuits had an army of 26,600 and a history of Papal intrigue over a 442-year span, but lost out to a 54-year-old sect of whom not more than 1,000 are actual priests.

The ideal Opus Dei recruit is a male, young, upper middle class, Latin (Spanish or Latin American), university educated, technocrat. Inductees are let in on the secret that they are being trained as a technocratic elite which will inherit the earth from ideologues. Possibly by coincidence this line becomes prominent in Opus Dei theology at the same time that the CIA organized a Congress for Cultural Freedom in Milan, Italy, with papers presented that Daniel Bell compiled under the title: "End of Ideology".

Now that they have finally achieved the official status of a religious order, this virus has probably passed the incubation stage and will spread openly. In Spain and Chile their penetration was covert, by establishing cells in the Departments of Law, Sociology, Economics, and Communications at the Catholic University in Santiago.

## "The Plot to Kill the Pope"

"Qaddafi Plot To Kill Reagan" makes its first appearance in Robert Moss's fictional non-seller *Death Beam*. Qaddafi sends a Palestinian hit team headed by Carlos to Washington to assassinate Reagan. They set themselves up across from the White House with a Soviet-made SAM-5 ground-to-air, heat-seeking missile. The plot is to hit Reagan's helicopter as it is coming in for a landing. Three months later all these details appear, as news, in David Martin's articles in *Newsweek*. It is evident that the same Israeli intelligence agents who sought to create artificially a total break in U.S.-Libyan relations, planted the same disinformation on both Moss and Martin.

The alleged evidence offered up by Moss to an incredulous Ted Koppel of a single hit team, or overlapping membership, involved arguing for a similarity in physical appearance between a face in the crowd in St. Peter's Square (it is a big square) with one of the police composite drawings of the hit team allegedly sent against Reagan.

This same technique of calculated ambiguity was used by Marvin Kalb in the September 21 NBC special, "The Man Who Shot The Pope: A Study in Terror." But now a different face is plucked from the crowd and made to resemble an employee of the Bulgarian airline. An Italian anti-terrorist officer of the CIA-controlled SID now comes to the U.S. to interview instant experts Kalb, Sterling, etc., returns to Italy and proceeds to seek the arrest of various hapless Bulgarians. The Bulgarian dummies being safely behind bars and deprived of the luxury of holding press conferences, Marvin Kalb flies

to Rome and confesses all in their names. It is this same ventriloquist Kalb who managed to write an entire book on Kissinger without a single mention of his role vis-a-vis Chile, Allende, or the CIA.

Kalb's September 21, 1982 TV special relied heavily on Claire Sterling's September *Reader's Digest* article, "The Plot To Murder The Pope." This article is a practical application of the principles for discovering KGB plots as first revealed in Claire Sterling's disinformationist Bible, *The Terror Network*. Herewith the Sterling rules for the correct interpretation of plots:

1. If the terrorist is overtly red, he is controlled by Moscow.
2. If the terrorist is overtly black (right wing), he is covertly red and controlled by Moscow.
3. If the weapon used is Soviet, *prima facie* evidence exists of his control by Moscow.
4. If the weapon used is NATO issue, Sterling can trace it by serial number to an assault by Red Brigades on some NATO base. They are controlled by Moscow.
5. If all available evidence points to the opposite conclusion: that the blowing up of the train station in Bologna was right-wing or that Agca is a simple right-wing criminal, we must remember that red and black terrorists work together.

The case for the KGB plot to kill the Pope is thus based on speculation by Claire Sterling, or on Moss and Ledeen quoting Sterling, just like Sterling, in *The Terror Network*, always cites Moss and Ledeen. Independent, concrete evidence is never forthcoming.

Later, graduates of these departments took over key government posts.

The prototype of an Opus Dei cell was the Consejo Superior de Investigacion Cientifica (CSIC), a think-tank which appeared in post Civil War Spain. CSIC had as its overt role the scientific study of and propaganda in favor of a Spanish State which was: Nationalistic, Syndicalist, Totalitarian, Unitary, Catholic.

During the Spanish Civil War, the Opus Dei planning of CSIC was done while in refuge at the Chilean Embassy in Madrid. Possibly this may explain their early expansion in Chile.

### Opus Dei and Chile

In Chile the locus of CIA/Vatican collaboration shifted during the period 1963-1970 from the Christian Democratic Party to Opus Dei. Opus Dei had a think tank of free market economists and technocrats called the Institute of General Studies (IGS) which was taken over in 1971 by the CIA. This Opus Dei cell provided most of the civilian Cabinet and advisers to the Junta in the fields of law, economics, and media.

In 1970, Nixon ordered a coup in Chile but didn't get it until 1973 largely because the CIA couldn't find anyone to run the government in the event of success. Unlike other Latin American countries, the Chilean military had no recent history or experience in government. They, and the CIA, needed a team of professional economists, lawyers, business executives, and media experts who were willing and able to work with the military in administering a complex modern economy. Eventually a think tank of Opus Dei technocrats was pressed into service. Thus, having identified this IGS think tank as the appropriate counter-elite to replace the Socialists in late 1971, the U.S. Embassy sat on all 20 of its eggheads until they were ready to hatch in 1973. Once in power in Chile, the Opus Dei acted very much as they had in Spain—as the brains behind the throne.

The IGS was first publicly identified in an article by this author in the February 19, 1979 *Inquiry* magazine. The members were shown to be former media executives at prominent Chilean publications such as *El Mercurio*, *Que Pasa*, and *Portada*. By happy coincidence these publications had sent a large staff to Washington to cover the trial of Orlando Letelier's and Ronni Moffitt's assassins. Copies of the *Inquiry* article were provided to these journalists who rushed to phone their employers with the news they had just been identified as CIA agents in the American press.

At this time, a power struggle had emerged in Chile between the civilian and military groups in the government—specifically between the secret police, the DINA, and the IGS technocrats. Under Carter, the CIA had been ordered to facilitate the return of civilian rule in Chile. In practice this did not mean a move toward democracy but rather an attempt to consolidate a group of CIA agents, the IGS, in power.

Political observers were puzzled when a photo of Letelier's and Moffitt's killers first appeared in the IGS newspaper *El Mercurio* and in an article by Jeremiah O'Leary in the *Washington Star*. (O'Leary was identified in Carl Bernstein's October 20, 1977 *Rolling Stone* article as a long-time source of operational assistance to the CIA.) The Letelier-Moffitt assassination investigation was used by

the IGS as a means of discrediting DINA and, indirectly, Pinochet. Various branches of the U.S. government under Carter, such as the Justice Department and FBI, also collaborated in this effort. The Opus Dei- and CIA-influenced media in Chile ran daily revelations of DINA complicity in the Letelier-Moffitt case.

In this context, the political effect of the *Inquiry* article in Chile was to serve as ammunition to the military who claimed a plot was afoot to isolate and discredit them. The story surfaced as an Opus Dei plot "to diminish the character of President Pinochet." The capo of the Holy Mafia, Hernan Cubillos, was fired as Foreign Minister. The editor of *El Mercurio's* afternoon tabloid received a letter bomb, while the president of *El Mercurio* was found dead. The plot surfaced in a banner headline in the May 13, 1980 *Ercilla*: "El Opus Dei en Chile." All the individuals, organizations, and functions mentioned in the *Inquiry* article were listed, but as an Opus Dei plot.

At this same time the Justice Department filed suit against several individuals at *National Review* for having acted as unregistered agents of the Pinochet regime in the United States. Court documents showed that at least six authors of "Letter from Chile" articles in *National Review* had received junkets courtesy of the Junta. What is really curious about these articles is they are not so much pro-Junta as "puff pieces" for the members of the IGS. Of a population of 10 million, the only Chilean civilians mentioned in *National Review* from 1974-1979 are the 20 members of IGS.

Jeffrey Hart in "A Chilean Spring?," March 1978, tells us what great guys Arturo Fontaine, Jaime Guzman, Claudio Orrego, Francisco Orrego and other IGS members are, finally focusing on IGS founder Pablo Baraona: "Chile is an important sector of the front line in a colossal global military-political-ideological struggle that makes World War I look like an Indian raid. . . . Probably the most interesting man in Chile today is Pablo Baraona, Minister of the Economy. . . . Pinochet and the military intend to keep public order while Baraona pursues his economic policies with virtually a free hand. . . . What the military regime is doing is providing a shield—critics say 'machine guns in the street'—behind which this process can go forward. . . . In a sense, Baraona is what the argument over Chile is all about."

The reaction of William Buckley to the exposure of his reporters as paid agents of the Junta, and of his Chilean contacts as CIA/Opus Dei was histrionic even for Buckley. An entire issue (June 8, 1979) was devoted to an attack on *Inquiry* magazine and an attempt made to read the magazine's parent organization, the Libertarian Cato Institute, out of the Libertarian movement. The *National Review* cover was done up in the style of an old-fashioned handbill advertising a play, while each article inside is an act in which the character of succeeding *Inquiry* writers is assassinated by the inmates of *National Review*.

Those interested in researching further the topic of CIA-media collaboration might look at the names of "reporters" who arrived in Chile the day before the 1973 coup. It was these same CIA media assets who were given advance warning and a ring-side seat to view the coup who later wrote that Allende killed himself.

### The Catholic Right and U.S. Foreign Policy

The Catholic Right's influence on Reagan foreign policy

is most evident in Latin America. William F. Buckley, Michael Novak, and Roger Fontaine's attacks on the priests in the Nicaraguan government sound more like a religious crusade than a political conflict. Other prominent members of the Catholic Right who have served important policy positions in the Reagan Administration are: James Buckley, Richard Allen, William Clark, General Vernon Walters, Alexander Haig, Claire Boothe Luce, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and William Casey. While these Catholics had independent, long-standing connections with the U.S. intelligence community, their collaboration was furthered by the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies. This Center is the last outpost of Jesuit-CIA collaboration and has led the demand for covert action against Nicaragua and Cuba.

The religious tone which Reagan's crusade against communism has taken was expressed in a recent interview by *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Robert Scheer with U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle. Perle attributed the European anti-war feelings to a liberal Protestant *angst* and liberal Catholic loss of faith, which was contrasted to the more healthy and traditional "Catholic South."

Regardless of who is President, U.S. foreign policy is conducted more by the CIA than by the Department of State. The Covert Action branch of CIA is predominantly Catholic. The formal and informal foreign policy network in Washington which has the ear of the President happens currently to have a strong Catholic Right tinge. U.S. policy in Latin America traditionally is a collaborative effort with the Vatican due to the overwhelmingly Catholic composition of the population. The current Pope is more conservative than most and collaborates closely with Opus Dei, far right in its beliefs and tactics. The hostility focused on Nicaragua, especially its religious overtones, is a result of the overlapping or reinforcing influence of all of these 3 factions, a rightwing shift in all three centers of power: White House, CIA, and Vatican.

How different U.S. policy toward Latin America can be under different circumstances is illustrated by taking the year 1962. With the populist Pope John XXIII and liberal President Kennedy, the CIA and the Vatican set out to co-opt rather than repress social unrest in Latin America. The principal instrument of this collaboration was Christian Democratic parties. In order to build a popular base of support the Christian Democrats got involved in land reform, voter registration, labor union organizing, etc. To accomplish the broadening of this base, it was necessary for the Catholic Christian Democrats to build bridges to Masons, Radicals, and Marxists. The leaders in this ecumenical movement were the Jesuits, who were often the brains behind the Christian Democrats.

Nowhere was this liberal spirit more evident than in Chile, which Kennedy explicitly chose to be his showcase of peaceful revolution, and as a contrast with Castro's Cuba. The Vatican and the CIA regarded Chile as a model for possible changes in Italy, an area of greater concern.

In 1963 Kennedy gave Jesuit Roger Vekemans \$10 million to establish an infrastructure for the Christian Democrats and facilitate the election of Eduardo Frei. Frei was a former Falangist redone in progressive garb in order to defeat the Marxist Allende in the 1964 elections. Not too surprisingly, Vekemans spread most of this \$10 million, funneled through CIA and AID, to fellow Jesuits. The

failure of this Christian Democratic coalition to prevent the election of Allende in 1970 is cited by the Catholic Right the world over as proof of the bankruptcy of the Kennedy soft line.

In Chile Opus Dei has lost the Ministries of Foreign Relations and Economy, but still has enormous influence in the universities, media, and economic planning.

In post-Franco Spain, Opus Dei has shifted to advising King Juan Carlos and filling the Chamber of Deputies, where it is credited with 71 of the 350 Deputies. In Socialist Spain, Opus Dei can be expected to keep a low profile and confidently wait for the government to discredit itself by: making promises it cannot keep, being unable to control terrorism and/or separatist movements, and withdrawing from NATO. In the event of any future military or Right Wing solution, Opus Dei would be the logical choice for key administrative posts.

### The "Plot to Kill the Pope"

The purpose of spreading the "KGB plot to kill the Pope" is to encourage the conservative and anti-Russian feelings of the Polish Pontiff and further his sense of vulnerability. Under these circumstances his only recourse is further dependency for security protection on the CIA-controlled Italian anti-terrorist squad (See *CAIB* Number 4.)

During Pope John Paul II's recent visit to Spain, the Opus Dei-controlled EFE news agency put out the story of a Terrorist Plot To Assassinate The Pope upon his arrival at the town of Loyola, birthplace of the founder of the Jesuit order. There is a logical relationship between Opus Dei leaders in Rome whispering to the Pope that the Jesuits are secretly backing international terrorism and one of their media outlets stating as news that the Pope would be the victim of such a terrorist plot precisely in Loyola. (See sidebar for further details.)

### Divine Help?

The author's *Inquiry* article identified among the leaders of the Opus Dei/CIA institute in Chile as Alvaro Puga and Enrique Campos Menendez. Among the CIA-financed books that appear about the Allende period are Alvaro Puga's *Diario De Vida de Ud.*, a collection of columns he wrote under a pseudonym from 1970-73. In the prologue, Enrique Campos Menendez points out that several columns appeared in print predicting key political assassinations, Allende's murder, and the date of the military coup, concluding: "Nobody could have known of these future events, except through magic, parapsychology or divine premonition."

I think we can be forgiven for suspecting something more mundane than divine inspiration behind this Opus Dei agent's seemingly prophetic powers. I think it was something other than divine inspiration that led Robert Moss to have in his latest fictional book all the details of the "Plot To Kill Reagan" three months ahead of the news media. Claire Sterling has a vision of an International Terror Network run by the KGB, that may use Turkish terrorists, and lo and behold; the Word Is Made Flesh in the Plot to Kill The Pope. Michael Ledeen may have had a divine inspiration to rush off to Rome the day before Pope John Paul I died, and the agency helping Opus Dei in its fight against the Jesuits may be divine, or maybe, just the CIA.

**CIA Uses Religion:**

# **The Ideological Struggle Within the Catholic Church in Nicaragua**

**By Patricia Hynds\***

Today the efforts to destabilize Nicaragua are being carried out in many arenas: the economic, the political, the military—and in a very real and important way—in the religious arena. In fact, many believe that at this time the ideological struggle is being waged most strenuously in the religious camp. With the measures enacted under the State of Emergency and with the control over money coming into the country, the room for maneuverability has been reduced in the political and economic spheres. But in Nicaragua, where the people have a profound and active faith, religious sentiments and sensitivities make the churches easy prey for those who would manipulate them for the purpose of destabilization.

The struggle, which is being presented as religious—the Sandinistas against the Church—is more a struggle between the Sandinistas and the opposition, the economic and political sectors that have lost power and are trying desperately to regain it. Politically, they have no large social base and so they must convert religion into a political base by convincing the people that their religious beliefs and traditions are being threatened.

In presenting the picture of a religious conflict, a change in the attitude of the Nicaraguan hierarchy is often mentioned. While it is true that during the final days of the insurrection and immediately after, the bishops did oppose Somoza, so did most of the private sector. As the private sector began to move away from the revolution, so did the hierarchy, encouraged to feel that the Government was moving against the Church. Thus the alignment of the Nicaraguan institutional church is where it has always been, with the private sector.

The international human rights group, Pax Christi, in the conclusions of their report on Nicaragua published in October 1981, made this statement: "The church of the political opposition seems to us to be almost exclusively linked to the party politics of the Christian Social party and to the Confederation of entrepreneurs (COSEP) headed by Alfonso Robelo. It also plays an important role in the American strategy aimed at destabilizing and overthrowing the revolution."

In terms of the American strategy, since the Republican National Convention in 1980, the Reaganites and the "new right" have made their intentions very clear with regard to Nicaragua. The party platform spoke of the need to reverse the Sandinista victory and immediately after Reagan assumed office, aid was cut off, wheat sales credits were terminated and the destabilization process was underway. As part of that process, the U.S. began to court conservative sectors of the Catholic Church here and statements by the U.S. Embassy and official pronouncements by the hierarchy began to have a striking similarity.

The Santa Fe Document, which was prepared for U.S. President Reagan by a team of ultra-conservative advisers before he took office, says, "The United States must seize the ideological initiative . . . The war is for the minds of mankind. Ideo-politics will prevail . . ." And also, "U.S. foreign policy must begin to counter (not react against) liberation theology as it is utilized in Latin America by the 'liberation' clergy. The role of the church in Latin America is vital to the concept of political freedom." However, the committee's assessment of political freedom is only found in "private property and productive capitalism." Any other concept is "less Christian than Communist."

In April of 1981, the Institute on Religion and Democracy was formed for the express purpose of combating the infiltration of communism in the church and combating the evils of liberation theology. The right-wing Heritage Foundation consistently presents a picture of the Sandinistas repressing religious freedom and attacking the church, especially in the person of the Archbishop of Managua, Miguel Obando y Bravo. The IRD invited the Archbishop to the U.S. to present him with a special award in early 1982.

According to an article in the Panamanian magazine, *Dialogo Social*, of August 1982, "The Reaganites' strategy tries to stop the advance of the religious groups most committed to the marginalized sectors of Latin America and to the anti-imperialists. For their plan, they have had to create another Jesus Christ. They cannot manipulate the historical Jesus for their own interests, but they have been able to distort his image . . . Thus we see that simple Christian people who have great social limitations, find the

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escape that had been planned by the divisionist missions and churches and pushed by the North American government."

### A Brief History

Political manipulation of religion by the U.S. has a long history. A look at the past 20 years gives a clear picture of the use that the CIA has made of religion, its infiltration in the Latin American churches and its strategy for fostering dissent within the churches.

After his visit to Latin America in 1969, Nelson Rockefeller warned of the danger of the Medellin documents, which called for a preferential option for the poor, and he cautioned that the Latin American Church was vulnerable to "subversive penetration." At that time, many U.S. missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were willing CIA informants in the belief that they were doing their patriotic duty. In her well-documented book, *Cry of the People*, Penny Lernoux says, "There is conclusive proof that the CIA used religious groups in Latin America for its own secret ends. At the same time it contributed to the persecution and division of the Latin American Catholic Church by supporting right wing Catholic groups and financed and trained police agencies responsible for the imprisonment, torture and murder of priests, nuns and bishops, some of them U.S. citizens."

There is convincing evidence of CIA penetration of both Protestant and Catholic missionary societies. CIA money, much of it funneled through church-related groups, amounted to \$2.6 million for the successful presidential campaign of Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei in Chile in 1964. Jesuit Roger Vekemans, who operated the Centro Bellarmino in Santiago, received huge sums of money from the West German bishops in the early 60's as well as money from both AID and the CIA. The U.S. De Rance Foundation, which in 1976 was called "the largest religiously oriented foundation" in the U.S. by the *Milwaukee Journal*, gave Vekemans \$200,000 for his book against liberation theology. Vekemans is on the board of directors of the International Institute of the Heart of Jesus, which is the major recipient of De Rance funds. Vekemans currently lives in Bogota where he wields considerable influence within CELAM, the Latin American Episcopal Conference. CELAM is outspokenly critical of the Nicaraguan government and exerts much influence over the Nicaraguan hierarchy.

The CIA also financed Catholic organizations such as Fatherland and Liberty, a Chilean paramilitary organization which operated before and after the election of Allende. In Chile and other Latin American countries, the CIA helped finance the right-wing Tradition, Family and Property which played a role in the overthrow of both Allende in Chile and Goulart in Brazil. In many instances it pitted one sector of the church against another.

In 1975 the CIA financed the Banzer Plan in Bolivia which had as its objectives: to sharpen internal divisions within the Church; to smear and harass progressive Bolivian Church leaders; and to arrest or expel foreign nuns and priests.

Knowing this history, the Sandinista government looks with suspicion at incidents which could fit into the type of CIA schemes used in other countries. This suspicion combines with other factors to further complicate an already difficult situation. One of those factors is the admitted

errors on the part of the government in the handling of some church-related incidents.

In recent months, charges of Sandinista religious repression have accelerated. The U.S. State Department accused the Sandinistas of trying to divide the Catholic Church and to foment the creation of a "popular church" (charges almost identical to those made by the Nicaraguan hierarchy). State Department official Elliot Abrams, in an article in the *Washington Post* on August 22, treats at great length what he calls examples of the Sandinistas' decision to tremendously increase the pressure against organized religion in Nicaragua. And church sources in the U.S. have confirmed that State Department officials have been calling U.S. bishops to urge them to speak out against the "terrible repression of religion in Nicaragua."

### Recent Incidents

It is important to look at some of the recent happenings involving the church in Nicaragua to understand the concern here about manipulation. Tensions within the Catholic Church and between the Catholic Church and the government, which is more specifically between the government and the archdiocese of Managua, have resulted in a certain polarization of position on both sides.

Nicaragua's revolution was the first to be fought with the active participation of large numbers of committed Christians. The Catholic Church has, for the first time in history, the opportunity to participate in a positive way in the ongoing revolutionary and reconstruction process. However, the history of the Catholic Church in Latin America, doubts and fears of the unknown, and individual mistakes on all sides have caused serious fissures in what could be a cooperative effort within Nicaragua.

*The problem of Santa Rosa.* Monsignor Arias, pastor in the poor barrio of Santa Rosa for the past eight years, was removed as pastor of that parish and a newly ordained priest was named in his place. Although the Chancery Office terms the change "routine," it was the latest in a series of transfers or removals of priests and nuns for what are considered by many to be political reasons.

The people protested very strongly, but without success, to have the decision reversed. One evening during a prayer vigil in protest of the removal, Managua's Auxiliary Bishop, Bosco Vivas, arrived to remove the tabernacle. This caused a strong reaction from the people and a scuffle ensued. During the scuffle, the locked tabernacle fell to the floor. The following day, the Archbishop placed the church under interdict, signifying that no religious services could be held there, and issued a blanket excommunication of all who had participated in the incident, citing as reasons blasphemy of the Blessed Sacrament and attacking a bishop, based on testimony from Bosco Vivas. People who were in the church have testified that at no time did anyone intentionally attack the bishop, although it was quite possible that he was pushed around in the scuffle. People from the parish went to see the Papal Nuncio over the excommunication but were told that he could not interfere in a diocesan matter. One Catholic priest with whom we spoke termed Bosco Vivas' actions "imprudent." The priest said that if Bosco Vivas had not come to remove the tabernacle there would have been no problem, and no disrespect to the Blessed Sacrament, and that his refusal to discuss the situation with the people gathered in the church had contributed to the incident.



*The Papal Letter.* A letter dated June 29 was sent to the bishops of Nicaragua from the Holy Father. On August 3, priests of the diocese were shown the letter and told that the government had prohibited its publication. The letter was published in the archdiocesan bulletin, distributed in many churches and read from the pulpit on August 8. On August 11, the Office of Communications Media published a communique giving as the reasons for the prior non-publication the timing (at the time of the San Francisco del Norte massacre) and the possibility of manipulation. The communique called for all newspapers to publish the text of the Papal Letter in its entirety one time. The papal letter called for Church unity, spoke of the dangers of a "popular church," and also spoke of the merits of service to one's country and to others. One priest said that pastorally, the letter had many merits, but that from a political context, it was another link in the chain of isolation and aggression toward Nicaragua. He attributed this negative aspect, the timing of the letter, both to the influence of CELAM and to the direct input that some of the Nicaraguan bishops made to the Pope recently, and which had no alternate voice.

*The Bismarck Carballo incident.* On August 12, the morning papers published a short communique from the Office of Communications Media which prohibited publication of anything related to the "incident involving Fr. Carballo in Las Colinas." That day, Fr. Carballo, press secretary for the Archbishop and director of Radio Catolica, gave a press conference to *La Prensa* and foreign journalists in which he gave his version of the incident, and which then began to go out over the wire services. According to Fr. Carballo, he was having lunch with one of his "faithful" when an armed man entered the house, forced him and the woman to undress and then began to beat him, forcing him toward the open front door. The police entered the house, and dragged him outside, past a passing demonstration, to a police jeep. He claimed he was taken to a police station, held for several hours and treated very disrespectfully.

After that press conference, the government lifted the ban on coverage. TV news that night and the papers the following morning carried pictures of Fr. Carballo naked, and gave extensive coverage to the incident. According to the police version, the demonstration asking for more police protection at various embassies to prevent criminals from seeking asylum was, by chance, passing near the house of the woman. Many embassies as well as the headquarters of the Embassy Protection Unit of the police are located in the wealthy suburb. Shots were heard and upon approaching the house, the crowd saw a man later identified as Fr. Carballo running out of the house, pursued by a man who was hitting him. The police, who were there with the demonstration, took them all away without realizing at the moment who the priest was, according to their reports. Continuing coverage by the pro-government paper presented interviews with the woman indicating a lengthy romantic involvement with the priest. The priest and the Chancery Office have maintained that the incident was a government set-up to discredit the priest and destroy the church.

*La Prensa* ran a picture of Fr. Carballo, supposedly taken "minutes" after the unfortunate incident with his shirt torn by his assailant when he was forced to undress. (This is in spite of Carballo's statement that he was held for

a lengthy time without clothes.) However, pictures of Carballo being turned over to the Papal Nuncio by the police several hours after the incident show a shirt without tears.

In an interview on August 14 in *La Prensa*, Fr. Carballo said, "One must remember that there are concrete documents that the police know about, in which the destruction of the Church has been programmed in the person of its priests who are faithful to the Catholic hierarchy."

In the Pax Christi report on Nicaragua, an identical charge, made by Archbishop Obando y Bravo is cited. "When asked for his objections against the FSLN rule, the Archbishop could mention little or no facts. But he did talk about the approaching Cubanization, about the plan to make Nicaragua a Marxist-Leninist state. He cited a certain document as the most important argument for this plan. Opponents of the FSLN had mentioned this document several times to us, but nobody was able to procure this document for us."

In an interview with a foreign journalist, Fr. Carballo was asked about the mysterious document. He referred to two, one written in China and another written by members of the Frente, but said that he did not have either document nor could he say where they might be found.

Public reaction to the Fr. Carballo incident was very strong and united on at least one aspect of the incident and resulting coverage. Most people were scandalized at the publication of the pictures of a naked priest and outraged at what was often referred to as a "mortal sin" committed by the newspapers.

The incident sparked a series of protests and actions in support of the priest in various Catholic schools. These demonstrations often led to confrontations between different groups.

On August 14, Monsignor Obando y Bravo went to Monimbo, a barrio of Masaya, to celebrate Mass and participate in a procession celebrating the Assumption of Mary. According to witnesses in Masaya, an incident occurred when the MDN youth prevented a group from the Comunidades de Base from presenting a letter to the Bishop. It was not a serious incident nor an aggressive action toward the Bishop, although it was portrayed as such in coverage outside Nicaragua.

On August 15, some students and some of the priests who staff the Salesian Catholic School decided to close the school in a 24-hour strike in support of Fr. Carballo. A day long series of incidents, rumors, etc., culminated in a protest demonstration against the closing of the school. During that demonstration, shots were fired from the area of the school and two demonstrators were killed. As a result of all of that, the Salesian high school was temporarily closed and several of the priests, all foreigners, were taken to their respective embassies for their own protection, while the events were being investigated.

One priest, the director of the school, was deported. He is said to have been outspoken in his opposition to the Sandinista government, and apparently on one occasion burned the FSLN flag at a parents meeting.

After several days of meetings between the Minister of Education and representatives of the Salesians, as well as between government officials and the people of Monimbo, an agreement was reached. A new director was named, government intervention ended, and classes resumed.

On Sunday, August 15, a confrontation broke out between those attending a charismatic conference in a Catho-



lic school in Managua and a group of Sandinista youth. No one was hurt.

*Las Brisas.* On August 19, after flyers were circulated around Managua advertising a Mass in support of Fr. Carballo at his parish in Las Brisas, flyers which accused the government of anti-religious actions, people objecting to that position, as well as students on their way home from neighboring schools, gathered in front of the church where Fr. Carballo was co-celebrating Mass with Archbishop Obando y Bravo. According to some of the people who were in front of the church, which is still under construction, when the Mass was over, an exchange of slogans began between people inside the church and those outside. At one point, according to one observer, a rock was thrown by someone inside the church, cutting one spectator on the forehead. This intensified the feelings on both sides and a melee began. The police had formed a cordon through which Fr. Carballo and the Archbishop left without problems. However as they were leaving more rocks were flying from both directions and one hit the rear window of the Archbishop's car, breaking it. The Security Police, led by Lenin Cerna, restored order. Several people from both groups were arrested.

On August 24, after the incidents in Masaya, which again were primarily of a political nature, rather than a conflict between the government and the church, the Episcopal Conference published an unsigned letter in which they denounced "public defamation and insults toward some Catholic educational personnel and organisms;" at least the passive complicity of some "authorities of public order and of the Ministry of Education;" the closing, "which for us is a camouflaged confiscation." The entire contents of the letter clearly indicate a position that Catholic schools and Catholic education are under attack. This is after government officials and personnel from the Ministry of Education had made repeated public statements to the contrary and during the negotiations which ended with the school being returned to the Salesians.

### The Problems

These incidents have sharpened the divisions within the Church, which have nothing to do with doctrine but much to do with the way in which the carrying out of the gospel message is perceived. This difference in perception has further separated the Managuan Archbishop from the government and from significant sectors of the people.

There are strong criticisms because the [Church] hierarchy has made no statements regarding the increasing border attacks nor have they decried the deaths of Nicaraguans such as occurred in San Francisco del Norte. This is particularly irritating in light of the strong, and never substantiated, denouncement of human rights violations toward the Miskitu Indians which the bishops published last spring.

Fr. Carballo was asked on July 27 if the Chancery were going to make a statement regarding the San Francisco massacre and he replied, "The Church can't be putting out a document every time that something happens." Daniel Ortega said in an interview, "They (the bishops) go to Mass for Salazar, but when do they ever go to Mass for the militia who have been killed?" (Salazar refers to Jorge Salazar, a private businessman killed in 1980 when apparently involved in gun-running.)

A great increase in the charismatic movement in some ways parallels the pentecostal experience among non-Catholics. There is much emphasis on a spiritual approach to life, the importance of prayer and the exclusion of involvement in "political activities" which include any government programs. This is seen as very negative by those sectors of the church that feel community activity is a necessary manifestation of faith. One priest said to us, "To only praise God, to only ask that God save the country from communism and that he convert the comandantes, without acting in a way that will benefit the community is, to me, not only counterrevolutionary but also anti-Christian."

Again citing the Pax Christi report, "... the interwoven relations between the hierarchy and the political opposition have been growing considerably. As a result, Archbishop Obando was given a more and more political role. In the opposition newspaper, *La Prensa*, he is almost daily played off against the FSLN. Although the bishops accuse the FSLN of 'politically instrumentalizing' the christians, they themselves are, in no modest way, instrumentalized by the opposition. We even witnessed how the political opposition hailed the Archbishop as a 'prophet' and a 'martyr.' Conservative church milieus and the political opposition constantly mentioned to us a 'religious persecution.' ... It seemed ridiculous to us to talk about 'religious persecution.'"

The newly consecrated bishop of Matagalpa, Mons. Santi, said in his homily on the day of his consecration, "Anyone who says there is no religious freedom in this country is a liar."

