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Last Updated: 07/11/2023

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 14, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM BAKER

FROM: M. B. OGLESBY, JR. *MB*
SUBJECT: Attached Memorandum from Tom Korologos

My recommendation is that Ken Dam do the follow-up. He has worked well with Boland (re: covert aid) and is the lead for the Administration.

We should save you and Bud for later.

2/16

"B"

*Five - please implement
to extent necessary.*

Thank

JAB III

TIMMONS AND COMPANY, INCORPORATED
1850 K STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 331-1760

R.F.

February 8, 1984

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS
President

TOM C. KOROLOGOS
Executive Vice President

MICHAEL L. REED
Vice President

HOWARD G. PASTER
Vice President

KENNETH M. DUBERSTEIN
Vice President

MARY A. SIDLEY
Vice President

MICHAEL J. BATES
Director of Research

PERSONAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: ✓ THE HONORABLE JAMES A. BAKER, III
THE HONORABLE ROBERT C. McFARLANE
THE HONORABLE KENNETH W. DAM

FROM: TOM C. KOROLOGOS TK

SUBJECT: Kissinger/O'Neill

I thought you should know about Henry's (2-7-84) very positive meeting with Tip O'Neill and later with Chairman Eddie Boland and Rep. Ken Robinson of the House Intelligence Committee.

The purpose was to present Tip officially with a copy of the Central America report. We spent about 40 minutes with the Speaker.

He wanted to talk about Lebanon a lot and equated that with Central America saying: "I feel it in my bones that the President wants to invade Nicaragua...I knew he was going into Grenada long before they went in and I'm getting the same feeling now," he said.

Henry went through all the ramifications of why that wasn't in the cards and how much it would cost in lives, time and politics, etc.

The Speaker did say, however, after a long discussion that he "probably can support military aid to El Salvador this year." He said even if he did, that he could not support funding for the Contras. He's convinced this is counterproductive. He says he has talked with nuns and Bostonians who have lived down there and "they're going to school now, they've got jobs, they have good health care...etc." Henry responded by saying he grew up in Nazi Germany and you could say the same things about Hitler. Henry also told him that Nicaragua reminded him of his youth in Germany, as well.

He also told the Speaker the only way we can put pressure on the Nicaraguans to negotiate with us was to continue the support of the Contras. "That's all they understand," Henry told him with some success.

2/11
To "B" and
Dick D:
Let's pursue these
recommendations on
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JAB

THE HONORABLE JAMES A. BAKER, III
THE HONORABLE ROBERT C. McFARLANE
THE HONORABLE KENNETH W. DAM

Page 2

Later on Henry made a very good one-hour presentation to Boland and Robinson. In this meeting Dennis Thomas of White House Congressional Relations joined us and he can give you a reading if you'd like. That meeting too was positive, especially since the Speaker told us to check with Eddie, and that he (The Speaker) was probably going to get his signals from his pal, Boland.

Boland wanted to know specifics about the package. Was there going to be a military supplemental? Was there going to be an economic assistance package? What shape was it all going to be in?

Suggestions: A. Somebody at a high level (Dam, Baker, McFarlane level) quickly get back to Boland and explain the strategy. I think that once you get Boland aboard, Tip might come along.

B. At the same time a high level guy go see Tip about supporting military aid to El Salvador, but don't say things like "you promised Kissinger..." Let him make his own deal with you, armed with the knowledge of what he told us.

If you want amplification of any of this, please let me know. I'm sure Henry would be available for further explanations also.

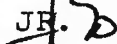
cc: The Honorable M. B. Oglesby

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WASHINGTON

February 14, 1984

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cc: The Honorable M. B. Oglesby


THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 7, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR BUD MC FARLANE
FAITH WHITTLESEY
KEN DAM

FROM:

M. B. OGLESBY, JR. 

The attached is forwarded for your information.

