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WASHINGTON

DATE: 07 NOV 80

FOR ACTION: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

Rick?

INFO ONLY:

SUBJECT: LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM JAMES WALL, EDITOR OF THE
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +

+ BY: 1200 PM MONDAY 10 NOV 80 +

+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

STAFF RESPONSE: () I CONCUR. () NO COMMENT. () HOLD.

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

Rick, Please read and
the christian use your
CENTURY judgment
J. Wall

James M. Wall, Editor

407 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60605
312-427-5380 home 312-279-7166

November 5, 1980

President Jimmy Carter
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I expressed to Rosalynn last evening our deep regret, coupled with our continued support, over the events of yesterday. In time the accomplishments will be seen in their true perspective and this election will be recognized as the aberration it was.

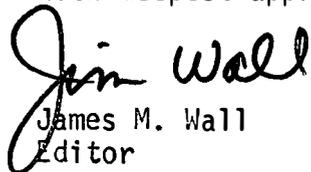
Knowing that in the past few weeks you have probably not had time to read The Christian Century, I am sending you, via Rick Hutcheson, the editorial I did prior to the election on the matter of lifting the medical embargo against Cuba. I have just returned from a week's visit there.

I will be in Washington for two days, November 11-12. If there is any possibility that you would want to react to this proposal, I would like very much to discuss it with you or someone of your designation. I will call Rick when I get to Washington.

Of course, I will understand if you feel that this matter would be more appropriately sent through channels. But this I can learn when I talk to Rick next Tuesday.

The lifting of the embargo would be a humanitarian act, and would be consistent with your desire to move toward normal relations with Cuba. I very much fear we cannot expect such actions from a Reagan administration.

With deepest appreciation,


James M. Wall
Editor

JMW/ek

FOR STAFFING
FOR INFORMATION
FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
NO DEADLINE
FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING
LAST DAY FOR ACTION

ACTION
FYI

ADMIN CONFID
CONFIDENTIAL
SECRET
EYES ONLY

VICE PRESIDENT
JORDAN
CUTLER
DONOVAN
EIDENBERG
EIZENSTAT
MCDONALD
MOORE
POWELL
WATSON
WEDDINGTON
WEXLER
BRZEZINSKI
MCINTYRE
SCHULTZE

ANDRUS
ASKEW
BERGLAND
BROWN
CIVILETTI
DUNCAN
GOLDSCHMIDT
HARRIS
HUFSTEDLER
LANDRIEU
MARSHALL

MILLER
MUSKIE
AIELLO
BUTLER
CAMPBELL
H. CARTER
CLOUGH
FIRST LADY
HARDEN
HERTZBERG
HUTCHESON
KAHN
MARTIN
MILLER
MOE
MOSES
PETERSON
PRESS
RECORDS
SANDERS
SHEPPARD
SPETH
STRAUSS
TORRES
VOORDE
WISE

LIFTING THE CUBAN MEDICAL EMBARGO

Havana.

† BETWEEN my second visit to Cuba within six months and the publication date of this report, a U.S. presidential election will have taken place. Regardless of the outcome, President Jimmy Carter is in a position to take a crucial next step toward ending the 21-year-old cold war between the U.S. and this small island nation.

As a re-elected president, Mr. Carter could respond to recent Cuban gestures, primarily the release of 33 American prisoners held in Cuban jails, by taking a step of his own: lifting the U.S. trade embargo on medical supplies and equipment. And even as a lame-duck president, Mr. Carter would have more than 60 days to take such an action on humanitarian grounds, leaving it to his successor either to repudiate the move or to permit it to stand.

I

U.S. visitors to this island have for many years called for the lifting of the trade embargo (the Cubans call it a blockade) between Cuba and the United States. President Carter began the process of normalization in 1977 by establishing the U.S. Interests Section in the Swiss embassy here in Havana. Travel restrictions were lifted, and movement between the two countries increased considerably, especially on the part of the large Cuban-American community now living in south Florida.

These actions were taken by the president despite the 1975 decision by the Cubans to introduce military and technical personnel into Angola. But the thawing stopped abruptly in 1978 when the Cubans responded to a request from a new Ethiopian socialist government for military assistance. It became the U.S. position that until Fidel Castro halted his interventionist tactics in Africa and in Latin America, nothing could be done to remove the trade embargo established by President John F. Kennedy in 1961.

It is evident to even a short-term visitor here that Castro's policy of sending personnel to other countries to spread the socialist gospel is a form of communist "imperialism." Students from African and Latin American countries come to Cuba's Isle of Youth (formerly Isle of Pines) to learn skills and to sharpen their ideology. Thus, it was natural for the Carter administration to indicate to Castro in 1978 that further incursions into other lands would make it impossible for the U.S. to continue friendly gestures toward Cuba. And yet, it is also understandable that as a committed socialist, Castro longs to be the leader of the Third World, to whom developing nations can look for support and guidance. In this sense he is functioning in a manner parallel to

that of the U.S. prior to its realization in Vietnam that there were limits to the exporting of ideology.

