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**Collection:** Executive Secretariat, NSC: Meeting Files  
**Folder Title:** NSC 00026 11/16/1981 [Strategy Toward  
Cuba and Central America Proposed US Peacekeeping Force  
in Chad, Military Assistance (1 of 2)]

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: MEETING FILE

**Withdrawer**

DLB 10/16/2007

**File Folder** NSC 00026 11/16/1981 [STRATEGY TOWARD CUBA AND CENTRAL AMERICA, PROPOSED US PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN CHAD, MILITARY ASSISTANCE ] (1 OF 2)

**FOIA**

M10-330

**Box Number** 2

DIRKS

17

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
43948	MEMO	RICHARD ALLEN TO THE PRESIDENT, RE: NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING <i>R 9/6/2019 M330/1</i>	2	11/13/1981	B1
43949	PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #43932; A STRATEGY FOR CUBA AND CENTRAL AMERICA	8	11/9/1981	B1
43950	PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #43933; BUILDING SUPPORT AT HOME AND ABROAD <i>R 9/6/2019 M330/1</i>	2	11/7/1981	B1
43951	PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #43934; PROBABLE SOVIET AND CUBAN RESPONSES	3	ND	B1
43952	PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #43935; US MILITARY FORCES	3	ND	B1
43953	PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #43936; A STRATEGY FOR CUBA AND CENTRAL AMERICA WITH DIFFERENT EDITS AND ANNOTATIONS	13	11/9/1981	B1
43954	MEMO	DUPLICATE OF #43947; RICHARD ALLEN TO THE PRESIDENT, RE: FOLLOW-UP TO NOVEMBER 10 NSC MEETING ON CUBA AND CENTRAL AMERICA <i>R 9/6/2019 M330/1</i>	2	ND	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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M10-330

**Box Number** 2

DIRKS

17

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
43955	MEMO	RICHARD ALLEN TO THE PRESIDENT, RE: NSC AGENDA <i>R 9/6/2019 M330/1</i>	1	11/16/1981	B1

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MTG TITLE NSC MEETING ON STRATEGY TOWARD CUBA & CENTRAL AMERICA &

PROPOSED US PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN CHAD

MTG DATE 811116 MTG TYPE NSC MINUTES Y PRIME RECORD ID 8190048

<u>PARTICIPANT</u>	AGENCY	PARTICIPANT	AGENCY	PARTICIPANT	AGENCY
PRES		VICE PRESIDENT		HAIG, A	STATE
CLARK, W	STATE	WEINBERGER, C	DOD	CARLUCCI, F	DOD
SCHNEIDER, W	OMB	CASEY, W	CIA	KIRKPATRICK, J	USUN
JONES, D	JCS	GORMAN, P	JCS	MEESE, E	WH
BAKER, J	WH	DEAVER, M	WH	ALLEN	WH
NANCE	WH	COLSON	WH	FONTAINE	NSC

MEETING INSTITUTIONAL TREE

NSCIF CROSS REFERENCE MEETING DATA (VIEW ONLY)

DATE NSCIF ID TYPE TITLE

MTG TITLE

MTG DATE 811116 MTG TYPE NSC MINUTES Y PRIME RECCRD ID 8190048

<u>PARTICIPANT</u>	AGENCY	PARTICIPANT	AGENCY	PARTICIPANT	AGENCY
WETTERING	NSC				

MEETING INSTITUTIONAL TREE

NSCIF CROSS REFERENCE MEETING DATA (VIEW ONLY)

DATE	NSCIF ID	TYPE	TITLE
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NSC/S PROFILE

~~SECRET~~

ID 8190134

RECEIVED 07 JAN 82 13

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF  
CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)  
FROM ALLEN *dlb 10/12/02*

DOCDATE 16 NOV 81

TO PRES

HAIG, A

13 NOV 81

KEYWORDS: CHAD  
NSC

OAU

SUBJECT: LATE AGENDA ITEM FOR 16 NOV NSC MTG

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES DUE: STATUS C FILES IFM O

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BUSH, G

MEESE, E

BAKER, J

DEAVER, M

COMMENTS

REF# LOG 8190043 8190048 NSC IFID NSC00026 ( B / B )

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF  
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

RECEIVED 07 JAN 82 13

TO PRES

FROM ALLEN

*ab  
10/17/07*

DOCDATE 13 NOV 81

KEYWORDS: CUBA CENTRAL AMERICA  
ECONOMICS NICARAGUA  
EL SALVADOR NSC

SUBJECT: PRES BRIEFING MEMO & BACKGROUND PAPERS FOR 16 NOV NSC MTG

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES DUE: STATUS C FILES IFM O

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COMMENTS

REF# LOG 8190043 8190048 NSC IFM NSC00026 ( B / B )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_ W/ATTCH FILE \_\_\_\_\_ (C)

