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**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515**

June 3, 1985

Mr. William J. Casey  
Director of Central Intelligence  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D.C. 20505


Dear Mr. Casey:

I was pleased to see the full text of your San Antonio address appear in the Washington Times, and have had it entered into the Congressional Record in the hope that some of my colleagues will benefit from it as much as I have.

The speech could not have been more timely; the House is now to face anew the same old choice about whether or not to resist the establishment of a second Marxist-Leninist state in the Central American region. I have taken a rather visible role in the Nicaragua debate, made a trip to Central America in December, and have set down some of my opinions and findings in various published forms. I am at work at present on a booklet on the Nicaraguan government's consolidation of power, and will be pleased to send along a copy to you when it is completed. Should you find yourself available at some date for an opportunity to meet with me and discuss Central American issues, I would be most pleased for the chance.

Thank you for your expert work for this country's intelligence services, and thank you for your leadership and your patriotism.

Sincerely,

  
JIM COURTER  
Member of Congress

JAC/ch  
Enclosures

*Let's discuss these issues soon.*



*L-272*

# Congressional Record

## DIRECTOR CASEY ON THE SANDINISTA STRATEGIC BLUEPRINT

HON. JIM COURTER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1985

● Mr. COURTER. Mr. Speaker, I would like my colleagues to see the best, most comprehensive review of Marxist-Leninist political strategy in foreign countries to appear in the public prints in some time. It is the text of a speech CIA Director William Casey made to the World Business Council in San Antonio, TX, on May 18.

Ranging over such strategic indicators as military aid, the presence of advisers, political cultivation of the young, propaganda, and efforts to discredit the moral and spiritual authority of the Catholic Church, the address by Mr. Casey serves, from one standpoint, as a veritable checklist of the ways in which the new Nicaraguan Government is reproducing old Marxist-Leninist patterns of taking and consolidating power.

The text which follows is reprinted from the Washington Times.

### SANDINISTAS HAVE "BLUEPRINT FOR SUBVERSIVE AGGRESSION"

Today, I would like to tell you about the subversive war which the Soviet Union and its partners have been waging against the United States and its interests around the world for a quarter of a century or more. This campaign of aggressive subversion has nibbled away at friendly governments and our vital interests until today our national security is impaired in our immediate neighborhood as well as in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

This is not an undeclared war. In 1961, (Nikita) Khrushchev, then leader of the Soviet Union, told us that communism would win not through nuclear war which could destroy the world or conventional war which could quickly lead to nuclear war, but through "wars of national liberation" in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. We were reluctant to believe him then. Just as in the 1930s we were reluctant to take Hitler seriously when he spelled out in "Mein Kampf" how he would take over Europe.

Over the last 10 years, Soviet power has been established:

In Vietnam, along China's border and astride the sea lanes which bring Persian Gulf oil to Japan.

In Afghanistan, 500 miles closer to the warm-water ports of the Indian Ocean and to the Straits of Hormuz. Through which comes the oil essential to Western Europe.

In the Horn of Africa, dominating the southern approaches to the Red Sea and the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula.

In Southern Africa. The source of minerals which we and other industrial nations must have.

And in the Caribbean and Central America, on the very doorstep of the United States.

This is not a bloodless war. Marxist-Leninist policies and tactics have unleashed the four horses of the apocalypse—Famine, Pestilence, War and Death. Throughout the Third World we see famine in Africa, pestilence through chemical and biological agents in Afghanistan and Indochina, war on three continents, and death everywhere. Even as I speak, some 300,000 Soviet, Vietnamese, and Cuban troops are carrying out savage military operations directed at wiping out national resistance in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Ethiopia, and several other countries.

In the occupied countries—Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Angola, Nicaragua—in which Marxist regimes have been either imposed or maintained by external forces, there has occurred a holocaust comparable to that which Nazi Germany inflicted in Europe some 40 years ago. Some four million Afghans, more than one-quarter of the population, have had to flee their country. The Helsinki Watch tells us that they have fled because "the crimes of indiscriminate warfare are combined with the worst excesses of unbridled state sanctioned violence against civilians." It cites evidence of "civilians burned alive, dynamited, beheaded; crushed by Soviet tanks; grenades thrown into rooms where women and children have been told to wait."

In Cambodia, two to three million people, something like one-quarter of the pre-war population, have been killed in the most violent and brutal manner by both internal and external Marxist forces.

In Ethiopia, a Marxist military government, supported with extensive military support from Moscow and thousands of Cuban troops, by collectivizing agriculture and keeping food prices low in order to maintain urban support, has exacerbated a famine which threatens the lives of millions of its citizens. It has exploited the famine by using food as a weapon to forcibly relocate people fighting an oppressive government in the north hundreds of miles to the south where there is no preparation to receive them. In urban areas, food rations are distributed through party cells.