It is worth asking, "Why are the problems that exist between government and church only found to such a great extent in Managua? According to Pax Christi, "The whole issue of polarization is centered around this one question: being a Christian, should one support the revolution led by the FSLN or should one adopt a counter-revolutionary attitude? This is however not an internal church discussion but a political one. . . ."

The clergy certainly are drawn into the political arena. One of the reasons given for the strongly politicized clergy is: "The traditional totalitarian thinking, leaving little room for pluralism (especially within the clerical hierarchy) and resulting in the fact that every criticism of a person or an aspect of clerical life is experienced as a criticism of the church or of christianity itself."

In a recent interview in the publication *Amanecer*, the Pastoral Vicar of the Diocese of Estelí, Father José Ernesto Bravo, talks of what he sees as the negative aspects of the church in Nicaragua. Among those things, he includes the excessive influence of CELAM in the Nicaraguan church, the break in relations between the Episcopal Conference and the government, internal church repression against those who collaborate with the process, and documents issued by the hierarchy which only focus on what seems bad to them in the process, documents which are excessively political rather than pastoral.

### The Government

At the height of all of the recent problems, the FSLN, on August 18, took the positive action of issuing a statement reaffirming its Document on Religion, issued in November of 1980. It reaffirmed the government's commitment to

religious liberty and its respect for the religious sentiments of the Nicaraguan people.

Not all of the actions by the government have been completely positive. The government has recently found itself faced with sometimes openly counterrevolutionary activity under the guise of religion so that action against those activities can easily be depicted as repression of religion. This has sometimes led to non-action on the part of the government. The popular organizations then take matters into their own hands and confrontations result. The danger is that, as one member of the CDS told us, "Our own people are well-disciplined and we can control them. But in these situations, sometimes other people get involved who do not have that discipline and cannot be controlled by us, since they don't belong to our group." Thus, unfortunate results can occur which can further deteriorate an already tense situation.

The Office of Communications Media has also acted in a less than prudent way in some of these cases. Many groups, including the Association of Priests, have written letters protesting some of the decisions and the coverage by local media. At times, the office does not seem to have its finger on the pulse of the people, to be able to read and respond to their sense of popular religiosity and their sense of what is sacred and what is inviolable.

#### The Foreign Media

If coverage of events within Nicaragua has sometimes been less than responsible, foreign coverage has often contained serious distortions and often outright lies.

In an interview in the Venezuelan English language paper, *The Daily Journal*, on August 20, with Monsignor José Joaquín Tronconis, Secretary of the Venezuelan Episcopal Conference and member of the CELAM team sent to Nicaragua in response to the Pax Christi report, there is such blatantly false information as that the Archbishop of Managua was stoned by a mob while the police stood by and did nothing, that protests in support of Fr. Carballo were violently repressed by police resulting in a number of deaths at the hands of the police, and that Nicaraguan priests are holding public office in defiance of papal orders to withdraw. Similar stories have appeared in papers in Honduras, Costa Rica, Europe and in the United States.

Another extreme distortion of the truth in the foreign press coverage of church-related events was the story that Bishop Schlaefter of the Atlantic Coast was under arrest. The bishop clearly spoke out against the report, stating that he had never been arrested, either in Nicaragua or anywhere else.

As an indication of the extent of CELAM's negative perspective in relation to Nicaragua, their report, based on a visit in January 1982, includes the following criticisms of the Nicaraguan process: growing totalitarianism, progressive disappearance of liberties, repression, sowing hate and division in the people, excessive militarization ideologized by Marxism, alignment with Cuba and insertion of the process in the Russian orbit. Its criticisms of those Christians committed to the process include: socio-political reductionism and political instrumentalization of the faith, deviations from the magisterium of the church, insubordination to the church hierarchy, attempts to divide the church, the search "more than to christianize Marxism, to marxize Christianity," letting itself be used.

#### Conclusions

The attempts of the U.S. to destabilize Nicaragua through the area of religion and the church has serious implications in part because of the historic role of Christians in the revolution and the role of Christians in support of the FSLN now, with several priests holding key positions in the government. The churches throughout the world have played a key role in support for the FSLN, both before the victory and since that time. Thus, the U.S. efforts are aimed at cutting off a very important and vocal area of support by trying to convince those church sectors that the Sandinistas are now persecuting religion. The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops has made strong and very positive statements in support of self-determination in Central America and against the interventionist policies of the U.S. government. There is a concerted effort now to get the bishops to back off of that position, again by picturing the Sandinistas as attacking the Nicaraguan Catholic Church. These efforts contribute to the overall plan to isolate Nicaragua politically.

In the future it can be expected that efforts, both internal and external, will increase to neutralize the effectiveness of progressive forces within the churches in Nicaragua by playing on the differences and internal conflicts. Efforts will also be made to stop church support for Nicaragua abroad by media campaigns portraying the Sandinista government as extremely anti-religion; also efforts will be stepped up to portray those churches or sectors that continue to support the Nicaraguan process as "communist sympathizers." This is evident in the attacks in the U.S. media against congregations such as Maryknoll and attacks against the United Methodist Church and others.

One Nicaraguan priest sees the only hope of reconciliation, within the Church and between the Church and the government, as a commitment to dialogue: commissions from the various sectors, truly committed to an improvement in relations and willing to sit down and dialogue, admitting mistakes and making concessions. Hopefully, even though some of these sectors do not have a history of democratic procedures or dialogue, the seriousness of the current situation in Nicaragua will move them to go beyond their own interests and work for "el pueblo"—the people.

The Archbishop has recently made a statement indicating his willingness to work for the improvement of relations with the government. Meetings between members of the FSLN and some of the bishops have been termed "fruitful." Daniel Ortega, in an interview on August 31, reaffirmed the willingness and desire of the government to continue the dialogue and said that the dialogue had been continuing with at least some of the hierarchy. The FSLN, in their statement reaffirming the Document on religion, says clearly that to them the recent incidents are not a confrontation between the revolution and religion but rather a political struggle which the counterrevolution is portraying as religious.

After a period of extreme tension and a less than optimistic prognosis, the recent weeks have brought indications of a definite lessening of tension and progress toward reconciliation. There will certainly continue to be caution and expectation of more moves by the enemies of the Nicaraguan experiment to find inroads within the church to continue their battle for the "minds of mankind." —

# Covert Action and Indigenous Groups: The Miskitu Case

By Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz\*

In March 1982, allegations were made to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States that the Government of Nicaragua had violated the human rights of the Miskitu Indians of the Eastern region (Atlantic Coast) of that country. The case concerned the relocation in early 1982 of the Miskitu communities in the areas where armed conflict was taking place.

The testimony, provided by two Miskitu opponents of the Sandinista Government, revolved around three presumptions: that the Miskitu communities were relocated by the Nicaraguan government against their will; that the Miskitu population was singled out for punishment as an ethnic group; and that the evacuation was merely a pretext for economically integrating the Miskitus into the national economy, with the implication that the level of armed conflict was not such as to require evacuation of the civilian population.

Careful analysis leads to the conclusion that these three central presumptions are invalid. The Miskitu Indians, who were relocated from 37 of more than 250 Miskitu communities in the Northeast quadrant of Nicaragua, realized the necessity of such action and participated in the process, though many were not happy about it. All people in the Rio Coco area of the border with Honduras were relocated; not only Miskitus, and no Miskitus outside the border area were relocated by the evacuation. Therefore the Miskitu population was not singled out for punishment

nor for any other goal. Moreover, the evacuation was caused by a condition of invasion and armed conflict, and was not a pretext for any other alleged goal, such as "economic integration."

## The Disinformation

A number of historical and contemporary distortions have been put forward in an attempt to justify the anti-government argument. Though the role of foreign intervention, threats, and manipulation of elements among the Miskitu population are condemned, these factors are minimized and it is asserted that even without the threats and manipulation, the same or similar conflicts and crises would have developed. It is argued that the Sandinistas are covering up their actual goals of assimilation and destruction of Miskitu culture.

Distortions include exaggeration of the size of the region inhabited by the Miskitus and their population. The colonial term, "Mosquitia," which refers to practically the entire eastern coast of Central America is often used to refer to the region where Miskitu villages are located, whereas, in fact, the Miskitu villages are located in the northeastern part of eastern Nicaragua and across the border in southeastern Honduras. The actual Miskitu population in Nicaragua is around 70,000 but population figures are doubled. The 30,000 Afro-American, English-speaking Creoles of southeastern Nicaragua, as well as the Sumus (who number about 6700) are often included when referring to the Miskitu region and population. Furthermore, all Miskitus are included when references are made to disputes with the government and rarely is it mentioned that many Miskitus are Sandinistas, and whole villages have embraced the revolution as their own without any fear or desire to lose their culture or language.

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One prevalent myth is that the Sandinistas forced the Spanish language on the Miskitus when in fact the 1980 literacy crusade was carried out in the Miskitu language in those villages, and a law was passed which requires the teaching of all subjects in schools in the mother tongues of the communities, with Spanish added as a second language in the 4th grade.

### The Manipulation of Indigenous Peoples

If the Sandinistas do have a sound and just policy and practice toward the indigenous communities, then one must consider carefully their motives for identifying the situation in the border region as a military emergency, and deciding to evacuate the civilian population. Evidence of a U.S. covert action plan to recruit and manipulate Miskitus in the border region is now well-known. The plan, as it has unfolded, has a familiar ring to U.S. officials and troops who operated in the border regions of Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand in the 1960s. There the CIA developed programs to recruit and train the Hmong people as a secret CIA army.

Ralph McGehee, a career officer for the CIA for 25 years, worked in Thailand during the development of the Hmong program. In early 1964, several years after the "secret war" against Laos began, Hmong were recruited from their villages on the Thai-Lao border. McGehee described the process to me as one of recruiting several Hmong from each village, and inviting them to the base in Thailand for "agricultural technical training." In fact the "training" was in communications with the CIA, and the securing of small air landing strips outside the Hmong villages. Of course, at a certain point, these people, whether allied with the CIA or not, became cannon fodder.

In *Dirty Work: The CIA In Western Europe*, Philip Agee tells the tragic story of the Kurdish alliance with the CIA during the early 1970s against the progressive regime in Iraq. The Shah of Iran initiated the idea of supporting the Kurds, led by Mustafa Barzani, though Barzani did not trust the Shah and regarded the CIA investment of \$16 million in the program as a guarantee against the suspension of support. However, Agee comments, "the aid was not meant to provide for a final Kurdish victory and the limited autonomy that Barzani had fought for since the 1920s," and the United States restrained the Kurds. In 1975, after the Shah received the border concessions he sought from Iraq, he suddenly cut off aid to the Kurds and the CIA did the same. The Iraqis proceeded to crush the Kurdish insurgency, creating 200,000 refugees. Barzani pleaded for U.S. humanitarian assistance—which was not forthcoming—and the Shah drove more than 40,000 Kurds back into Iraq. The U.S. refused to admit any Kurdish refugee, and one U.S. official explained: "Covert action should not be confused with missionary work."

John Stockwell, a former CIA officer in a similar program against Angola, commented in a letter to me that "Washington has launched a program that is almost identical in Nicaragua. Same size, using an adjoining country and the U.S. as the base of CIA operations, hiring mercenaries and U.S. adventurers." In reference to the cost in human lives, Stockwell writes: "Senate records and other public information discloses that the total of people who have died as direct victims of CIA covert wars is at least 800,000. Those who have died in the wars that were trig-

gered by CIA covert action (Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand) number in the millions. And we are talking only of the dead, without mention of the many more who suffered famine, disease, anguish, lack of schooling, job or health services as their regions were destabilized."

The appearance which these military programs seek to project is one of border people "caught in between" someone else's fight. But the appearance is deceiving since they are being consciously recruited, often by bribery or threats, and manipulated, often by lies and false promises.

The situations described above have occurred on numerous occasions in the past 20 years to indigenous peoples in border regions. Consistent results are evident: those peoples become cannon fodder, and those programs truly constitute genocide.

### The Fate of the Miskitus

The Miskitu people in the border region of Nicaragua came very close to such a fate and are still not safe from it since the program continues. The government, fully aware of such past CIA programs, evacuated the border region and saved the Miskitus from a tragic fate. But were the Miskitus "caught in the middle"? Are they neutrals victimized by the "East-West struggle"? This is what the Miskitu exiles and most Western media claim to be the case. But as it can be shown that some Miskitus, like the Hmong, were actively recruited and trained in a CIA program to destabilize another government, "caught in the middle" is an inappropriate way to describe the process or the result. The United States government, not the Sandinistas, is a violator of the human rights of the Miskitu people.

### The Program

A brief review of the development of the CIA program is useful. The October 1980 mass demonstrations by Afro-Nicaraguan Creoles in Bluefields, were the most publicized early event. The demonstrations ostensibly sought the ouster of Cuban doctors and teachers from the area, on the grounds that they were taking jobs away from Creoles who suffer very high unemployment. Since the Cubans were volunteers, the logic of this argument was suspect. In any event, the intensity and numbers of demonstrators brought about a military emergency, and arrested organizers of the demonstrations admitted links to foreign and domestic (Somocista) covert action plans to destabilize and overthrow the Sandinista Government. However, the protests also indicated some real problems of communication and deep-seated, extensive dissatisfaction. Working on that assumption, the Sandinistas initiated extended discussions between the whole Creole community and Government leaders, which took place day after day. Many of the problems being exploited by the covert action plan were worked out, and others openly discussed with solutions posed, a pattern that has prevailed since that time between indigenous ethnic groups and the Sandinista government. A similar situation exists between the Sumus, the Ramas and the Government, as well as with many of the numerous Miskitu villages.

However, the Miskitus in the villages on and near the Honduran border, were much more vulnerable to pressure, simply because of the nearness of armed bands. The focus

of this manipulation was Steadman Fagoth Muller, half Miskitu, former Somoza agent and informant. His work was described by conservative columnist Georgie Anne Geyer on July 16, 1981: "Fagoth is beginning to represent to some important people a real chance to overthrow the Sandinista, pro-Cuban regime in his country . . . Fagoth was in the U.S. to plead for food from the U.N. and other sources. But there were vague and suggestive whispers of other possibilities behind his visit." Geyer, who is known for her intelligence connections, goes on to explain that Fagoth and his Miskitu followers were working with the 15th of September League, a group run by former members of Somoza's intelligence services, training in camps in Honduras and Florida, and that, "way behind the scenes, the authoritarian countries of the southern cone, plus some of the other Central American military governments, have quietly told this new grouping that they would give it every support for what can only be thought of as a counter-revolution."



Steadman Fagoth, *Contra* leader.

#### The U.S. Destabilization Program

On December 1, 1981, the Reagan administration formally approved the now well-known political and paramilitary

operations by the CIA against Nicaragua. The plan included covert aid to individual and private organizations in Nicaragua, that is, to anti-Sandinista forces, and money and arms to anti-Sandinista Nicaraguans in bases in Honduras. The excuse was alleged Nicaraguan support for FMLN forces in El Salvador, but the real aim was to incite unrest in Nicaragua using former Somoza National Guardsmen, dissident elements, ethnic minorities, and exile groups in the U.S. The plan apparently sought Sandinista retaliatory attacks into Honduras, creating a pretext for foreign military intervention. To complement a large influx of U.S. military advisers in Honduras, the CIA was recruiting mercenaries for the project for some time. One former Green Beret told reporter Mike Wallace that he had been approached by his old commanding officer and offered a six months' contract to airdrop inside Nicaragua to do the same kind of thing he had done in the Vietnam war.

Reporter John Dinges observed in *The Progressive* (May 1982): "If the fighting in El Salvador were to end tomorrow, if the country were again subjected to a stable dictatorship holding sway over a passive peasantry, Reagan's principal concern in Central America would still be Nicaragua, and he still would be eager to topple the Sandinista regime even though his main pretext for doing so would have been removed."

Such observations were confirmed by Fagoth's broadcasts from the training camps in Honduras in the Miskitu language over the powerful September 15 radio. He attempted to persuade the Miskitu people to join him in Honduras to prepare for an uprising in the region to oust the Sandinista "communists." He also threatened the Miskitus by telling them that when the hour of attack would come, that if they were not on his side, they would be considered Sandinistas and killed, or that the Sandinistas would bomb their villages believing them to be part of the opposition.

#### "Red Christmas"

In early 1982 the Nicaraguan government exposed a plan, called "Operation Red Christmas," which had been designed to provoke a secessionist movement among the Miskitus. They named Fagoth as the leader of the operation, along with some Moravian pastors, and some personnel for the Protestant Relief and Development Agency. According to the government, the plan was undertaken in late November 1981 with a series of murderous attacks, which were most intense during December 12-25, with Fagoth broadcasting terrifying threats to the people, telling them that Sandinista planes were coming to bomb their villages, that the Sandinistas believed all the Miskitus were in revolt and would punish them, warning them that they should cross the river border and go to the Honduran refugee camp (Mocoron) for safety, where food, shelter, and medicine would be provided.

As it became clear that the Miskitu people were not going to "rise up," the warnings to cross the river increased. Of course, many did cross; perhaps as many as 10,000 are in the desolate refugee camps in Honduras, the infrastructure of which is permeated with violent former Guardsmen. Control of the camps is maintained by Diana Negroponte, the wife of the U.S. Ambassador to Honduras, John D. Negroponte. She was a senior official of World Relief,

which administered the camps. Other Miskitus were fleeing to stay with relatives in the interior of Nicaragua. The assertion that the Miskitus were not leaving on their own is inaccurate, but they had little choice—go to the Honduran camps or individually find refuge within Nicaragua. Because the Sandinistas could not defend the communities from the armed raids without risking firing into Honduras, which could set off military retaliation, they decided to evacuate the villages.

By evacuating the villages and destroying all the buildings and crops, the Red Christmas plan collapsed completely, though commando attacks continue against isolated villages and farms in the entire region. The Sandinistas explained that had they not destroyed the resources and buildings along the river, the commandos could have herded Miskitus from the refugee camps to the emptied villages, established bases, and created more cannon fodder.

### The Big Lie

When it became clear that the plan for an uprising and separatist initiative had failed completely, the CIA turned on its propaganda campaign, filling the teletypes with false "news" of massacres, Miskitus being burned alive, graves desecrated, and, of course, concentration camps. Press reaction to such reports was most interesting to American Indians and our advocates, who put out nearly daily reports of massacres in Guatemala of Indians, of the relocation of 10,000 Navajos in Arizona, and other atrocities committed against Indians by governments, without receiving a line of press coverage.

President Reagan, then Secretary of State Haig, U.S. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and many other State Department officials made statements to the OAS, to the U.N., and to the press, asserting Sandinista atrocities and manifesting their "sympathy" with the Miskitu cause. Haig was moved to tears over a photograph of Miskitus being massacred, and was unruffled when the photo turned out to be three years old, and of the Red Cross destruction of Somoza's war dead. The evacuations during January and February neutralized all possibilities for reactivating the separatist plan, so Fagoth was brought to Washington to meet with congressmen and the media. His trip was sponsored by the conservative American Security Council, and his meetings were arranged by Ambassador Kirkpatrick's Washington office. Fagoth gave congressional testimony that thousands of Miskitus were being tortured, buried alive, and murdered.

The most interesting aspect of the public relations campaign which accompanied this CIA disinformation program, differing from earlier ones in Asia and Africa, is the use of the absolute lie in order to create doubt even among the strongest Sandinista supporters. That is, in stating that tens of thousands of Miskitus had been massacred and the rest herded into concentration camps, the notion that there had been not even one Sandinista killing of a Miskitu civilian, which is the truth, carried little weight. Human rights groups and solidarity organizations in North America and Europe began to have grave misgivings about Sandinista treatment of the Miskitus, even though they did not regard the Reagan administration and Steadman Fagoth as credible sources of information.

In April 1982, journalists traveled to the Mocoron refugee camp in Honduras where some 7,800 Miskitu refugees live. Certain Miskitus interviewed repeated the atrocity stories for the correspondents, but other Miskitus in the camps as well as all in Nicaragua report that there were no Sandinista atrocities and that any deaths resulted from firefights between Sandinista armed forces and armed raiders, some of whom were Miskitus. Not a single Miskitu died in the resettlement operation. Indeed the resettled Miskitus now receive far better health care and other social services than was ever possible along the river border.

Americas Watch, a branch of the Helsinki Watch international group, sent a high level delegation to Nicaragua in April 1982, and reported that the government's justification for the relocation, for security reasons, was "not unreasonable." The mission found no basis for the press reports of "widespread massacres" in their interviews with Miskitus.

The American Indian Movement, through the International Indian Treaty Council, sent a high level delegation to Nicaragua at the height of the December attacks. At the 38th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, meeting in Geneva during February and March, 1982, the IITC stated that "the Miskitus along the border area requested to be moved, to prevent their being further victimized by the forces operating out of Honduran territory. Although the relocation was difficult for the Miskitus, the Government of Nicaragua has provided health care, transport, and arable lands for farming in the new location . . . . Our greatest concern is for those Miskitus who have been manipulated into crossing the border and are now being used by the anti-government forces. We remember clearly the minorities who were used by the CIA in Laos and Vietnam, and who later became outcasts among their own people once the CIA didn't need them anymore. We hope this same fate does not befall the Miskitus."

LaDonna Harris, American Indian and Director of the Americans for Indian Opportunity, also met with Sandinista and Miskitu leaders in Nicaragua. She published a statement in May condemning U.S. intervention and manipulation of the Miskitus. She asserted that "U.S. sponsorship of external subversion against Nicaragua is itself a major violation of international law and must be seen as an underlying cause of Sandinista actions."

### Conclusion

Given the overwhelming evidence of the CIA program to destabilize and crush the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, the probing of their indigenous policy appears ironic indeed. Yet for the indigenous activist or advocate, this is an important question because in many cases a poor government policy may coexist with CIA intervention, as in relation to the Kurds. However, this is not the case with the Sandinista Revolution, which has made qualitative and quantitative advances in supporting indigenous rights at every level. Surely not the least of the CIA program's objectives is to neutralize the effects of the government's initiatives in the area of indigenous rights in terms of the million ethnic Indians and tens of millions of Afro-Americans looking to the Sandinista Revolution with admiration.



## Congressional Testimony:

# The Prospects of War Between Honduras and Nicaragua

By LTC. John H. Buchanan, USMC (Ret.)

Along with the multi-faceted covert operations being directed at Nicaragua, there is an extensive military build-up in Honduras which is central to the over-all operations. Recently a detailed analysis of that build-up circulated among several journalists in Washington and New York. The document is compelling and we reprint it in full here for *CAIB* readers.

The document appears to be a translation of a Spanish original, and was evidently prepared by a research team in Central America. It is obvious from reading the document that a certain amount of cooperation was necessary both in Nicaragua and in Honduras.

On the same subject, John Buchanan, the director of Area Studies for the Center for Development Policy, testified on September 21, 1982 before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Buchanan, a retired Marine Lieutenant Colonel with considerable combat experience in Vietnam, traveled extensively in Central America, confirming his opinion that U.S. policy towards the area was dangerous and misguided. As a complement to the document noted above, we also reprint here his testimony.

### I. INTRODUCTION

My name is John Buchanan, Director of Area Studies for the Center for Development Policy, and I am a member of the Commission on United States Central American Relations.

I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, for asking me to testify this afternoon. I appreciate the opportunity to speak to you on a subject that I believe to be a matter of urgent national priority.

Speaking generally, I am here to criticize the present administration's policy toward Central America. It is a misguided policy and if it is not soon reversed the people of this land and the rest of this continent will suffer for decades from its grave consequences. It is not in our interests as a nation.

More specifically, I am here to oppose the present administration's creation of a military crisis between Honduras and its neighbor, Nicaragua, and its sponsorship of a military buildup in Honduras, a move which will only encourage increased repression in that country.

At the outset, I wish to make it clear that I do not pretend to be an expert on Central America. I would categorize myself as a concerned U.S. citizen who became so appalled by this administration's militarization of Central America's economic and social crisis that I felt compelled to examine thoroughly the military situation in the region to find out what is really happening there.

Six months ago I set out to develop the necessary ligatures needed to understand events in Central America. These months have been busy ones for me. I spent four weeks during April and May traveling alone through Mexico, Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and nearly two weeks in July and August in El Salvador and Honduras as a member of a delegation sponsored by the Commission on United States-Central American Relations. In the course of these travels I met with religious leaders including Mons. Rivera y Damas, the Acting Archbishop of El Salvador, Bishop Wilson of the Moravian Church in Nicaragua (the church of the Miskito Indians of

the Atlantic Coast), and evangelical Protestant ministers throughout the region. I talked with numerous past and present civilian politicians and many members of the international media. I was briefed by some of the leading academics of all these countries, especially political scientists and economists. I had discussions with local and U.S. businessmen in Mexico, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and El Salvador, including the National Private Enterprise Association (ANEP) and the Chamber of Commerce in El Salvador. I visited the refugee centers in San Salvador, shared the meager fare of the Miskito Indians in their resettlement communities in Nicaragua and spent a night with Salvadoran refugees in their squalid camp at Mesa Grande, in Honduras. I have talked with numerous exiles from the troubled countries of El Salvador and Nicaragua; these include Guillermo Ungo, Hector Dada, Col. Majano and Leonel Gomez of El Salvador and Heraldo Montealegre of Nicaragua.

In a daze, I have stumbled through the remains of the victims of Salvadoran death squads. And I walked confidently among the free, exuberant citizens of Costa Rica. (How long that happy state will obtain is problematic as this administration is pressuring Costa Rica to build an army.)

The knowledge and insights I gained through these experiences have been crucial to my understanding of the turmoil that the Central American isthmus is now enduring. I will be happy to answer any questions regarding these trips upon completion of my statement.

Most important for my understanding of the military situation in the region were my contacts with Central America's military commanders, their staffs and their troops. I have had long conversations with military representatives from all sides of the conflict: the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), with Colonel Majano, the leader of the October 1979 coup in El Salvador, with General Garcia and his Chief of Staff, Colonel Flores Lima, with several of the Sandinista Commandantes, with Honduran officers, and with the U.S. Military Group Commander in El Salvador, Col. Waghlestein.



I flew with the Sandinista Air Force in one of their two or three Cessna 180's to a small jungle airstrip on the Miskito coast. On landing, the plane veered off the runway and crashed into the trees. The Sandinistas flew in a new propeller, and my young pilot used a screw driver and a hammer to straighten out the dents in the wings and tail of the aircraft. We later flew that aircraft back to Managua at night.

I accompanied a Sandinista combat patrol right along the border with Honduras in northwest Nicaragua near Somoto. A few weeks later I learned that several of the young Sandinista soldiers I was with were killed in one of the frequent ambushes that the Somocista counter-revolutionaries mount from Honduras. Before I left Nicaragua, I visited many of the "military installations" that U.S. satellites photographed in Nicaragua and which were the subject of the briefing presented by the administration last March. I saw little significant difference between a "Soviet-style obstacle course" and the obstacle courses I ran as a young Marine.

During my visit to El Salvador in July, I visited a regional commander of the Salvadoran army and was briefed by him and his staff on the military situation in his zone, Cuscatlan department, scene of many heated military encounters. After a fine lunch, we went to the "rifle range" and test fired some of his M-16 and M-60 weapons. They seemed little different from the M-16 and AK-47 weapons I inspected in Nicaragua. While in Honduras I again flew to the Miskito Coast. This time the aircraft was a U.S. Air Force C-130 transport and I felt considerably more secure than in the Sandinistas' Cessna. This aircraft was participating in the relocation of a Honduran combat battalion to the sensitive border area next to Nicaragua. Fortunately, this plane did not crash on landing for we were hauling ammunition for the Honduran troops that were occupying this zone.

Again, I am not suggesting that these encounters with the Central American military make me a military expert. I do not possess the expertise, resources and intelligence gathering capabilities of General Alexander M. Haig, or General Wallace H. Nutting or General Vernon A. Walters. But I do have enough military training and knowledge to see that a smoke screen is being laid and a military debacle is in the offing.

## II. Military Capabilities

After analyzing the military capabilities of Honduras and Nicaragua, and the limitations that each of them faces, the nature of their conflict and the threat that they pose to each other, I can only conclude that it would be ludicrous for Nicaragua to assault Honduras and equally foolhardy for Honduras to attack Nicaragua. Yet these two countries seem to be headed for a war, one which this administration is encouraging. Information I have coming out of Central America is that a war between these two countries will start in December. I will discuss this date in more detail in a few moments. (Incidentally, throughout this testimony I will not identify my sources of "information"; for obvious reasons their names can not be revealed.)

Before I address what I believe are the factual military capabilities and limitations of Nicaragua I want to direct your attention to a couple of military briefing techniques. Armchair generals and government officials who are locked in combat for Congress' heart, mind and pocketbook always brief using "uncluttered" maps in which the Soviet Union is pink, the United States is orange, Cuba is brown, etc. Maps like that avoid awkward questions about terrain features, lines of communication, weather patterns, time-distance factors, etc. A good example of this is the CIA-DIA briefing on "Evidence of Military Buildup in Nicaragua" presented March 9, 1982.

They include stimulating statistics like 25 "Soviet built T-55 tanks," or 12 to 16 "Cuban supplied MIGs" and then let people's imaginations run wild. The audience conjures up visions of a vast phalanx of Soviet T-55s rumbling across the plains of Western Europe or the deserts of the Middle East. They never interrupt these reveries with details about the capabilities and limitations of the equipment, the terrain, etc.

Today, however, with your permission I wish to violate the rules of military briefers. I brought with me a detailed map of the region. This is the sort of map that men engaged in mortal combat use—not the sort used in budget battles. Anyone can instantly see that Honduras has some of the most rugged topography in the region. This terrain is highly unsuited to the use of tanks. For example, if Nicaragua employed their "Soviet built T-55 tanks" in an invasion of Honduras, they would have to negotiate rises to over 7,000 feet in the vicinity of the capital, Tegucigalpa, and 9,000 feet in the western part of the country. The mountains are steep, the valleys narrow and deep and cut by rushing, rocky streams. There is only one route the T-55 could realistically follow: the Pan American Highway. Over this 290 mile route, the tanks would be easily detected by the U.S. intelligence-gathering satellites and Honduran reconnaissance aircraft.

On one 30 mile stretch of the road the tanks would have to climb from about 500 feet to around 5,000 feet. The maximum gradient a T-55 can manage is 30 degrees and when I drove those twisting Honduran roads some of them seemed at least that steep. The T-55's maximum speed is 30 MPH so it would take almost 10 hours to travel from Managua to Tegucigalpa, and 5 hours from the Nicaraguan-Honduran border to Tegucigalpa.

In addition to the logistical problem, caused by the rugged topography, there are numerous other characteristics of the T-55 that make it less than an imposing piece of armor:

- it has a loose "dead" track that is apt to shed during violent turns, rendering the tank immobile.
- internal fuel and oil supplies are supplemented by 4 flat light steel tanks (panniers) on the right running board of the tank and in two drums at the rear of the hull which are highly vulnerable to attack.
- the turret is so cramped that the gunner nearly sits in the commander's lap.
- the bulky D-107 gun takes up a large portion of the turret space and further congestion is caused by a ready rack of ammunition storage along the rear wall.
- space in the tank is so cramped that it is impracticable to crew the vehicle with troops taller than 5 foot 5 inches.
- this cramping is made worse because the T-55 is filled on the inside with small fittings and brackets so the crew will regularly be inflicted with bruises and gashes.
- the loader's turret cavity is so small that he must remain seated or crouched. The gun ammunition weighs over 50 pounds and is difficult to manhandle in the best of circumstances. Not only does the T-55 loader have to maneuver these heavy rounds in a very cramped space but he must ram them home with his left hand.
- turret space is so limited that only three rounds can be carried in the turret. Once these rounds have been expended, the loader must perform acrobatics from the racks at his feet or at knee level in order to acquire ammunition.
- the interior of the T-55 is so small that the gun cannot be reloaded unless it is fully elevated. Once a round has been fired, the gun must be elevated, reloaded, and resighted.
- the average rate of fire is only four rounds per minute.
- the T-55 has no air conditioning system, a definite drawback in the tropics.
- T-55s have a notably shorter service life than Western tanks as they are designed to be expended on the battlefield and replaced with freshly equipped units.
- workmanship of the T-55 is sometimes so poor as to require vehicle overhaul even before the tank has been issued to the troops.
- engine overheating caused by poorly machined oil lines have sometimes limited effective engine life to only about 100 hours.
- transmissions in the T-55 have never been a strong point and the clutch accounts for 40 percent of the mechanical breakdowns alone.
- Western defense analysts estimate the effective range of a T-55 is less than 100-125 miles before a serious mechanical failure.
- the great force required to steer the tank without hydraulic boosting causes driver fatigue and would seriously hamper a small driver under trying combat conditions.
- T-55s are especially dangerous when the gyro-stabilizer is turned on and the vehicle is in motion. While tracking a target, the gun breech and turret can unexpectedly swing about, pinioning or crushing the loader if he does not nimbly dodge it. Due to this and other technical deficiencies, the T-55 has virtually no fire on the move capability.