~~SECRET~~

43948

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

November 13, 1981

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN *Dick*

SUBJECT: National Security Council Meeting

DECLASSIFIED  
NLRR M330/1 #43948  
BY AW NARA DATE 9/16/89

You will chair a National Security Council meeting in the Cabinet Room from 2:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. on Monday, November 16, 1981. The one agenda item will be "A Strategy for Cuba and Central America." At last Tuesday's meeting, it was decided we would go through Phase I short of the ultimatum to and the employment of forces against Nicaragua to determine actions necessary and how much it would cost to implement each step. In addition, we were tasked individually to recommend any additional steps we might like to take short of Phase II. Inter alia, the steps recommended for consideration are:

- Economic support for a number of Central American and Caribbean countries (estimate \$250 million to \$300 million FY 1982 supplemental).
- Agreement to use most of the \$50 million Section 506 authority to increase military assistance to El Salvador and Honduras.
- Train indigenous forces both in-country and in CONUS.
- Attempt to develop a para-military force from third country nationals for covert actions in Nicaragua. Ultimate goal would be to "liberate" the country.
  - Destroy newly imported equipment in Nicaragua or blockade its ports.
  - Destroy Cuban heavy weapons or aircraft by covert means.
  - Disrupt Sandinista activities.
  - Disrupt El Salvador supply operation.
- Cut off Nicaraguan trade and credit, but only if the Sandinistas have already wrapped up the private sector opposition.

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~Review on November 11, 2011  
Extended by R.V. Allen~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- Institute short-term military pressures against Cuba.
- Initiate a campaign within this country to inform the public and the Congress of the critical situation in the area and to get support for our actions.
- Create a public information task force on Central America.
- Form a government in exile for Nicaragua. With this government, mount a propaganda campaign against Sandinista government.
- Initiate action in the United Nations against Cuban involvement in Central American revolutionary activities.
- Develop a Free Radio Station broadcasting to Nicaragua both in English and Spanish.
- Expedite economic warfare plans being developed against Cuba.

Tabs A and B are the State and Defense submissions you have previously read. (S)

~~SECRET~~

STATE SUBMISSION  
WITH NEW PAGES

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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NSC 00026 11/16/1981 [STRATEGY TOWARD CUBA AND CENTRAL AMERICA, PROPOSED US PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN CHAD, MILITARY ASSISTANCE ] (1 OF 2)

*FOIA*

F95-042-4  
ORR, ROBERT

*Box Number*

2

17

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i>	<i>No of pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restrictions</i>
43949	PAPER  DUPLICATE OF #43932; A STRATEGY FOR CUBA AND CENTRAL AMERICA	8	11/9/1981	B1

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The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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43950

Building Support at Home and Abroad

We must move urgently to build support for our policy among the American public, in the Congress, and with other governments.

Phase I. Reinforcing El Salvador, Taking the War to Nicaragua; Creating a Climate of Insecurity Around Cuba.

At home, we should avoid dramatizing the situation. Public involvement by the President and Secretary of State should be clear, particularly with the Congressional leadership, but limited.

Our public emphasis would be on:

- Political and economic support (i.e. supplemental aid and Caribbean Basin Program) for democratic regimes in the region (Costa Rica, Jamaica, and Dominica Republic) and regimes in El Salvador and Honduras where we seek to strengthen the political center.
- Support for reforms in El Salvador and the search for a political solution.
- Using the Sandinista move to a totalitarian state as the inevitable alternative to our support for the center. (i.e. Duarte) in El Salvador.
- Letting the deployments around Cuba speak for themselves, avoiding action forcing steps, and continuing our public exposition of Castro's export of subversion in a firm but non-strident fashion.

As soon as our own decisions are made, we would begin putting together the local consortium of countries to contain Nicaragua. We should start with Colombia (the presence of one of the Latin democracies is a political imperative), then adding Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala. We can perhaps add Costa Rica after their elections in May 1982. We will have to convince these countries that we will back them with US force if there is fighting and provide substantial additional FMS and economic assistance to Colombia and Honduras.

Venezuela will do more to help in El Salvador (economic aid and military advisors) but will not overtly join the consortium. Argentina (which will assist with the anti-Sandinista insurgency) should be left out of the overt effort.

If substantial numbers of Cuban troops are introduced into Central America, we can get the required two-thirds vote to intervene under the Rio Treaty; otherwise not. Mexico will oppose in either case.

## Phase II: Coercing Cuba

The US public and Congress will support the use of coercion against Cuba only if convinced that US security is at risk and that the Administration is acting in a cautious and prudent manner. The Secretary of State would make the basic security case.

Simultaneously, we would propose to Castro a private negotiation in which in return for the withdrawal of Cuban troops and advisors from Central America and Africa we would offer full normalization of relations. After the effort fails (in a credible time frame), we would make the record public.