In Nicaragua, the Communist government killed outright a minimum of 1,000 former Somoza national guardsmen during the summer of 1979. In 1982, it forcibly relocated some 15,000 Miskito Indians to detention camps, forced many more to flee to refugee camps in Honduras, and burned some 40 Indian villages. Last month, the Sandinistas forcibly moved 60,000 campesinos from areas close to the Honduran regions, burning their houses and killing their cattle.

What is the purpose of all this carnage, this creeping imperialism? In my view, there are two primary targets—the oil fields of the Middle East which are the lifeline of the Western Alliance, and the Isthmus between North and South America. Afghanistan, South Yemen, Ethiopia, as well as Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, and Mozambique and Angola in southern Africa, bring Soviet power astride the sea lanes which carry those resources to America, Europe and Japan.

Capabilities to threaten the Panama Canal in the short term and Mexico in a somewhat longer term are being developed in Nicaragua where the Sandinista revolution is the first successful Castroite seizure of power on the American mainland. They have worked quietly and steadily toward

their objectives of building the power of the state security apparatus, building the strongest armed forces in Central America, and becoming a center for exporting subversion to Nicaragua's neighbors.

The American intelligence community over recent months unanimously concurred in four national estimates on the military buildup, the consolidation and the objectives of the Soviets and the Cubans and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. If I were to boil the key judgments of those estimates down to a single sentence it would be this: The Soviet Union and Cuba have established and are consolidating a beachhead on the American continent, are putting hundreds of millions of dollars worth of military equipment into it, and have begun to use it as a launching pad to carry their style of aggressive subversion into the rest of Central America and elsewhere in Latin America.

Let me review quickly what has already happened in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas have developed the best equipped military in the region. They have an active strength of some 65,000 and a fully mobilized strength including militia and reserves of nearly 120,000. These forces are equipped with Soviet tanks, armored vehicles, state of the art helicopters, patrol boats and an increasingly comprehensive air defense system. This gives the Sandinistas a military capability far beyond that of any other Central American nation and indeed all Central American nations put together.

In addition to the considerable military hardware, there are now an estimated 6,000 to 7,500 Cuban advisers and several hundred other communists and radical personnel in Nicaragua assisting the regime in its military buildup and its consolidation of power.

The Communist government under Cuban direction and guidance has been essential in helping the regime establish control over the media create propaganda mechanisms and neutralize the effectiveness of those who oppose the Sandinista totalitarianism.

Today, we see Nicaragua becoming to Central and Latin America what Beirut was to the Middle East for almost 15 years since 1970 when Lebanon became the focal point for international and regional terrorists. Managua's support for training of Central American subversives is well documented—they support Salvadoran communists, Guatemalan communists, radical leftists in Costa Rica, and are attempting to increase the number of radical leftist terrorists in Honduras. More recent evidence indicates Nicaraguan support for some South American terrorist groups and growing contacts with other international terrorist groups.

Yet, just last week the American congress refused to approve \$14 million for people resisting communist domination of Nicaragua, on the very day that a Soviet ship unloaded more than \$14 million worth of helicopters, East German trucks, and other military cargo at Corinto, the principal port in Nicaragua.

On the very next day, (Daniel) Ortega, the Nicaraguan communist dictator, traveled to Moscow to ask the Soviet Union to make \$200 million available to him to consolidate a Leninist communist dictatorship across a stretch of land which separates South America from North America.

This development in our immediate neighborhood should not be viewed in isolation but as a part of a worldwide process which has already worked in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America.

with Bob Ames, our CIA Middle East expert, who died at the hand of a terrorist attack in Beirut in 1983. Stationed in Aden, South Yemen, in 1967, he met and befriended the young revolutionary Abd'al Fatah Ismail, who became president of South Yemen and is now back in Aden after being exiled briefly to the USSR. Abd'al Fatah told Bob of his experience in the higher Komsomol school which the Soviets maintain for training young revolutionaries from non-communist countries. He explained that he had been taught in Moscow that he needed 20 years, a generation, to consolidate his revolution.

He would have to control the education of the youth and to uproot and undermine and ultimately change the traditional elements of society. This meant undermining the influence of religion and taking the young away from their parents for education by the state. He was taught that to control the people he would have to establish block committees as a powerful secret police. Finally, Abd'al Fatah spoke in impassioned terms of a need to export revolution to carry out his mission as a dedicated Marxist-Leninist and to ensure that attention was focused on neighboring countries thus diverting attention from his own country and allowing it to consolidate its revolution.

Bob Ames said that as he looked back, Abd'al Fatah—with Soviet Bloc help—had done as he said he would. He captured and subverted a legitimate war of liberation. He killed or drove into exile those members of the movement who believed in democracy and then went about the work of consolidating a communist regime and began armed subversion against Oman and North Yemen.