FEB 6 1984

CHAIRMAN
DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER

COMMISSION MEMBERS:
MR. NICHOLAS F. BRADY
MAYOR HENRY G. CISNEROS
GOV. WILLIAM P. CLEMENTS, JR.
DR. CARLOS F. DIAZ-ALEJANDRO
MR. WILSON S. JOHNSON
MR. LANE KIRKLAND
MR. RICHARD M. SCAMMON
DR. JOHN SILBER
JUSTICE POTTER STEWART
AMB. ROBERT S. STRAUSS
DR. WILLIAM B. WALSH

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
AMB. HARRY W. SHLAUDEMANN

THE NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION
ON CENTRAL AMERICA

SENIOR COUNSELLORS:
REP. MICHAEL D. BARNES
SEN. LLOYD BENTSEN
REP. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
SEN. PETE V. DOMENICI
SEN. DANIEL K. INOUE
REP. JACK F. KEMP
AMB. JEANE KIRKPATRICK
MR. WINSTON LORD
SEN. CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS
MR. WILLIAM D. ROGERS
REP. JAMES C. WRIGHT

Handwritten notes: "Full McP... Dan" and "FVH" with a circled "1)" above.

Mr. Keith Kreul
National Commander
The American Legion
1608 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Kreul:

Thank you for your letter expressing support for our report. The other Commission members and I are most appreciative of your offer to work with the President and the Congress towards a strong, bipartisan consensus and a translation of our recommendations into action.

Best regards,

Handwritten signature of Henry A. Kissinger

Henry A. Kissinger

The American Legion

★ WASHINGTON OFFICE ★ 1608 "K" STREET, N. W. ★ WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 ★



OFFICE OF THE
NATIONAL COMMANDER

January 12, 1984

The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger
Chairman, National Bipartisan
Commission on Central America
U. S. Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Chairman:

On behalf of the 2.6 million members of The American Legion, I want to commend you and the commission members for the outstanding public service you have performed in your report to the President.

We emphatically agree that the United States must expeditiously develop a coordinated, long-term, adequately funded policy for Central America. The challenge is at our doorstep, threatening democratic evolution in this hemisphere and calling into question America's effectiveness as leader of the Free World.

Your view of Central America's problems as a "seamless web" is most apt. We strongly support helping friendly nations in Central America develop an effective security shield. Without adequate security there is no hope that political, economic and social conditions can be significantly improved.

The large increases in bilateral and multilateral economic development aid advocated by the commission are vitally important as the means of addressing the problems of ignorance, poverty, hunger and disease which have long afflicted Central America. Although the cost in American resources will seem high to many Americans, it is very small when compared to the alternative. If we fail to meet the challenge in Central America, eventually we will be confronted on our own borders. Then, the cost will be tens of billions of dollars, and, quite possibly, thousands of American lives.

1221
18 JAN

For several years, The American Legion has been alerting Americans about the serious challenge to U.S. national interests in Central America. Although we have not had time to review the report in detail and may eventually differ on some aspects, we certainly endorse the report's general thrust. The splendid work of the commission now provides an authoritative basis for an informed national debate.

As I stated during my testimony before the commission, The American Legion stands ready to work with you, the President and the Congress in quickly developing a strong bipartisan consensus to translate the report into action.

Sincerely yours,



KEITH KREUL
National Commander

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 2, 1984

MEETING WITH SELECTED MEMBERS
OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE PRIOR TO
THE CENTRAL AMERICA BRIEFING
AND ANNOUNCEMENT CEREMONY

DATE: Friday, February 3, 1984
 LOCATION: Cabinet Room
 TIME: 10:00 a.m. (30 minutes)
 FROM: M. B. OGLESBY, JR. *MB*
 ROBERT MCFARLANE

I. PURPOSE

To consult with key members of the House and Senate, and to demonstrate the Administration's strong commitment to the implementation of recommendations made by the Kissinger Commission.

II. BACKGROUND

On January 11, 1984 the findings and recommendations of the Kissinger Report were announced. Subsequently the Administration has been reviewing the report and analyzing the possible legislative proposals and strategy. In order for the Administration to have a reasonable prospect for legislative success this year, it is vitally important for key Congressional leaders to sign on--or at least not object--to the legislative package before it is transmitted to the Hill. Our ability to assemble a relatively broad based bipartisan coalition is particularly crucial to our prospects for success in the House.

The bill H.R. 4042--which would have extended the existing certification requirements associated with American aid to El Salvador--was pocket vetoed on November 30, 1983. Since that time, a group of Congressmen led by Michael Barnes (D-MD) has filed suit challenging the Constitutionality of this pocket veto. A new bill (reported to be very similar in content to H.R. 4042) is scheduled to be considered on the House Floor during the week of February 6, 1984.

During a meeting with senior White House staff on Wednesday, February 1, 1984, Congressman Barnes and other Congressional leaders indicated that the "conditionality" issue (i.e., certification) ultimately must be addressed if there is to be any hope for enactment of the Administration's legislative package this year.