As I remarked to the Sandinista Commandantes, "With friends who would supply you T-55s, who needs enemies?"

Doubtless the Sandinistas would accompany the T-55s with the 12 "Soviet built BTR-60 Armored Personnel Carriers" which can each carry 2 crewmen and 8 troops. In addition, a Sandinista armored thrust would face intense attack from the Honduran Air Force. The Sandinistas' 2 T-33 and 3 T-28 aircraft are incapable of providing their tanks the essential air cover needed for a successful attack. My point is simply that the utility of the Soviet-supplied armor in a ground war in Central America is very limited. These facts were not pointed out by Inman and Hughes during the March 1982 briefing.

In fact, my assessment of Nicaraguan military power leads me to believe that the capabilities of the Sandinistas have been deliberately exaggerated by the Reagan administration during this briefing and on other occasions. As it is with the T-55, so it is with many other elements of the Sandinista arsenal. Many of the weapons are either ill-suited to the region, outmoded, or in a state of disrepair. This is particularly true of the logistical infrastructure needed to sustain a protracted war. There is only one oil refinery—highly vulnerable to attack—and two large capacity fuel stor-

age tanks, one of which was cracked in the 1972 earthquake. One can only conclude that the Reagan administration is distorting the facts in order to justify covert operations aimed at overthrowing the Sandinistas and an unprecedented military buildup in Honduras.

Across the border, in Honduras, the military's capability looks rosier at first blush. The Honduran Air Force has been almost completely re-equipped since the war with El Salvador in 1969 and, while by U.S. standards its equipment is modest, it has become the most formidable air power in Central America relative to its neighbors.

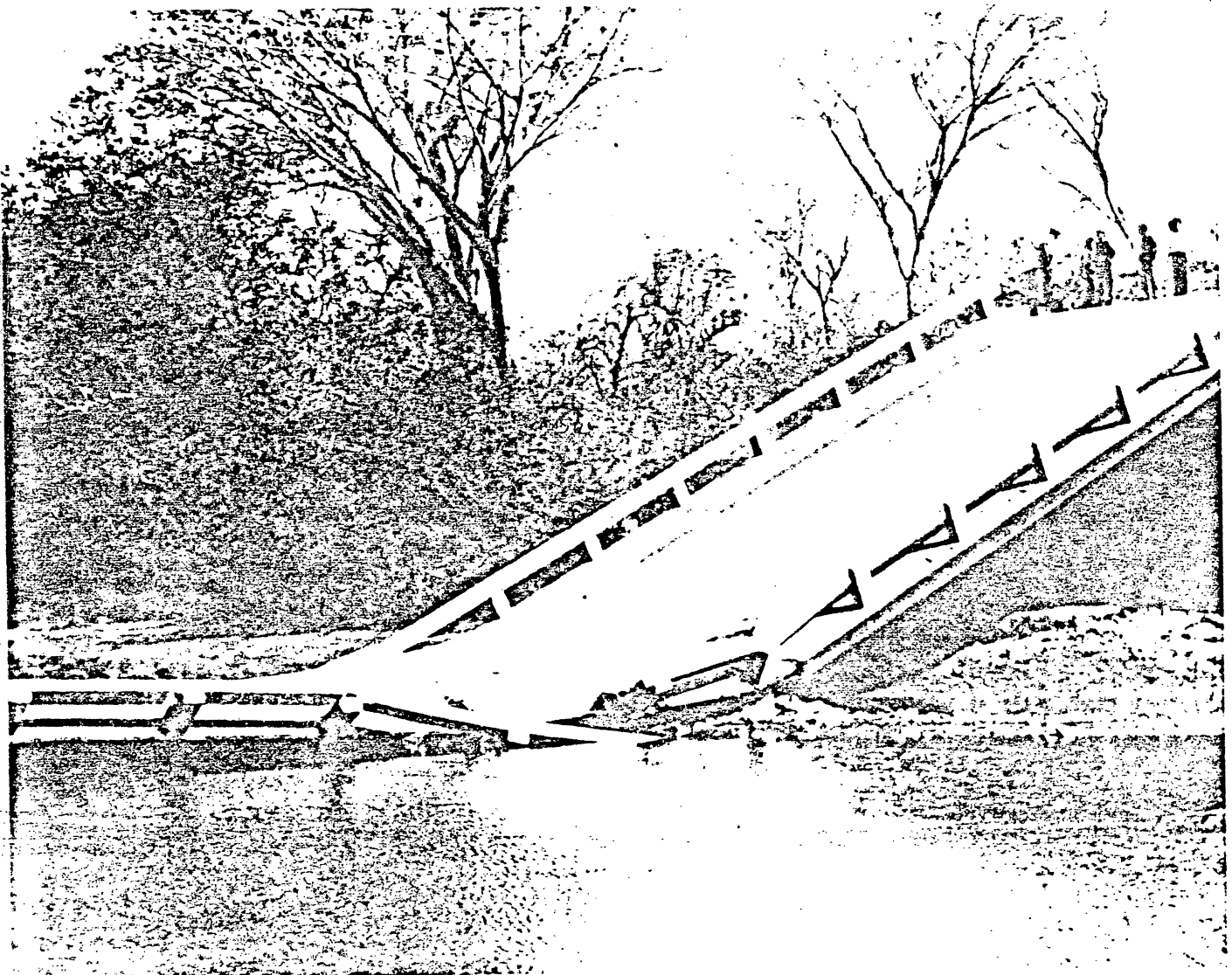
The Air Force now possesses:

- 20 Super Mystere B2 fighter-bombers (approximate combat range: 400 miles/armament: 6,500 lbs?).
- 10 F-86 Sabre Jet fighter-bombers (combat range: 460 miles/ armament: four 20 mm cannons, 2000 lbs. bombs, 2 Sidewinder missiles).
- 5 A-37B Dragonfly ground attack bombers (combat range: 400 miles/armament: 7.62 Minigun in forward fuselage and 4100 lbs. bombs). (The Pentagon expected Honduras to purchase additional A-37B and T-37B aircraft in FY-82 but purchase/delivery not confirmed at this writing.)
- 24 T-28 Trojan trainer-bombers, a number of which are armed and available for ground attack missions (combat range: 500 miles/ armament: undetermined at this writing. Typical load is two 50 caliber machine guns, two 750 lb. bombs, and two 2.75 in. rocket pods.)
- 3 RT-33A reconnaissance aircraft.
- 23 UH-1H and UH-19D utility transport helicopters (combat radius: approximately 125 miles with 14 passengers.)
- In addition the Air Force has a menagerie of obsolescent/modern trainers/transport/liaison aircraft.

General Alvarez is now arguing that his Air Force must receive 12 Northrup F-5 E/F fighters to meet its security obligations. Who will finance the \$120 million price tag is a question that will soon be put to you Congressmen.

What will the formidable Honduran Air Force find when it attacks Nicaragua? First, it will find a few, but not many, lucrative military targets: port facilities at Corinto, Puerto Cabezas and Bluefields; a couple of oil tanks at Corinto; one oil refinery near Managua; four airfields, only one of which is really significant; a tank park and 49 military garrisons, many of which are so small that the Honduran pilots will have difficulty locating them. For example, the "military garrison" near Somoto, where I stopped for lunch, was comprised of two small buildings and a one vehicle lean-to maintenance shed. The city of Managua doesn't offer much of a target either; after the 1972 earthquake most of Managua already resembles a bombed out city. Theoretically, in one day the Honduran Air Force should be able to heavily damage most or all of the primary military targets. Surely you would think they could finish the job on the second day and then take on the secondary targets. But there are snags in the scenario.

The Honduran Air Force will also encounter the Nicaraguan air defense system. Since Nicaragua does not really possess an air force and Honduras has a relatively large one, it is only logical that Nicaragua would deploy anti-aircraft missiles and guns. My information is that the Soviet Union supplied SA-6 GAINFUL surface-to-air anti-aircraft missile systems to Nicaragua in early 1982. This system is very similar to that of the American HAWK. The GAINFUL's maximum range at high-altitude is possibly 32 miles, at low altitude probably 16 miles. Its maximum altitude is about 53,000 feet. The quantity of SA-6s is unknown but I am told they are in widespread use. Inside the SA-6 envelope the Hon-



Bridge over the Rio Negro, destroyed on March 14, 1982 by ex-Somocista National Guardsmen.

duran pilots will run into anti-aircraft gun fire. The CIA-DIA briefing called the 57 mm guns anti-tank guns, but I had better remind the Hondurans that these guns have a dual capability of engaging air or ground targets. They have a maximum vertical range (High Explosive) of about 25,000 feet and an effective vertical range of approximately 12,500 feet. If the Honduran pilots elude these defenses, they must still escape the SA-7 GRAIL (once known as SIRELA) man-portable infra-red homing, light anti-aircraft missile. This system is very similar to that of the American REDEYE. Its range is about 5 miles.

I am aware that the Israelis have provided training for Honduran pilots so they must know that suppression of SA-6 batteries proved to be among the most costly air missions of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. The Israelis relied heavily on American Electronic Counter Measures (ECM) equipment and techniques and developed maneuvers to neutralize the SA-6. Nevertheless, about 40 percent of Israeli Air Force losses were due to the SA-6. I doubt that the Hondurans have sophisticated American ECM equipment or that they are likely to get it, and I know they do not have the combat skills of Israeli pilots. How many Honduran pilots will be able to run the gauntlet of SA-6s, 57 mm guns and SA-7s? I would suspect that they would be few in number.

As I understand, the U.S. is now providing \$21 million to improve airfields and storage facilities at La Mesa, Palmerola and Goloson airfields in Honduras and airfields in Colombia for U.S. use "in the event of an emergency." This brings me back to the question of why all the Honduran military that I talked to predict that the war will start in December. Optimally, General Alvarez should wait until the U.S. has "pre-positioned" air munitions and fuel at these airfields before he orders a surprise air attack against Nicaragua. He could then assure ample "resupply" by "nationalizing" U.S. air munitions and fuel. Doubtless, the U.S. would chide him for such an act, but would not intervene.

But the time when U.S. air munitions and fuel are stored in Honduras is hopefully some time off and General Alvarez seems to be under personal pressure—from some of the Honduran military and the U.S. government to engage in a war with Nicaragua in the near future. So why do Honduran military officers think the war will start in December? "Because," they say, "the rainy season will be over and the Rio Coco will be down. That is when Nicaragua will attack." In fact, the Rio Coco does not recede until late April. But by the middle of December the skies have cleared and provide ideal weather for air operations. Perhaps that is why the Honduran military "expect" a Nicaraguan attack in December. How much of this is *macho braggadocio*? I cannot be sure right now. They seem to think that the U.S. military expect to hear these claims.

Turning to ground forces, the CIA-DIA estimates that Nicaragua now has 20,000 regular troops and a militia of 50,000 people. They believe Nicaragua's goal is to create a standing army of 25,000 to 30,000 and a ready-reserve militia of between 100,000 and 150,000. But this goal will not be reached in the short term.

My information is that Honduras now has 15,050 regular military personnel (Army: 12,800, Navy: 850 and Air Force: 1,400) and 3,500 police. To this must be added the 3-5,000 Somocistas and counter-revolutionaries who are operating from Honduran territory. Additionally the Honduran Army has 17 of the finest, most reliable Armored Combat Reconnaissance Vehicles in the world: the British made SCORPION. It can race along at 72 Km/h, has a 400 Km range and mounts a 67 mm gun and two 7.62 machine guns. A C-130 transport aircraft can carry two of them so they could be moved to the Miskito coast in a matter of hours. By comparison the Nicaraguans' T-55s would have to travel over 300 miles of marginal/unpaved roads—half of which are mountain roads. *If the T-55s could maintain maximum speed (30 MPH) on such roads—and not break down—the trip would require 10 hours. At half that speed it would take 20 hours, etc.*

But the Hondurans should not be sanguine about this advantage in tracked vehicles. The Sandinistas have purchased 7,000 SS-11 (range: 3000 m) and SS-12 (range: 600 m) anti-tank missiles from France. They also possess unknown quantities of Soviet supplied AT-1 and AT-3 antitank missiles.

In the final analysis of Honduran and Nicaraguan tracked vehicles one can only conclude that their capability in offensive combat is limited and is counterbalanced by defensive anti-tank weapons. Their real usefulness lies in internal crowd control in their major cities.

### III. The Border Conflict

The analysis outlined above indicates a situation in which the armed forces of the two nations have different areas of strength and weakness but the overall effect is a balance of force in the realm of more sophisticated armaments. While the Honduran Air Force is markedly superior to Nicaragua's, the Nicaraguan air defenses offset this advantage. And while the Nicaraguans may have a slight advantage in heavy armored vehicles

(tanks), this equipment is of limited effectiveness in the region and of inferior quality. The projected U.S. financed arms buildup to Honduras could tip this balance, and would likely elicit a countervailing reaction from Nicaragua. In both cases, poor nations are being forced to divert scarce resources from social and economic development into costly and increasingly lethal military hardware.

At present, the most volatile areas likely to erupt into full scale combat are located along the Rio Coco near the Miskito coast and in the mountainous border area of northwest Nicaragua. Of these two areas, it is the isolated Miskito region that seems to be the focal point of the conflict.

In August, U.S.A.F. C-130s from the Southern Command in Panama flew a battalion of Honduran troops and their equipment into Puerto Lempira (ostensibly as part of an exercise). The Honduran battalion is now headquartered in Mocoron, about 15 miles north of the Nicaraguan border. Allegedly its mission is to prevent a Nicaraguan incursion into the Miskito Indian camp located in Mocoron.

Perhaps the battalion is not meant so much to protect the Miskitos as to confine them. Information reaching me is that many of the older people want very much to reach an accord with the Sandinistas and return to Nicaragua. It is the young bucks who want to continue the fight and need to keep the Miskitos in Mocoron for cover and recruits.

It is no coincidence most of the counter-revolutionary military bands operating in the area are also entrenched in the vicinity of Mocoron. In actuality the Honduran battalion provides a protective screen for the Somocistas and counter-revolutionaries returning from terrorist incursions into the Miskito coast of Nicaragua. The battalion's presence in Mocoron provides an excellent means of arming and equipping the counter-revolutionaries. Who, in that forsaken region, can keep an accurate account and control of weapons, ammunition, radios, etc. which are supplied to the battalion? How many of them reach the hands of the Somocistas?

And since our ambassadorial family has taken a personal humanitarian interest in the Miskito Indians in Mocoron it seems that ample food, medicine, clothing, etc. is being flown into the area. How much of this material reaches the counter-revolutionaries? Would that the same humanitarian interest were shown for the Salvadoran refugees at Mesa Grande.

Perhaps the biggest question in everyone's mind is how much coordination goes on between the battalion and the counter-revolutionaries. Do they orchestrate operations, share communications, etc.? And just how much is the U.S. involved? At this point it is impossible to answer these questions definitively. Dr. Thomas P. Anderson, in testimony before this Subcommittee, asserted that highly placed sources within the State Department had confirmed the existence of direct U.S. covert intervention against the Sandinista government, given the history of U.S. intervention in Chile, Guatemala and Cuba—not to mention Nicaragua itself—these reports are entirely credible and Mocoron is a likely element in this strategy.

One possible scenario for the outbreak of a conflict between Nicaragua and Honduras is the following. If Sandinista troops or militia are in hot pursuit of a counter-revolutionary group that is escaping back into Honduras, they must break off their pursuit at the border. If they do not, they will likely confront a unit of the Honduran Regular Army. That confrontation would be an act of war.

I would like to make one final comment about the internal situation in Honduras. When asked if significant leftist guerrilla organizations currently operate within their country, most of the Hondurans I talked to—military and civilian—say No. Clearly, however, many Hondurans fear that the political violence which characterizes El Salvador and Guatemala will spread to Honduras. Many are also leery of the Sandinista experiment that is transpiring across the border. Perhaps their greatest source of concern is that their nascent democracy, unfolding under the watchful eye of the military, will be snuffed out by the Armed Forces. U.S. military aid strengthens the hands of those who are most likely to terminate democratic government in the country. Significant divisions exist within the Honduran military regarding the conflict in Nicaragua, involvement in El Salvador's civil war and the future of democratic rule. This is evident in the statements by Colonel Leonidas Torres Arias on August 31 in Mexico City in which he condemned the intent of Gen. Alvarez and other hardliners to lead Honduras into a war with Nicaragua.

Such a war would truly be a "war without winners." It seems a terrible price to pay for this administration's determination to seek a military solution to what are deep-seated social, economic and political problems. Such a war could easily spark off a regional conflagration involving all the nations of Central America, and perhaps the U.S. and Mexico—on opposing sides. It would exact a terrible price from the people of Honduras and Nicaragua, and stain the name of the United States in the eyes of all of Latin America and the world.

## Documentation:

# The U.S. Military Role in Honduras

The following data is intended to illustrate changes in the dimensions, nature and projection of the Honduran Armed Forces. In the course of the last three years, particularly in recent months, the Honduran Armed Forces, with the technical and military assistance of the United States, has acquired an offensive character and capacity which includes a link with significant groups of Somocistas who use Honduran territory to carry out attacks against Nicaragua.

This military build-up of Honduras, the emphasis placed on offensive weapons, the logistical support provided to thousands of ex-Somocista National Guard, the increase in military skirmishes along the border, as well as the military attacks within Nicaraguan territory, all place the peace of Central America in jeopardy inasmuch as the political and military conditions are being created to spark a war between Honduras and Nicaragua.

Likewise, the unprecedented increase in the number of joint U.S.-Honduran maneuvers, the presence of U.S. warships off the coasts of Nicaragua and the routine practice of reconnaissance flights over Nicaraguan territory, all confirm the concern which governments and political leaders of Latin America and Europe have that a serious armed conflict in Central America is in the making, constituting a grave danger for the peace not only of Central America, but of the entire hemisphere as well.

### I. The Military Build-up in Honduras

The following chart demonstrates the quantum increase in the military capacity of the Honduran Armed Forces in the period following the overthrow of the Somoza Government.

|  | Before July<br>of 1979 | Present                                  | Percentage<br>of increase |
|--|------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| Total number of troops                 | 14,240                 | 21,400                                   | 50%                       |
| <b>Ground Forces</b>                   |                        |  |                           |
| Infantry Battalions                    | 10                     | 11 (with prospects of forming a Brigade) | 10%                       |
| Artillery Battalions                   | 3                      | 4 One with howitzer 155mm.               | 50%                       |
| Paratrooper Battalions                 | 1                      | 1 air/transport battalion.               |                           |
| Armoured Battalions                    | 1                      | 1 Regiment of armoured cavalry.          |                           |
| Engineering Battalions                 | 1                      | 1 Engineering battalion                  |                           |
| Communications Unit                    | 1                      | 1 Communications battalion               |                           |
| <b>Air Forces</b>                      |                        |  |                           |
| Air Bases                              | 2                      | 3  | 50%                       |
| Military Air Strips                    | 5                      | 10                                       | 100%                      |
| Fighter Planes                         | 33                     | 38                                       | 87%                       |
| Transport Planes                       | 19                     | 29                                       | 21%                       |
| Training and Tactical Support Aircraft | 28                     | 50                                       | 79%                       |
| Helicopters                            | 7                      | 21                                       | 300%                      |
| <b>Naval Force</b>                     |                        |  |                           |
| Naval Bases                            | 2                      | 4  | 100%                      |
| Total Number of Naval Units            | 9                      | 15                                       | 67%                       |
| Merchant Ships                         | 25                     | 45                                       | 70%                       |

In addition to the quantitative increase in military capacity, a qualitative change occurred in fiscal year 1981 not only in bilateral assistance, military training, combat readiness and the acquisition of new combat techniques in all branches of the Honduran Naval and Armed Forces, but also in foreign military technical support. Due to these increases a marked advance in the operational capacity of the Honduran Armed Forces is evident in the following areas:

**Air Transport Operations:** On October 30, 1981 a mobile training group arrived at the military installations of the Honduran Second Infantry Battalion.

**Paratroop exercises:** Three mobile training groups arrived in Honduras on the following dates: a) February 6, 1981 from the 82nd Air Transport Division at Fort Bragg; b) May 17, 1981 from the Seventh Special Forces of the Third Battalion; and c) November 11, 1981 from the Southern Command.

**Assistance and Technical support** was provided to the Second Infantry Battalion known as the Special Tactics Unit (ATE) and a Special Operations Detachment.

**Counter-Insurgency Operations:** Mobile Training groups of the Seventh Special Forces of the Third Battalion carried out various operations after their arrivals on: a) April 25, 1981 from the Southern Command; and b) October 22, 1981 from the same location.

**Command and General Staff:** Technical support was provided by two mobile training groups which arrived on February 26, 1981 from Fort Worden and on August 20, 1981 from the U.S. Southern Command in Panama. Both groups were assigned as instructors to the officers and teachers of the Southern Command School and the General Staff of Honduras.

**Naval:** Upgrading of the Honduran Navy was carried out by a mobile training group which specializes in small patrol vessels who came from the Rodman Naval Base in the former U.S. Canal Zone and arrived in Puerto Cortes, Honduras on August 16, 1981.

**Communications:** Three Mobile Training groups arrived: a) on April 25, 1981 from Fort Bragg; b) on September 14, 1981 from the Fort Gordon School of Communications; and c) on June 25, 1981, from the 1978th Communications Group of the U.S. Southern Command.

**Light Arms Maintenance:** On May 26, 1981 a Mobile Training Group of the 193rd Infantry Brigade of the U.S. Southern Command, arrived to advise the Honduras Special Forces.

**Border Patrol:** On July 23, 1981 a Mobile Training Group from the Southern Command arrived to conduct a course on Customs investigations.

**Supplies & Maintenance:** A Mobile Training Group arrived in Honduras on February 23, 1981 from Fort Lee.

**Medical Services:** A Mobile Training Group from the Southern Command arrived on May 13, 1982.

**Maintenance of Helicopter Motors:** Four Mobile Training Groups arrived in Honduras from the Southern Command on the following dates: March 25, 1981, August 3, 1981; and, September 22, 1981. The latter was from the 210th Air Battalion of the Southern Command.

**Radar:** Mobile Training Group arrived on September 13, 1981 from the Southern Command.

**Target Practice:** A Mobile Training Group arrived in Honduras on July 14, 1981 to give technical assistance in the construction of a large shooting range for the Honduran Army.

**Military Intelligence:** Two U.S. Mobile Training Groups arrived in Honduras for advisory purposes on February 3, 1981 and on June 25, 1981.

### II. U.S. Military Involvement in Honduras:

The U.S. has played a decisive role in the re-orientation of the characteristics of the Honduran Armed Forces.

#### a. Technical Assistance:

Financing and technical assistance to four anti-insurgency field schools;

In 1982, 5 mobile training groups were sent from the Southern Command and specialized in:

**Command and General Staff:** On April 18, 1982 a Mobile Training Group arrived in Honduras to conclude the second instruction course in

the Command and General Staff School of Honduras. By August of 1982, 10 high ranking infantry officers had graduated.

**Flight Instruction:** Flight instruction was carried out by two mobile training groups which arrived in Honduras on June 8, 1982 especially for officer training in direct air support missions and, on June 29, 1982 to train 40 regulars of the Honduran Armed Forces.

**Airport Resave and Surveillance:** On April 11, 1982 a mobile training group arrived in Honduras to conduct this training under the command of Captain Gonzalez of the U.S. Southern Command.

**Communications Chiefs:** A mobile training group arrived on April 12, 1982 to carry out this training which also included training in the use of AN/TRS-2 radio equipment.

**Training in Night Flight Missions:** On August 24, 1982 a mobile training group arrived in San Pedro de Sula. This group has as its present mission to advise and train regular forces of the Third Infantry Battalion of San Pedro de Sula in ambush, incursions and air mobility operations.

**Nighttime Small Vessels Patrol:** A U.S. Coast Guard mobile training group arrived in Honduras on April 6, 1982 for specialized training.

**Radar:** On September 12, 1981 a mobile training group arrived in Honduras and stayed at the Hotel Maya of Tegucigalpa.

Five courses were conducted in the military installations of the Southern Command for Honduran officers and soldiers in the specialized areas of Teaching Administration, Joint Operations, Supplies and general training courses.

An increase in U.S. instructors from 40 in February of 1982 to more than 100 in August of 1982, all forming part of mobile training groups.

In 1981 United States technical assistance to Honduras, from the U.S. Southern Command, through these mobile training groups amounted to a total of 32 specialized groups working in Honduran territory.

In 1982, 15 of these mobile training groups have already been registered in Honduras.



**General Gustavo Alvarez (second from left) and Major Leonel Luque (second from right), both officers in the Honduran army, receiving instructions from a U.S. Military advisor (far right) during the joint military maneuver known as "Combined Deployment."**

b. Visits by U.S. military to Honduras:

In 1981 a total of 50 visits were noted with a total of 56 persons, among these:

- 44 from the Canal Zone; and,
- 6 from the United States.

Noteworthy among these visits are:

Two by the Chief of the Southern Command, Lt. Gen. Wallace Nutting: the first on February 11, 1981 to the installations of the Honduran Second Infantry Battalion, the Counter Insurgency School in Marcala and other units in the country and, the second, on October 5, 1982 when he hosted a reception prior to the launching of the "HALCON VISTA" maneuvers.

Visits by the Chief of Operations of the Southern Command: on February 1, May 7 and August 15, 1981 all in relation to "HALCON VISTA."

Visit by the Chief of Logistics of the Southern Command on January 29, 1982; purpose unknown.

Visit by the Chief of the General Staff of the 193rd Infantry Brigade of the Southern Command accompanied by an officer specializing in the Central American Area.

Visits by the Head of the Planning Division of the Military Intelligence Department of the Southern Command on March 11, 1981 accompanied by officers of that Department, and also on June 5, 1981 when he visited the Gulf of Fonseca.

On April 13, 1981 the Air Force Commander and the Second in Command of the Southern Command met in Honduras with the Honduran General Staff and the Chiefs of the Honduran Army and Air Force.

On September 24, 1981, the President of the Inter-American Defense Board (JID), Lt. General John Winn Meenery visited Honduras to speak with high ranking military officers and assess the situation.

Particularly noteworthy was the visit on May 13, 1981 of General Vernon Walters, special emissary of the U.S. Secretary of State. Walters met with the Foreign Minister and Honduran politicians, and with the then Colonel Gustavo Alvarez.

During 1982, a total of 16 visits by a total of 30 persons have taken place, including 11 from the Southern Command, and 4 from the continental United States.

Among the 16 visits by high ranking officials this year, the following should be noted:

Various visits by Lt. Col. Rousell, Commander of the Third Battalion of the Southern Command's Seventh Group; on February 15, 1982, purpose not known; and on March 17, 1982 to review the training received by units of the Honduran Army from the Mobile Training Groups.

On March 20, 1982 Lt. Col. Pat Murray, the historian for the United States Air Force visited Honduras to meet with historians of the Honduran Air Force.

On March 20, 1982 Colonel Mark R. Richard, Chief of Public Relations of the Southern Command made a visit of unknown purpose.

Colonel Derrel Sponberg and Joseph Tyron of Security Assistance Agency of the Southern Command visited Honduras on April 26, 1982. They offered a seminar to the Honduran General Staff on U.S. Military Foreign Assistance Programs.

On April 27, 1982, Colonel Robert Red and Lt. Col. Burton, Commander and Executive Official, respectively, of the 24 ALAS of the Southern Command, arrived in Honduras and stayed with the Honduran General Staff.

Lt. Thomas Stevens of the Latin American Military Affairs Division of the Southern Command visited Honduras on May 19, 1982 and met with officials of the General Staff of Honduras; and a second visit was on August 30, 1982 when he met with high ranking Honduran officials to discuss training programs for the Honduran Armed Forces and Military Planning for "HALCON VISTA 1982."

Of particular interest is the visit by Admiral Harry R. Train, Atlantic Fleet Commander, in August of 1982. In Tegucigalpa, he met with the Chief of the Honduran General Staff; he received a briefing at Honduran Navy headquarters and he also visited the Puerto Cortes Navy Base and naval units in Puerto Tela, Puerto Castillo and Puerto Lempira.

On August 15, 1982 majority of the personnel of the Third Battalion Special Forces 7th Group of the Southern Command was transported in four C-130 aircraft to the Mesa airbase in San Pedro de Sula.

c. Weapons Acquisitions:

In 1980, the Honduran Government received from the United States the following military equipment:

- M-16 and M-14 rifles
- Short arms
- M-79 Grenade Launchers
- Mortars
- 75 mm. Cannons
- 105 mm. Howitzers
- M-21 armored vehicles
- Aircraft and helicopter spare parts
- High powered air surface missiles
- Explosives for aircraft
- 60 and 81 mm. mortar grenades

In 1981, Honduran Armed Forces weapons acquisitions included the following:

- 17 Scorpio-Tanks (British)
- 15 SALADIN armored vehicles
- 15 SPARTAN carrier transports (British)
- Explosives, C-3 & C-4
- Planes A-37B and T-37B
- RBY armored vehicles (Israeli)

During the month of October, the Honduran Government received shipment of 10 UH-1H helicopters.



In November 1981, the United States delivered five F-100 SABRE combat planes to Honduras.

In May 1982, a U.S. merchant ship arrived in Puerto Cortes with a weapons shipment. Likewise, the Commander of the Honduran Air Force traveled in an official visit to the U.S. Southern Command to observe the performance test of the C-123K transport plane, a plane which Honduras announced an interest in purchasing.

In July 1982, 83 flights landed in Honduran territory, transporting weapons and military supplies. Among the carriers: 77 C-130 aircraft carriers and six C-141s.

In August 1982, the Chief of Honduran Armed Forces requested that eight C-130 aircraft carriers be included in the next US military assistance plan. That same month U.S. ships originating from Guantanamo Navy Base, Cuba, arrived at the Honduran ports of Tela and Cortes with a crew of 150 men.

In September 1982, a U.S. Naval unit arrived from the United States in Puerto Lempira carrying weapons for the Fifth Infantry Battalion.

d. U.S. Military Assistance to Honduras:

| FISCAL YEAR | U.S. DOLLARS  |
|-------------|---|
| 1980:       | \$ 3 million  |
| 1981:       | \$ 5.5 million  |
| 1982:       | \$10.6 million  |
|             | In addition to \$21 million approved for the modernization of Honduras' airports. |

This military assistance excludes funds designated for the extension and modernization of the naval bases of CARATASCA and PUERTO CASTILLA.

### III. Joint Military Maneuvers (U.S.-Honduras), U.S. Military Presence and U.S. Naval and Air Espionage Operations

A series of United States and Honduran military deployments, carried out individually and jointly, have focused on Nicaragua as a target for current and future operations in preparation for a war against Nicaragua.