In Ethiopia, Angola, Afghanistan, and Grenada, dedicated Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries followed this Soviet blueprint with only slight modifications.

Our analysts have studied this blueprint for taking over a government and consolidating a totalitarian regime as it has been exemplified in seven totalitarian regimes: six Marxist-Leninist in Cuba, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Grenada, Nicaragua, and the Islamic revolutionary government of Iran. They have identified 46 indicators of the consolidation of power by a Marxist-Leninist regime. These indicators measure the movement toward one-party government, control of the military, of the security services, of the media, of education, of the economy, the forming or takeover of labor or other mass organizations, exerting social and population control, curbing religious influence and alignment with the Soviet bloc.

Of the 46 indicators, Nicaragua in five and one-half years has accomplished 33. They have established control of the media, taken over radio and TV, censored the broadcasts of Sunday sermons of the Archbishop of Managua, and subjected the only free newspaper, *La Prensa*, to a brutal daily censorship. They have taken control of the education system. Nicaraguan textbooks now teach Marxism. They attack the tenets of Western democracy. They attack traditional religious teachings and encourage children to maintain revolutionary vigilance by watching for signs of ideological impurities in their neighbors, friends and relatives. The Sandinistas have taken control of the

military. They have taken control of the internal secret police and have established a Directorate of State Security. That directorate, according to our reports, has 400 Cubans, 70 Soviets, 40-50 East German and 20-25 Bulgarian advisers. There are Soviet advisers at every level of the secret police. In fact, it is safe to say that it is controlled by the Soviet Union and its surrogates. Block committees have been established to watch and control the people. The church has been persecuted.

Witness the campaign mounted by the Directorate of State Security to harass and

embarrass Pope John Paul II during his 1983 visit to Nicaragua. They have used political mobs (similar to the Red Guards of Soviet and Chinese revolutionary history) to attack democratic politicians, union members and religious leaders. And finally, just as Abd'al Fatah told Bob Ames what he must do, and following Hitler and Khrushchev, the Sandinistas have told the world that they would spread the example of Nicaragua beyond El Salvador to Honduras, Guatemala, and the entire region.

An integral part of this blueprint for subversive aggression is deception and disinformation to manipulate and influence public opinion and policies in western countries. This takes many shapes and forms.

A worldwide propaganda campaign has been mounted and carried out on behalf of the Sandinista regime and Salvadoran guerrillas which would not have been possible without the capabilities, the contacts, and the communication channels provided by the Soviet bloc and Cuba. The Sandinistas themselves have shown remarkable ingenuity and skill in projecting disinformation into the United States itself. Perhaps the best example of this is the systematic campaign to deceive well-intentioned members of the western media and of western religious institutions.

There are many examples of Nicaraguan deception. The Sandinista press, radio and government ministry have put out claims that the United States used chemical weapons in Grenada, that the United States was supplying Nicaraguan freedom fighters with drugs, and that the United States might give the opposition bacteriological weapons.

The debate in the Congress disclosed few who think that what is happening in Central America is a desirable state of affairs or that it is compatible with avoiding a possibly permanent impairment of our national security and a serious deterioration in the American geopolitical position in the world.

There are some who will be content with an agreement that the Nicaraguans will now forego further aggression. Our experience in Korea and Indochina provides some lessons on the value of agreements with communist governments. Korea started to violate the Korean Armistice within days of the truce signing.

Under the 1973 Paris Accords, North Vietnam agreed to cease firing in South Vietnam, withdraw its forces from Cambodia and Laos, and refrain from introducing additional troops and war materiel into South Vietnam except on a one-for-one replacement basis. North Vietnam never observed the cease-fire and troop withdrawal requirements, and within little more than two months after it had signed the peace agreements it had already infiltrated some 30,000

additional troops and over 30,000 tons of military equipment into South Vietnam.

We believe the Sandinistas' main objectives in regional negotiations are to buy time to further consolidate the regime. History and the record and purposes of Marxist-Leninist regimes in general and the Sandinistas in particular lead us to believe that unless Nicaragua has implemented a genuine democracy as required by the Organization of American States such assurances could not be adequately verified and would not be complied with. Cuban officials have urged the Salvadoran communist guerrillas to slow down their attacks against the Duarte government in order to fortify and consolidate the Nicaraguan revolution. We believe that Cuba has assured the Salvadoran communists that it might take as long as five to 10 years, but as long as the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua remains, that country will serve as a base for communist expansion in the area and the Salvadoran insurgency will be renewed once the Sandinistas have been able to eliminate the armed resistance.

What does this mean for America's future? Should Central America fall under communist control, it could mean a tidal wave of refugees into the U.S.