Discussions between senior representatives of the Administration and the Congress presently are under way to address this and other issues.

This meeting is intended to help set the overall tone and reinforce the Administration's commitment, rather than to finalize details of the Administration's legislative proposal on Central America.

III. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer only.

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- 10:00 a.m. - Opening remarks by the President
- 10:05 a.m. - Overview of the Kissinger Commission recommendations by State Department Deputy Secretary Dam
- 10:15 a.m. - General discussion with Congressional participants and Commission members
- 10:30 a.m. - The President leaves the Cabinet Room and prepares to address the Central America initiative kick-off ceremony in the East Room.

ATTACHMENTS: (A) Participants
(B) Talking Points

ATTACHMENT A

PARTICIPANTS

The President
The Vice President
Kenneth Dam, Deputy Secretary, Department of State

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

House

Jim Wright (D-Texas)
Michael Barnes (D-Maryland)
Dante Fascell (D-Florida)
Kenneth Robinson (R-Virginia)
Bob Lagomarsino (R-California)
Clarence Long (D-Maryland)
Tom Coleman (R-Missouri)
Bob Michel (R-Illinois)
Trent Lott (R-Mississippi)
Tom Foley (D-Washington)
Melvin Price (D-Illinois)

Senate

Howard Baker (R-Tennessee)
Ted Stevens (R-Alaska)
James McClure (R-Idaho)
Robert Byrd (D-West Virginia)
Charles Mathias (R-Maryland)
Pete Domenici (R-New Mexico)
Lloyd Bentsen (D-Texas)
Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii)
Charles Percy (R-Illinois)
Claiborne Pell (D-Rhode Island)
Sam Nunn (D-Georgia)
Daniel Moynihan (D-New York)
Bob Kasten (R-Wisconsin)
Jesse Helms (R-North Carolina)

Members of the Kissinger Commission

Henry A. Kissinger
Nicholas F. Brady
John Silber
Potter Stewart
Harry Shlaudeman
Lane Kirkland

Staff

Edwin Meese III
James Baker III
Michael Deaver
M. B. Oglesby, Jr.
Larry Speakes
Richard Darman
Craig Fuller
John Svahn
Faith Whittlesey
John Poindexter
W. Dennis Thomas
Pam Turner
Nancy Risque
Jennifer Fitzgerald
Chris Lehman
Tapley Bennett
Al Keel
David Wright

ATTACHMENT B

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR
MEETING WITH SELECTED MEMBERS
OF CONGRESS ON CENTRAL AMERICA

-- The consensus reached by the Bipartisan Commission on Central America is truly remarkable; and the message is compelling: The crisis is serious. Our help is vitally needed. Fundamental U.S. interests -- moral and strategic -- are at stake.

-- We have a responsibility to act. As Commission member Robert Strauss wrote in the WASHINGTON POST: "I do not believe that anyone can responsibly advocate that this nation do nothing, that it can turn its back on the repression and poverty that breed totalitarianism of the left and the right."

-- The Commission recommends -- and I agree -- that a larger commitment of resources, provided with greater continuity and predictability over a number of years, is necessary to bring democracy, peace and equitable prosperity to Central America.

-- Our policy is guided by the principles of democratic self-determination, economic and social development that is fair to all, respect for human rights, and cooperation in meeting threats to the security of the region.

-- Actions consist of a comprehensive and balanced mix of economic, political, diplomatic and security activities which must be implemented simultaneously. The proposals are based on long-standing inequities and by Soviet, Cuban and Nicaraguan attempts to take advantage of grievances for their own ends.

-- The Commission's report and the legislation we will soon propose follow the spirit of Senator Scoop Jackson and his commitment to non-partisanship when the national interest is involved.

NOTE: State Department Deputy Secretary Ken Dam should be recognized to provide an overview of the Central America plan before opening the meeting for general discussion.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
February 2, 1984

CEREMONY TO KICK-OFF ADMINISTRATION POLICY
INITIATIVES ON CENTRAL AMERICA

DATE: Friday, February 3, 1984
LOCATION: East Room
TIME: 10:40 a.m. (10 minutes)
FROM: M. B. OGLESBY, JR. *bo*
ROBERT McFARLANE

I. PURPOSE

To announce the Administration's plan to implement recommendations of the Kissinger Commission.