Since 1980 surveillance and rescue maneuvers have been carried out from different air bases in Honduras. In October 1981, a naval-air operation denominated "HALCON VISTA" (Falcon View) was carried out with the joint participation of U.S. and Honduran troops off the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua. The United States had 757 soldiers, one U.S.

Navy troop carrier LSD-30, two 0-2A planes, one C-130 transport carrier, one CH-47 helicopter, one "PCF" naval patrol, two 65 foot navy patrol boats and one "ATF" ocean tug boat. Honduras had a paratrooper unit from the army general staff, two C-47 airplanes, two A-37 planes, three UH-1H helicopters, and three 105 foot patrol boats.

Besides this air and water maneuver, in 1981, paratrooper exercises of the 2nd Infantry Battalion (known as ATE) took place using C-47 and ARAVA planes. These exercises took place in the following places:

- Toncontin Air Force Base on May 17, 1981;
- Toncontin and Tamara Air Force Bases on May 20, 1981;
- La Ceiba and Comayagua Air Force Base on May 22, 1981; and
- The "MERENCLON" mountains in the N.W. of Honduras.

There were also airport surveillance and rescue maneuvers, control of anti-aircraft defense systems and air exercises.

The Honduran Army also has participated in joint military maneuvers with the Salvadorean Army, as was the case of "OPERATION SANDWICH," along the border regions of San Juan de Guarta, the Sompol River, Valladolid, Mapulaca, Santa Lucia and Colomoncagua in Honduran territory. The seventh and twelfth Infantry Battalions were deployed in these.

In the first nine months of 1982, military exercises accelerated tremendously, as did air and naval espionage missions in Nicaraguan territory.

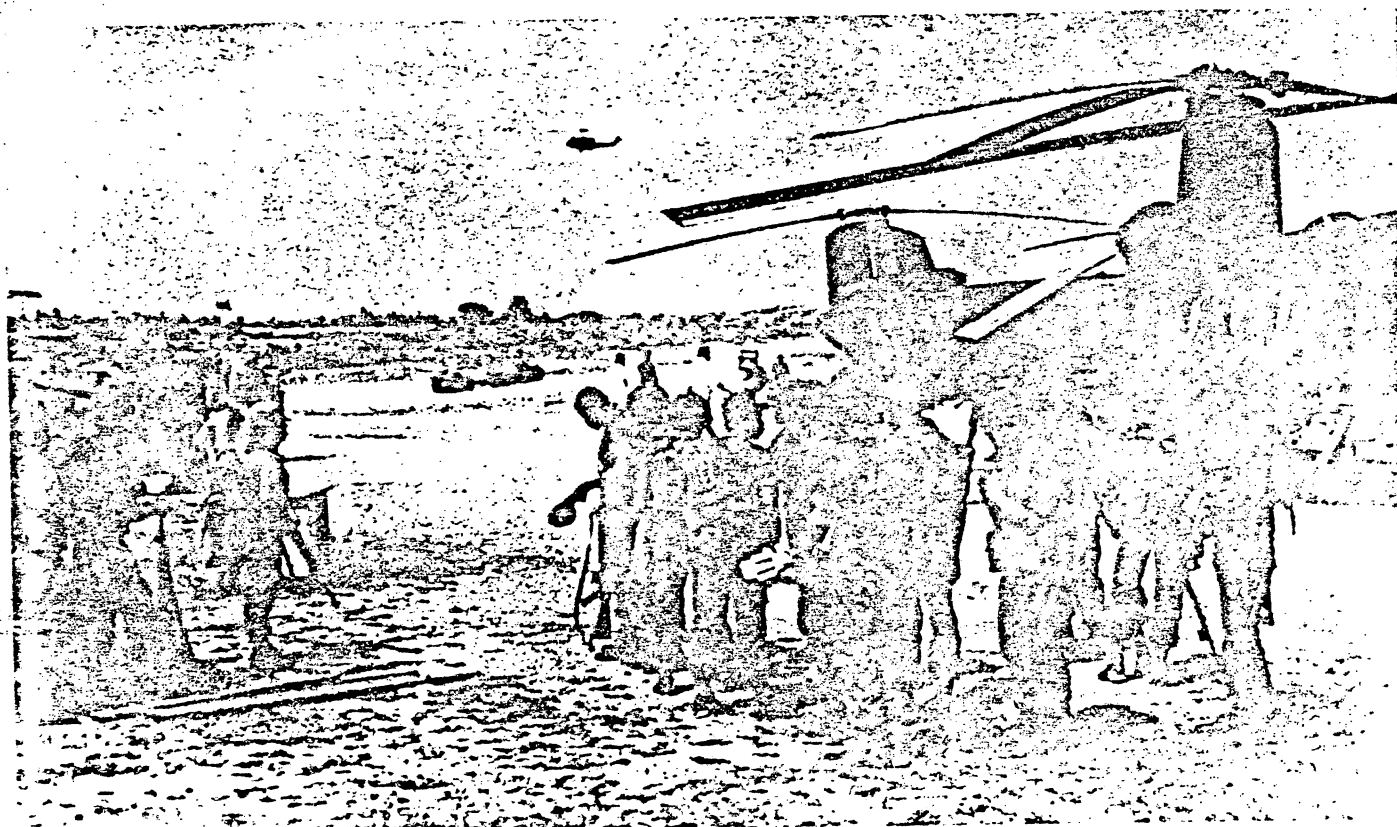
On February 27, 1982, the U.S. Navy destroyer "USS CARON" was discovered in the territorial waters off Nicaragua's Pacific Coast.

In March, an exercise took place with the use of fighter planes, helicopters, infantry and heavy artillery units, in response to a supposed attack on the Honduran Air Base of Toncontin. At the same time, in another exercise, all Honduran Air Force planes were placed on alert to evaluate the combative disposition of these planes.

On April 15, the U.S. destroyer DDG-40 "USS COONTZ" was detected in Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast territorial waters. The frigate FFG-23 "LEWIS B. PULLER" was seen off Nicaragua's Atlantic coast. On June 7, the Frigate FF-1075 "USS TRIPPE" was seen in Nicaragua's Pacific territorial waters.

Between April and July, two U.S. espionage flights, U-2 planes, flew over the Puerto Cabezas area. In July, the joint military maneuver "COMBINED DEPLOYMENT" took place with U.S. and Honduran forces.

This military maneuver took place in a region in Honduras where there is a large concentration of Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary forces. This exercise consisted in an airlift of the Honduran 5th Battalion from the Department of Comayagua to the Department of Cabo Gracias a Dios.



Puerto Lempira, Honduras. Honduran soldiers awaiting transport aboard U.S. helicopters to new military base in Mocoron.

and the recently constructed Fort Mocoron. Thirty U.S. pilots, 1,500 soldiers, USAF C-130 transport planes, two heavy transport USAF helicopters, CH-47 planes from the Honduran Air Force, and two UH-1H helicopters participated in the exercises.

Moreover, during this same month the entire Honduran Army was placed on full alert on two separate occasions. On July 29 and again on August 5, 1982 orders were given to concentrate troops and be ready to move to any point in the country within 48 hours.

Border maneuvers were also carried out in the Departments of Choluteca and El Paraíso, mobilizing small units of the first, third, eleventh, and sixth Battalions and company of the regiment of the armored cavalry and artillery pieces of the Third Battalion.

In August, military exercises denominated "ACCION CIVICA" (Civic Action) took place with the air units which had participated in the "Combined Deployment" operation (two Chinook and two C-13A). The flights took place over zones inhabited by ex-National Guard and Miskito communities and in a route from San Pedro de Sula to Puerto Lempira. Twenty-two U.S. pilots participated in this.

At the same time, units of the Honduran Air Force with United States participation carried out rescue and security maneuvers at the San Pedro de Sula airport.

In August, the USS PORTLAND with 600 marines arrived at Puerto Cortes. It remained there for two days, but later left to take part in the UNITAS naval maneuvers in the Atlantic Ocean. During the same period, two USAF U-2 planes flew two espionage missions over Nicaraguan territory.

On August 17, the destroyer DD-963 SPRUANCE was detected in Nicaraguan territorial waters off the Pacific Coast.

In September, the second phase of the "COMBINED DEPLOYMENT" maneuvers took place; it consisted in the final phase of relocation of the Fifth Battalion to Mocoron.

Two UH-1H helicopters, two C-130 transport planes and two C-47 airplanes all from Honduras participated.

#### IV. Attacks and Infiltrations by Former Members of Somoza's National Guard From Honduran Territory

Another aspect of the hostile position of certain sectors of the Honduran Army towards Nicaragua is shown by the active support for the military activities carried out by former members of the Somocista National Guard, based in Honduran territory.

This support includes supplying arms and other supplies as well as technical and logistical support. In collaboration with the Central Intelligence Agency and advisors from certain South American countries, the activities of the ex-guard bands are supervised and coordinated. Infrastructure and logistical support are also provided for their military camps located for the most part along the border with Nicaragua.

Between 4,700 and 5,500 counter-revolutionaries operate from these camps with about 3,000 along the western border and 2,500 along the eastern one, across from the Nicaraguan department of Zelaya.

##### a. Location, Size and Armaments of the Bases

1. San Judas Base: 14 kilometers west of San Pedro de Potrero Grande; they operate (probably as a battalion) from this base armed with various weaponry including hand grenades, M-79 grenade launchers, 60 and 81 mm. mortars, Chinese-made RPG-7s (bazookas) and 2 or 3 helicopters.

2. Cerro Baldoquin Base: 11 kilometers northwest of San Pedro de Potrero Grande (coordinates 02-70); 700 people operating as a reinforced battalion with armament similar to the above.

3. San Marcos de Colon area: 400 to 600 members, (coordinates 20-84).

4. Cacamuya Base: called BL-5 (coordinates 26-73), 600 ex-guardsmen led by an Alcides Espinoza, similarly equipped.

5. Trojes Base: 10 kilometers northeast of Teotiaciente; 400 to 600 ex-guardsmen led by "Richard" with operations centering on the border area of Jalapa; similar armament.

6. An operational school in La Ladoza called the "Nicaragua" Military Training Base: 130 to 150 ex-guardsmen led by Benito Bravo; similar equipment. This base is a school for groups of ex-National Guard who are later either transferred to other camps or infiltrated directly into Nicaragua to operate as internal military units or bands.

7. Monte de Aguila Base: 10 kilometers northeast of Jalapa; 250 guardsmen, similar armament, (coordinates 82-43).

8. Hacienda La Estrella Base: 12 kilometers southwest of Jalapa, 250 ex-guardsmen, similar armament, (coordinates 28-37).

9. Cerro Los Nubarrones Base: 10 kilometers west of Jalapa, approximately 200 ex-guardsmen; similar armament, (coordinates 82-39).

10. Auka Base: 36 kilometers northeast of Leymus; about 400 ex-guardsmen armed with FAL and M-16 rifles, M-79 grenade launchers and LAW rocket launchers.

11. Rus-Rus Base: 37 kilometers northwest of Leymus; approximately 400 ex-guardsmen; similar armament.

12. Mocoron Camp: 35 kilometers north of Leymus, approximately 400 ex-guardsmen, similar armament.

##### b. Military Hostilities Carried Out by Ex-Guardsmen

The following are examples of sabotage and attack plans attempted against Nicaragua:

1. Attempted sabotage against fuel deposits located in the port of Corinto. Unidentified aircraft launched two rockets, neither of which reached their target (July 1982).

2. Two small aircraft carrying rockets and bombs attempted an attack on Nicaragua's only oil refinery: These planes were intercepted and turned back near their target.

3. "Red Christmas" plot uncovered in December 1981. This called for armed attacks on political, military and economic installations (with the support of certain Moravian pastors). Following the attacks, the plan was for the population to launch an insurrection against the Nicaraguan Government.

4. The plot to takeover Puerto Cabezas (July 1982): This called for a series of attacks and the occupation of certain strategic points by well trained and supplied military units of guardsmen infiltrated from Honduras. Following the attacks, the units were to regroup for the take over of Puerto Cabezas with aid of the population. The purpose was to foil the Third Anniversary celebrations of the Sandinist Revolution. In anticipation of US support, territory was to be taken and a provisional government set up.

5. Plan to seize the mines: Basically sought to destroy the infrastructure of this industry. This episode began with the attack on the El Salto Grande dam in Bonanza but proved unsuccessful due to the response by the Sandinista Militia.

On the other hand, the counter-revolutionary bands have successfully carried out numerous activities such as the sabotage to the Negro River bridge in Somotillo, as well as the bridge over the Coco River which ties Ocotla to Nueva Segovia. These acts occurred on March 14 of this year. The bands were able to destroy completely the bridge in Somotillo, but only partially destroyed the bridge in Nueva Segovia.

Nicaragua suffered a tragic loss on July 24, 1982 when ex-guardsmen attacked militia members in the village of San Francisco del Norte, located 30 kms. from Somotillo. Fourteen militia members were killed.

Also recently, military units of ex-guardsmen destroyed \$2 million worth of vehicles and machinery used in road construction. This incident occurred on August 28, 1982 in the village of Iyas, located about 12 kilometers northeast of Waslala in the Department of Matagalpa.

As the result of these actions, Nicaragua's armed forces and militia suffered 75 casualties.

In the annex a detailed list is provided of anti-Nicaraguan activities which have taken place between 1980 and 1982.

##### b. Location and Activities of the Bands within Nicaragua:

At present 7 units of ex-guardsmen have been detected operating within Nicaragua each with between 150 and 200 members.

Seven other groups, each of 40 to 50 members are also active which makes for a total of between 1,300 and 1,500 men, armed, trained in Honduras and later infiltrated into Nicaraguan territory.

##### Units and Bands of Ex-Guardsmen That Have Infiltrated Nicaragua From Honduran Territory Over the Last Year.

Zones of Operation And Size Of The 7 Units.

1. Sandy Bay, Loma, Kaska and Dakura 200;
2. Kukulaya-Lapan, Haulover Southwest of Puerto Cabezas 200;
3. Musawas, north, north-east of Bonanza 100;
4. Wina, Kuwali, El Ocote, Santa Rosa de Tapaskun, in the Department of Jinotega 200;
5. Chachagua, Palo Prieto, Cerro Zacateras, and Murra Ciudad Sandino 100-150;
6. Labu, Kukuinita, Tadasna, Waylawas all South of Siuna 100;
7. Wapi, Cerro El Cacao, Cerro El Pinol Okonwas, Cerro La Flor 100.

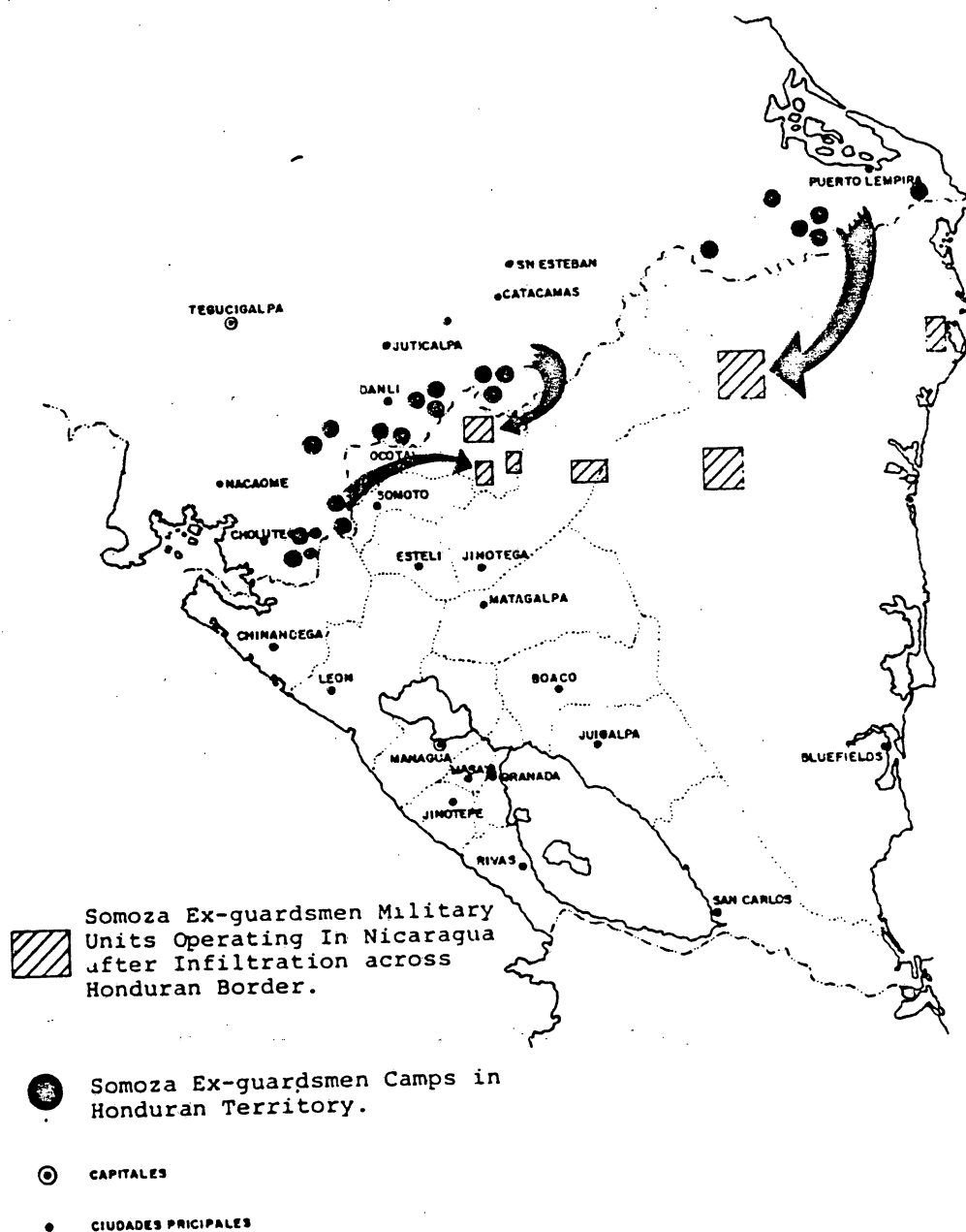
##### Zones of Operation and Size of the 7 Bands.

1. Cerro La Martina, Rio Kurinwas, Sur de San Pedro del Norte, Cerro Las Minitas 40;
2. Nueva Guinea, Colonia Agricola Jerusalem, Yolaina 50;
3. Rio Blanco, Aulo, Wanawas, Walana 40;
4. Kilambe, Cerro del Cumbo, Cano de La Cruz, Wamblan, Los Mollejones, Los Nogales 50;
5. Planes de Vilan, La Vigia, San Juan de Buena Vista, Noreste de Yali, Norte de Apanas 40;
6. West of Monkey Point and Punta Gorda, Pijibaye and Cerro Bonito 50;
7. Kakabila, north of Kukra Hill, west of Laguna de Perlas and El Caimito 50.



# MILITARY ACTIVITY ON THE NICARAGUAN NORTHERN BORDER 1980-1982

| Type of Activity                           | Number | Zone Affected  | Number of Nicaraguan Casualties     |     |
|--|--------|--|-------------------------------------|-----|
| Infiltrations                              | 88     | Las Manos border area with Honduras in the Department of North Zelaya.<br>Palo Grande, Santo Tomas del Monte, Pena de Jicote, in the Department of Chinandega. | Nicaraguan Army (EPS)               | 185 |
|  |        |  | Border Patrol (TGF)                 | 54  |
|  |        |  | Militia (MPS)                       | 92  |
|  |        |  | State Security (DGSE)               | 20  |
|  |        |  | Volunteer Police (PVS)              | 8   |
|  |        |  | Teachers and Young Volunteer Tutors | 15  |
|  |        |  |                                     | 374 |
| Troop Movements on the Border              | 61     | Nicaragua's Northern border  |                                     |     |
| Attacks on Border Posts                    | 96     | Nicaragua's Northern border  |                                     |     |
| Attacks and Ambushes on Nicaraguan Patrols | 78     | Nicaragua's Northern border  |                                     |     |



## Bucks for Butchers:

# Evangelicals Support Guatemalan Dictatorship

By Robert Lawrence\*

General Efraín Ríos Montt came to power in Guatemala following a coup by junior military officers in March 1982. Although the extent of the Reagan administration's involvement in that coup is unknown, the Reagan team was anxious to embrace this authoritarian regime in a country regarded as strategically significant. A congressional ban on military assistance required a cautious public approach to the new regime, although there is evidence that the ban was and always has been secretly ignored. (See sidebar.)

Few ordinary citizens, even some people close to President Reagan and to military and commercial interests in Guatemala knew much about Ríos Montt. Not so with "The 700 Club," an evangelical TV show. Barely a week after the coup, host Pat Robertson asked his television audience to pray for Guatemala and for Ríos Montt. "Continue to pray, if you would, and don't stop, round the clock," Robertson said, "because he's going to need all of our prayers continuously."

Soon thereafter, other well known evangelicals, including Jerry Falwell, Bill Bright, and Billy Graham, met with Ríos Montt's deputies, who were mobilizing support in this country for his regime. Who is Ríos Montt, and why is he exciting such a fervor among the religious Right in the United States?

### El Verbo Presidente

General Efraín Ríos Montt, a graduate of the Dale Carnegie School, rose from the rank of corporal to chief of staff of the Guatemalan Army. He was a veteran of counterinsurgency training in Panama and in the U.S., and once directed the Interamerican School of Defense in Washington. In 1974 he was the presidential candidate of the Christian Democratic coalition which lost the election, widely documented as fraudulent. Ríos Montt went to Spain as a minor diplomat.

He returned to Guatemala in 1978, renounced Catholicism, and joined an evangelical sect called the Church of the Complete Word, or *El Verbo*, as it is known there. *El Verbo* had been established by a Eureka, California sect called Gospel Outreach following Guatemala's devastating earthquake in 1976. According to one church official, Gos-



General Efraín Ríos Montt, born-again butcher.

pel Outreach has about 1,200 members in Guatemala. Several church officials, including some U.S. citizens, have since become close advisers to Ríos Montt, especially in the area of "public relations." One of them, James Degolyer, a former New Yorker and Haight-Ashbury hippie, is one of Ríos Montt's "spiritual advisers" who is "drawing up a list of Scriptures to guide" him, according to the *New York Times*.

Since taking power, Ríos Montt removed the two other members of the junta that put him in power, declared a state of siege, suspended the constitution, and now rules by decree. He also instituted special courts with the power to sentence to death individuals convicted of "political" crimes, a penalty expressly forbidden by Guatemala's Constitution of 1965.

Concerned about Guatemala's image in the U.S., Ríos Montt sent his top deputy, Francisco Bianchi, to this country in June 1982. At a dinner meeting at the home of U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States, William Middendorf, Bianchi met with Ed Meese, James Watt, Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell, and U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala, Frederick Chapin. On other trips to the U.S. Bianchi met with Billy Graham and Bill Bright of the Campus Crusade for Christ. (The latter is also involved in missionary work in Central America.)

\*Robert Lawrence is a journalist and researcher in Washington who has written extensively on Latin American affairs.

These meetings began to pay quick dividends for the Rios Montt regime. In July, Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) sent a film crew to Guatemala that traveled along with officials of Gospel Outreach into guerrilla-held territory in the northern highlands. Film footage gathered by CBN's crew was shown as a three part series on the "700 Club" broadcasts.

Ironically, this success among the Protestant fundamentalists was of little consolation to Rios Montt's brother, Bishop Mario Rios Montt, head of the Prelature of Esquintla. The Bishop has been a staunch defender of the rights of the poor Indian peasants in his Prelature; but recently, according to the *National Catholic Reporter* (November 12, 1982), he was forced to go into exile in Costa Rica.

#### **Mercy Money for Rios Montt**

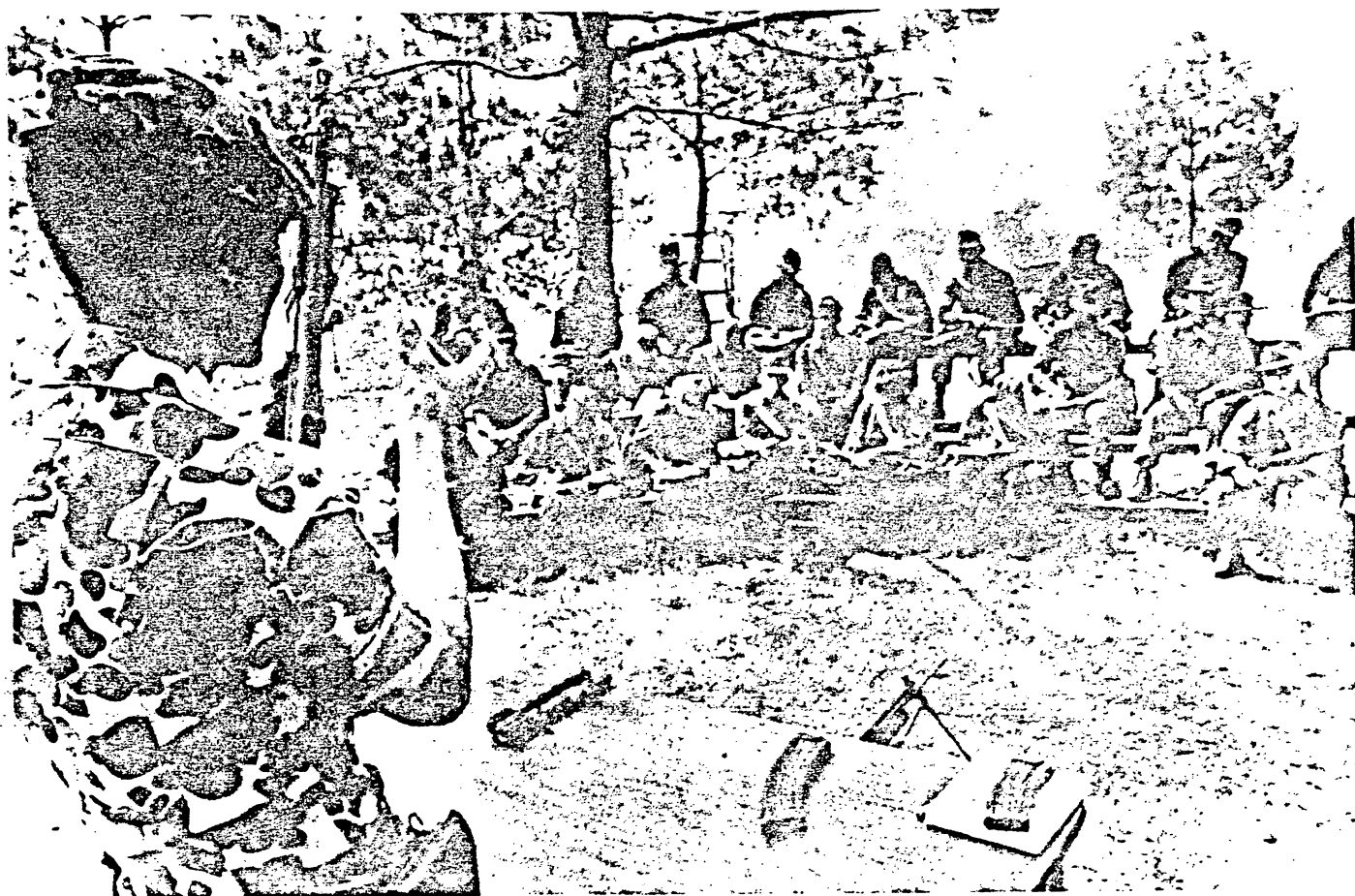
Robertson has issued regular appeals for cash donations ostensibly to assist Guatemala's Indian population in purchasing seed corn, farm implements, and building materials. Donations of money and supplies are being coordinated through International Love Lift (ILL), a subsidiary of Gospel Outreach, and through Youth with a Mission (YWAM), which is providing two ships to carry the supplies to Guatemala.

ILL circulated appeal letters to hundreds of church groups in this country and sponsored a speaking tour by Carlos Ramirez, Rios Montt's pastor and "spiritual adviser." ILL's stated goal is to raise between \$10 and \$20 million during the next 18 months for food, medicine,

tools, and shelter, in a program called FMTS-18. The possibility of seeking donations of "mercy" helicopters to transport the supplies into the interior has also been raised. Ramirez described the groups' efforts to the *Baltimore Sun* as "practical missionary work" designed to assist the estimated 250,000 people displaced by Guatemala's "civil war." (Most political observers note that the term "civil war" is misleading and that the situation really represents the repression of the vast majority of the people by a tiny minority.)

#### **"Scorched Earth" and "Strategic Hamlets"**

Despite Rios Montt's protestations that he put a stop to the activities of paramilitary death squads which claimed an estimated 7,000 lives under his predecessor, General Lucas Garcia, reports of the wholesale slaughter of entire villages suspected of guerrilla sympathies continue to surface, and figures of killings during his eight-month regime are put at 4,000, according to a recent release from the Council on Hemispheric Affairs. Rios Montt has made statements expressing respect for human rights, and has apparently curtailed the politically unproductive urban assassinations. (See the Special Update of October 1982 of the Washington Office on Latin America.) But he has dramatically escalated the Army's rural campaign. Massacres have increased, not decreased. Moreover, a program of selective assassinations of guerrilla suspects is being carried out by newly formed civilian militias forced into service.



Counterinsurgency training in Guatemala.

# Weapons Ban Defied

Guatemala ostensibly renounced U.S. military aid in 1977 in response to a critical human rights report by the Carter administration. Congress subsequently blocked further military sales when the Guatemalan government had a change of heart. But that ban has always been ignored, and recent disclosures bear this out.

In October it was reported in the *Washington Post* that U.S. Green Berets have for more than two years been training Guatemalan Army cadets in "ambushes, surveillance, combat arms, artillery, armor, patrolling, demolition, and helicopter assault tactics." The instructor interviewed by the *Post* reporter, unaware of congressional strictures, described his job as "not much different" from that of U.S. military advisers in El Salvador. Straining credulity, the Pentagon describes his job as "a language instructor," teaching English to officer candidates.

Dramatic proof of U.S. military aid surfaced in

November, when one of the Guatemalan guerrilla groups, the Organization of the People in Arms, announced that it had recovered incriminating documents from an Army helicopter it had shot down the previous month. Killed in the crash was Col. Mario Vasquez Mandonado, Air Force chief of logistics, who had recently returned from advanced training in Chile. Col. Vasquez was carrying documents, two of which are reprinted here, confirming the transshipment of various military equipment and spare parts from the U.S. Air Force to the Guatemalan Air Force via the Miami shipping firm Conex, Inc. While some of the material may arguably be non-controversial, some items, such as transponders for aircraft communication systems, are clearly within the ban.

The Reagan administration's pleas to end the ban are pure hypocrisy. The ban is being violated every day.



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Junio 16, 1982

Fuerza Aerea Guatemalteca  
Base Aerea La Aurora  
Ciudad de Guatemala,  
Guatemala, C.A.

Atencion: Coronel Mario Vazquez  
Jefe Seccion Logistica F.A.G.

Estimado Coronel Vazquez:

Adjunto envio Cotizacion de los uniformes.

Va le compramos el telefono al Sr. Comandante.

Tambien compre las piezas para el King Air 200 - Creo seria (esto es una idea) me enviaran el Indicador P/N 25929220-444, RD-444 para overhaul cuando tuvieran tiempo, pues es un indicador bastante costoso y así tienen uno en bodega.

Tenemos todavia pendiente las 200 lbs., que la F.A.G. tiene que recoger en la Base de Homestead en la Florida, tenoo que indicarle a la base o la Seccion Logistica de la U.S.A. 30 dias con anticipacion, para que ellos muevan la carga hasta la Base de Homestead.

Con el Coronel Mario Cabrera de Aviataca le envie un sobre el dia 13 de Junio de 1982, dentro van las facturas que necesita Porres.

Tambien necesito que me envie el transponder, del A-37 para enviarlo a overhaul.

