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Report to the Honorable William
Proxmire, U.S. Senate

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December 1985

CIA ACTIVITIES

Allegation of Lobbying Assistance



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**National Security and International
Affairs Division****B-221041**

December 5, 1985

The Honorable William Proxmire
United States Senate

Dear Senator Proxmire:

In response to your request, we investigated certain allegations of improper activity by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). In an article which appeared in the August 5, 1985, issue of The New Republic, Mr. Edgar Chamorro stated that the CIA had advised him and other members of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) leadership to lobby Congress to support appropriations for the FDN and other anti-Nicaraguan government personnel. You asked us to determine whether the alleged activities violated 18 U.S.C. 1913, a penal statute prohibiting federal employees from using federal funds to engage in grass-roots lobbying, or any other anti-lobbying restrictions applicable to CIA appropriations. We are unable to determine whether any appropriation act restriction against lobbying is applicable specifically to CIA appropriations, because we are not privy to information on CIA appropriations. However, the allegations, if true, could constitute a violation of 18 U.S.C. 1913, which is applicable to federal funds in general.

We have interviewed Mr. Chamorro and members of the FDN Directorate. Members of FDN denied Mr. Chamorro's description of CIA lobbying advice. The CIA would not discuss Mr. Chamorro's allegations with us, but stated it had briefed the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on the matter.

**Background and
Results of Interview
With Mr. Chamorro**

Mr. Chamorro was a member of the FDN Directorate from December 1982 to November 1984. From about the end of January 1983 to June 1984 Mr. Chamorro worked in Honduras as a public information officer. Mr. Chamorro has maintained that during the time he was a member of the FDN Directorate, the CIA advised the Directorate to lobby individual members of Congress to continue funding their counterrevolution. In his article, he stated that some FDN Directorate members—Adolfo Calero, Alfonso Callejas, Marco Zeledon, and Lucia Salazar—worked out of Miami, Florida, and Washington, D.C., mainly to lobby Congress. He also said that he was present at meetings where the CIA advised them how to win votes for continued funding of their cause. Mr. Chamorro made similar statements to us in a meeting held in Washington, D.C., on September 5, 1985; in an affidavit to the World Court in the Hague on

September 12, 1985 (the affidavit was witnessed and signed in Washington on September 5, 1985); and in a recorded telephone conversation on September 30, 1985, with a reporter in Nicaragua, as reported by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service.

We asked Mr. Chamorro to provide us specific information on these lobbying efforts, such as the names of the CIA personnel involved; where, when, and what lobbying instructions were provided by the CIA; what members of Congress were lobbied; and how the FDN went about its efforts. Mr. Chamorro provided us only limited information and no documents. He provided us some specific dates when meetings were held with the CIA and the names of some CIA personnel, although he believed that most were assumed names. He stated that lobbying efforts were discussed at these meetings, but since he was in Honduras most of the time, he did not participate in any actual lobbying efforts in the United States.

Results of Interview With FDN Directorate

We met with Mr. Bosco Matamoros, FDN spokesman in Washington, D.C., on September 16, 1985, and with members of the FDN Directorate on October 10, 1985.

Mr. Matamoros said he has developed contacts with members of Congress who have expressed interest in Nicaragua. He said, however, he is not engaged in any lobbying activities, and that his salary and expenses are paid from private funds. He is unaware of any instructions to FDN personnel from U.S. government personnel regarding the lobbying of Congress.

We met in Miami, Florida, with Mr. Calero, the director of the FDN Directorate, and following members of the Directorate: Messrs. Bermudez (military field commander), Zeledon, and Callejas, and Mrs. Salazar. The remaining Directorate member, Indalecio Rodriguez, was not in the country. Mr. Calero, speaking for all FDN directors present, said that neither the CIA nor any other U.S. government personnel advised them to lobby members of Congress. Mr. Calero said that the FDN leadership has met on numerous occasions with various members of Congress, both individually and in groups, and that he had participated in most of these meetings. He noted that many of the meetings were requested by members of Congress who wanted to learn more about the FDN and Nicaragua. Mr. Calero further stated that travel and related expenses incurred in meeting members of Congress came from private funds.

Mr. Calero and the other FDN members said that the statements made by Edgar Chamorro in The New Republic article and in other publications regarding lobbying activities, as well as other allegations involving the FDN, are not true.

CIA Position

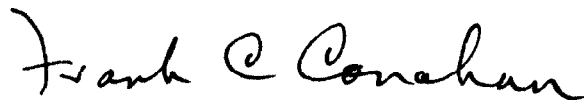
The CIA would not meet with us to discuss the lobbying activities alleged by Mr. Chamorro. They stated that they had briefed the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence about Mr. Chamorro's statements in The New Republic article. The Committee staff director stated that because of the nature of the information provided by the CIA, they would not brief us but would be willing to brief you at your request.

Conclusions

We were unable to obtain corroborating evidence to support Mr. Chamorro's allegation that CIA employees instructed FDN officials to lobby members of Congress. The FDN Directorate officials denied Mr. Chamorro's allegations, and CIA officials refused to discuss the issue with us. Accordingly, we have no basis for referring the matter to the Department of Justice for possible prosecution under 18 U.S.C. 1913.

Unless you publicly announce its contents earlier, we plan no further distribution of this report until 10 days from the date of the report.

Sincerely yours,



Frank C. Conahan
Director



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