II. BACKGROUND

On January 11, 1984 the findings and recommendations of the Kissinger Report were announced. Subsequently the Administration has been reviewing the report and analyzing the possible legislative proposals and strategy. This ceremony, which immediately follows the Cabinet Room briefing for selected Congressional leaders, is intended to be the formal "kick-off" for the Administration legislative proposals. In attendance will be representatives from the Congress, the Administration, the diplomatic community and the private sector.

III. PRESS PLAN

Open Press

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- 10:30 a.m. - The President leaves the Cabinet Room briefing for selected Congressional leaders and prepares to address the Central America ceremony in the East Room. At this time, Congressional meeting participants also move to the East Room.
- 10:40 a.m. - The President arrives in the East Room and delivers prepared remarks.
- 10:50 a.m. - The President departs.

ATTACHMENTS: (A) Participants
(B) Speech material to be provided by speech writers

ATTACHMENT A

PARTICIPANTS

The President
The Vice President
Secretary of Defense Weinberger
General John Vessey
Kenneth Dam, Deputy Secretary, Department of State

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

House

Jim Wright (D-Texas)
Michael Barnes (D-Maryland)
Dante Fascell (D-Florida)
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Charles Percy (R-Illinois)
Claiborne Pell (D-Rhode Island)
Sam Nunn (D-Georgia)
Daniel Moynihan (D-New York)
Bob Kasten (R-Wisconsin)
Jesse Helms (R-North Carolina)

Members of the Kissinger Commission

Henry Kissinger
Nicholas F. Brady
Lane Kirkland
John Silber
Potter Stewart
Harry W. Shlaudeman

Additional Guests

Members of the Diplomatic Corps of Central America
Representatives of the private sector
Congressional staff members
White House staff members



31 January 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. McFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Presidential Kickoff for Kissinger Commission
Legislation

We understand that the ceremonies for the President's transmittal of the Jackson Plan legislation will begin at 11:00 a.m. on Friday, February 3, with two simultaneous meetings:

- A Presidential meeting with Congressional Leaders in the Cabinet Room;
- A briefing by a senior State Department official for other invited guests in the East Room.

Presidential Meeting with Congressional Leaders

Attached at Tab 1 is a list of recommended Congressional invitees, including the eight senior Congressional advisors to the NBCCA. The list has been kept tight because of the limited number of people who can be accommodated in the Cabinet Room. Acting Secretary Dam would accompany the President to this meeting. We also recommend that the Chairman and members of the NBCCA be included. Talking points for the President's use are attached at Tab 2.


East Room Ceremonies

Following the President's meeting with the Congressional Leaders, approximately at 11:30 a.m., the President and those with him in the Cabinet Room would move to the East Room, where the President will make a brief statement, lasting about 5 minutes, announcing the package to all invited guests. A draft statement for the President's use is attached at Tab 3.

Suggested guest lists for the East Room ceremony are attached at Tabs 4-7. These include: a list of Ambassadors to the United States from the countries of Central America, the Caribbean, the remaining countries of the Hemisphere and OECD members, as well as the Central American Ambassadors to the OAS and the OAS leadership (Tab 4); representatives of the State Department (Tab 5); other U.S. Government agencies (Tab 6);

and a proposed list of private sector invitees (Tab 7). The latter list was coordinated with Caribbean/Central America Action and includes the C/CAA Board and the Americas Society Board.

We will be prepared to provide a background briefing for the press when it is desired. Fact sheets and related explanatory material will be available for that purpose. A recommended list of additional Members of Congress and staff to invite to the East Room ceremonies is being forwarded separately.



Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

- Tab 1 - Recommended Congressional Invitees for Cabinet Room Meeting at 11:00 a.m.
- Tab 2 - Talking Points for Cabinet Room Meeting
- Tab 3 - President's Draft Statement for East Room Ceremony
- Tab 4 - Guest List - East Room Ceremony: Diplomatic Corps
- Tab 5 - Guest List - East Room Ceremony: State Department
- Tab 6 - Guest List - East Room Ceremony: Other U.S. Agencies
- Tab 7 - Guest List - East Room Ceremony: Private Sector
- Tab 8 - Guest List - East Room Ceremony: Additional Members of Congress and staff (List to be forwarded separately)

Drafted: ARA/JMichel:H/GDeSantillan:osd
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Recommended Congressional Invitees