Le agradecere me envie el modelo de los transponder que requieren, para los distintos aviones.

Por este medio le doy las gracias por todos los giros que nos han enviado. Muchas gracias.

Atentamente,

Mary Correia  
Mary Correia



7353 N.W. 54th STREET / MIAMI, FLORIDA 33166  
TELEPHONE (305) 883-7353

COTIZACION NO. 6118

FUERZA AEREA GUATEMALTECA  
BASE AEREA LA AURORA  
CIUDAD DE GUATEMALA  
GUATEMALA, C.A.

16 de Junio de 1982

NOTA: PRECIOS VIGENTES POR 45 DIAS

ATENCION: CORONEL MARIO VAZQUEZ  
JEFE SECCION LOGISTICA F.A.G.

|   | PRECIO POR UNIDAD | TOT.        |
|---|-------------------|-------------|
| 100 unidades "Chumpas - Verde Gris L20<br>S- 54<br>M 41 ENTREGA 45 DIAS<br>L 5  | 35.00             | 3,500.00    |
| 100 Guantes de vuelo Modelo GS-FRP-2 ✓<br># 7 - 25<br>6 41 Entrega 30 dias<br>9 22<br>10 12   | 25.75             | 2,575.00    |
| 100 overoles de vuelo Modelo GJ277p (Iguales ✓<br>a los que usan en USA -Verde<br>36S 23 38R 14 42R 1<br>36R 29 40S 1<br>36 L 6 40R 11 - Entrega 4 -5 meses<br>38S 13 40L 2 | 142.00            | 14,200.00   |
| 100 PARES DE BOTAS DE CUERO CON ZIPPER ✓<br>S - 2 BU 5<br>6 3 BU 4<br>7R 28 BU 2<br>7W 4 9R 20 ENTREGA 30 D'AS<br>7WR 9 9W 2<br>BR 18 9WR 1                                 | 43.00             | 4,300.00    |
| 50 Survival Vest Chatecos - Medium<br>#8415,-933,-6231  | 116.00            | 5,800.00    |
|   | TOTAL             | \$30,375.00 |

NOTA: LOS OVEROLES DE CAMOUFLAGE - NO LOS HACEN - PORQUE LA TELA PARA LOS OVEROLES ES CONTRA INCENDIO - TENDRIAN QUE PONER UNA ORDEN DE 6,000 a 10,000 OVEROLES - Y SERIA UNA ORDEN ESPECIAL PORQUE LA TELA TIENE QUE SER PROCESADA CONTRA INCENDIO - ESTOS VIENEN EN VERDE Y AZUL SOLAMENTE

Mary Correia  
MARY CORREIA

Rios Montt has improved his military's intelligence capabilities, with considerable Argentinian and Israeli assistance, so that the Army is developing a better idea of the guerrilla strengths. In addition the government has established a "strategic village" program accompanied by a scorched earth policy. Whole rural areas are wiped out, burned to the ground, and villagers rounded up and relocated.

It is those civilian organizations created by the Guatemalan Army as a counterweight to the political organizations of the guerrilla groups with which the evangelical missions work most closely. In a special briefing issued by Amnesty International in July 1982 entitled "Guatemala: Massive extrajudicial executions in rural areas under the government of General Efraim Rios Montt," blame for these executions is placed squarely on the military:

"Guatemala security services continue to attempt to control opposition, both violent and non-violent, through widespread killings including the extrajudicial execution of large numbers of rural non-combatants, including entire families, as well as persons suspected of sympathy with violent or non-violent opposition groups."

As recently as November 5, the president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, Archbishop John Roach, issued a statement calling on the Reagan administration "to withhold any further military assistance to Guatemala until substantial and verifiable proof is given that the pattern has truly been broken." The Reagan administration has already authorized the commercial sale of trucks and jeeps to the Guatemalan government, has proposed a modest \$3.2 million dollars for military training and included

## Pacification Diary: A Witness's Account

On July 5, 1982, a team of U.S. fundamentalist dentists and several members of the Wycliffe Bible Translators/Summer Institute of Linguistics traveled to the village of Nebaj in the province of El Quiche, Guatemala. Their trip was organized by International Love Lift, a subsidiary of Gospel Outreach. Transportation by helicopter was provided by the Guatemalan Air Force, and arranged by Harris Whitbeck, a personal representative of General Rios Montt. Whitbeck, who was born in the U.S. and whose family has lived in Guatemala for over 30 years, is responsible for all "assistance" programs in the war areas. He has been closely identified with several powerful right-wing groups in Guatemala. On one occasion last summer when a BBC film crew asked the Army to take them by helicopter into the conflict area, the Army refused, saying they did not have any transportation available. Later in the day the crew met Whitbeck by chance on the street, and he arranged an Army helicopter for them.

The fundamentalist group which traveled to Nebaj in July stayed for five days, ostensibly to provide dental care for the Ixil Indians there. However, *CAIB* has received anonymously an internal report of the visit

which was written by one of the Wycliffe Bible people, describing their stay, portions of which we reprint here. In addition to verifying the fact that these religious groups are well aware of what is going on in the rural war against the Guatemalan people, if not wittingly participating in the slaughter, the report ends with a list of townspeople (which we do not reprint), outlining their backgrounds, their influence in the village, their weaknesses, etc.—information which is surely used by the new military intelligence apparatus in their selective assassination program, called "preventative terror."

As a postscript to this episode, the village of Nebaj was turned into a strategic hamlet on October 30; Nebaj, with approximately 2,000 inhabitants, was occupied by 1,000 special counterinsurgency forces on that date. According to testimony of some villagers who managed to escape, the military has surrounded the center of town with barbed wire and minefields, and mounted searchlights in order to enforce a 6 p.m. curfew. Anyone entering or leaving the town is searched and interrogated. There is no information yet available on the number of townspeople who have been executed.

The trip to Nebaj which — and I were asked to participate in came about as a result of a number of agencies and factors which the Lord brought together. For decades Nebaj, and the Ixil area in general, have been subject to abuse and neglect. Legitimate complaints had long been left either unlistened to or deliberately suppressed. Now it has become a focus of both Communist propaganda and guerrilla warfare, and the government of Guatemala is acutely interested in at least reversing the military situation in the area. In addition, the Wycliffe teams assigned to the Ixil area had been talking for some time with Behrhorst Foundation people, especially Dr. Carroll Behrhorst and Harris Whitbeck (who is a member of the Foundation board of directors) about ways and means for getting both short-range and long-range help to the Ixil area. Moreover, new President of Guatemala,

people at Verbo Church, and especially the missionary staff there, were seeking ways by which getting help into the Ixil area could be used as a wedge for further evangelistic activity. Then four dentists all from the area of northern California near the mission headquarters of Gospel Outreach (which had started Verbo Church several years ago) volunteered to come down to Guatemala to help with dental problems ... So they asked if we could go to interpret for the dentists. We could! The President of Guatemala ordered the Air Force to provide helicopter transport for us and our gear. It was a cooperative project in many ways. ...

We landed at the helicopter pad beside and below the new market. The local commanding officer, a lieutenant colonel, with his second in command, a captain, were among those on hand. The commander

gave orders for a military pickup truck to take our stuff to the town hall, and when it arrived there ahead of us the town secretary had it sent on over to the pension (a place offering rooms for rent). . .

The town secretary and Jacinto Perez Marcos, who had been mayor up to mid-June, were there and we received a warm welcome from them. When they heard we wanted to pull teeth, they put themselves and the town's facilities at our disposal. We chose to work on the open corridor in front of the town hall, rather than in a bare empty room at the end of the string of town offices. It was later discovered that this room was the "morgue"—the place where bodies are placed (sometimes stacked) until the order was given to bury them . . .

. . . While we were still eating, we heard a helicopter come in. Within a few minutes Alfred rushed in carrying a black brief case and asked me if I had a black brief case. I said sure, right here in my room, I'll get it. He left me *my* brief case and took from me the *pilot's* black brief case which had been unloaded by mistake (sounds like a scene out of a spy movie!). It had secret army orders in it, he said, which had been worth making a return trip for! He said thanks, rushed out, and in just a few minutes we heard the helicopter take off and pass overhead.

After we had lunch, I went in to pick up some things I needed for the afternoon, and just happened to look at a brown plastic portfolio I had along. I was a bit puzzled to see a packet of long white envelopes sticking partly out of it, stapled together. I casually looked at them and was horrified to see the imprint of the Guatemalan army on them with the big rubber stamp TOP SECRET all over them. I ignored the rain, dashed out to the guard post of the barracks and told the sentry I urgently needed to see the commander. The sentry pointed across the empty plaza and said, "There he is, just now going into that door." I said thanks, ran across the plaza in front of the church, knocked, and breathlessly told the commandante that I'd just found this packet of

letters. Please excuse me! He looked shocked, slipped through them, saw they were intact, said thank you, and indicated (body language!) I'd better go now. I went!

During our stay in town, there was what the commander described later as an unusual amount of military action. Monday night a civilian patrol escorted by military patrol was returning to Nebaj and just beyond the airstrip (not the in town heliopad) they were ambushed. Six soldiers were killed and several wounded. On this trip back, a pack mule fell into a VN-type pit in the bottom of which sharpened stakes had been planted. The impaled animal had to be killed. Later on, the hindquarters of a horse fell into another, but they got it out and the injuries were being treated in town Tuesday to see if the animal could be saved.

Tuesday morning we watched and listened to a firefight between a helicopter and men returning fire from the ground. It was the first live war I had actually witnessed, and it left an impression on me. The men on the ground were on a ridge above the road that goes from town toward Chajul. Several truckloads of troops were sent to the area, and they brought in three dead guerrillas, identified as men from Chajul. — and the visiting dentists saw the bodies brought in, dumped out of the truck and dragged into the improvised morgue, then later that afternoon dragged back and loaded into the back of a pickup and taken to the ditch which serves as a grave for such cases. Someone dumped water on the cement tile floor and swished the blood out with a broom. We were glad we decided to work in the corridor.

I've already mentioned the swarm of people who crowded around to have teeth pulled . . . A lot of the teeth could have been saved, but of course it would also have meant that not nearly as many people could have been taken care of since it takes a lot longer to save a tooth than it does to pull it. (An object lesson here: some people favor simply wiping



Guatemalan counterinsurgency troops, the Kabil Brigade.



out all the Indians in the region to bring an end to problems; it takes longer to do something constructive than it does to kill the "enemy.")

Another helicopter was supporting ground troops on the road just beyond the pass and the top of the mountain. Part of the road had been cut away there during the night Sunday and trucks and the bus which left for the capital early Monday morning had to back up till they could find a place wide enough to turn around and then come back to Nebaj. The road along that whole 18-kilometer stretch is a dug-out shelf along a steep mountain face, and is only one lane wide for two-way traffic. I was told by Harris Whitbeck after we returned to the capital that one of the military chores now is to arrange for that road to be widened into two lanes. I mentioned the amount of cutting back into the mountain that would be necessary, and the problem of safely handling all that material so it wouldn't fall down the mountainside onto houses below. Since Harris's work has been highway construction, he didn't need any lessons from me on the subject! . . .

I spent Wednesday morning from 8:30 till afternoon meeting with the local committee which has responsibility for emergency relief distribution, getting cassette players and cassettes, and other such things . . .

When I got back to the townhall Wednesday just after noon, I found Abibal Garcia from the Behrhorst Foundation; Harris Whitbeck; Bob Means and Alfredo Kaltschmidt there, along with Mike Rabe and a 3-man crew from CBN-TV (700 Club) headed by Mike Way. I've mentioned Harris before; Alfredo and Bob are with Gospel Outreach, the mission which started Verbo Church . . .

Harris talked to me briefly, primarily to see how I would feel about moving back to Nebaj as soon as possible. It would be good for the town, he said; it would help him in his responsibilities, and it might fit our own desires for getting the translation done in the Ixil area. There's

a lot to think about before the question gets answered. For one thing, it would put us in the middle of a fire ring surrounding a town which is, in effect, under siege, usually cut off from all but helicopter access. Would we like to be back in Nebaj? No question! Is *now* the time? We'll have to give it a lot of thought and prayer and see what our administration thinks of it . . .

Tuesday we met six young Guatemalan men who had just come up from the capital, each representing one of the government dependencies which has responsibility for meeting specialized needs in the country. One was a Nebaj man whose family we now know; he is Indian but not Ixil, and has a fair education now and appears ladinoized. Their purpose was to learn what they could about the town's needs and then file a joint report to each of their six organizations. One thing they did was ask each family to register in a kind of census, to give as accurate a statistical base as possible to current needs. Eventually we will benefit from the data they put together, just as their agencies will be affected by some of the contents of my report . . .

Friday night we were invited to the home of a member of the Gospel Outreach staff, where several of their leaders got together with the four dentists and members of the dentists' families who had come to Guatemala but had not been allowed to go to Nebaj. We were able to share with them several things about Nebaj by way of background to the present situation. Two of the dentists and the CBN television crew left early Saturday morning for the U.S. — met with Harris Whitbeck and three Verbo leaders to talk about the most urgent elements of immediate need, plus some strategy for developing a long-range plan leading to self-help for the Ixil area. The other two dentists left the same afternoon, along with Bob Means, who will be coordinating Stateside fundraising and PR functions. Alfred Kaltschmidt will coordinate things on this end.



Elite Guatemalan counterinsurgency troops supervise forced labor on roads to guerrilla areas.

\$11 million of military assistance in the Caribbean Basin Initiative. In addition, the Agency for International Development (AID) has proposed to Congress a figure of \$65 million for "economic assistance" to the Indians of Guatemala's highlands; an amount ten times greater than the present AID budget for Guatemala.

### **Congress: No! Collection Plate: Si!**

In light of the human rights situation now existing in that country, the U.S. Congress may not approve much assistance for Guatemala. In any case, it is likely to take several months before more aid, either military or economic, can be delivered. Representatives of Ríos Montt, lobbying for the aid, have repeatedly stressed that their need for assistance is immediate in order that they may stamp out "subversion."

In this regard, the role played by evangelical organizations could become crucial to the government's ability to conduct its counterinsurgency war in the remote highlands. The situation is this: official U.S. military and economic assistance are blocked for the time being. If ILL and YWAM are indeed successful in raising \$10 to \$20 million in contributions within the United States, this money will almost surely be sent to the Ríos Montt regime, where it is likely to bolster the counterinsurgency war against the Indians. What is not clear is the extent to which the evangelical organizations are openly involved in such a scheme. Undoubtedly, many Americans will contribute to the evangelical campaign out of humanitarian motives; nonetheless circumstantial evidence suggests that these organizations are pursuing a more deliberate policy in Guatemala.

### **"If You're With Us, We'll Feed You; If You're Against Us, We'll Kill You"**

Although the provision of food, farm implements and medicine may appear on the surface as strictly humanitarian aid, the Guatemalan Army is using this assistance to recruit peasants into the civilian militias. This program, called *Fusiles y Frijoles* (Guns and Beans), provides supplies to individuals in return for their acting as the eyes and ears of the military in areas where there is no regular Army presence. The militias have also been responsible for the execution of "suspected" guerrilla sympathizers.

The creation of civilian militias is believed to be part of a wider strategy, developed by the Guatemalan military and U.S. counterinsurgency experts, called the "Program of Pacification and Eradication of Communism," reminiscent of Operation Phoenix in Vietnam. A copy of this 420-page document was released to the international press in 1978 by a former press secretary of the Guatemalan Ministry of the Interior. According to the document, the creation of a civilian militia "combines diversionary tactics with psychological warfare and regular and irregular military tactics. Essentially it attempts to confuse and to convince local and international public opinion that in Guatemala there is a civil war being fought between the peasantry and the revolutionary forces." In any case peasant participation in the militias is mandatory. As one officer explained the program, "If you're with us, we'll feed you; if you're against us, we'll kill you."

Food is also given to peasants for work such as road repair and construction. They are sometimes provided with materials to rebuild homes destroyed by the Army. This

aspect of the program is being financed in part by International Love Lift and is mentioned prominently in their fundraising appeals. Reports by recent visitors confirm a close working relationship between the Army and the evangelical organizations. Representatives of ILL and YWAM travel with the military to the conflict area and have been observed working with the military authorities in distributing food and tools under the Guns and Beans program.

### **Kemp's Role**

One of the more interesting aspects of the activities of evangelical organizations that claim to be involved in strictly humanitarian efforts is the language used to encourage contributors in this country. In an appeal dated September 1 from Carlos Ramirez of International Love Lift, he writes: "I want you to realize just how strategic Guatemala is in relationship to the United States and this hemisphere. . . . If Guatemala falls, what then? Mexico? Wouldn't you agree that we really don't have much more time to unite?" Included in this package was a letter from Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) endorsing ILL's efforts. Another enclosure, signed by Ramirez and Bob Means, the U.S. coordinator of ILL, entitled "Guatemala—An Overview," explains that contributions will be used to "counter the misinformation presently being reported, proclaim the truth of the situation and *support the present Guatemalan government*. In doing so we will weaken the Marxists' position and decrease their ability to take advantage of Guatemala's rich oil supply, titanium and other valuable resources." (Emphasis added.)

A second appeal, sent out in early October, contains a document entitled, "Has Guatemala's Human Rights Record Really Improved?" It presents the now familiar litany of the right-wing in this country: Ríos Montt is a reformer, the guerrillas are the ones responsible for the massacres and the "liberal" media are only telling one side of the story. In an attempt to discredit reports to the contrary such as the Amnesty International report and dozens of articles in major U.S. newspapers, ILL quotes an unnamed "U.S. official" as saying that reports of government massacres are "a campaign of false information orchestrated by guerrilla sympathizers around the world."

One U.S. official who has publicly defended the Guatemalan regime is President Reagan himself. After a briefing from Ríos Montt behind closed doors on December 4, in Honduras, Reagan blurted out to reporters that Guatemala has gotten "a bum rap."

The Reagan administration wants to resume aid publicly to the Guatemalan regime. The U.S. economic stake there is estimated to be in the neighborhood of \$750 million. Furthermore, Guatemala is seen by national security planners as the "linchpin" of Central America. According to General Wallace Nutting, who heads the 10,000 member U.S. Southern Command based in Panama, "The implications for a Marxist takeover in Guatemala are a lot more serious than in El Salvador." He went on to assert that the U.S. should play "essentially the same role" in Guatemala that it is now playing in El Salvador. This startling assertion, given the furor in Congress over the U.S. role in El Salvador, does not faze the evangelical organizations, Reagan's powerful allies. As Radio Mundo in Guatemala recently announced, the war is being converted into a "holy war."

## Pious Infiltrators:

# The Summer Institute of Linguistics

By Louis Wolf

On March 7, 1981, a 28 year-old missionary, Chester Allen Bitterman III, was found dead in Bogota, Colombia, seven weeks after he was kidnapped by guerrillas. He had worked for the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc./ Wycliffe Bible Translators, Inc. (SIL/ WBT). Having arrived in the country 18 months earlier, he had completed training for his assignment to translate the Bible into the language of the Carijoha Indians. The revolutionary April 19 Movement (known as M-19) released a communique to the press calling SIL/ WBT "an affront to . . . our national sovereignty . . . a means by which the plunder of our national resources is institutionalized," proponents of enforced sterilization of the Indians, and a front for the CIA. M-19 also charged that there was a secret U.S. missile installation inside of a vast wildlife park 180 miles south of Bogota.<sup>1</sup>

SIL/ WBT began working in Colombia in 1962, when they signed a contract with the government to research and prepare materials of a "high moral character." Since that time, controversy and suspicion has surrounded the organization's work. In 1972, after a local Colombian group, the Movement for the Defense of National Culture, called for SIL/ WBT's expulsion, the inspector general of the Army commenced an inquiry into reports about "strange people" flying in and out of the group's isolated Lomalinda headquarters southeast of Bogota. There was a lingering speculation that a secret American rocket base was being constructed within the headquarters complex.

A commission was created in 1974 to investigate SIL/ WBT, headed by anthropologist Jose Carlos Matallana. Although scuba divers found no rockets in the lake, the final report of the commission was nevertheless critical, and urged that SIL/ WBT be asked to leave Colombia. It found that despite the group's insistence that its personnel were linguists, evidence showed conclusively that they were actually doing the work of missionaries, that few were Colombian, and that the sole contact which the remote

Indian populations had with outsiders was with SIL/ WBT. Matallana saw this as a security threat, especially on Colombia's borders with Venezuela, Brazil and Peru.

Despite this stormy history, SIL/ WBT is alive and well in Colombia today, with a contract that doesn't expire until 1995. In fact, with a resident staff numbering over 300 people, it ranks as one of the organization's biggest contingents of all.

### History and Background

Measured in terms of personnel sent abroad, SIL/ WBT is the largest Protestant missionary society in the world today. From humble beginnings, it was founded in 1934 by William "Uncle Cam" Cameron Townsend. First known as Camp Wycliffe, it was located in an abandoned Arkansas farmhouse. The initial target country, Mexico, was at the time undergoing profound social and political change, much of it against the organized church and anti-U.S. So instead of being straightforward about his evangelical agenda, Townsend gave the Mexican authorities a line, depicting it as "linguistic" and "cultural." When it became clear that the Protestant denominations in the U.S. wanted converts more than Bible translations, "Uncle Cam" and his flock continued the dual identity, which has been a prominent organizational trademark since.

Wycliffe began by translating the Bible into various languages and strange sounding dialects. They also maintained liaison with evangelical churches, recruiting personnel to go abroad and keeping the SIL/ WBT coffers filled with money. The Summer Institute of Linguistics, the name that Wycliffe uses overseas, handled the contracts with the U.S. government and with the dozens of foreign governments, and the linguistic training and administration for the overall domestic and international programs of the large bureaucracy. The Jungle Aviation and Radio Service (JAARS), founded by Townsend in 1963, became necessary as the organization expanded into areas of operation well beyond the sphere of foreign missionaries. JAARS has hired pilots, mechanics, radio technicians, and

1. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 28, 1981; *Los Angeles Times*, February 8, May 3, 1981; *Boston Globe*, March 8, 1981.



others to service the operational needs of the mother organization. Usually JAARS personnel also serve in a missionary capacity.

The connection between WBT and SIL was repeatedly denied until August 1953, when the Catholic bishops in Lima denounced the Summer Institute of Linguistics, charging the group with "making an active and tendentious campaign to convert the Indians of our Amazon to evangelical Protestantism [through] a vast proselytizing action, hiding its true intentions behind a series of disguises." Then, after Cameron Townsend alleged that the SIL had nothing to do with WBT, the Bishop revealed a University of Oklahoma publication openly linking the two. Townsend finally admitted founding Wycliffe Bible Translators and justified the partnership saying: "Our work of dual nature brings us contacts of dual nature." He went on pretending to the Peruvians that the central purposes of the two were purely scientific and cultural, with the religious-evangelical part only of secondary importance. A 1981 SIL brochure is rather more honest on this point when it quotes Townsend: "One day we'd like to see the Bible available in every language spoken in the world." Until his death in April 1982 at 86, Townsend remained actively involved.

Though Townsend seemed interested in preserving the linguistic traditions of indigenous peoples in order to convert them to Christianity, he inconsistently promoted his linguistic program by arguing that it would accelerate the extinction of native dialects in favor of the majority language in any given country. This doctrine of "integrating" small ethnic populations into the larger majority is consistent with the policy of governments in a number of nations where SIL/WBT is involved, whether stated officially or not.

In 1942, SIL/WBT had 37 people translating into 18 languages. By 1963, they had worked their way into 308 different linguistic populations. As of 1975, their own statistics showed a staff of 3,500, and more recent figures give over 4,250 people working in 900-plus languages and dialects in more than 30 countries, plus other programs where for political reasons they function outside of the one being targeted. By 1990, plans call for entry into 800 new linguistic groups as well for recruitment and training of 3,000 additional staff members.

Commensurate with the sharp growth of its international program is the expansion of the organization's financial base. In 1975, SIL/WBT had a reported income of \$16.9 million, making it the sixth-largest Protestant mission in the U.S. In 1981, income had jumped to \$35.5 million, with expenses at the same level. Nearly \$2 million was spent just in "financial resource development." By keeping its long-tested formula of a "dual image" out in front when soliciting funds (*missionary* for home public consumption and *scientific-linguistic* for governments), SIL/WBT sustains

maximized financial support for its activities around the globe. Part of its public relations image and fund-raising pitch rests on its so-called "literacy" programs in a number of countries. There are many independent reports from SIL/WBT projects showing that the "literacy training" is conducted with a very narrow objective: Teach people to read and write the contents of the Bible. Functional literacy, when achieved, is a lower priority.

In 1971, SIL set up an academic training front in Dallas called the International Linguistics Center, affiliated with the University of Texas. The organization hoped this center would enhance the waning credibility of its linguistic objectives. The move assumed greater significance in 1979 when the Mexican government closed down SIL's entire program there after 47 years of operation. Also closed down was the "Jungle Camp" field training facility, known as the "School for Pioneers," set up in 1959 in Chiapas. Remaining SIL training facilities are found at universities in North Dakota, Washington State and Oklahoma, and overseas in Brazil, France, the United Kingdom, West Germany, Australia, Japan and the Republic of Korea.

The 30-plus countries where there are present SIL/WBT field programs include: **North America - U.S.** (notably 108 personnel in Alaska); **Canada;** **Mexico** (expelled in 1979, has no formal agreement with SIL/WBT but still gives visas to personnel).

**Central/Latin America -** Guatemala; Honduras; Nicaragua (as of 1981); Panama (see below); Colombia; Ecuador (? - see below); Peru (expelled by government in April 1976 but, after some feverish arm-twisting by both SIL and the U.S. Embassy in Lima, granted a new five-year contract in January 1977 specifying that the group work under government supervision and another contract in 1979 for ten more years); Bolivia (reportedly phasing out in two years); Surinam; Brazil (all personnel ordered in November 1977 to discontinue work among tribal populations, but residence at main base locations goes on).

In July 1981, the government of Panama expelled 16 Americans in the SIL team (there since 1970) after police discovered radio transmitters, a teletype machine, and a telephone switchboard in the SIL headquarters, all unregistered. The Panamanian government soon thereafter ordered SIL to close down and leave.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, according to SIL, they have been invited to return.

An odd series of circumstances surrounds recent SIL/WBT presence in Ecuador, which dates back to 1952. On May 22, 1981, the office of President Jaime Roldos Aguilera banned the 50-member group from further activities and issued an explicit communique: "Wide sections of Ecuador's society have noted problems in how the institute conducted its affairs . . . regarding matters of national sovereignty and the preservation of aboriginal groups." Noting that its work was in the Amazon region, the government declared "it was necessary to regain control of that area."<sup>3</sup> Two days later, President Roldos was killed in a plane crash under mysterious circumstances. Over the course of the next year, SIL brought repeated pressures to bear in both Washington and Quito seeking an extension until 1985. This request was rejected by the Ecuadoreans and SIL was once again ordered to leave in May 1982.<sup>4</sup> At

2. *Washington Post*, July 8, 1981.

3. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 24, 1981.

4. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 7, 1982; *New York Times*, May 16, 1982.

present, while the Embassy of Ecuador told *CAIB* that SIL is "no longer welcome," SIL's James Wroughton claimed to the writer that while "there are no formal agreements, we still get visas for Ecuador."

**Africa** - Mali; Upper Volta; Ivory Coast; Ghana; Togo; Cameroon; Chad; Sudan; Kenya.

**Asia** - Malaysia; Philippines; Indonesia; Solomon Islands; Papua New Guinea (SIL's largest single country program with 570 personnel; an internal SIL document shows they intend to stay until 2000-2015); Australia.

**Other programs** - Language surveys directed toward future SIL operations are either underway or completed in the Seychelles, Polynesia and India. Dr. Kenneth Pike, SIL president from 1942-79, lectured for a month during 1980 in Beijing. Over the years, Cameron Townsend made 11 trips to the Soviet Union, analyzing its 168 minority languages. Research is also in progress in the Creole, Thai-Dam and Khmer languages.

In nearly all of the countries where SIL/WBT has a presence, its field bases are markedly uniform in terms of physical features that set their workers off from their target populations. Created along classic middle-class lines, the bases have "laboratories, hospitals, libraries, workshops, air base, radio station, schools for missionaries' children, modern American-style houses, well-trimmed gardens, and even Coca-Cola vending machines."<sup>5</sup>

### Ideology and Doctrine

Their patented form of missionary zeal dictates that the Word of God is the path to eternal salvation and that if only "heathen," "ignorant" peoples can be brought around to embrace it, Satan will be defeated. All opponents of SIL/WBT are automatically branded as agents working for Satan. Who is Satan? He doesn't have a surname but all in the fold have been introduced in their training. Satan is Godless communism. And who is God? The United States of America, working together with God in Heaven.

Two Danish scholars who have studied the organization closely, Soren Hvalkof and Peter Aaby define the makeup of SIL/WBT personnel as follows: "Although SIL is interdenominational, its mandatory Statement of Doctrine ensures that recruits come from the conservative wing of U.S. Protestantism; composition has been estimated roughly at two parts 'evangelical' to one part 'fundamentalist,' these terms denoting the conservative and ultra-conservative tendencies of North American Protestantism. SIL/WBT's expansion has also led to recruitment of some members from other western countries. Nevertheless, members are overwhelmingly white Americans."<sup>6</sup> The figures in Wycliffe's 1978 *Prayer Directory* show that 72% were from the U.S., over 27 1/2% from Canada, Western Europe, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. The remaining .04% included 11 from South Africa, and smaller numbers from Peru, Brazil, Mexico, Panama, Ghana, India and Hong Kong.

While Chester Bitterman was being held captive, Robert Lincoln ("Bud") Hancock, SIL's Washington-based inter-

national director of government liaison, sent a background sheet to the *Washington Star*. Referring to SIL, WBT, and JAARS, he stated unequivocally: "None of these organizations engage in preaching or ecclesiastical functions."<sup>7</sup> Numerous independent, first-hand sources indicate that this is not so. To a large extent SIL/WBT's way of working is guided by a perception of the target population as fundamentally primitive. These targets are inculcated by SIL/WBT field staff with an attitude of submission and one-directional humility. Hvalkof and Aaby have examined the Wycliffe fund-raising literature and conclude it "conveys the distinct impression that the Bibleless tribes are afflicted with witchcraft, superstition, sickness, immorality, lack of self-respect, revenge killings and head-hunting . . . the [SIL] linguists are often surprised by the resistance they meet and by the delays in finding their first converts. Sometimes, Satan's grip is so strong that all the SIL/WBT members must unite in prayer, or God must perform a special miracle, so that the conversion process can proceed."<sup>8</sup>

A 1971 SIL communication placed the group's political view of their missionary work in sharp perspective. "God uses military troops, but He has other methods also. God turned the tables in Indonesia on the eve of a Marxist revolution, and the spiritual response of thousands turning to Christ has been tremendous. Cambodia put all missionaries out of their country in 1965 and it seemed God's work there was finished. Suddenly—a coup d'etat and a new responsiveness to mission work."<sup>9</sup> This tidy analysis conveniently fails to recall the bloodbath when more than one million Indonesians were slaughtered after God, working closely with the CIA, turned the tables on the eve of what was anything but a Marxist revolution. The 1970 "coup d'etat" in Cambodia was in reality only made possible with U.S. help and soon was followed by the bloody U.S.-Thai invasion of the country.