Every country that has fallen under communist control since World War II has seen refugees streaming over the borders—in Eastern Europe, then Cuba, and more recently Vietnam and Afghanistan—and the potential influx from Central America is even higher than from any of these. Since 1980, some 200,000 Salvadorans fleeing the communist-initiated violence in their own country have entered the U.S. illegally. Illegal movement from Mexico has increased, with some one million Mexicans illegally entering this country in 1983 alone. In 1984, the Bipartisan Commission on Central America warned that a communist Central America would likely be followed by the destabilization of Mexico and that this could result in many millions of additional Mexicans fleeing into the United States.

Today, the Cuban and Nicaraguan military forces are together four times the size of those of Mexico and are equipped with vastly superior weapons. Today, with armed forces larger and better equipped than the rest of Central America put together, Nicaragua could walk through Costa Rica, which has no army, to Panama, and Cuba can threaten our vital sea lanes in the Caribbean.

The insurgency is a major obstacle to Sandinista consolidation in that it encourages the erosion of active support for the Sandinistas by creating uncertainties about the future of the regime; by challenging its claims of political legitimacy; and by giving hope to the leaders of the political opposition.

The largest anti-Sandinista insurgent group, the FDN, is still providing strong military resistance despite cutoff of United States aid almost a year ago. Popular sympathy for the insurgents appears to be increasing in the countryside, and the FDN continues to receive significant numbers of new recruits.

That opposition can increase the pressure until the Sandinista support has eroded sufficiently to leave them no option other than modification of their rejection of internal reconciliation. The objective is to allow for the same process of democratization that is taking place in the rest of Central America to occur in Nicaragua. ●

# Congressional Record

## COURTER INTRODUCES RESOLUTION GRANTING POLITICAL RECOGNITION TO DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE OF NICARAGUA

**HON. JIM COURTER**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1985

● Mr. COURTER. Mr. Speaker, situation in Nicaragua parallels the situation of 1979, when the Somoza government was still in power. A dangerous armed conflict is going on while the dictatorial government resists the opposition's call for freedom, human rights, and democracy.

Last Saturday, the political and military elements of Nicaragua's democratic opposition united in a broad coalition to call for peace and a negotiated transition to democracy. This initiative offers the best hope for national reconciliation in Nicaragua, and it is based on the respect for human rights and democracy that we all share.

I have drafted a resolution which calls on the President and our neighbors in the Organization of American States to support this peace initiative, and calls on the President to grant "explicit political recognition" to the Nicaraguan resistance. To call for recognition is not to call for U.S. withdrawal of recognition of the Sandinistas, nor does it imply abandonment of Contadora or other international talks. It simply asks that the President demonstrate, in whichever manner he finds appropriate, that the United States sides with Nicaragua's democrats, and supports their plan to fulfill the democratic aspirations of the Nicaraguan people.

I am pleased to be joined by the following Members who have cosponsored this resolution: Representatives McEWEN, HAMMERSCHMIDT, STUMP, McCAIN, HOPKINS, YOUNG of Alaska, KASICH, GALLO, HYDE, MILLER of Washington, SOLOMON, EDWARDS of Oklahoma, HUNTER, SILJANDER, MOLINARI, GILMAN, DORNAN, DEWINE, McCOLLUM, STRANG, SAXTON, GINGRICH, BILIRAKIS, BADHAM, WORTLEY, WEBER, BURTON of Indiana, RITTER, LUNGREN, CRANE, CAMPBELL, KEMP, SMITH of Oregon, BARTON, WALKER, LEWIS of California, MACK, LOTT, DICKINSON, DAVIS, SENSENBRENNER, SKEEN, DANMEYER, DAUB, SPENCE, McGRATH, DREIER, GREGG, LOEFFLER, STANGELAND, ROGERS, LOWERY, and ARCHER.

The text of the resolution follows:

Whereas the Organization of American States, in its XVII Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs on June 23, 1979 approved a resolution which deprived the Somoza government of its legitimacy;

Whereas this action was taken to alleviate suffering, to end armed conflict, and promote human rights in Nicaragua, and to remove a threat to regional stability;

Whereas the Organization of American States resolution called for the following:

"1. Immediate and definitive replacement of the Somoza regime.

"2. Installation in Nicaraguan territory of a democratic government, the composition of which should include the principal representative groups which oppose the Somoza regime and which reflects the free will of the people of Nicaragua.

"3. Guarantee of the respect for human rights of all Nicaraguans without exception.

"4. The holding of free elections as soon as possible, that will lead to the establishment of a truly democratic government that guarantees peace, freedom, and justice."