Congressional Leadership

House

- Speaker O'Neill
* Majority Leader Wright
Minority Leader Michel
Minority Whip Lott
House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Fascell
* House Foreign Affairs Committee Ranking Minority
Leader Broomfield
House Armed Services Committee Chairman Price
House Armed Services Committee Ranking Minority
Leader Dickinson
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
Chairman Boland
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
Ranking Minority Leader Robinson
House Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Foreign
Operations Chairman Long
* House Appropriations Committee Ranking Minority
Leader Kemp

Senate

- Majority Leader Baker
Minority Leader Byrd
Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Percy
Senate Foreign Relations Committee Ranking Minority
Leader Pell
Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Tower
Senate Armed Services Committee Ranking Minority
Leader Nunn
Select Committee on Intelligence Chairman Goldwater
Select Committee on Intelligence Ranking Minority
Leader Moynihan
Senate Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Foreign
Operations Chairman Kasten
* Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations
Ranking Minority Leader Inouye

- * Also served as Senior Congressional Counsellors, National
Bipartisan Commission on Central America (NBCCA)

Other NBCCA Senior Congressional Counsellors

Rep. Barnes

Sen. Mathias
Sen. Bentsen
Sen. Domenici

THE CENTRAL AMERICA DEMOCRACY, PEACE
AND DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE ACT

Talking Points for the President

OVERVIEW

-- The consensus reached by the Bipartisan Commission on Central America is truly remarkable. The report is worth reading just to realize how far-reaching that consensus is.

-- Its message is compelling: The crisis is serious. Our help is vitally needed. Fundamental U.S. interests -- moral and strategic -- are at stake.

-- We have a responsibility to act. As Commission member Robert Strauss wrote in the WASHINGTON POST: "I do not believe that anyone can responsibly advocate that this nation do nothing, that it can turn its back on the repression and poverty that breed totalitarianism of the left and the right."

-- The Commission recommends -- and I agree -- that a larger commitment of resources, provided with greater continuity and predictability over a number of years, is necessary to bring democracy, peace and equitable prosperity to Central America.

-- The proposed legislation for the "Central America Democracy, Peace and Development Initiative Act" is based on the Commission's analysis and embodies its recommendations.

-- As the Commission recommends, our policy is guided by the principles of democratic self-determination, economic and social development that is fair to all, respect for human rights, and cooperation in meeting threats to the security of the region.

-- Actions consist of a comprehensive and balanced mix of economic, political, diplomatic and security activities which must be implemented simultaneously. The proposals are based on the fact that Central America's problems are caused both by long-standing inequities and by Soviet, Cuban and Nicaraguan attempts to take advantage of grievances for their own ends.

-- The Commission's report -- and this legislation -- follow the spirit of Scoop Jackson: His twin devotion to higher living standards and a stronger national defense. And also his commitment to non-partisanship when the national interest was involved. That is the spirit I hope to see during the consideration of the Jackson Plan.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE LEGISLATION

Economic Assistance

-- Commission recommended \$400 million in supplementary economic assistance in FY 1984.

-- Our request is for \$400 million.

-- During last several years, per capita GDP has fallen by 35% in El Salvador, 23% in Costa Rica, 14% in Guatemala, and 12% in Honduras.

-- Commission recommended \$8 billion economic aid for next five years, FY 1985-89.

-- Our implementation plan calls for ~~13.5~~^{5.9} billion in appropriated funds and \$2 billion in insurance and guarantees.

-- For FY 1985, our request is \$1,120.0 million in appropriated funds and \$600 million in insurance and guarantees.

-- Major beneficiaries of direct, bilateral aid in FY 1985 will be El Salvador (~~\$315~~^{\$341} m.), Costa Rica (~~\$218.208~~^{\$218.208} m.), Honduras (\$139 m.), and Guatemala (~~\$104~~^{\$104} m.).

-- Commission recommended a comprehensive approach to promote democratization, economic growth, human development and security. The Administration's plan for the first year (FY 1985) of a five year initiative includes the following:

-- ~~\$540~~^{\$540} million to finance critical imports by the private sector. ~~\$185~~

-- A ~~\$115~~ million program in labor intensive infrastructure and housing projects.

~~\$113~~ -- ~~\$100~~ million for education (including literacy and teacher corps), training and scholarships.

~~\$210~~ -- ~~\$170~~ million for development of agriculture.

-- Special funding for the National Endowment for Democracy, earmarked for Central America, as well as other assistance to democratic institutions.