SIL/WBT are also not above altering the words of the Bible to fit their ideological thrust among indigenous peoples. A blatant case is found in the SIL propaganda leaflet, "Forjando una Manana Mejor" [Forging a Better Tomorrow]. The SIL slogan in the leaflet, ascribed to the thirteenth chapter first verse of the Book of Romans is given as follows by the SIL: "Obey your legal superiors, because God has given them command. There is no government on earth that God had not permitted to come to power." As one authority demonstrates, the Summer Institute of Linguistics has crudely twisted the passage found in both the English Revised Version of the Bible and its Spanish companion volume. The first sentence is adapted from the actual "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers," while the second is an outright distortion of "the powers that are ordained by God."<sup>10</sup>

Another scholar who has long studied SIL/WBT in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, and who is writing a book on the work of SIL in Latin America, sheds further light on the organization's manipulative techniques. ". . . Wycliffe has definite religious and political goals for other people. It has used linguistic credentials to mystify these objectives,

5. Soren Hvalkof and Peter Aaby (Eds.), "Is God An American: An Anthropological Perspective on the Missionary Work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics," Copenhagen and London: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs and Survival International, 1981, p. 11.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Robert L. Hancock, signed letter to *Washington Star*, undated, 1981.

8. Hvalkof and Aaby, *op. cit.* n. 5, p. 173.

9. *Translation* [WBT promotional publication], October-December 1971, page 2, quoted in Hvalkof and Aaby, *op. cit.* n. 5.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 109.



exploiting the relativity of language to harness state power to the imposition of its, once again absolute, truth on native people."<sup>11</sup>

### Ends Create the Means

Three examples in Latin America illustrate how SIL/WBT have defined the "goodness" of their work. The results were self-fulfilling prophecies.

**Peru**—SIL apparently adopted the "end justifies the means" principle. This is clearly shown in one documented case<sup>12</sup> when the SIL missionaries kidnapped a Peruvian Mayoruna boy (SIL later claimed the boy had "run away"), and kept him in order that they would learn the Mayoruna



SIL informant in Peru.

dialect. Then, in what was called a "Sky Mission," two women SIL missionaries went by plane above the area where the Mayoruna lived and, using loudspeakers in "Apocalypse Now" style, began talking at them. Soon the Mayoruna began to see little packages falling from the clouds, which turned out to be cassette tape recorders. The message they heard on the tape, in their language, was: "We are good people who want to help you. We bring everything good." By 1976, the Mayoruna had begun killing their newborn children rather than let them grow up in SIL's "good world."

**Colombia**—"The distance which they [SIL/WBT] carefully maintain between themselves and Colombian society can only constitute an insult to any nationalist. When we say that the SIL tries to integrate the Cuiva into Western society, we really mean that they force upon them the values of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant Americans and certainly not those of rural Colombia. To the SIL missionaries, most Colombians are little more than backward and ignorant peasants for whom they have very little sympathy. Once their entry into the country is

sanctioned by the upper echelon of the government, they are quite wary of any form of intervention by Colombian institutions. They do not trust Colombian planes, Colombian food, and even less Colombian linguists and missionaries. To them, Colombia is a third-world country on its slow path to becoming as advanced as the United States and there is no point in living like Colombians or in teaching Colombian society to the Cuiva."<sup>13</sup>

**Bolivia**—Two specific incidents illustrate how SIL engaged in activities that served either their personal or institutional material gain. In 1952, the Bolivian border police arrested an SIL missionary after finding that instead of batteries, his pocket flashlight was packed with gold dust. In 1970, an Ayoreode Indian told a Bolivian officer about a goldmine being run secretly by the SIL: "At night the missionaries go to a mountain near the mission station. The mountain is surrounded with barbed wire and we must not enter it. They carry torches on their heads and shots are heard from inside the mountain. There is a big runway near the mountain. Now and then big airplanes come. . ."<sup>14</sup>

### SIL and Pacification

The Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Wycliffe Bible Translators are not solely engaged in winning souls from Satan by translating the Bible into various dialects. The numerous documented cases in different countries where SIL/WBT worked hand-in-hand with the local military (see Guatemala sidebar) and, on a few documented occasions with U.S. military units and "advisors," reveal another more ominous aspect of SIL's field operations. This side of their work is called "pacification." SIL has developed close working relations with the military infrastructures of many countries in which they have personnel. Time and again, one partner has gone to the other for assistance in military campaigns against indigenous peoples. Generally, these campaigns have one or all of three primary objectives: (1) Obtain and protect access for U.S. (sometimes also Japanese) corporate interests to mineral, timber, cattle-ranching or other agricultural resources situated in regions where indigenous peoples are living; (2) Gain communication with isolated indigenous populations and build a measure of control over them; (3) Implement a counterinsurgency effort against an indigenous population that may or may not be engaged in anti-government guerrilla activities.

In Bolivia, the guerrillas fighting alongside Che Guevara were initially pinpointed by Chiriguano Indians who had been reached by a certain Methodist missionary group (not SIL), and these Indians actually participated in the final military assault on the guerrillas.

Instances where SIL/WBT was directly involved include:

- A former high-level officer in the Bolivian army interviewed in exile gives a revealing inside account. "At the time I was a member of the Bolivian military apparatus and was in a leading position in the anti-guerrilla movement against Teoponte [a guerrilla leader]. We established contact with the SIL missionaries, who supplied us with maps of the

11. David Stoll in Hvalkof and Aaby, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 111.



guerrillas' area of operation. We were surprised at the precision of these maps. In addition they supplied us with data concerning the ethnic composition of the population and the location of the productive fields. Furthermore they could tell us with great correctness which population groups supported the guerrillas. . . ."<sup>15</sup>

- For centuries, the heavily-forested Gran Chaco region in Bolivia was of no economic interest to outsiders, and the small population of Ayoreode Indians (probably less than 5,000 in all) were the sole people living there. Then some discoveries of oil and natural gas transpired and the area suddenly became important. An American drilling group, the Western Geophysical Company, was brought in and soon the entire area was changed. The firm cleared wide corridors of trees, and boundaries were created that the Ayoreode were not permitted to cross. Surrounded on all sides, they felt threatened and had nowhere to go. In September 1977, having undergone great fear and frustration, they killed a drilling company employee. Members of the New Tribes Mission (which collaborates closely with SIL in Bolivia) came quickly, as if a rescue squad or fire brigade, and the last remaining Ayoreode were taken away by the missionaries for religious indoctrination. Now, there are no Ayoreode living free in the Gran Chaco, but there are a large number of white cattle ranchers and companies drilling for oil. The Indians have been "integrated" and are forced to live in settlements and mission stations that observers say are not fit for human habitation. In some cases, their meagre



Ayoreode woman and child in Bolivia.

dwelling is surrounded by barbed wire, creating an environment strikingly similar to the "strategic hamlets" perfected by the United States in Vietnam, and resurrected by Portugal in Mozambique and Angola, or presently by the Philippine armed forces, and by South Africa's occupation forces in Namibia. The Ayoreode are even exploited by the New Tribes Mission as tourist attractions and picture postcards of them are sold.

- In 1971, SIL/WBT signed a contract with the Peruvian government under which the Jungle Aviation and Radio Service trained Peruvian Army pilots and mechanics and provided valuable air support for remote military bases. Fully a decade earlier, A JAARS report proudly declared: "Technical assistance in helping the Peruvian Army establish a flight program to isolated jungle areas has

required time and effort of our personnel but has been of real benefit to the work as a whole."<sup>16</sup> The 1971 contract also specified that WBT would undertake air support for remote military bases. The 1971 contract also stipulated that WBT would facilitate the preparation of detailed ethnic and linguistic maps of the areas they penetrated, and collect indigenous art and artifacts. The ground for this relationship had been laid in March 1964; a SIL worker among the Mayoruna Indians is said to have shared his knowledge with a group of U.S. Marines then based in the country. Utilizing reconnaissance flights by the Marines, Peruvian military units moved in to attack the Mayoruna, who had been depicted in the local media as "smugglers, opium dealers, political agitators, outlaws, communist elements." After machinegunning the target area from the air and dropping fragmentation bombs and napalm, a large Peruvian land force moved in. Some wounded personnel were evacuated in U.S. helicopters temporarily deployed there from Panama.<sup>17</sup>

- In Ecuador during the late 1960s and early 1970s, large concessions of land were granted to U.S. oil companies. Their initial entry into the country was eased by SIL missionaries, who actively "supported the oil companies and an ethnocidal Ecuadorean government policy of encouraging highland homesteaders to stake out parcels along oil company access roads. After consultation with the Ecuadorean military, Auca [Indian] converts flying above the remaining band of uncontacted kin in SIL heliocouriers operating on Texaco fuel, [urged them] to put down their arms" and join the evangelized members of their families.<sup>18</sup> A vivid picture of this operation comes through in the following evaluation by Bill Eddy, a JAARS pilot-missionary who also was a liaison between the oil companies, the government, and the Auca:

"Twenty-five years ago the Shell Oil Company lost many workers to Auca spears. For several reasons Shell decided to leave Ecuador. Suddenly with the discovery of a vast reserve of oil under the Eastern Jungle, twenty-one companies are working 1500 men there. As they advance, we fly ahead of them and explain to Aucas living in their path that they are coming. We persuade them that they should move out of the way. This is done by Auca Christians through a loudspeaker mounted on the plane. As the Indians move, we notify the oil companies. As a result of this close coordination by radio and telephone through our Quito office, there has not been one life lost to date. PRAISE GOD!!"<sup>19</sup>

- In Colombia during 1970, there was a festering low-level war between the Colombian military and a peaceful Guahibo Indian cooperative. An ex-civil servant named Rafael Jaramillo was instrumental in helping create the cooperative. When some of the rich cattle ranchers determined it didn't serve their

16. Laurie Hart, "Pacifying the Last Frontiers: Story of the Wycliffe Translators," *NACLA's Latin America & Empire Report*, December 1973, page 22.

17. Hvalkof and Aaby, *op. cit.* n. 5, pp. 112-113.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

19. Hart, *op. cit.* n. 11, p. 25.

interests, they put out word that Jaramillo was a communist, and the venture was shut down. He disappeared and the army began torturing Guahibo in an attempt to locate him. During the height of the problem, SIL directly collaborated with the army's civic action arm to pacify Guahibo in the area by acting as liaisons and translators, and also made radio equipment available to the government establishing communications between the regional capital and the cooperative site.

- *CAIB* interviewed two Germans who visited Brazil as tourists in 1979, and who had a strange personal encounter with SIL and JAARS. The two were canoeing down the Amazon River and hadn't seen any sign of human life for over 36 hours. Suddenly, they heard a helicopter in the sky, though the heavy jungle undergrowth prevented them from seeing it until it flew right above them and landed on the bank about 100 yards away. A tall heavyset white man emerged and shouted an order to them in English to come ashore. As they climbed out of their craft, they heard voices over the sideband radio in the helicopter, which displayed JAARS in large block letters on its right side. The two-way radio transmissions, in both Portuguese and English, sounded military with mentions of bases, troop movements, and the words "Operation 11."

The man marched toward them and they immediately noticed his pressed button-down sport shirt and braided leather cowboy boots. He angrily demanded: "Who are you? What are you doing here?" Mystified by the man's behavior and growing gradually apprehensive at his threatening tone, they told him they were tourists, and then asked the same questions of him in reply, perhaps unwisely, they realized immediately. "I work with the Summer Institute of Linguistics and this is the area I work in," he grunted. Then, noticing their curious glances at the helicopter and the chatter of the two-way radio, he abruptly told them to get back in their canoe and leave the place without looking back.

They still wonder whether or not they passed through a time warp.

- In the Philippines starting in 1953, just as Colonel Edward Lansdale and his CIA team were bringing defense secretary Ramon Magsaysay to power as President and running a large counterinsurgency operation against the Hukbalahap guerrillas, SIL was contracted to work in the most heavily militarized zones. Similar SIL work continues today among indigenous minorities in areas of Central Luzon and Mindanao where there is armed conflict with the Philippine military. An internal SIL memorandum obtained by *CAIB* shows that SIL intends to remain there probably until 1990.
- It was the CIA's own Magsaysay who urged Ngo Dinh Diem to invite SIL/WBT to Vietnam in 1957, by way of a U.S. government subsidized grant to the local education ministry. The key role of SIL/WBT in the vast U.S. pacification program was through bilingual missionary work with both the Montagnard and Nung peoples. Thanks in large part to these inroads, both indigenous populations, which had long traditions of antipathy toward the central gov-

ernment, were transformed into cannon fodder in the CIA's own paramilitary militia. Reliable estimates are that more than one-third of the 900,000-plus Montagnards died as a result of this policy.

One apparent CIA link to the Summer Institute and Wycliffe in these Montagnard projects was a series of grants totalling more than \$160,000 which they received from the U.S. Alliance for Industrial Development. The Alliance has since been exposed as a CIA conduit for operations in Indochina.<sup>20</sup>

The insatiable missionary drive of SIL/WBT, even while working in war situations as an ally of the U.S. and South Vietnamese military forces, is embarrassingly obvious in this passage from a Wycliffe publication: "Our members in Vietnam have often been discouraged. We have been tempted to withdraw or cut back. . . but God has not let us be satisfied with merely continuing on. . . . New members have reinforced our ranks, we have entered new tribes and seen God's blessing in new places. . . . We are looking to God for the purchase of new headquarters in Saigon and trusting Him for advance into Cambodia and other new tribes as he leads. . . ."<sup>21</sup>

- In what was Cambodia and is now Kampuchea, SIL/WBT soon followed the U.S.-Thai invasion in 1971, working to pacify the Cham and Brao peoples close to the Thai border and, as in Vietnam, departed in April 1975 when the Lon Nol regime fell.

## Conclusion

SIL/WBT propaganda describes the organization as "a private, non-profit, non-sectarian, scientific education, international organization."<sup>22</sup> But the reality of its insidious work around the world, both in terms of its objectives and its effects is its truly destructive impact upon the languages, the cultures, and the beliefs of indigenous peoples who are targets of SIL/WBT programs. The illegitimacy of their work is compounded when they make room for U.S. (or other) business interests, either by driving indigenous groups out of their homes and land, or by providing the business interests with a pool of cheap labor.

There is an obvious question that must be asked: Are the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the Wycliffe Bible Translators, and the Jungle Aviation and Radio Service working directly or indirectly for the CIA? We have cited the CIA money they received for their work among the Montagnards in Vietnam and the numerous other ties they have had with U.S. and foreign military forces, which both have operational relationships with the CIA. Whether or not new documentary evidence on CIA connections comes to light in the future, it is evident that SIL/WBT's special brand of counterinsurgency in numerous Third World countries is greatly valued by the Agency and its clients. —

20. Bill Wallace, "Onward Wycliffe Soldiers: Missionaries with a Mission?," *The Nation*, May 30, 1981, p. 664.

21. Hart, *op. cit.* n. 11, p. 21.

22. SIL 1979 Progress Report; page ii; *Op. cit.*, n. 7.

[Other sources used for this article include:

- a) SIL 1981 Progress Report, "SIL Serves People Through Linguistics and its Practical Applications."
- b) SIL 1979 Annual Report, "Serving People Around the World."
- c) "El Instituto Linguistico de Verano en America Latina," *Documentos*, Number 9, June 1981, Santo Domingo.]

# The CIA Ties of World Medical Relief

By Walt Bogdanich, Christopher Jensen and Joe Frolík

In late November the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* ran a six-part series on ties between the CIA and various religious and charitable organizations. This impressive and well documented investigation was conducted by reporters Walt Bogdanich, Christopher Jensen, and Joe Frolík, who generously gave *CAIB* permission to reprint the articles which follow. They are from the November 24, 1982 *Plain Dealer*, and are copyright © 1982 by *The Plain Dealer*. They are reprinted exactly as they appeared in that paper.

The aging brick warehouse rises eight floors above the empty lots, broken glass and abandoned cars that mark the impoverished inner city neighborhood.

The bulky structure, visible from a nearby freeway, fits anonymously into a landscape of old warehouses symbolizing Detroit's past commercial glories.

Unlike many of its counterparts, however, this ware-

house has an importance that belies its faded image. As the home of World Medical Relief Inc., it is known to missionaries and doctors the world over as a lifeline of medical supplies for needy children and adults.

But that is only part of the story.

Less known is the cozy relationship that has existed for



CIA paramilitary officers in Laos discuss flight plan with Air America pilots. Vang Pao (right) smiles.

years between this supposedly independent, tax-exempt charity and U.S. military interests.

This relationship, a Plain Dealer investigation found, was most dramatically illustrated by the role World Medical Relief played in supporting, at least indirectly, the Central Intelligence Agency's secret war in Laos in the 1960s and early 1970s.

In addition, military personnel have been allowed to tour the inside of World Medical Relief's warehouse, selecting what they wanted to be shipped to world trouble spots, according to Irene Auberlin, the charity's 86-year-old founder and president.

World Medical Relief, an organization exempt from federal taxes, said it runs a "non-political, non-government medical relief program . . . dedicated to the service of God's sick poor." The charity's governing board includes executives of major American corporations.

Auberlin said World Medical Relief never knowingly would allow itself to be used by outside political interests. "We're strictly medical," she said. "We equip hospitals and clinics for missionaries. We don't get involved with governments."

However, the Plain Dealer found that World Medical Relief's involvement with the U.S. military dated back more than two decades, to a time when the charity first began using the Air Force to distribute supplies in the Third World. Since then, a senior CIA official and the Navy have acted as World Medical Relief distributors.

World Medical Relief was founded by Auberlin and her late husband in 1953. In the last 29 years the charity claims to have distributed close to \$400 million in drugs, food supplements and medical supplies. Tax laws under which corporations donate goods to World Medical Relief require that donations be used only for the needy.

World Medical Relief's ties to the U.S. government developed primarily through two men—Harry C. (Heinie) Aderholt, a retired brigadier general in the Air Force, and Daniel C. Arnold, a retired CIA chief of station in Thailand and Laos.

Both acknowledge that while in government service they served as Southeast Asian conduits for distribution of millions of dollars in World Medical Relief assistance.

Charity supplies were particularly important in Laos, where the CIA coordinated covert military operations against the Communist Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese invaders.

According to congressional reports, the CIA secretly equipped, trained and helped supply its own private army of 30,000 Laotian irregulars. As originally formed, this fighting force consisted mostly of Hmong tribesmen, also known as the Meo.

The Plain Dealer has learned that World Medical Relief assistance was funneled to the Hmong, or Meo, through a distribution chain that included Air Force commandos and Edgar "Mr. Pop" Buell, a U.S. official who helped organize and train Hmong soldiers.

Aderholt, who headed the commandos (known as the 1st Air Commandos), was at first hesitant to discuss World Medical Relief's role in supplying the Laotians. "We couldn't say that," Aderholt said. "Mrs. Auberlin hasn't cleared that. I am sure that some has, but that might get into politics and hurt our position."

However, Aderholt later acknowledged, "I administered all the (World Medical Relief) programs . . . in Laos,

through Doc (Charles ) Weldon, who was a very famous doctor up there, and Pop Buell . . . He led the Meo."

Auberlin, interviewed earlier this year in Detroit, confirmed that her charity's supplies were distributed not only in Laos, but in Cambodia and Vietnam. "That whole area," she added.

Auberlin said Aderholt would arrange to have the supplies picked up. "Selfridge Air Force Base up in Mount Clemens (Michigan) would send . . . trucks down to pick up whatever he wanted. He'd send medics in, doctors, they'd pick out what they wanted."

World Medical Relief's supply line to the Hmong also was confirmed by retired CIA official Arnold, who in 1976 replaced Aderholt as the charity's prime distributor in Thailand.

Last July, during an interview in Washington, D.C., Arnold was asked if Hmong tribesmen received World Medical Relief supplies while fighting Communist forces.

"That is correct, yes," Arnold responded. Arnold later said the supplies only went to Hmong refugees inside Laos.

One retired U.S. diplomat who served in Southeast Asia said he knew of Aderholt's link to World Medical Relief, but added: "Keep in mind he (Aderholt) was in the military during that period, so you have to be careful when you say 'distributing supplies.' That could be potentially embarrassing to Aderholt."

"Pop" Buell, the U.S. official through whom Aderholt said he funneled World Medical Relief supplies, played a major role in assisting Hmong soldiers, according to government officials and published accounts.

Journalist Don A. Schanche, author of the book "Mister Pop," wrote that Buell—even though he worked for the U.S. Agency for International Development—"became a one-man supply corps for the CIA's secret army" and helped organize and lead a 5,000-man guerrilla army that held off North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao forces.

Schanche, now working as an international correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*, visited Buell on numerous occasions in Laos, according to his book. The book however, did not identify any of Buell's private supply sources.

In addition to Southeast Asia, the U.S. military also had a hand in distributing World Medical Relief supplies in Central and South America. Aderholt said, "She (Auberlin) supplied a lot to Air Force military people through us, but primarily we distributed for her," he said.

"We flew stuff . . . to the Canal Zone and then distributed down in South America." Aderholt further explained that Air Force commando units "administered a lot of the medicines down there in the civic action programs."

Civic action programs were important elements in the U.S. government's foreign counterinsurgency program.

Auberlin said her charity's relationship with Aderholt was innocuous. "We worked with him for years when he had the commandos," she recalled. "We were helping him set up clinics in remote areas of the country . . . It was a beautiful program."

She also contended that World Medical Relief officials did not realize Arnold was a top CIA official when they began shipping supplies through him in the mid-1970s. She said Aderholt introduced World Medical Relief to Arnold, whose official title was assistant to the U.S. ambassador in Bangkok.

"Well, it turned out when Dan finally retired from service, he was head of CIA over there," Auberlin said. Never-

theless, Arnold's relationship with World Medical Relief did not end when he says he retired from the CIA in 1979.

The Plain Dealer has learned that Arnold has continued to serve as the charity's distributor in Thailand while, according to federal records, he drew a \$50,000 retainer from the Thai government.

Arnold's relationship with the Thai government is disclosed in documents he was required to file with the Department of Justice.

Arnold told The Plain Dealer he does public relations for the Thai government, but said he received no money for his efforts. "I'm registered as a lobbyist," Arnold said. "I have money that is used on their behalf, but personally I do not receive anything by my own election."

Arnold served as CIA station chief in Laos from 1972 to 1975. He had been stationed in Laos since the early 1960s. Arnold later was station chief in Thailand, from 1976 to 1979.

Arnold first began handling World Medical Relief supplies while in Thailand, according to Aderholt, who commanded all U.S. military personnel in Thailand at the end of the Vietnam War.

"He was in good with the prime minister," Aderholt said. "He asked me to let him handle it (World Medical Relief supplies). I did, much to my regret. The problem was, because he was head of the CIA over there, he could not make it public."

Aderholt also said Arnold's background created problems. "He got me in trouble—the mere fact that when I went back over there (to Thailand) and he left, everybody thought I was CIA too. They knew he was CIA."

Aderholt added, "Dan's a very knowledgeable guy . . . and overall good. But I felt he used me and World Medical Relief more than he should have. But he had his political reasons, too."

Arnold said he became involved with World Medical Relief only because he admired the way the charity had managed to help the needy. He said he channels charity supplies through the prime minister's office in Thailand, which in turn distributes the goods to Laotian refugees and poor Thai residents.

In the United States, Arnold now operates a consulting firm, International Research Associates. He recently moved from Washington, D.C., to suburban Philadelphia.

The Plain Dealer also has learned that Arnold recently wrote two political position papers published out of an office that does contract work for the CIA. Arnold's last pamphlet, "Does U.S. Aid Subsidize Soviet Expansionism?" and an earlier one were copyrighted by International Public Policy Foundation.

Last summer, the foundation's address was listed as 6845 Elm Street, Suite 212, McLean, Va.

Operating out of the same small office is International Public Policy Research Corp., which does contract work for the CIA, according to Fred Roth, one of the company's incorporators. Roth told The Plain Dealer that most of the people involved in the foundation also work for the research firm.

The foundation did not have a listing in the McLean-area telephone book, nor is it included in the 1981 edition of "Foundation Directory," listing more than 3,000 foundations across the country. International Public Policy Foundation's 1980 income tax return—the latest one available—listed no contributions, gifts or grants.

Arnold and Aderholt both believe World Medical Relief not only has done a great service for the needy and poor, but also has helped polish America's image overseas.

Both cite World Medical Relief's administrative expenses, which are low compared to other charities. Auberlin receives no compensation and sleeps on a cot inside the warehouse.

World Medical Relief officials, Arnold said, "are tremendously committed to what they believe in. You'd have to be, to work so hard without any concern for personal recognition or remuneration."

Added Aderholt, "(It) is the best in the whole damn world. . . Mrs. Auberlin is so great, it makes me feel ashamed just to be associated with her because I can't do enough."

World Medical Relief's office has dozens of awards and certificates from organizations appreciative of the work the charity has done.

One of them is an undated certificate from the 1st Air Commando Wing. It reads: "In grateful recognition of your outstanding contribution to the advancement of the special warfare missions by the many general donations afforded this organization on behalf of the needy of the world."

It is signed, Harry C. Aderholt.

For more on Daniel Arnold, see *The Scott Barnes Story* in *CAIB* Number 17 (Summer 1982).

## World Medical Relief: The Military Connection

A former leader of U.S. commando forces in Southeast Asia was behind a plot to use a CIA-linked relief agency as a secret supply line for anti-Communist rebels in Cambodia and Laos.

However, the plan recently collapsed when the relief agency, World Medical Relief, balked at providing the supplies, The Plain Dealer has learned.

Harry C. (Heinie) Aderholt, a retired brigadier general who once led Air Force commando units, confirmed that he attempted to establish the supply line, which would have supported guerrilla activity inside Laos and Cambodia.

World Medical Relief decided against helping Aderholt, according to charity official Clara Kohn, because "we learned that the group he's working with was being investigated" by the U.S. government.

Kohn identified the group as being affiliated with *Soldier of Fortune* magazine of Boulder, Colo.

Aderholt, 62, is no stranger to World Medical Relief. While leading the Air Force's 1st Air Commandos—a unit similar to the Army's Green Berets—Aderholt often distributed World Medical Relief supplies around the world, according to charity officials.

Aderholt also commanded all U.S. military forces in Thailand during the latter stages of the Vietnam War. He retired in 1976.

Another of World Medical Relief's key contacts was Daniel C. Arnold, who distributed the group's supplies while serving as CIA chief of station in Bangkok in the late 1970s.

Although Aderholt failed to obtain World Medical Relief supplies, he told The Plain Dealer he and his associates managed to purchase medicine in Thailand for the anti-Communist resistance through "private grants" and fund-raising appeals. He did not elaborate on the source of the funds.

William Brooks, who identified himself as associate editor of Soldier of Fortune, confirmed much of Aderholt's account. "I know I've seen the medical supplies. They come through here, so I know that's what he's sending. In fact, there's a ton of that stuff down in the warehouse right now, if I'm not mistaken," Brooks said.

A State Department spokesman said the U.S. government had no knowledge of any private effort to supply anti-Communist rebels in Laos or Cambodia. World Medical Relief President Irene Auberlin said Aderholt first contacted her relief agency in April to help Laotian refugees "return to their country."

Soon after, Aderholt told The Plain Dealer the supplies would help the anti-Communist resistance wage its fight inside Laos and Cambodia. "When a guy gets wounded, when a guy gets malaria, when a guy gets sick, he could be treated within the area and not come out," said Aderholt in a July telephone interview from Fort Walton Beach, Fla.

Aderholt said he operates an import firm in Ft. Walton Beach and a furniture factory in Bangkok.

Aderholt said that in late summer he planned to send a representative to World Medical Relief to pick up "all kinds of supplies (from) a shipping list for the Cambodes (sic) and the Lao resistance."

Aderholt said some of the supplies were to be channeled through Dr. Charles (Jiggs) Weldon, a U.S.-born physician who treated thousands of Laotians wounded while fighting in the CIA-directed war against Communist forces in Laos during the 1960s and early 1970s.

Weldon could not be reached for comment.

Aderholt said his efforts in Southeast Asia were being assisted by people from Soldier of Fortune magazine "and others." Earlier this year Soldier of Fortune published a story describing how Soldier of Fortune "teams" sneaked into Laos on reconnaissance missions.

Among the refugees Aderholt wants to help are Hmong tribesmen who fled Laos after the Vietnamese backed government took power in 1975. The Hmong, led by General Vang Pao, formed the core of the CIA's so-called secret army that battled Communist forces in Laos.

"They'll get their country back, if we'll help them," Aderholt said.

Asked who would head the new guerrilla activity, Aderholt said, "I am not going to reveal that. It is a younger generation. The people we would look more to now to do something (are) the younger people—people that have been forcibly moved out."

He said six factions make up the resistance, including one that is being financed and trained by China.

Besides Laos, Aderholt also wanted World Medical Relief supplies to support the Cambodian resistance—specifically the rebel faction led by Son Sann, a former Cambodian prime minister.

Son Sann recently joined a coalition to oppose the Vietnamese-backed government in Phnom Penh. The two other coalition leaders are Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the former king, and Khieu Samphan, who is affiliated with Pol Pot, whose bloody regime was brought to power in the 1970s by the Khmer Rouge.

"Son Sann, he is the faction we should support," said Aderholt. "Let's give enough to Son Sann to offset what the Red Chinese are giving to the Khmer Rouge. And at the same time you make the coalition stronger militarily and politically."

Aderholt added: "We would give it to Son Sann's people who would give it to their people who need it." This would help to keep Son Sann's followers in Cambodia. "If we don't support them with medical supplies in Cambodia, when they get sick, when they have an epidemic, when they get wounded, they're coming back to Thailand."

Aderholt, although officially retired, retains a military mailing address in Southeast Asia, according to a Pentagon spokesman. He formerly ran a travel agency in Bangkok.

In the 1950's Aderholt held several positions in Air Force intelligence. His official military biography credits him with helping to pioneer "special air warfare techniques" in the early 1960s.

Also during this period, Aderholt's biography said, he "was instrumental in developing the Laos airfield complex known as Lima sites. These fields were used throughout Southeast Asia as support sites for special warfare operations . . ."

## The Carrot and the Stick: AID Pressures

Poverty is widespread on the Caribbean island of Grenada.

Poverty is widespread on the Caribbean island of Jamaica.

Grenada has a socialist government friendly to Cuba. Jamaica has a conservative government friendly to the United States.

Does that mean the poor of Jamaica are more worthy of economic help from American private voluntary groups than the poor of Grenada?

No, say most international relief officials. They argue that aid to the world's needy should be dispensed without regard to politics.

But often that is not how it works.

Under the Reagan administration, relief agency officials say, political considerations are a major factor in whether relief organizations receive money from the federally funded Agency for International Development (AID). That, in turn, has a significant impact on where and how private groups may operate.

The government now has a list of countries, socialist Grenada among them, ineligible for AID-funded projects. It also has begun to exercise more control over foreign programs it helps fund.

"We're seeing more direction from the AID administration than we'd seen in the past," said Leon Marion, execu-



tive director of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service. "And to us, this is a no-no—for one entity, the United States government, to control private groups is wrong."

Robert O'Brien, executive director of PACT (Private Agencies Collaborating Together), a consortium that helps steer AID grants to 20 American and foreign development groups, echoed Marion's concerns.

"It's extremely important that the private agencies remain private," said O'Brien. "And that means not controlled by the U.S. government."

O'Brien said government control could undermine the essential "partnership" between local residents and outside development workers.

"If I worked for the U.S. government on a contract basis, then it would be very difficult for me to work with peasant farmers in Nicaragua," said O'Brien. "If you are perceived as being under the control of an outside government, you've got problems."

AID officials deny the Reagan administration is trying to control private development efforts.

Thomas A. McKay, director of AID's office of private and voluntary cooperation, said the administration simply wanted to bring more "consistency" to the relationship between AID and the private sector. He said that relationship was often "ad hoc" in previous administrations and the Reaganites hoped to introduce more formal guidelines and structures.

However, an AID policy paper in September noted that in making its funding decisions, AID must consider "strategic, geopolitical and economic factors."

During fiscal year 1981 AID awarded nearly \$183 million in various grants to 85 private voluntary organizations, according to government figures. Such groups received another \$561 million from the agency in the form of ocean freight subsidies, Food for Peace commodities and excess property gifts.

The Rev. Boyd Lowery—a Presbyterian clergyman and executive director of CODEL, a consortium of Protestant and Catholic development groups—said his group would not accept more than 50% of its budget from AID for fear of becoming too dependent on the agency.