Whereas on July 12, 1979 the ruling junta of the Provisional Government of National Reconstruction, formed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, wrote to the Organization of American States and promised "to establish full respect for human rights," "to enforce civil justice," and to conduct in Nicaragua "the first free elections that our country will have in this century";

Whereas the Sandinista government of Nicaragua has proclaimed its allegiance to Marxism-Leninism;

Whereas the Sandinistas have restricted freedom of expression, travel, worship and assembly, have failed to guarantee civil justice, and have failed to conduct free and fair elections;

Whereas these policies expressly violate the pledges made to the Organization of American States in the letter of July 12, 1979;

Whereas the Sandinista government now threatens regional peace and the human rights of the Nicaraguan people;

Whereas the military conflict between the Sandinista government and its domestic opponents is rooted in political causes and will only be resolved by the establishment of democracy in Nicaragua;

Whereas political and military forces opposing the Sandinista government of Nicaragua have formed a broad coalition;

Whereas the "Document of the Nicaraguan Resistance concerning National Dialogue," issued at San Jose, Costa Rica on March 2, 1985 calls for a peaceful, negotiated transition to democracy and national reconciliation in Nicaragua; and

Whereas the cause of the Nicaraguan Resistance is just and worthy of support by all democrats of the Americas: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress—*

(1) reaffirms the declaration of the Organization of American States, made on June 23, 1979, that the solution to Nicaragua's political problems is "within the exclusive jurisdiction of the people of Nicaragua";

(2) urges the President to grant explicit political recognition to the democratic Nicaraguan Resistance; and

(3) urges the President and all the members of the Organization of American States to support the Nicaraguan Resistance in its quest for peace, human rights, free elections and national reconciliation.●

BY REP. JIM COURTER

May, 1985

Nicaragua's Military Buildup: Fact or Fiction?

Few will deny that Nicaragua's revolutionary government has conducted a military buildup without parallel in the Central American region. Does it matter? Other nations have military power in the Americas, but we don't consider them all to be threats to ourselves or our neighbors.

The judgment boils down to the question of intentions; and this is the first sticking point in American debates about Nicaragua. Some view Nicaragua as a willing supporter of Soviet imperialism, a base for foreign subversion and terrorism, and a Communist dictatorship in the process of consolidating power. Others, while at times disappointed in Sandinista "mistakes and excesses," believe that Nicaragua seeks only peaceful, democratic development of its economy and society.

By their own statements, the Nicaraguan rulers do believe in democratic and progressive change. But what do they mean by these terms? A Nicaraguan official touring the Soviet Union in March 1985 used the word "democratic" in the following context: "The USSR's successes in building communism, in bringing up a new man have always and will remain an inspiring example for the Nicaraguan people building a democratic society." "Progressive change" takes on a similarly novel meaning in a Nicaraguan-Soviet communique, issued in April 1980, condemning "the campaign by imperialist and reactionary forces to increase international tension around the events in Afghanistan." The communique said that this campaign seeks to "stifle the inalienable right of the people of...Afghanistan...to follow the road of progressive change."

These statements represent just two selected elaborations of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy that Sandinista rulers admit to be the guiding theory behind their revolution. Other examples abound, showing a full Sandinista commitment to the revolutionary ideology of the Soviet Union and its client states. It is this revolutionary commitment which threatens Nicaragua's neighbors, especially when it is backed up by a large military force.

In response to this, the claim is often made that the Sandinista military buildup is defensive in character. Were it not for the growing military opposition in Nicaragua, it is said, the Sandinistas would not need the military capability that they now have.

These arguments would be more persuasive if the Sandinistas had forces of a size and character which conform to purely defensive needs. But they do not: instead, they have acquired forces which are far better suited to intimidating or attacking their neighbors than to defeating the threat of 15,000 freedom fighters in the mountains of Nicaragua.

Even before the armed opposition emerged in early 1982, the Sandinistas planned and commenced their military buildup. By 1982, they had built a force of nearly 50,000 troops, exceeding by over three times the peak strength of the National Guard of right-wing dictator Anastasio Somoza, who was overthrown in 1979. Today, their forces include over 119,000 troops, with an active duty force of over 62,000.

*Congressman Jim Courter is New Jersey's only member on the House Armed Services Committee.*



THE TRENTONIAN  
DECEMBER 13, 1984

# Courter: Aid Nicaraguan Rebels

By DAVID J. LYNCH  
*States News Service*

WASHINGTON — Just back from a whirlwind tour of six Central American countries in five days, Rep. Jim Courter said yesterday the United States should resume funding the anti-Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua.

Prompted by reports of direct Central Intelligence

Agency involvement in the mining of Nicaragua's harbors, Congress in October cut off aid to the so-called "contras."

But Courter said U.S. help was needed to prevent another Cuba. "It becomes vividly clear to me that you have a Marxist government in Nicaragua that is tightening the yoke," he said.

"Inevitably, as time goes by, fewer and fewer freedoms will be permitted by that government," said Courter, a member of the House Armed Services Committee.

"Whether they admit it or not, they will follow the Cuban model in creating a closed society," he warned.

Courter and two other committee members, Reps.

Beverly Byron, D-Md., and Buddy Darden, D-Ga., journeyed to El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Belize.