One of the "three heads of state" jokes that is currently popular in Cuba (told to us by an official) illustrates the pride this country's leaders take in its overseas ventures. In abbreviated form it goes like this: Jimmy Carter, Leonid Brezhnev and Fidel Castro are captured by cannibals in Africa. Carter and Brezhnev protest that they cannot be eaten because they are heads of great powerful nations. They protest in vain, and are quickly eaten. Castro tries another approach. "Don't eat me, I am just the head of a small island nation." To which the cannibal chief replies: "You mean you are Fidel Castro! I can't eat you. I have ten of my grandchildren training on the Isle of Youth."

Castro has thus gotten himself into a Catch-22 dilemma: to continue his role as leader of the so-called nonaligned nations (though he is clearly aligned with his funding source, the Soviet Union) he feels that he must respond to requests from revolutionary governments. But in doing so, he continues to offend the United States and thus makes it extremely difficult for the U.S. to convince its own public of the appropriateness of normal relations with the Cubans. Is there any way out of this dilemma?

The answer to that question is enormously complex. But to begin seeking a resolution, we should be able to suggest that what we have been doing is not working. This 21-year cold war — during which the U.S. government tried first to sponsor the Bay of Pigs invasion, then to assassinate Castro, and over the entire period of time to break the Cuban economy by maintaining a trade embargo — has not worked. Castro is still in power, and while there is an increased level of social discontent within Cuba, by the standards of most Third World countries its social order is reasonably stable. Cuba is now a socialist nation, and it is our close neighbor. We have to accept this reality and work to normalize relations with a country we once exploited and for 21 years sought to change by our own interventionist tactics.

II

This is the first of two reports from Cuba, and it serves as follow-up to my earlier analysis describing the Church World Service program to send Cuban agricultural specialists into Kampuchea ("Cuba, Hunger and Geopolitics," May 14). This program has proceeded to the point that on this trip CWS is asking for four more specialists recruited through the Cuban Ecumenical Council and approved for travel by the Cuban government. I am traveling with

eight church representatives, lay and clergy. Our group is meeting with Cuban church and governmental leaders under the auspices of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP), a semiofficial agency which relates the government to all nongovernmental entities, including the churches.

On this return trip CWS was able to report that the Kampuchea program is moving rapidly from being an aid program to becoming one of assistance in developing agricultural products. Paul McCleary,

This is the first of two reports from Cuba.

CWS director, again heads the team, and he explained to us that his agency's request to the U.S. State Department to underwrite funds for the technicians was denied under the Trade with the Enemy Act. But the program has gone forward with funds from Canadian Baptist churches and Protestant churches in West Germany.

As Dr. McCleary describes it, the aid program was set up in response to a request from Rosalynn Carter following her trip to Thailand in October 1979. Many relief agencies responded, rushing food to the starving Kampuchians, both in the country itself and along the Thai border. After that first effort, however, CWS determined that it could be of greater assistance by getting away from the "food dole" and into the production of food. Two U.S. technicians have been joined by other westerners from France and New Zealand. For balance, McCleary is now trying to add personnel from socialist states, including Cuba. And on this trip he is asking for four more technicians to go to Kampuchea (funded by non-U.S. contributions) to develop crops for the February-May growing season. At our meeting in late October we presented this proposal to both the Ecumenical Council and the Ministry of Culture, Science and Education. It was accepted. The technicians will be recruited through the churches.

When four members of our group visited the Primera Iglesia Bautista (First Baptist Church) for worship on a Sunday night, we heard the pastor, Raúl Suárez, issue the first call to his congregation for specialists to aid in the food program in Kampuchea—specifically veterinarians, irrigation specialists and agronomists. Obviously, whoever goes will need the permission of the government, but the continued role of the small Protestant community in this project keeps alive the service role of the churches as part of their institutional life.

III

Haltingly, then, the relationship between the U.S. and Cuban churches continues, despite the severe strain between the two governments. And as usual for such a complex political situation, the churches

here must acknowledge the reality of secular power while struggling to minister to congregations in the name of One superior to any secular force. In so doing, they remind this visitor that throughout history the Christian community has flourished in smaller numbers but with greater vitality in a hostile environment. Next week I will report in greater detail something of the spirit of the churches, but in the interim between writing this and awaiting the outcome of the presidential election, I should conclude with an experience that came at the close of our worship in the Baptist church.