Military Assistance

-- Without enhanced security, economic assistance and diplomatic efforts would be undermined.

-- The Commission specifically recommends significantly increased levels of military aid to El Salvador and warns against providing "too little to wage the war successfully."

-- Proposed assistance:

-- For El Salvador: \$178.7 million in FY 1984 supplemental assistance and \$132.5 million for FY 1985. Added to the \$64.8 million made available by the FY 1984 Continuing Resolution, the total FY 1984-85 program for El Salvador would be \$376 million.

-- For the rest of Central America, we propose \$80.35 million in FY 84 supplemental military assistance and \$123.4 million for FY 1985. Honduras will be the major recipient.

Conditionality of Military Assistance to El Salvador

-- The Commission recommends that military aid to El Salvador should be made "contingent", through legislation requiring periodic reports, upon demonstrated progress in reaching certain objectives such as free elections and reduction of death squad activities.

-- There is agreement within the Executive, the Congress and the Commission that human rights progress is essential in El Salvador to ensure a successful outcome of the war and the protection of U.S. interests, and that U.S. assistance be conditioned on this progress as well as other priority objectives.

-- The proposed legislation, therefore, requires semi-annual reports to Congress which assess the policies which the GOES adopts for achieving political and economic development and conditions of security. The legislation calls upon the President to ensure that military assistance fosters progress toward reaching our overall objectives, including human rights, and toward this end directs him to impose conditions on military assistance in every appropriate instance.

Central American Development Organization (CADO)

-- In line with the Commission's recommendations, the legislation provides guidance for cooperation with the Central American countries and other donors in establishing CADO.

-- The legislation would require that the President take CADO's recommendations into account in determining the nature and levels of all bilateral economic assistance to countries in the region, although it does not direct that CADO have control over specific funds.

SUGGESTED PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON NBCCA LEGISLATION
THE WHITE HOUSE, FEBRUARY 3, 1984

This is an election year. A time for the party politics that help keep our democracy strong. But I am here today for a very different reason: to present legislation based on a remarkable bipartisan consensus -- and which I am asking the Congress to examine in the same spirit.

It is appropriate that the "Central America Democracy, Peace and Development Initiative" be called the "Henry Jackson Plan." Not just because Senator Jackson proposed the idea of the Bipartisan Commission on Central America, or because he served until his death as one of its Senior Counselors. But because he stood for something very special in American politics. Scoop Jackson stood for national security and human betterment, because he knew that one without the other is meaningless.

Henry Jackson also understood that there is no such thing as a "quick-fix" for Central America. This legislation is not a recipe for a fast, cheap solution. The Commission Report makes it clear that only a substantial commitment of resources, provided predictably over a number of years, can do what has to be done: enable the countries in this neighboring region to improve their peoples' lives, strengthen their democracies so that they can form their own

futures, and -- at the same time -- defend themselves against forces which reject democracy and exploit legitimate grievances for their own strategic ends.

I urge the Congress to study the Commission Report. To give the Jackson Plan its urgent attention. And to act favorably on this comprehensive and balanced program.

Because the crisis is acute. Our neighbors in Central America urgently need the help of the only country capable of making the difference.

Because we have a responsibility. U.S. moral and strategic interests are both engaged -- in an area in which we have historically been involved. Doing nothing, or doing too little, are not choices worthy of the United States.

Because it is based on sound analysis. The policy is rooted in the consensus judgment that the area's problems have both indigenous and extra-regional causes.

Because the goals are realistic. The region's most enlightened forces strongly believe that we and they can work together successfully to strengthen the moderate, democratic center in Central America. These same people are convinced that our active participation will serve both to

defeat communism and to bolster respect for human freedom in this critical part of our hemisphere.

Because the approach is right. There is broad agreement that effective action must include a mix of developmental, political, diplomatic and security elements simultaneously, equitably and humanely pursued: Economies must be protected as well as developed. Governments must be worth defending. There is no such thing as a wholly "political" or wholly "military" solution to Central America's problems.

And because the alternative to this plan is continued destabilization, human suffering and an uncertain future which would require more costly actions.

What I am proposing to the Congress is not an impossible dream. It is much like the American dream, but in a troubled setting. We have the resources to do it. The people in Central America want us to do it. Our enemies -- extremists of the left and the right -- would be delighted if we did not. And it will cost more if we don't do it now.

I ask that you join with me and with our friends in Central America to take action in our common interest.

Thank you.

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