While in Managua, the Hackettstown Republican met with Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega and leaders of the Nicaraguan opposition. In El Salvador, the four-term lawmaker met with top officials of the Salvadoran military.

Courter also accused the Nicaraguans of supplying arms to the anti-government rebels in El Salvador. The New Jersey congressman, who speaks Spanish, said he had taken "personal testimony" from individuals who had witnessed the arrival of arms shipments.

"There is some photographic evidence we've had in the Armed Services Committee," he added.

Courter conceded, however, that the photographs — purportedly showing Nicaraguans transferring arms to El Salvadoran guerillas — were often of poor quality.

After talking with El Salvadoran military officials, Courter said he was encouraged about the situation in that strife-torn nation. "Most people feel the military situation there is marginally better than it was six months ago," he said.

But Courter cautioned that the situation in El Salvador remains extremely fluid. "It's a long, difficult, painful haul," he said.

Higher levels of American aid won't be required, Courter said. But greater public awareness of the danger from continued turmoil and instability in Central America will be, he added.

April 2, 1985  
783 words  
1985-13

## RECOGNIZE THE RESISTANCE!

By Rep. Jim Courter

Jim Courter (R.-N.J.), now serving his fourth term in the House, is a member of the Armed Services Committee. This address is an expanded version of remarks delivered as a guest commentary over "Radio America."

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The secretary-general of the "Nicaraguan Association for Friendship with the Socialist Countries" was on an official visit to the Soviet Union a few weeks ago. He made a pronouncement about what he called the "progressive transformation" of his homeland, and praised the USSR for its "fraternal support" which "infuses the Nicaraguan people with confidence of the ultimate victory of our revolution." Then he went further: "The USSR's successes in building communism, in bringing up a new man, have always been and will remain an inspiring example for the Nicaraguan people building a democratic society."

That may sound like a strange use of the word "democratic." It ought to. It is. But saying "democratic" and meaning "communist" has become something of a Sandinista specialty. A year ago this month the Minister of Planning, Henry Ruiz, was visiting the East Germans and praising their educational system--one of the world's most militarized--as a model for "a new democratic education system in Nicaragua."

But it was in the summer of 1979, when Somoza was nearing his end, that talk of democracy, pluralism, freedom, and human rights was most to be heard. The Sandinistas were courting world opinion: They marshalled their words as carefully as their soldiers, and many people were eager to believe them. The Organization of American States, (OAS) of which the U.S. is a member, took the unprecedented action of demanding the end of a regime--Somoza's, and its replacement with a democratic government. The Sandinistas replied to the OAS with a letter on July 12, 1979. It was replete with promises, all since broken.

They promised "full respect for human rights." Instead, Nicaraguans have endured a one-party dictatorship, and the fullest range of legal deprivations. The country has witnessed:

- The forced relocation of thousands of Miskito Indians;
- The flight from the country of tens of thousands of other



Nicaraguans;

- a draft which can put 13-year old boys into battle after as little as 8 days of training;

- pressure on parents to send their children to Cuba's cadre-building schools;

- elaborate literacy programs, but little to read apart from Marxist literature;

- Steady harassment of opposition figures, and of the only surviving non-Party newspaper, La Presna;

- Unabashed persecution of the church in a country that is deeply Catholic, including the infiltration of religious groups, crude abuse of priests, attempts to control the texts of sermons, and the presentation, in childrens' school books, of vicious caricatures of the religious orders. (I would hesitate to report such things second-hand, but I visited Nicaragua in December, and I saw them.)

The Sandinistas promised "civil justice," too. But how can it be guaranteed where there is no civil law, no constitution? Government is by decree, and the so-called "People's Courts" have no independence from the political authorities. Therefore, a minority has no protection from the majority. A man has no defense against the police. A citizen has no means of resisting the powers of the local "Committees for the Defense of the Revolution," which can compel attendance at meetings, and withhold ration cards, and which function as an arm of the East German and Cuban-dominated secret police.

There is a name for a political construction such as this. And it is not "democracy."

It is hardly surprising that the Nicaraguan people have had enough. The ranks of the grimly dissatisfied grow every day, and with them, the ranks of the Contras, of whom there are now over 12,000. For every Somoza loyalist among them, there are a dozen peasants, small land-holders, city dwellers, and disillusioned Sandinistas.

At a momentous meeting in San Jose, Costra Rica, this past March 3, the resistance leaders met, unified, and produced a declaration of common aspirations, a "Document on National Dialogue of the Nicaraguan Resistance." It calls for a cease-fire, an end to the state of emergency, and peace talks. It puts forward a detailed and thoughtful agenda for a transition to democracy.