Despite that, CODEL is feeling the heavy hand of the Reagan administration, Lowery said. It currently operates in at least 12 countries the administration refuses to aid and faces the dismal choice of either dropping those projects or somehow raising an extra \$1.1 million in private donations.

"When you get a list of countries that is not inclusive of all countries, there is definitely pressure being applied," said Lowery. "And when that list excludes a tiny place like Grenada because they have a socialist form of government at the same time the U.S. deals with the U.S.S.R. and China, it raises a strange contradiction."

The list of approved countries is assailed by many private agency officials. "The countries that need our assistance are not the ones on the list from the State Department," said Paul McCleary, executive director of Church World Service, overseas relief arm of the Protestant National Council of Churches.

McKay said AID only would commit funds to "meet very fundamental needs in the poorest countries." He said that was why such relatively wealthy countries as Mexico and Brazil were on the list; private sector officials point out

that in those nations only a handful enjoy the affluence that exists amid pockets of extreme poverty.

Historically, the U.S. government rarely has been apolitical in its approach to private relief groups and foreign aid. For example, the surplus commodity programs set up after World War II—forerunners of the current Food for Peace program—were designed not only to feed the hungry but also to shore up domestic grain markets and create new markets abroad.

Even so, private agency officials say the Reagan administration has politicized the AID process more than any in recent memory.

"Even small interactions between countries get cast in an East-West context," said Jane V. Blewett, a fellow at Center of Concern, a Catholic research center in Washington, D.C., that recently studied the relationship between AID and religious private voluntary organizations. "And for the poor people in the Third World, that would be about 40th on their list of concerns. Survival . . . food . . . water. . . . These are much more important questions."

"But because they happen to be living in a certain country, their needs get cast in the East-West debate."

CODEL, for instance, is about to receive a grant for use in AID-approved countries. But it took more than a year to negotiate, and Lowery expects it to include more strings than in past years. He said that for several months the grant request was blocked by Reagan administration officials who objected to CODEL's use of private money to fund projects in Vietnam.

"From CODEL's perspective, when it comes to helping people in need, we believe political considerations are immaterial," said Lowery.

AID priorities have changed under the Reagan administration. The agency now clearly favors projects designed to encourage "free enterprise." And private sector officials say it is downplaying some of the social priorities stressed in past years.

"Three years ago, in any AID grant agreement, you found very specific language about women in development, about human rights," said PACT's O'Brien. "And you don't see that anymore."

McKay denied that allegation. "I have seen no shift in emphasis," he said, adding that AID continues to fund women in development projects.

But he admitted, "Human rights is not an area that AID funds as a development activity."

Some private voluntary groups, such as the Mennonite Central Committee and the American Friends Service Committee, refuse to accept AID funds because they want to avoid even the appearance of working for the U.S. government.

That is an appearance that can be especially damaging in Latin America, say relief agency officials. Many Latin Americans are well aware that until the mid-1970s, relief and missionary groups were a favorite cover for the Central Intelligence Agency.

While he headed AID during the Carter administration, former Ohio Gov. John J. Gilligan admitted the agency was once a haven for CIA agents. Gilligan claimed to have ended that practice, but, in many circles, suspicions remain.

"You don't want to get involved in a situation where you are lined up with a political or military strategy in (a) country," said Marion.

## Statement to the U.N.:

# The CIA and BOSS

By Bill Schaap

One of *CAIB*'s co-editors, William Schaap, was invited to address the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 8, 1982. One of the Special Political Committee's principal agenda items was *apartheid*, and Schaap addressed the long history of collaboration between the U.S. and the South African secret services. The text of his remarks follows:

It is my contention, Mr. Chairman, that the *apartheid* regime in South Africa—including its unlawful occupation of Namibia—has been encouraged and supported by the United States intelligence complex for decades. Regardless of the momentary state of formal relations between the two governments, their intelligence services have never ceased the closest of cooperation. As former CIA Africa specialist John Stockwell noted in his book, "In Search of Enemies," "the CIA has traditionally sympathized with South Africa and enjoyed close liaison with BOSS," the Bureau of State Security.<sup>1</sup> Indeed American and South African intelligence officials meet regularly, and as one journalist has noted, there is between them a "shared racism and political assumptions."<sup>2</sup>

The cooperation is mutual. Outside South Africa, for example, as the *London Observer* has noted, the CIA "is

prepared to pass on information about anti-apartheid activists" to BOSS when it needs it.<sup>3</sup> Only last month, revelations in the *Observer*, *London Sunday Times*, and the *Rand Daily Mail* indicate that South African intelligence, with and without CIA assistance, is extremely active in the United Kingdom, where South African burglary and gun running operations are apparently flourishing.<sup>4</sup> In South Africa, as stated in the report, "The CIA and BOSS: Thick As Thieves," the CIA has "depended upon South Africa for a wide range of covert actions and information gathering."<sup>5</sup> Still, as recently as 1979 the *Johannesburg Citizen* estimated that the CIA had more than three dozen deep cover operatives in South Africa,<sup>6</sup> and there have always been a large number of CIA officers under light diplomatic cover at the United States Embassy. In fact, for more than five years my colleagues and I exposed many of these operatives in the pages of the "Dirty Work" books and the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*,<sup>7</sup> until, only this year, a federal statute here in the United States purported to make such revelations a crime.

Sometimes, Mr. Chairman, there may seem to be a rift between the American and the South African services, as in the 1979 "spy plane" incident, when three U.S. diplomats were expelled from South Africa for using the Ambassador's plane to take secret photographs, apparently of South African nuclear facilities. According to the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and other papers, this may be the one area to which the cooperation does not

<sup>1</sup> John Stockwell, "In Search of Enemies," Norton & Co., New York: 1978, p. 187. The South African security service was known as the Republican Intelligence in the early 1960s; in 1969 the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) was created to assume all intelligence functions, including covert operations. Its name was later changed to the Directorate of National Security (DONS), and later still to the National Intelligence Service (NIS), the current appellation. In this statement, BOSS is used throughout.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Talbot, "The CIA and BOSS: Thick As Thieves," in Ellen Ray, et al., eds., "Dirty Work 2: The CIA in Africa," Lyle Stuart, Inc., Secaucus: 1980, p. 267. See also, Gordon Winter, "Inside BOSS," Penguin Books, London: 1981, pp. 208-9, 214-6, 296, 428-441, for specific examples of CIA-BOSS cooperation. The Winter book has been criticized in several respects, but not as to the accuracy of its descriptions of such cooperation.

<sup>3</sup> The *London Observer*, September 7, 1980.

<sup>4</sup> *London Sunday Times*, October 3, 1982; *London Observer*, October 3, 10, and 24, 1982; *Rand Daily Mail*, October 8, 1982; *London Guardian*, October 25, 1982.

<sup>5</sup> Talbot, op. cit., n. 2, p. 267.

<sup>6</sup> *Johannesburg Star*, April 21, 1979; *The Citizen*, July 9, 10, and 18, 1979.

<sup>7</sup> Ray, et al., op. cit., n. 2, Appendix; *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, passim.

extend.<sup>8</sup> But follow-up reporting in the *Washington Post* and the *Johannesburg Sunday Times* revealed that the indignation was rather feigned. The 70 mm. camera in the Ambassador's Beechcraft, which "had flown widely to and fro across Africa on diplomatic missions,"<sup>9</sup> had in fact, "for many years," according to those papers, been photographing intelligence targets in Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana, and turning those photographs over to the South African intelligence service.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps the most serious, sustained CIA operation to assist the South African *apartheid* regime has been the ongoing program to circumvent the U.S. and U.N. arms embargoes against South Africa. It has been convincingly demonstrated in many studies and articles, including a series of reports in *The Nation* magazine in 1978 and 1979, that for many years there has been a vast, officially sanctioned program by the United States to violate its own and the U.N.'s embargoes.<sup>11</sup> As recently as March of this year, the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. Congress reported that the CIA was instrumental in evading the embargo. This report was discussed in the *New York Times* and the *Christian Science Monitor* at the time.<sup>12</sup> These efforts have included the now well-publicized case of the Space Research Corporation, but have also included many more mundane and ordinary gun running operations, which have been reported by the *New York Times*, the *London Observer*, and other papers.<sup>13</sup> Often the U.S. role is indirect, but on occasion it delivers the arms directly to the South African forces; indeed in 1978, according to Reuters and Internews, South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha admitted that the U.S. had delivered arms directly to South African forces in Angola.<sup>14</sup>

These covert connections, of course, are separate and apart from the open connections between Pretoria and Washington, ties which have greatly expanded since the inauguration of the current U.S. administration. These ties, which are beyond the scope of my presentation, include the well-documented visits to the United States of high-ranking South African military and intelligence officials; joint military operations; and even such barbaric transactions as the recent sale by a U.S. company to South Africa of 2,500 electric shock batons.<sup>15</sup>

Another area, Mr. Chairman, in which the CIA is actively involved in South African affairs is labor. Since its beginning in the late 1940s, the CIA has infiltrated and

manipulated the international labor union movement for its own purposes—to support conservative labor organizations and to subvert or destroy more progressive ones. Their methods in this field were exposed in meticulous detail by former CIA officer Philip Agee in his 1975 book, "Inside the Company."<sup>16</sup> Less than two months ago, a delegation from the American labor confederation, the AFL-CIO, visited South Africa. One member of that delegation, according to the *Durban Sunday Tribune*, "has been identified as a CIA agent involved in splitting and manipulating foreign trade unions since the late forties."<sup>17</sup> The delegation announced plans for a South African program through the African-American Labor Center, an organization which, the paper noted, has frequently been accused of CIA ties; and the person suggested to lead the program has also been accused of being a CIA agent by former associates and by former CIA and BOSS agents.<sup>18</sup>

To a large extent, Mr. Chairman, South Africa has maintained its illegal *apartheid* regime in Namibia by waging a vicious war against Angola as well as against the people of Namibia itself. The CIA has been of invaluable assistance on both fronts. The U.S. has said that it supports the independence of Namibia just as it has said that it abhors *apartheid*; but here too actions speak louder than words. The U.S. has covertly hindered the complete and unqualified independence of Namibia for many years, particularly in its secret support for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, exposed in an October 1976 confidential U.N. memorandum.<sup>19</sup> And the CIA has been entirely responsible for much of the fighting in Angola. In fact, it has been pointed out that "there never was a 'civil war' in Angola at all, . . . the CIA paid the FNLA and UNITA and armed them in order to mount a challenge to the MPLA."<sup>20</sup> And, as former South African intelligence agent Gordon Winter put it, "the FNLA was founded, funded and run by the CIA, . . . UNITA was founded by CIA and remains controlled by CIA."<sup>21</sup>

Jonas Savimbi's UNITA retains such links with the CIA, despite the Clark Amendment, by which the U.S. Congress expressed its desire that there be no further clandestine interference in Angola. As late as Spring of 1981, Savimbi met in Rabat, Morocco with CIA officers, and his representatives are regularly reported having such meetings.<sup>22</sup>

Recently, a new and deadly element has been added. CIA-trained Cuban exiles are now planning to assist the South Africans on the Namibian and Angolan fronts. In February, the *Miami Herald* reported that Wilfredo Nava-

<sup>8</sup> *New York Times*, April 13, 14, and 15, 1979; *Washington Post*, April 13, 1979.

<sup>9</sup> *Johannesburg Sunday Times*, April 29, 1979.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, and *Washington Post*, April 29, 1979.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Klare and Eric Prokosch, "Getting Arms to South Africa," in *The Nation*, July 8, 1978; and Klare, "Arms for Apartheid," in *The Nation*, July 26, 1979.

<sup>12</sup> *New York Times*, March 25, 1982; *Christian Science Monitor*, March 25, 1982.

<sup>13</sup> *New York Times*, May 14, 1981; *London Observer*, May 17, 1981; "South African Gun Running: The Tip of the Iceberg," *CovertAction Information Bulletin*, Number 13 (July-August 1981), p. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Reuters, April 17 and 18, 1978; Internews International Bulletin, April 24, 1978.

<sup>15</sup> *Daily News*, September 21, 1982.

<sup>16</sup> Philip Agee, "Inside the Company: CIA Diary." Stonehill, New York: 1975.

<sup>17</sup> *Durban Sunday Tribune*, September 12, 1982.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, and Winter, op. cit., n. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Reprinted in "Confidential U.N. Memo Unmasks U.S. Covert Action Against Namibia," *CounterSpy Magazine*, Vol. 3, No. 2, December 1976, p. 42.

<sup>20</sup> Miles Africanus [pseud.], "Dress Rehearsal," a review of Stockwell, op. cit., n. 1, in *CovertAction Information Bulletin*, Number 4 (April-May 1979), p. 27.

<sup>21</sup> Winter, op. cit., n. 2, pp. 538, 541.

<sup>22</sup> See Ellen Ray and William Schaap, "The Namibian Solution: The Future of Southern Africa," in *CovertAction Information Bulletin*, Number 13 (July-August 1981), pp. 4, 10; *The Citizen*, April 3, 1981; *Diario de Lisboa*, June 3, 1982.

ro boasted publicly that he and some 500 mercenaries, advised by Watergate burglar Frank Sturgis, were going to establish a base in Angola.<sup>23</sup> In March, according to United Press International, Sturgis—who admits to being a long-time CIA agent—claimed he had traveled to Angola in connection with this plan.<sup>24</sup> And in April, according to *Expresso* of Lisbon, Sturgis, on behalf of the CIA, was reported at Lisbon meetings with South African intelligence officers and Angolan exiles.<sup>25</sup>

Involvement with brutal killers, like some of the Cuban exiles, is nothing new or extraordinary for either the CIA or BOSS. The *Wilmington News Journal* reported in 1980: "South Africa's Bureau of State Security . . . began hiring CIA trained anti-Castro fanatics in 1973 to carry out contract killings."<sup>26</sup> Indeed there is some suggestion that these CIA killers were responsible for the unsolved murders of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Smit in South Africa in 1977.<sup>27</sup> It is still unclear to what degree the CIA and BOSS share the responsibility for the murder of Ruth First in Mozambique this past August.

Mr. Chairman, it is known that the CIA played a major role in South African attacks against Angola, and there are indications that it has also been involved in assisting in commando raids into Zimbabwe and Mozambique.<sup>28</sup> Most appalling, however, was the January 1982 raid by South African commandos on the homes of exiled members of the African National Congress in Matola, Mozambique. In this vicious raid 12 unarmed civilians were murdered and three others were kidnapped.<sup>29</sup> What is shocking, but not unexpected, is that the CIA was directly involved in this mass murder. The Mozambican government learned, through its infiltration of the large CIA network in Maputo, that the CIA had provided the South Africans with the addresses and locations of the ANC homes, enabling this deadly plan to be carried out extremely quickly. Several CIA officers were expelled from Mozambique when the details of their assistance to the South Africans transpired.<sup>29</sup>

The Matola raid is a brutal, but consistent example of a fundamental tenet of CIA strategy: a ceaseless effort to render ineffective—if possible to destroy—the African National Congress. For more than 20 years the CIA has attempted to disrupt and split the ANC, infiltrating agents, funding dissidents, financing splinter groups; indeed the CIA has attempted, though with little success, to manipulate and subvert nearly every anti-apartheid organization in the United States and the United Kingdom as well.<sup>30</sup>

The reason this strategy is so important has recently been made clear in a secret CIA report entitled "South Africa: The African National Congress in the 1980s," copies of

which have been obtained by journalists in Washington.<sup>31</sup> The report confirms that "the ANC is now the most popular black movement among South African blacks," and notes "the ANC's growing political influence inside South Africa." In addition, the report notes that "the repressive security and political measures employed by Pretoria in response to the increase in terrorist activities have discredited moderate black leaders who oppose the ANC." The bottom line, of course, is the conclusion of the report that the growing influence of the ANC has "increasingly serious implications for U.S. interests both in the region and internationally. Specifically, racial violence in South Africa will increase the risks and costs of constructive engagement with Pretoria. The United States and other Western nations that have close ties with South Africa will be frequently attacked in international forums such as the U.N."

To the extent that this report is critical of South African policy, it is concerned only pragmatically with actions which might be counter-productive. The United States is not concerned about the rights of the black majority, but with the rights of its multinational corporations.

This concern with counter-productivity is evident in yet another secret document which has recently surfaced, a page from the April 15, 1982 *National Intelligence Daily*,<sup>32</sup> a compilation of CIA and other intelligence reports circulated to top administration officials. This document notes that the South African government is attempting to conceal the extent of acts of sabotage in the country. Electrical towers in northern Transvaal which were destroyed in January and February were repaired by the government in secret. "Pretoria," the report notes, "believes that the ANC benefits from press coverage of its attacks, and authorities are considering legislation that would place even stricter limits on such publicity." The CIA, however, appears to believe that this argument is incorrect and that press censorship will only encourage "spectacular" attacks.

Mr. Chairman, let me conclude by giving this Committee a brief summary of the conclusions I draw from my research. No matter what the government of the United States says, it is not, and apparently never has been, committed to unqualified majority rule in Namibia or in South Africa. It is the staunchest ally of the apartheid regime in Pretoria; while it may criticize that regime in public, it is at the same time arming it, financing it, assisting it, and working hand in glove to suppress the legitimate liberation struggle of the vast majority of the people of the region.

Internal investigations and criticisms within the United States do not seem to have much effect. Even as the U.S. Congress forbade further covert action in Angola, for example, the CIA ignored those strictures with impunity. Perhaps it is only in this international forum—in the United Nations—that this duplicity can be exposed to the world. The United States has bowed before to overwhelming world opinion; it must do so again in its reprehensible support for apartheid.

I thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to have presented this information to this Committee.

<sup>23</sup> *Miami Herald*, February 10, 1982.

<sup>24</sup> United Press International wire, March 10, 1982.

<sup>25</sup> *Expresso* (Lisbon), August 7, 1982.

<sup>26</sup> *Wilmington, Delaware Sunday News Journal*, February 24, 1980.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, and Winter, op. cit., n. 2, p. 504.

<sup>28</sup> See *Africa News*, September 13, 1982.

<sup>29</sup> See Ellen Ray, "Mozambique Smashes Spy Network," in *CovertAction Information Bulletin*, Number 12 (April 1981), p. 24.

<sup>30</sup> Winter, op. cit., n. 2, pp. 430-1, 432-4.

<sup>31</sup> Report ALA 82-10056, April 1982; see also *Washington Post*, November 3, 1982.

<sup>32</sup> TCS 2788/82, 15 April 1982.

## The U.S. Connection:

# South African Torture

By Clarence Lusane\*

The gruesome and nightmarish torture methods of the South African police are finally being revealed on a broad scale. The inquest into the death of a white labor activist while in detention and the release of a report based on the statements of 70 ex-detainees confirm the long-suspected belief that mental and physical torture is systematic and widespread in South Africa.

Testimony at the inquest into Dr. Neil Aggett's death has detailed the methods used by the South African police to obtain information and "confessions." These methods include beatings, electric shock, sensory and sleep deprivation, and other forms of physical and psychological assaults.

Dr. Aggett was found hanged in his cell on February 5, 1982 after two months in detention which included one nerve-shattering interrogation session during the last week of his life that lasted 62 hours. Aggett was being held under South Africa's super-strict security laws which allow a person to be held indefinitely without being charged with any crime and without benefit of legal counsel. Aggett's family and lawyer are asserting that he was murdered or driven to suicide by the brutal torture techniques of the South African police. The lawyer, George Bizos, has asked that two police officers, Major Arthur Cronwright and Lieutenant Steve Whitehead, be charged with homicide.

The torture chambers of the infamous 10th floor interrogation center of the John Vorster Square police headquarters in Johannesburg have long been known to South African blacks. As the number of whites held in detention has increased, the macabre secrets of the 10th floor are coming to light.

During the inquest, a report on torture in the whole of the South African detention system was released by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee. The broad-based, multi-racial group documents in excruciating detail the activities of the South African security and police forces.

The report lists:

- 22 cases of electric shock torture
- 28 cases of forced standing or kneeling
- 20 cases of sleep deprivation
- 11 cases of mid-air suspension while handcuffed at the ankles and wrists
- 54 cases of beatings with fists, sticks, batons, hose-pipes, gun butts, etc.
- 25 cases of suffocation
- 14 cases of attacks on genitals

In addition to these examples, the report lists numerous ways that psychological torture was carried out. Some of these ways included isolation, intimidation, degradation, humiliation, threats to life and family, and indefinite detention. The allegations came from former detainees who had been held at police stations at all the major centers in South Africa.

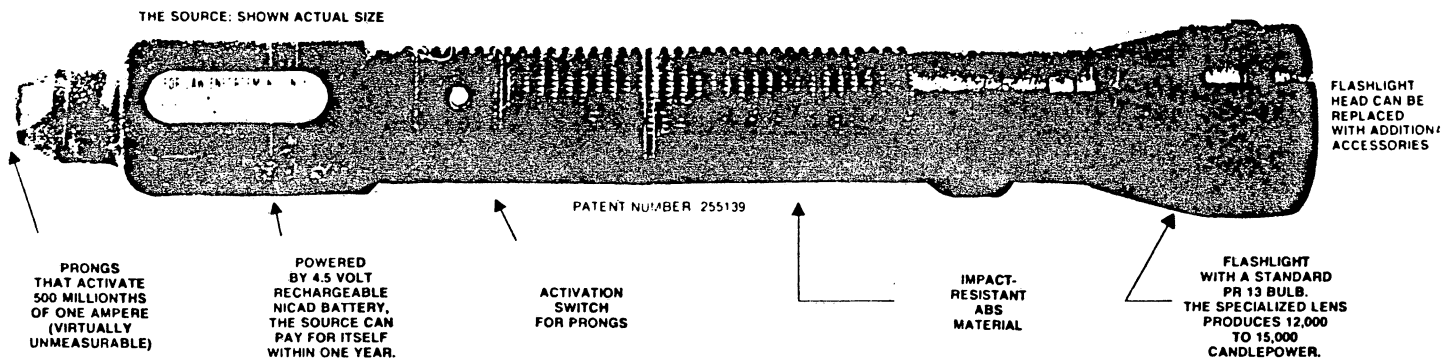
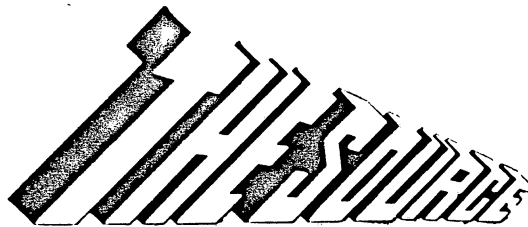
Amnesty International has also released a new study on torture in Namibia. The study outlines the role of the South African Defense Forces in the cruel and often deadly interrogation of prisoners suspected of aiding or being SWAPO guerrillas.

Increased domestic militance is pushing the South African government towards stepped-up efforts to crush opposition. Since the murder of Steve Biko in 1977, government use of detention-without-trial has grown dramatically. There are currently about 191 persons being held in that status and since Aggett's death, two more detainees have died while in custody. That brings the total number of persons who have died in police custody since 1963 to at least 52 with Aggett as the sole white.

These revelations are especially embarrassing at this time when South Africa, with the aid of the U.S., is trying to break out of its international isolation. Friendly gestures by the current administration in Washington have included lobbying on behalf of South Africa for a \$1.1 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund and U.S. defense of South Africa at the U.N. on issues concerning sanctions. Former Reagan campaign manager, John Sears, is now a \$500,000-a-year lobbyist for South African interests.

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\*Clarence Lusane is a Washington-based writer.



### The Source: Cattle-prod torture technology.

In mid-September, Director of Central Intelligence William Casey, who ironically was Sears' replacement for the last six months of the campaign, traveled to South Africa on what was supposed to be a secret "diplomatic" mission until his presence there was headlined in the South African press, though barely even mentioned by most U.S. media. Reliable sources in Africa and Washington state that the purpose of his trip was two-fold. First, he held meetings to further cement bilateral relations with his South African counterpart, General P.W. Van Der Westhuizen, chief of military intelligence, and with General Magnus Malan, the defense minister, who appears to be the most powerful figure in South Africa today. Then Casey went to Mozambique and Zambia, where he sought unsuccessfully to mitigate some of the ill will and distrust all the frontline states have for South Africa, as the targets of Pretoria's ongoing destabilization efforts. This destabilization, and U.S. complicity with it, was the subject of a very timely hearing before the House Foreign Affairs Africa subcommittee on December 8. Only hours after the hearing ended, South Africa launched a callous military raid into Lesotho, killing at least 30 members of the African National Congress and 12 Lesotho citizens.

Vice-President Bush, during his November trip to 6 African nations, attempted to "sell" the South Africans' proposal on Namibian independence which includes a controversial provision that Cuban troops must leave Angola. Rebuffed at every step along the way, Bush also faced tough questions on the highly visible support being given to Pretoria by the Reagan administration. However, when Bush returned, a senior State Department official termed the whirlwind tour "an unqualified success."

The export, from the U.S., of shock batons to South Africa certainly did not help Bush's argument. In total violation of a federal embargo on the export of military and police equipment to South Africa, the U.S. Commerce Department approved in April 1982 the sale of 2500 shock batons to South Africa. Calling it a "simple, unfortunate screw-up," John Boidock, director of the Office of Export Administration at Commerce, admitted that they did not contact the State Department before approving the export license as required by law.

In further violation of the law, the Commerce Department failed to include the sale in its internal logs supplied to the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and the Subcommittee on International Economic Policy and Trade in the House of Representatives, which regularly monitor crime control equipment exports. While claiming that they would have denied the sale, State Department spokesperson Paula Kuzmich dismissed the serious violation as mere "administrative inadvertence."

The crude looking instruments produced by the Largo, Florida Universal Safety Corporation, were first referred to as "rechargeable flashlights" with a "high-power voltage capacity" by the Commerce Department after the sale was discovered. The reality is that this weapon, known as The Source, delivers a 3500-volt shock and is similar to the cattle prods that were used against civil rights activists in the U.S. South. Described in a company brochure as the "law enforcement weapon that gives dignity," their sale to South Africa serves to highlight the false tones of concern by the Reagan administration about human rights for blacks in South Africa. The batons were shipped out last August.

The torture in South Africa has a clear purpose. The growing defiance of the black trade union movement is causing the P.W. Botha government great consternation and anxiety. For example, it is believed that the information sought from Dr. Aggett by the police forces involved the relations between the labor movement and the outlawed African National Congress.

The government is also worried by the influence of the surrounding progressive black countries. The South African Defense Force has set up a "destabilization center" in its Pretoria headquarters. The role of the center is to coordinate and implement aggressive incursions into Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. This includes direct South African border crossings as well as arming and training counter-revolutionaries. These attacks have become increasingly brazen and bold as the Pretoria regime tries desperately to hold back the tides of change sweeping across Southern Africa.



## Book Review:

# "The Puzzle Palace"

*The Puzzle Palace: A Report on NSA, America's Most Secret Agency*, by James Bamford, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston; 1982, 465 pp., \$16.95.

This review was prepared for *CAIB* by a retired long-time NSA employee.

At long last the public has been given a peek inside the walls of the secretive National Security Agency. In a penetrating expose of the "Puzzle Palace," author James Bamford affords a view into this high-tech spying agency whose very existence has been hidden for most of its three decades of growth.

Many times larger than the CIA, the National Security Agency, now forced out of the closet, would have us believe that it is engaged primarily in making and breaking secret codes, securing our national communications systems from foreign eavesdroppers, and analyzing radar signals. Bamford develops the theme, however, that the Palace, though highly proficient in the techniques of cryptology and such, is using puzzle solution to misdirect attention from the lion's share of its black art, namely the wholesale enterprise of listening in on the private telecommunications of the earth's citizens, domestic and foreign, for the purpose of gleaning a tidbit here and there which might have some bearing on "national security." Not content with the stuff relating to bombs, boats, and bivouacs, the sifting through is also targeting in on economic, industrial, political, and personal information which only by the most remote and paranoid rationalization could be considered a deliberate subversive assault on national security.

As a subculture unto itself, the National Security Agency has been operating largely in violation of both the Constitution and federal law, and has regularly practiced the big lie, obfuscation, and credible deniability to obscure its activities from the public, the Congress and even the President himself.

His legal background has given Bamford skill in uncovering the methodology through which the denizens of the NSA have hoodwinked even those few in the courts, the Congress, and the Executive who, of necessity, have had limited exposure to some of its activity. While on the one hand the Agency has played on the legal naivete of the

communications common carrier companies, bamboozling them into complicity, on the other hand it has stretched the legal intent of obscure regulations to retard legitimate academic inquiry and private industrial development of methods affording privacy to the telephonic and telegraphic messages of ordinary citizens.

Bamford describes the paths of intrigue through which the leaders of the NSA have manipulated political power to its favor, how it has wrested authority from the CIA, the FBI, and others, using its claim to higher technological elitism. He traces the serpentine trail of the eavesdroppers from the early days of World War I when Herbert Yardley and the tiny Army intelligence team MI-8, the Black Chamber, by hook or by crook, acquired copies of international cables in direct violation of the Radio Communications Act of 1912. And so it has been down through the years, a blatant disregard for the laws of the land: the Communications Act of 1934, the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, the holdings of the Supreme Court in the *Katz* and *Keith* cases of 1967 and 1972, and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978.

The pages of *The Puzzle Palace* are rife with the code names of secret intelligence programs largely unfamiliar even in the busy halls of Washington. Operations Shamrock and Minaret wherein millions of telegraphic and telephonic conversations of ordinary U.S. and other citizens have been lifted and sifted are described in great detail.

Bamford depicts the mammoth scope of listening posts blanketing the earth and the web of special communications circuits bringing the fruits of interception back to the NSA headquarters at Fort Meade, a city unto itself halfway between Washington and Baltimore. He describes giant antenna farms encircling the globe whose tireless ears funnel innocent conversations as well as military and diplomatic messages into the cornucopia. He elaborates on the use of satellites, aircraft, and ships at sea as mobile platforms carrying the NSA sensors into the backyards of whatever nations it chooses to target.

Leafing through *The Puzzle Palace* the predominant theme emerges that civil servants and military careerists of the National Security Agency consider the will of the people and their elected representatives irrelevant; that we are not sufficiently wise or sophisticated to develop the limit-

ing criteria beyond which intrusive eavesdropping activity becomes a real detriment to the vitality of the nation. The fact that the NSA withholds from the U.S. public the knowledge of the existence of interception programs or technologies, information well known by the country's adversaries, suggests that we the people who hold the burden of taxes and the purse strings of appropriation are considered the real enemy.

The investigative reporting talents of James Bamford impress the reader, as he has undertaken to set forth with clarity subject matter which by its very nature is obscure, fragmented, and transitory. He attempts to show the distinction, for instance, between "interception" and "acquisition" of messages, and how the Agency considers electronic computer scanning of private messages as not falling under the slightest restriction as an "unlawful search." Thus, an

intelligent mechanical surrogate of the human psyche is permitted to plunder our most intimate utterances, a privilege not even granted an officer of the law armed with a court order.

Although Bamford avoids pejorative comment in his largely objective development, it becomes evident that he brings the reader to the conclusion that much of the activity of the NSA is inconsistent with traditional American ideals and institutions. He avoids the measure of public outrage, however, that well might be directed toward the clandestine society of "technocracy." Perhaps such musings of societal impact, the chilling effect of Big Brother, and the resultant gradual degeneration of private freedom are best described by the political philosopher or the futurist. Each of us, however, must heed the warning to corral the rouge elephant.

## Book Review:

# Secret Defoliation in Vietnam

By E.W. Pfeiffer\*

*The Chemical Scythe: Lessons of 2,4,5-T and Dioxin*, by Alastair Hay, Plenum Publishing Corp., 233 Spring St., New York, NY 10013; 1982, 275 pp., \$27.50.