Cubans are well aware that Ronald Reagan has indicated that he favors a continued embargo on Cuba because, as he put it last year, "Our trade embargo is a little like a long-running ad campaign. Just as its full effects are being felt, the sponsor may get tired of it." As president, Mr. Reagan is not expected to look with favor on any kind of relations with a communist government in Cuba. He belongs to that side of the U.S. political system which still believes that Castro should be overthrown and replaced with a nonsocialist successor. So the only hope the Cubans have for at least the initial step of exempting medical supplies and equipment from the embargo lies with either a re-elected Jimmy Carter or a Jimmy Carter with 60 days on his hands to take some steps on strictly humanitarian grounds.

As we stood at the door greeting parishioners, the pastor came over to me and said: "Tell Baptist Carter that a short Baptist preacher in Cuba wants him to lift the blockade." And while I could not promise him this humanitarian act, given the continued Cuban adventurism in other lands, I did tell him that I felt that President Carter would be glad to hear that the Baptists are active and well in Cuba and brash enough to make demands on one of their own.

But if he is re-elected, the president would be in a position to respond to this request and then to await further bilateral actions from Cuba, including, for example, action by Castro to receive the large number of Cuban exiles in the United States who either want to return to Cuba because they are homesick, or are excludable from the U.S. under our laws. The latter group, of course, includes many of

How Sects Began

✦ CHRIST did not always
use spittle with clay for cures,
so people chose sides,
like in games, calling those helped
mudites and the opposite.

WILLIAM WALTER DE BOLT.

the mental patients and prisoners (estimated total: 2,500) who were forced into the refugee flood which has brought some 125,000 Cuban immigrants to the U.S.

And as these "thawing" steps are taken, perhaps public opinion in the U.S. and governmental judgment in Cuba could converge to the point that normal relations between a giant capitalist nation and a small socialist neighbor could be resumed. This would be a slow process, whether taken by a President Carter or a President Reagan. But because what we have in common as neighbors outweighs our ideological differences, it is a process that must begin.

JAMES M. WALL.

No Comment Department

★ WALLACE HEFLIN, JR., an enterprising Pentecostal pastor in Richmond, Virginia, has founded End Time Foods, Inc., to supply dehydrated food for long-term storage in preparation for the Apocalypse. "We are old-fashioned Pentecostals who believe the coming of the Lord is soon," Heflin told reporter George Wilbur in an Associated Press story. "If all the things happen that we think will happen, food will become more precious than gold or silver." Heflin's inspiration for getting into the food business came from opening his hotel-room Bible at random to Isaiah 58:7 ("Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry . . .?"). Unopened, dehydrated foods are said to have a shelf life of 15 to 25 years; for \$713 (\$884 on the installment plan), End Time Foods will sell you a year's supply that can be stored under your bed — "where looters are not likely to look."

• • •

★ MORE on "doing it" (see No Comment Department, October 15): A reader in Hillsboro, Kansas, contributes this slogan, seen on a T-shirt in Reedley, California, and a bumper sticker in Henderson, Nebraska: "*Mennonites do it for relief.*"

• • •

In the Christian bookstores, Marjorie Ainsborough Decker's *Christian Mother Goose Book* has been on the best-seller list for six months. Herewith two examples of her revisionist nursery rhymes for born-again toddlers:

Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall,
Humpty Dumpty had a great fall;
Humpty Dumpty shouted "Amen!"
God can put me together again.

Little Miss Muffet
Sat on a Tuffet
Thanking Jesus for curds and whey;
There came a big spider
And sat down beside her
To listen to Miss Muffet pray.

The Domestic Moles of ITT

★ "UNIDENTIFIED white female described as a trustee of Maywood, Illinois. Husband believed to be a Lutheran minister. May have been in Chile as late as 1974." That statement appears in an eight-page report on a national conference held in February 1975 at Concordia College in River Forest, Illinois, by groups opposed to Chile's military junta. The report was prepared by an employee of International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation named Jon Rogeberg, who was then manager of investigations and is now chief investigator for the communications conglomerate. Rogeberg obtained data for the report by "debriefing" a person who had infiltrated the Chile Solidarity Committee of New York and had accompanied members of that committee on a chartered bus traveling to the meeting in suburban Chicago.

Discovery of the report last month — along with 11 snapshots taken surreptitiously by an ITT photographer as people boarded that bus in New York — was something of a fluke. Richard M. Gutman, a lawyer representing the Alliance to End Repression, found the material in the course of analyzing the voluminous files of the "Red Squad," a now-disbanded "antisubversive" unit of the Chicago Police Department. The Alliance is one of several political groups which have accused the Red Squad of illegal spying and which are involved in a six-year-old class-action suit against both the squad and the Federal Bureau of Investigation — a suit which is yet to come to trial.