I believe this peace initiative deserves every measure of American support. I have introduced into the House of Representatives, and 59 of my colleagues have signed, a resolution asking President Reagan to grant some form of political recognition to the Contras. The resolution also asks the members of the Organization of American States to re-enter the diplomatic arena in which they played such a part in 1979, and support the Contras' efforts to engage

the Sandinistas in meaningful negotiations.

For five years, the Nicaraguan people have walked the way of the Sandinistas. That path has taken them to places as dark and harsh as any they knew with Somoza. Today, at last, there may be another way. There may be a democratic way.

END-END-END

Steven Hayward  
Editor



**Public Research, Syndicated**

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**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515**

March 21, 1985

Dear Colleague:

The democratic opposition of Nicaragua has united and offered a very promising peace proposal to the Sandinistas -- a proposal to negotiate an end to the civil war and a transition to democracy. This proposal seeks to fulfill the original promise of the Sandinista revolution, a promise of pluralistic, democratic government which was made to the OAS in July 1979. The proposal is described in the Washington Post editorial printed below.

Unfortunately, the Sandinista reaction has been hostile. Arturo Cruz, the former Sandinista ambassador to the US, tried to go to Nicaragua to discuss the peace proposal, but was barred from entering his country. The heads of opposition political parties inside Nicaragua were rounded up and told they could have no contact with Cruz and his associates. The Sandinistas claim that the CIA is behind this entire enterprise, and is seeking to have Cruz return to Nicaragua, have him murdered and have the murder blamed on the Sandinistas.

Daniel Ortega's current peace offensive should be examined in light of his refusal to negotiate with the Nicaraguan Resistance. It is doubtful that the Sandinistas, who have already violated their promises to the OAS, will ever negotiate seriously in any international forum such as Contadora if they refuse to meet their own countrymen who offer a cease-fire and a negotiated transition to democracy.

The Nicaraguan Resistance deserves our moral support. I have introduced a resolution, H. Con. Res. 81, which urges President Reagan to grant explicit political recognition to the Nicaraguan Resistance, and urges the President and all members of the OAS to support the Resistance's effort to engage the Sandinistas in meaningful negotiations.

If you would like to join the 59 cosponsors of this resolution, or if you have questions, please contact Phil Peters of my office at 5-5801.

Sincerely,



JIM COURTER  
Member of Congress

ES SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 1985

## *A Fair Offer to the Sandinistas*

**T**HE SANDINISTAS claim the crisis in Nicaragua arises from their conflict with the United States. This is not so. It arises in the first instance from their conflict with their fellow citizens, especially with the democratic people who fought the Somoza dictatorship, whose leaders served the Sandinistas in the early period and who turned against the Sandinistas only when they found the democratic promise of the revolution being denied. This needs to be understood in order to see the importance of the offer the democrats have just made to the Managua regime.

The offer comes from a newly, finally unified group including the political opposition led by Arturo Cruz and major branches of the armed resistance. Its essence is a proposal for a unilateral cease-fire by the *contras* to be followed by a political dialogue presided over by the bishops. The proposal is, in our view, entirely fair and reasonable. The Sandinistas protest the war: Here is an offer to stop it. How must they pay? Only by joining a process that points to the original goals of *their own revolution*. Their own man, Daniel Ortega, can remain president as the process unfolds. The proposal offers more than a chance for national reconciliation. It lets Nicaraguans remove their fate from foreign hands and restore it to Nicaraguan hands alone.

The Sandinistas' initial response to the proposal was to bar Arturo Cruz from returning to Nicaragua to announce it and to summon some of its local supporters to state security headquarters on grounds that they were participating in a U.S.-sponsored plot to overthrow the Sandinista government. Think of it: An offer by the opposition to put down arms and to start talking about achieving the Sandinistas' own early promises is dismissed as a hostile conspiracy.

How do the Sandinistas intend to explain to the Nicaraguan people a refusal to enter a dialogue on such a reasonable basis? How can any other independent-minded Latin country—must that exclude Cuba?—fail to support this proposal? In El Salvador, the government accepted a dialogue without even getting a cease-fire in return. The government in Nicaragua is being offered a better deal. Perhaps it will think again before delivering a final rejection.

And—the inevitable question—if the rejection is final? No doubt some will argue that the Sandinistas' failure to take the offer seriously makes American support of the *contras* unarguable. The drafters of the Nicaraguan opposition proposal, however, are shying away from that claim. Desperately, they are making a "last effort to grant to our country a civilized solution."

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# Congressional Record

## NICARAGUAN ALLIES

(Mr. COURTER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COURTER. Mr. Speaker, a West German linked to the Baader-Meinhof gang is a counterintelligence officer in the Nicaraguan Army. Another commands an artillery battalion. Five Italians, all former Red Brigade leaders, serve as noncommissioned officers in the Nicaraguan Army. A Basque ETA terrorist awaits trial in Costa Rica on charges of attempting to assassinate Contra commander Eden Pastora. Both Spain and Italy have formally protested the sanctuary Nicaragua gives to several dozen European leftist militants.