*The Chemical Scythe* is a most valuable addition to the growing literature dealing with the use by the United States of chemical warfare in Indochina. Its author, Dr. Alastair Hay of the Medical School of the University of Leeds, is eminently qualified to present this story, which reveals much previously classified information about U.S. herbicide programs in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

Indeed, with respect to defoliation efforts in Cambodia, this book reveals information the Air Force has fought to keep secret. Last July the National Veterans Task Force on Agent Orange lost its court fight under the Freedom of Information Act to obtain some 20 pages which were deleted from a draft Air Force report entitled: "Operation Ranchhand: The United States Air Force and Herbicides in Southeast Asia, 1961-1971." As the *New York Times* noted (July 26, 1982), "Disclosure, the court said, would violate the integrity of the decision-making process whereby senior Air Force officials determined the content of the official history." Thus, the Air Force was permitted to delete a certain incident from its "history."

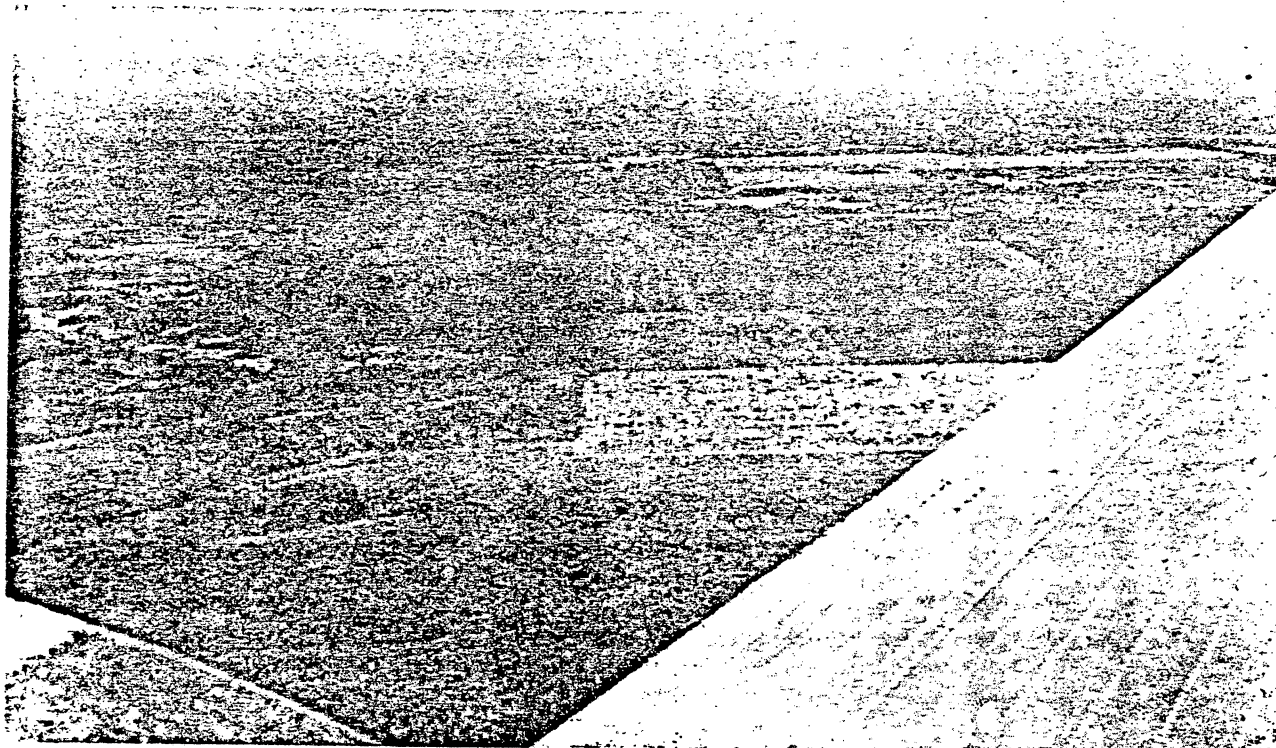
But despite the court decision, the facts are now in the public record. *The Chemical Scythe* describes in meticulous detail the events deleted by the Air Force censors. It is a fact established by an official U.S. team of experts and others that the Fishhook region of Eastern Cambodia was attacked repeatedly by defoliating aircraft in the spring of

1969. The U.S. government neither confirmed nor denied responsibility but negotiated with the Cambodian government and French rubber planters to pay for the multi-million dollar damage to their rubber plantations. There is evidence that the CIA's Air America carried out this clandestine operation. Former Senator Frank Church wrote me on July 26, 1971, that, "I have been told, however, that Air America was responsible for the Cambodian defoliation. My source was . . . an individual who is in a position to know the facts in this matter." When the CIA obtained a copy of this letter, it immediately dispatched an agent to deny the allegation. According to a CIA report, "Senator Church said he couldn't remember off hand where he learned this information . . . He said he fully accepted our denial." As Dr. Hay documents in *The Chemical Scythe*, Church was still covering up as late as 1978.

Why does the Air Force in 1982 still try to conceal a comparatively minor operation of 1969? As *The Chemical Scythe* explains, the official version, expounded by Henry Kissinger in *The White House Years*, is that the Fishhook region was secretly (and illegally) bombed by B-52s in 1969, because according to Kissinger, it was necessary to destroy Viet Cong sanctuaries in the region. Kissinger writes that "recent intelligence from a rallier [deserter], as well as photo reconnaissance, showed that the Communist headquarters for all of South Vietnam was located just across the Cambodian border . . . The B-52 attack took place on March 18, 1969, against North Vietnamese Base Area 353 . . . From April through early August 1969 attacks were intermittent . . . Afterward raids were conducted regularly."

Kissinger's maps show Base Area 353 precisely where I

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**Defoliated rubber plantation in Kissinger's Base Area 353. Note absence of bomb craters.**

spent several days and nights studying the effects of the April 1969 defoliation raids. As detailed in *The Chemical Scythe*, it was heavily populated with Cambodians and French Rubber plantation employees and their families. After reading Kissinger's totally inaccurate description of the area, I wrote the U.S. Air Force for documents which might support him.

On November 7, 1980, Charles W. Hinkle, Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense, wrote me, "The map coordinates in the message (MAC 1782 COMUSMACV) are those provided by a North Vietnamese *rallier* [Pentagonese for deserter] as the location of COSVN headquarters [COSVN was the Pentagon acronym for Kissinger's "Communist Headquarters for all of South Vietnam"]."

Mr. Hinkle enclosed a map of the Fishhook area with Base Area 353 drawn according to the coordinates in the message MAC 1782 which he also sent me. This message, sent in February 1969 from General Abrams to General Wheeler, states in part, "Recent information developed from photo reconnaissance and a rallier gives us hard intelligence on COSVN HQ facilities in Base Area 353. . . . The area is covered by thick canopy jungle." This is not true. The Department of Defense map shows the area to be sparsely covered with brush and surrounded by several small villages. When I asked for the photos of Base Area 353, Mr. Hinkle wrote me on December 19, 1980, "The Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has advised that they do not have the photographs which you requested. Further, they have advised that they have no information, other than that previously provided to you [i.e. the coordinates provided by the deserter] to substantiate the precise location of Base Area 353."

Thus Kissinger's only source for his description of the so-called "Communist Headquarters in Cambodia" is a deserter!

Mr. Hinkle also sent me a copy of a report of the "Menu" (B-52) strikes against Base Area 353 showing tonnage of

bombs dropped beginning on March 18, 1969, and supposedly continuing through January 1970. This approximately 10 mile square area supposedly received 6529 tons of bombs delivered by 228 B-52 bombers. A typical B-52 mission consisted of five aircraft whose bombs carpeted an area about one half mile wide and three miles long. Thus 15 B-52s would have saturated the whole of Base Area 353 with many hundreds of craters some 25 ft. in diameter and 10-15 ft. deep. What would 228 B-52s have done?

All this was supposedly going on unnoticed by the thousands of rubber workers at the French Mimot rubber plantation only ten miles away. Dr. Kissinger can't be serious. These alleged sanctuaries were the excuse Nixon and Kissinger used to invade and subsequently destroy Cambodia.

As *The Chemical Scythe* records, there were no sanctuaries in the Fishhook region and therefore no bombing could be justified. But the myth has to be kept alive to maintain Kissinger's credibility. When presented with the dilemma of why he omitted any reference to what actually happened in 1969 in Cambodia (defoliation) and described in detail what did not take place, Kissinger refused to answer *The Chemical Scythe's* author. The Air Force, caught in between, simply deleted all references to the defoliation.

*The Chemical Scythe* goes far beyond the wartime uses of herbicides. It is indeed a book for people with many diverse interests: chemists concerned with dioxin-contaminated substances, toxicologists, medical personnel, manufacturers of chlorophenol-related compounds, environmentalists, historians. The chapters dealing with Seveso and Love Canal are must reading for all who are concerned with environmental pollution.

*The Chemical Scythe* is the first book in a series projected by the International Disaster Institute. The aim of the series is to provide scientific and readable accounts on the most recent areas of disaster research. Dr. Hay's book sets very high standards for this much needed series.

# News Notes

## War Plans for El Salvador

"Shattering the Viet Nam Syndrome: A Scenario for Success in El Salvador" is the title of a study advocating a refined military approach to waging a winning war in that country, already drenched in blood. The 23-page essay has been making the rounds recently at the Pentagon and the State Department, and *CAIB* managed to obtain a copy from a recipient who was uncomfortable with its implications.

Lewis A. Tambs and Frank Aker divide El Salvador according to its existing political-geographic sectors, and propose that they be made into five *Brigadas*, similar to the four military I, II, III, and IV "Corps" divisions by the U.S. Army of what was South Vietnam. The authors urge adoption of what they call "the *tercio* technique—strategic offense and tactical defense" and say: "El Salvador is the ideal testing ground for re-introduction of *tercio* tactics."

The real thinking of Tambs comes across starkly in the following passage: "Victory in El Salvador depends on winning three battles—in the field, in the media, and in Washington within the administration. All three are ultimately wars of the minds of men and the persistent campaign to equate Southeast Asia with Central America is an integral part of the conflict which is to undermine the West and to overthrow the United States—the centerpiece of the coalition."



Army round-ups.

Frank Aker is a U.S. Navy officer. Lewis A. Tambs is a well-connected former oil engineer and former history professor. In mid-1981, he resigned his teaching post at Arizona State University and, with key backing from Senator Jesse Helms (Rep.-North Carolina), has since then been a paid consultant to the National Security Council. He has been a zealous anti-communist for years.

It was no secret in Washington that Reagan wanted to reward Tambs with an ambassadorship. The White House's first choice was Panama, but this met with resist-



Thousands murdered.

ance both in Panama City and on Capitol Hill, so rumors circulated that Reagan wanted to give him Colombia. The President skirted the issue during his flying visit to Central America, where he was confronted by an uncommonly frank Colombian President, Belisario Betancur. Only after returning did Reagan formally nominate Tambs.

It remains to be seen whether the Senate confirms Tambs to this ambassadorship. His visceral political thinking and the militaristic hawk that dominates the pages of this study are extremely troubling. He (and Aker) seek to "shatter the Viet Nam syndrome," where we lost, by winning one in Central America. As the paper puts it: "... the instruments are at hand for victory in El Salvador."

## Spy Vs. Spy: U.S. Spies on Canada

It appears that the U.S. spies on its friends as well as its enemies. According to the *Toronto Star* of September 28, 1982, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) initiated a one-year, covert intelligence project to learn every detail of Canada's intelligence service, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).

Operating from February 1981 to January 1982, the U.S. wanted to know in detail how Canada's special operation forces conduct unconventional warfare, guerrilla operations, forgery projects, propaganda, insurgency, terrorism or support of terrorism, assassinations, use of surrogate agencies, sabotage, riots, and other destabilization tactics, agents of influence in demonstrations, and policy with regard to "anti-American" groups, individuals and activities. The DIA also wanted details about RCMP's relationships with intelligence agencies in other countries.

Only by destroying the revolutionaries who make the revolution can a successful conclusion to an extended, insurgency campaign be completed. These key individuals are concentrated in the revolutionary's infrastructure and cadre. Trained abroad and patiently infiltrated over a long period of time into the nation's social, political, intellectual, economic, religious and opinion making sectors, the revolutionary infrastructure acts as the intermediary between the insurgent mass and the command post and shock troops of the cadre. The guerrillas are the body, the infrastructure serves as the nervous system and the cadre is the brain. Hence, if the body is separated from the system, and the network of nerves, in turn, is isolated from the cerebrum, the corpse will collapse. This can be accomplished by severing the enemy's lines of communication and supply. Since the rebels tend to establish their base camps in frontier areas contiguous to sympathetic states and/or in inaccessible tropical terrain they are able to either flee across the border or melt away after inflicting heavy losses on the loyalist forces who have taken the tactical offensive. Conversely, if the allied armies can uncover and break or block the logistical links between guerrillas, infrastructure and cadre, then, the rebels, in order to survive must break cover and attack. Once in the open the irregular levees can be destroyed, eg. Hue in 1968, and the infrastructure and cadre tracked down, isolated, and then allowed to self-destruct through starvation, attrition or self-immolation as they beat themselves to death trying to break out of the double iron ring embracing them. But how can the loyalists uncover the communications network and provoke the partisans into attacking?

The Cuban-Sandinista cancer in the Caribbean and Central America can be removed through surgery, killed by chemotherapy or isolated through <sup>QUARANTINE</sup> immunization. Armed occupation, incitement of rebellion or air and naval blockade of Cuba and Nicaragua are the three major options. Should the maximum and secondary

While denying that the DIA was actually "spying," a spokesperson asserted, "you're not really spying on your allies," but "you do need periodic assessment of your partner's capabilities." He confirmed the contents of the DIA directive, a copy of which was sent anonymously to the *Star*. The directive ordered DIA components in Canada to make contact with defectors, emigres, and refugees, who are codenamed respectively Seek, Peek, and Leep.

Perhaps worried about the capabilities and loyalties of other partners, the U.S., it was also revealed, is conducting similar assessments of 33 other countries including some of its closest and most strategic NATO allies.

## Son of a Gun-Maker

Secret identities. Exotic weapons. Hiding underground. This is the stuff that spies are made of. In this case, however, it is the son of a spy. The life of David Rothman, whose father designed weapons for the CIA, has not been the same since he wrote a book on the life of his father.

The book, *Mr. Death: The Life of a CIA Assassination Expert—By His Son*, traces the life of Barry Rothman who was recruited by the CIA while still in high school in the early fifties. Barry Rothman worked for the CIA for 20 years designing assassination devices such as poisons, explosives, gun silencers, phosphorus grenades and specially designed gadgets for special jobs. In 1976, he gave an interview to *Playboy* Magazine describing his work using the pseudonym of "Mr. Death." He died three months later of a sudden heart attack.

In May 1979, while working on the book, the young Rothman was shot by a poison dart as he walked down a Brooklyn street. Surviving the attack, Rothman went underground for two years in order to finish the manuscript.

Attempts to stop the book and its author continue. *Mr. Death* was finally published by Playboy Press in June 1982. Soon after that, however, Playboy Press was purchased by another company and all promotional work for the book has suspiciously stopped. Rothman has also had death threats following appearances on TV shows where he was promoting his book.

Mr. Rothman, who has done exposes on the nuclear weapons industry, is continuing to speak out against CIA domestic assassination programs, a subject with which he is increasingly familiar.

## South Africa Tied to London Break-Ins

South African involvement in the burglary of the London offices of the ANC and SWAPO has recently been confirmed. When the break-ins first occurred, July 20, 1982 at the ANC office and August 7, 1982 at the SWAPO office, representatives from both groups charged that South African agents were responsible. Items stolen in-

cluded U.N. passports, maps, files, photos and pamphlets. The accusations were vehemently denied by the South African Embassy.

Now direct links have been established between South Africa and the two men, Bentil Wedin and Peter Caselton, charged with handling documents stolen from the offices. It has been learned that the South African law firm of Brink, Pfaff and Partners sent a Mr. Hennie Goosen to consult with Roland Watt, the lawyer who is defending the two. Mr. Watt stated that Goosen was sent to arrange bail for Caselton. A spokesman for Brink and Pfaff has refused to discuss the identity of their client. When contacted by a journalist, Goosen was rather tense: "I have not asked you your name so I will not tell you mine," he said.

The connection was discovered when Goosen accidentally dropped a scribbled note in a phone booth near a London courthouse. The note, written on the letterhead of Brink and Pfaff, identified and introduced Goosen to the law firm representing Wedin and Caselton.

Wedin is a Swedish journalist with a history of CIA-connected right wing activities. He is also rumored to be a member of the Swedish Nazi Party, the Nordiz Ricks Parti. Caselton is a former Rhodesian. A third man, Edward Aspinall, a Briton who actually committed the robberies, is being sought by the police.

## The Heritage Agenda for Power

The impact of the Heritage Foundation upon both the programs of the Reagan administration and indeed the thought of Reagan himself has never been completely appreciated by the media and the public. It is especially important therefore to get a rare glimpse of the inner workings of the organization. *CAIB* has received a confidential, 9-page internal Heritage document, drawn up in late November, which describes the Heritage agenda in considerable detail.

It is partly a calendar (some of which extends as far ahead as early 1984) for each of the Heritage executives, and partly a schedule for future Heritage publications. They have more than a dozen printed organs, plus syndicated columns in hundreds of U.S. newspapers. There are 40 separate national and international topics under ongoing Heritage research. One section describes a wide range of administrative components that demonstrate the size and scope of Heritage's overall program, such as priorities for organizational data processing, strategies for publications marketing, and the need for an alphabetized list of companies supporting Heritage.

Efforts by Heritage to extend a helping hand to the CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies are also proceeding apace. Heritage's voluminous hard-line intelligence strategy paper for the Reagan administration, produced between the November 1980 election and the January 1981 inaugural, became the fulcrum for many of the ensuing intelligence policy changes and the swift expansion of CIA-FBI-NSA powers, both in the U.S. and overseas. (See *CAIB* Numbers 10 and 12.)

In mid-1982, Andrew Tully, a conservative journalist who has authored 16 books including three about intelli-



gence, came aboard for a year at Heritage to work on a new book and lectures about "CIA reform," and to plan a series of luncheons for media people who cover the CIA and FBI beats.

|                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| CONFIDENTIAL                   |  |
| MAJOR PROJECTS                 |  |
| November 29 - December 3, 1982 |  |
| MONDAY 29                      | Management Meeting 9:15 a.m.<br>EJF Hiddendorf Luncheon 12:00 p.m.<br>JVK Chicago<br>PT Meet w/Fred Cornish (AVA Program) 10:30 p.m.<br>PT BVP NSR Luncheon 12:00 p.m.<br>VG Lunch w/Spencer Warren (Cons/Rinaldo)<br>BW Breakfast Meeting w/Herman Michel<br>MW Meet w/Edwin Feulner 2:30 p.m.  |
| TUESDAY 30                     | EJF RH Hayek Lecture & Dinner<br>JVK Chicago<br>WAJ Vacation<br>BVP IBAC/Barovich Luncheon 12:30 p.m.<br>VG BW Walter Kravitz Luncheon   |
| WEDNESDAY 1                    | EJF Study Group on U.S. Grand Strategy Breakfast Meeting 8:00 a.m.<br>EJF Manhattan Institute Radio Taping 11:00 a.m.<br>EJF Interview by Thomas Mack (ALEC) 2:30 p.m.<br>EJF Meet w/Mary Debeauché, ELF (French Petroleum Company) 4:00 p.m.<br>PT Lunch w/Gary Knight (Synfuels Corp.) 12:00 p.m.<br>WAJ Personnel Luncheon 12:00 p.m.<br>RH White House Staffers Luncheon<br>BVP Lunch w/Sanders 12:00 p.m. |
| THURSDAY 2                     | EJF PT 6 Psk 12:00 p.m.<br>EJF Portland, Oregon<br>WJ JO'S Sherman Dinner<br>BVP CSIS/IC Group 8:00 a.m.<br>VG Congressional Staff Training Seminar<br>BW Japanese Luncheon<br>BVP New Members Congress panel 1:30 p.m.<br>MW Meet w/Mr. Perrone (Insurance) 11:00 a.m.  |
| FRIDAY 3                       | PT RH VG Staff Training Seminar<br>WAJ Sherman Luncheon<br>RH BW Lunch w/Honduran Businessmen<br>BVP Vacation  |

In early 1983, Heritage plans to publish another two-year blueprint for the Reagan government. "Agenda 1983" will examine every federal agency to see how they are conforming to the 1,093-page 1981 volume, "Mandate for Leadership: Policy Management in a Conservative Administration." They aren't even waiting for it to get into print before implementing it. The President of Heritage, Edwin J. Feulner, Jr. (EJF) sits on a "Study Group on U.S. Grand Strategy." A Heritage spokesperson told *CAIB* that this body is a joint venture with the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

## Destabilization in Suriname

There was another attempt, in late October, to overthrow the legitimate and "emerging" socialist government of Suriname. A recent visit by Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and developing relations with the revolutionary governments of Cuba and Nicaragua are provoking domestic and international hostilities from right-wing forces. Since its revolution in early 1980, Suriname has thwarted at least four other major coup attempts that increasingly appear to be tied to the CIA.

Squeezed between two pro-U.S. countries, Guyana and French Guiana, the tiny nation of Suriname was a Dutch colony until 1975 when political independence was

achieved. Economic exploitation continued, however, by the Dutch and North American multinational corporations assisted by the corrupt and inefficient Henck A.E. Arron government. High unemployment, dilapidated housing, low literacy, and poverty characterized the post-independence government leading to economic and political crises by late 1979. Finally, democratic forces in the military, led by Lt. Colonel Desi Bouterse, took over state power on February 25, 1980, ousting the Arron government.

Since that time four major coup plots have been uncovered. In April 1980, a plan to seize power by Army Lieutenant Rambocus was discovered early and those involved arrested. In May 1980, former members of the Arron government and Holland-trained mercenaries tried also to overthrow the government. Again the plan was found out and the collaborators caught. Ten months later in March 1981, Army Sergeant Major Hawker led an unsuccessful plot to liquidate government leaders. One year later, on March 10, 1982, Hawker and Rambocus (who had been released from jail) and some other army officers battled for two days with government forces before finally giving up. According to documents in the possession of the government, the U.S. and Dutch embassies had prior knowledge of all of these counter-revolutionary attacks.

In the most recent destabilization attempt, right-wing trade unions led a campaign of strikes, slander and sabotage. According to the Guyana *Mirror* of November 7, 1982, they were aided and abetted by the CIA. Formal protests to the U.S. Embassy have been ignored. The campaign had as its final objective a general strike which the government was able to nip in the bud. (See the Grenada *Free West Indian*, November 3, 1982.)

Connected to this destabilization campaign were plans for a mercenary-led coup organized by a right-wing group known as the "Committee for the Re-establishment of Democracy." Stanley Joemman, a Surinamese government envoy to Grenada, told a press conference that "15 million Dutch guilders have been set aside" for this operation (*Free West Indian*, October 16, 1982). This group is being led by Rob Warmer, who is based in Holland and is trying to build support among the 150,000 Surinamese who live there. Mercenaries who are being recruited for this action have previously worked in the Congo, Uganda, and the French Foreign Legion.

It is no wonder that the Suriname government is comparing the tactics being used against it to those used to destabilize and finally overthrow the progressive governments of Jagan in Guyana, Allende in Chile, and Manley in Jamaica.

FLASH: As *CAIB* went to press, reports were just coming in that yet another coup attempt, this time a major one, has been thwarted. On December 8, 1982 approximately 30 to 40 opposition figures were arrested in what appears to have been a last ditch attempt to overthrow the government. The next day, according to the yet unclear reports in the U.S. press, more than a dozen of the plotters were killed in an abortive escape plot, which may have involved others not rounded up the previous day. Vitriolic reactions from the U.S. State Department stressed that "our entire relationship with Suriname is under review, including our aid program."

## Court Rolls Over For NSA

A devastating blow to the constitutional rights of everyone in this country was dealt on October 21, 1982. According to the *New York Times* (November 7), a federal appeals court ruled that the National Security Agency is now lawfully permitted to intercept private telephonic and telegraphic messages between U.S. citizens and persons overseas, even if there exists no reason to believe the U.S. party is an agent of any foreign power. The court also legalized the sharing of the intercepted messages with other intelligence agencies and foreign governments.

The precedent-setting decision involved the case of Abdeen Jabara, a progressive Michigan-born Arab-American lawyer who for years has been defending fellow Arab-Americans and other aliens in their own court battles. The government confirmed it had been investigating Jabara since at least 1967, and the FBI was forced in prior court hearings to admit it had solicited and received from



the NSA summaries of Jabara's overseas communications. The FBI then had provided the data to 17 other intelligence and law-enforcement agencies, as well as to three foreign governments.

Not only does the ruling give legal standing to institutionalized violation of every citizen's rights under the Fourth Amendment—which protects individuals from unreasonable searches and seizures. Many observers have noted that the sweeping judgement opens dangerous new vistas in the United States for the operations of all the U.S. intelligence agencies. At present, before it can commence a wiretap surveillance or a physical search, the FBI is required by law to get a warrant from a federal judge or from the special, highly secret Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court set up in 1978. The court's decision gives the government leave to ignore the warrant requirement and rely on the NSA to do the riskier dirty work that needs doing so as to avoid the encumbrances of the law.

## Saad Haddad: Israel's Triggerman in Lebanon

One of the most notorious examples of religion in the service of fascism is the alliance between Major Saad Haddad of the "Free Lebanon" forces and the High Adventure Ministries of Los Angeles. High Adventure runs the radio station Voice of Hope, beamed from northern Israel throughout southern and central Lebanon. While much of the programming presents typical fundamentalist preaching, and the ubiquitous country and western music, the station is continually used by Haddad to harangue the Lebanese. One person who frequently organizes fundraising events for the radio station is the born-again singer, Pat Boone.

It is from the Voice of Hope that Haddad announces his periodic shelling of Sidon and other towns, attacks which continue to claim many innocent victims. On numerous occasions Haddad has ordered the gunning down or shelling of civilians, despite his so-called "faith." Haddad is known to have opened fire on a Lebanese Boy Scouts Jamboree; to have shelled the city of Sidon repeatedly; and to have fired on U.N. peacekeeping troops in a petulant fit when they would not obey his order to leave "his" territory. While he, and his Israeli sponsors, have denied that he had any role in the Beirut massacres, Haddad was in Beirut at the time of the butchery, and although he claims the Lebanese Army has exonerated him, their spokesman, according to Jack Anderson's column (October 16, 1982), denies this.

CAIB has obtained a copy of a recent letter from Major Haddad to George Otis, the Director of High Adventure, which we reprint here. While it confirms the substantial assistance Major Haddad receives from High Adventure, it does not clarify how assisting a military commander in a war represents a religious activity. Indeed, according to Anderson, High Adventure's tax exempt status is already being challenged.



MAJOR SAAD HADDAD  
COMMANDER  
FREE LEBANON

October 7, 1982

Dear George and My Friends at High Adventure:

I am sure with the recent confusion and distortion of the news, particularly about the horrible massacre, many are wondering what really is happening over here.

Our friends, the Israelis, and I have been falsely accused. It is a part of a satanic plot to discredit all the good work which God has been doing here.


I want you to know that in the name of our holy God, I had no part whatsoever in the heinous massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps up in Beirut. The Lebanese Army has cleared my name and so have the Israeli authorities.

My heart is bleeding over these lies about me. At a time like this it is a great temptation for me to just quit. Pray for me. The last 6 years of trying to establish a true Christian country have left me weary. Then with the present character assassination by many in the news media, I feel you and the High Adventure people are friends God has given me for such a time as this.

God has done great things here in our land. You and your people have played a part in this. We must not allow the enemy to discourage us. Instead, we must redouble our efforts to bring salvation and sanity to my beloved country. Thank you also for your great relief achievements through the Lebanon Aid work, especially to the widows and the war children.

Will you stand with me? Will you pray for me? Please pray for a return to God and for a revival of love in my country.

Thank You in the name of our Jesus.

  
Major Saad Haddad

ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE: THE GOOD FENCE, METULLA, ISRAEL

(continued from page 68)

fare operations in Nicaragua, Italy, Chile, and Jamaica have all involved similar, if less grandiose "illumination" patterned after the Army psywar manual's instructions on the use of Christian symbolism.

Such cynical attempts to terrorize people by manipulating their religious beliefs probably dates to antiquity. In the United States, the predecessor to Lansdale's operations was the World War Two experience against the Japanese in the Pacific.

The British war against the Mau Mau in Kenya involved attempts to manipulate popular beliefs in witchcraft, sorcery, and magic. When the U.S. Department of Defense learned of this, the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations commissioned the Cultural Information Analysis Center to study the possible use of these techniques in the Congo. The final study, titled "Witchcraft, Sorcery, Magic, and Other Psychological Phenomena and Their Implications on Military and Paramilitary Operations in the Congo," was released by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1968.

Yet Congress has never condemned these deadly uses of religion and religious belief. In its final report, the Church Committee declared:

The Committee considers religious groups—like academia and the press—to be among the most important of our society's institutions. As such, any covert relationship that might either influence them or jeopardize their reputation is extremely sensitive.

But the committee's proposed ban (which in any case is not being observed) would have little effect since its investigation "focused exclusively on the use of U.S. religious organizations." In fact, as most of the recent exposes have shown, the CIA's primary strategy was to manipulate, if not indeed to create, existing religious institutions in areas where they wished to engage in religious manipulation.

Such target areas have, reasonably enough, been those places where religion plays a central role in the lives of the masses of the people. Central America is such a region, and that is why the study of the CIA's manipulation of religion, particularly evangelical groups, is so important to the struggles in Central America.

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## Sources and Methods:

# CIA Religion

By Ken Lawrence

When the CIA turns to religion it is not for the purpose of uplifting humanity, but to bring on the death and destruction that is the CIA's stock in trade.

For many years the CIA's high priest was Brigadier General Edward Lansdale, whose exploits became so well known that characters in two novels (*The Ugly American* and *The Quiet American*) were modeled after him.

In the 1950s Lansdale, then a colonel, was sent to the Philippines to advise then Defense Minister Ramon Magsaysay in the war against the Huk guerrillas. Stanley Karnow interviewed Lansdale in 1972 and reported on one of his most macabre operations, quoted in *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* by Victor Marchetti and John Marks:

One psywar operation played on the superstitious dread in the Philippine countryside of the *asuang*, a mythical vampire. A psywar squad entered an area, and planted rumors that an *asuang* lived on where the Communists were based. Two nights later, after giving the rumors time to circulate among Huk sympathizers, the psywar squad laid an ambush for the rebels. When a Huk patrol passed, the ambushers snatched the last man, punctured his neck vampire-fashion with two holes, hung his body until the blood drained out, and put the corpse back on the trail. As superstitious as any other Filipinos, the insurgents fled from the region.

Although that is probably a self-serving, overly facile account, the Huk rebellion was defeated. Magsaysay was elected president of the Philippines, and Lansdale's star rose in the CIA.

Emboldened by that success, Lansdale proposed invoking Christ to assist the CIA in its war against Cuba. The plan, described to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence by Thomas Parrott, was part of Operation MONGOOSE, a major 1962 covert action:

I'll give you one example of Lansdale's perspicacity. He had a wonderful plan for getting rid of Castro. This plan consisted of spreading the word that the Second Coming of Christ was imminent and that Christ was against Castro [who] was anti-Christ. And you would spread this word around Cuba, and then on whatever date it was, that there would be a manifestation of this thing. And at that time—this is absolutely true—and at that time just over the horizon there would be an American submarine which would surface off Cuba and send up some starshells. And this would be the manifestation of the Second Coming and Castro would be overthrown . . . Well, some wag called this operation—and somebody dubbed this—Elimination by Illumination.

MONGOOSE was a failure, but, as Fred Landis has shown (*CIA/B* Number 16), the CIA's psychological war-

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