The President would then announce our coercive action against Cuba. He would describe Cuba as a heavily armored Soviet proxy and stress the strategic threat to the US. In consultations with Congress under the War Powers Resolution, we would realistically describe possible Soviet countermoves and how we propose to contain them. We would make clear to the Congress -- and to the Soviets -- that we will stay the course until the problem of Cuba is settled.

Most countries in the Hemisphere will support us privately but few would join us openly. Colombia, Haiti, the Dominican Republic and some Central Americans are possible exceptions.

11/7/81

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F95-042-4  
ORR, ROBERT

*Box Number*

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i>	<i>No of</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i>
	<i>Document Description</i>	<i>pages</i>		<i>tions</i>
43951	PAPER	3	ND	B1
	DUPLICATE OF #43934; PROBABLE SOVIET AND CUBAN RESPONSES			

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43952	PAPER  DUPLICATE OF #43935; US MILITARY FORCES	3	ND	B1

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DEFENSE SUBMISSION

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43953	PAPER  DUPLICATE OF #43936; A STRATEGY FOR CUBA AND CENTRAL AMERICA WITH DIFFERENT EDITS AND ANNOTATIONS	13	11/9/1981	B1

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~~TOP SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM

6580

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

43954

~~TOP SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN

SUBJECT: Follow-Up to November 10 NSC Meeting on  
Cuba and Central America

At the November 12 NSC meeting the following items will be discussed, upon your approval.

First, that each item under Phase One, short of the ultimatum to Nicaragua and the use of U.S. forces in Central America, be discussed in terms of cost and implementation steps. These items are:

- Intensify public information efforts at home and abroad; Presidential involvement with the Congress, but not in public;
- Economic assistance supplemental (\$250-\$300 million) for El Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras, Belize (along with other exposed friends: Jamaica and Dominican Republic);
- Reprogram some \$40 million of FMS and \$50 million of ESF to Colombia;
- Agreement to use most of the \$50 million Sec. 506 authority to increase military assistance to El Salvador and Honduras;
- Negotiate local consortium (Colombia, Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, maybe Costa Rica) to provide political backing for U.S. support to Honduras (and perhaps Costa Rica) against Nicaraguan threats or reprisals and for possible U.S. military action against Cuban intervention in Nicaragua;
- Promote an anti-Sandinista guerrilla forces in Nicaragua, through deniable covert action and overt support for democratic, anti-Sandinista forces;

DECLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET~~

Review Nov. 10, 1987

NLRR M330/1 #43954

BY RW NARA DATE 9/6/89

~~TOP SECRET~~

- Cut off Nicaraguan trade and credit, but only if the Sandinistas have already wrapped up the private sector opposition;
- Institute short-term military pressures against Cuba;
- Maintain U.S. forces in readiness to mount combined operations with Colombia and Honduras (or if necessary unilateral operations) against Cuban intervention in Nicaragua;
- Consult with the Congress immediately prior to use of U.S. forces against Nicaragua, as provided by the War Powers Resolution.

Second, that other measures including special covert and disabling actions short of the use of U.S. military force be discussed and refined.

Third, those actions under Phase One and Two employing military force be further discussed -- both pros and cons.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve this agenda.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM

6580

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF  
CLASSIFIED EYES

10/12/07

ACTION

November 10, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: ROGER W. FONTAINE

SUBJECT: Topics for Discussion and Decision at  
November 12 NSC Meeting

Attached at Tab I is a memo from you to the President on what will be discussed at Thursday's NSC meeting on Cuba and Central America.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Tab I Memorandum to the President

~~SECRET~~

Review No. v 10, 1987

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

43955

~~SECRET~~

November 16, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN *Rich*  
SUBJECT: NSC Agenda

A late addition to the NSC agenda today concerning Assisting an Organization of African Unity (OAU) Peacekeeping Organization (PRO) for Chad has been requested. At Tab A are the papers for that item.

Assisting an OAU Peacekeeping Organization (PCO) for Chad

-- We have been informed the Libyans are withdrawing from Chad. However, they are taking everything with them to try to show the country can't survive without them.

-- Chad will need immediate help from abroad to prevent renewed fighting and chaos.

-- The Organization of African Unity (OAU) is expediting efforts to put a Peacekeeping Organization (PKO) in Chad. Nigeria and Zaire have already asked us bilaterally for support.

-- Our contribution will probably be restricted to airlift for troops and perhaps support items such as tents, costs, and food.

-- It is estimated it will cost us \$12 million to support the 2000 man force for 90 days.

-- You will be asked to approve:

- a) immediate consultations with the OAU, contributing African states, France, and other potential donor states.
- b) consultations with Congress concerning sources of funding the \$12 million for such assistance.

cc: Vice President  
Ed Meese  
Jim Baker  
Mike Deaver

~~SECRET~~

Review on  
November 16, 1987

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M330/1 #43955  
BY *lw* NARA DATE *9/6/19*