Before coming to power in 1979, Sandinistas trained and fought beside experienced guerrillas in Central America and the Middle East. Relations with Cuba and the PLO were especially close. Today, "proletarian internationalism" deems that the governors of Nicaragua make returns for services rendered.

The Swiss Review of World Affairs has called Nicaragua the PLO's "most important base on the Latin American mainland." Ties to Colonel Qadhafi are strong, as infusions of Libyan money and armaments have proven. The Sandinistas are linked to terrorists in Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, and other Latin countries.

Americans cannot afford not to notice. According to the FBI, fully two-thirds of the terrorist attacks in this country in 1983 were linked to Latin America. Furthermore, compelling evidence links Sandinista officials to narcotics sales in U.S. black markets.

As debate about our Central American policies continues, we should not forget the Nicaraguan hand in the international terror network.

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# Congressional Record

## EUROPEANS RALLY TO NICARAGUAN RESISTANCE

**HON. JIM COURTER**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 2, 1985*

● Mr. COURTER. Mr. Speaker, as the original sponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 81, which calls upon both President Reagan and the Organization of American States to extend explicit political recognition to the Nicaraguan resistance, I was gratified to see that distinguished Western Europeans are equally interested in doing more to hold the Sandinistas to the promises about democracy they so freely made in 1979.

A partial list of these European statesmen, soldiers, and scholars has been assembled by Mr. Bill Outlaw for the Washington Times, and was printed by that newspaper on March 28, 1985. I commend it to those of my colleagues who share my interest in obtaining a just resolution of the Nicaraguan war.

### EUROPEANS RALLY TO NICARAGUAN RESISTANCE

(By Bill Outlaw)

A group of European intellectuals and politicians, including several leaders of the resistance to the Nazis during World War II, have signed a petition calling on Congress to provide aid for the anti-Sandinista resistance.

The "problem of Central America is also a European problem," they say.

The petition was published as an open letter to Congress in many European newspapers earlier, including the Paris daily *Le Monde*, *Le Soir* of Belgium, *La Stampa* of Italy and *De Telegraph* of the Netherlands.

A group of the signers, including Vladimir Boukovsky, the Soviet dissident who lives now in France, will come to the United States Tuesday to present personal pleas for aid to the Nicaraguan resistance.

"The freedom of the Nicaraguans is also your freedom, as it is ours," the petition asserts. "If you fail in Nicaragua, we must ask, where will you fail next? If freedom and democracy are not worth defending in your own hemisphere, where are they worth defending? The free world awaits your answer. Its enemies are waiting too."

Among the signers are Winston Churchill, a member of the British Parliament and grandson of the World War II prime minis-

ter; Lord Chalfont, a former British foreign minister; playwright Eugene Ionesco; French author Jean-Francois Revel; former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, and Robert Conquest, the British historian.

The visiting delegation of about 12 has requested a meeting with the president during next week's visit, said a Reagan administration official.

He said the White House was pleased with the support and the prestige of those signing the petition was impressive.

The petition and the pending U.S. visit are the latest in what has become an intense lobbying effort in a battle between the Reagan administration and those opposed to a proposed \$14 million appropriation for Nicaraguan resistance.

Last month, a delegation of lawmakers from several European countries visited the U.S. to lobby against funding Nicaraguan resistance. That delegation met with members of Congress and registered objections to the Reagan administration policy in Central America at meetings in the State Department.

The petition argues that the aid is necessary because the Sandinista junta is a totalitarian regime which since its inception has "declared its aim to be the incorporation of Central America into a single Marxist-Leninist entity."

The petition also contends the resumption of the aid is "necessary morally" because Western countries must be "forthright in support for those who are struggling to gain the rights which your own Declaration of Independence declares are inalienable and, therefore, possessed by all men."

The petitioners describe Central America as Europe's "Fifth Frontier."

To deny aid to those who seek freedom in Central America, they argue, "is to deny the meaning of your own country." It says the United States would be placed in a difficult strategic position in dealing with the Soviet Union should the aid be suspended.

The trip to the United States and the published statements in connection with the petition are sponsored by Resistance International, a Paris-based human rights, anti-communist organization.

Others who signed the petition include former North Atlantic Treaty Organization Gen. Robert Close; Cuban poet Armando Valladares; Marie Madeleine Fourcade, chairman of the Action Committee of the French Resistance during World War II, and former French Prime Minister Jacques Chabin Delmas.

Also, Italian publisher Massimo Pini; Marcelle Lentz Cornette, of Luxembourg, a member of the European Parliament; Simon Wiesenthal, of Austria, president of the Documentation Center on Jews persecuted by the Nazi regime; writer Leif Hovelsen, a Norwegian Resistance Fighter during World War II, and Joseph Luns, former secretary general of NATO.●