Gutman and other attorneys gained access to the Red Squad files by court order in 1975 as a consequence of revelations about police spying. The fact that the ITT documents and photographs were in those files is indicative of the collaboration between corporation spies and police spies. A letter among the documents shows that ITT shared this material with New York FBI agent James Vermeersch, who in turn lent it to Chicago FBI agent Kirk I. Klossner; Vermeersch instructed Klossner to return it within one week, but evidently he failed to do so. (Vermeersch, incidentally, in a recent trial involving two former FBI officials, confessed to having participated in 15 to 20 illegal, warrantless entries in searches for evidence.)

The "unidentified white female" is Doris Strieter, who serves as co-chairperson of the Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile and who has written book reviews for *The Christian Century*. She *was* a trustee (city council member) of Maywood, Illinois, in 1975; her husband is indeed a Lutheran minister. And she *was* in Chile in 1974; I made the trip with her, along with other members of an ad hoc Commission of Inquiry into the Status of Human Rights in Chile. It is rather curious that the infiltrator was less than thorough in the case of Ms. Strieter, since

she chaired much of the two-day conference in River Forest and since 30 other participants are identified by name in the ITT report (the names, however, have been blanked out in keeping with a court directive). In fact, some of the participants are described in considerable detail, including their heights and weights and in some instances their birthdates, addresses, phone numbers and even hair styles ("white male, 5'10", 180 lbs., pot belly, wears dirty blond hair in pony tail . . .").

ITT has admitted receiving clandestinely obtained information about Chile support groups from an infiltrator. And while the company claims that "no officer or executive of ITT ever authorized the infiltration of any political groups," a spokesman in New York acknowledged that ITT has "followed, through available sources of information, the activities of groups seeking to organize a boycott as a protest against the corporation." The conference at Concordia College — ironically, an institution of the conservative Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod — did have on its agenda the possibility of launching a protest campaign against various U.S. banks and multinational corporations that were doing business with the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, but the conferees decided to focus on companies about to open new facilities there, rather than on ones already having sizable Chilean holdings.

To characterize the investigators and infiltrators hired by multinational corporations as "moles" and "secret agents" may at first glance seem an exercise in paranoid hyperbole. But is it really? Surely it is not amiss at least to wonder whether the bit of documentary evidence that has come to light about one corporation may not be but the tip of a very large and dangerous iceberg. And it seems clear that the spying that went on at that Chile conference in 1975 did not consist simply of the gathering of information. According to John Coatsworth, a University of Chicago historian and the other co-chairperson of the Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile, participants at the meeting "complained of missing notes and notebooks," and at one point "the local police were summoned to the scene on the basis of anonymous and unfounded rumors." In response to ITT charges about "terrorist threats, bombings and attacks," Coatsworth commented: "None of the organizations victimized by ITT spying has ever discussed, planned or engaged in any activities that could even remotely cause ITT to fear for the security of its property or the safety of its employees."

It is Coatsworth's opinion that the purpose of ITT's spying and infiltration was to disrupt "efforts to aid the victims of a bloody military regime it helped to install." A principal activity of the Chicago committee has indeed been to help resettle some of the nearly 60,000 Chileans who have become exiles as a consequence of the violent over-

throw in 1973 of the democratically elected government of socialist Salvador Allende.

Last year the American Friends Service Committee published a well-documented study titled "The Police Threat to Political Liberty." The Quaker organization's report found that "police surveillance and record-keeping for political reasons exist on a vast scale" in this country, are "largely uncontrolled" and have been "used to inhibit or stifle dissent and lawful attempts to seek redress for grievances." Perhaps the conclusion of the AFSC study should be amended slightly: "It is not citizens who should be under the surveillance of the government [and large corporations], but the government [and large corporations] which should be under the surveillance of . . . citizens." At present, however, private global corporations, unlike government agencies, are not accountable to the public for their actions.

DEAN PEERMAN.

Special Correspondence

The Loneliness of the Peace-Church Peacemakers

Green Lake, Wisconsin.

† TOGETHER they have a history of peacemaking that goes back four and a half centuries — a tradition filled with the heroic tales of martyrs who, because of their faith in Christ, endured the fires decreed for them by the magistrates, princes and bishops of Europe. Hundreds still live among them who braved the scorn of their neighbors in this century to become conscientious objectors and even draft resisters during one of America's declared or undeclared wars.

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Yet today's peacemakers in the so-called historic peace churches — Mennonites, Friends and Brethren — are lonely. They came to the second national meeting of the New Call to Peacemaking here early in October, and talked much about support groups for conscientious objectors, draft resisters, tax refusers, simple-life-style advocates and other apostles of peace.

Clearly, what they asked for others, they coveted and needed for themselves. And the Green Lake conference did prove itself a support group for the 300 delegates who came from more than a dozen regional groupings formed by the New Call to Peacemaking since the coalition took shape four years ago.

Less openly, the conferees also admitted that even among their churches, active peacemakers are a