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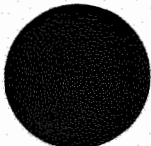
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT 

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Drop By
Briefing on Contra Aid

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft remarks. I believe the Churchill quotation in the first paragraph on page six is inaccurate. My understanding is that what Churchill said was "Give us the tools, and we will finish the job." Further, he did not say it in the 1930's, but in a February 9, 1941, radio broadcast. Finally, the analogy strikes me as the wrong one to draw, since England did not "finish the job" on its own, as I gather we hope the contras will.

In the second paragraph on page six, "I need real telegrams and phone calls and letters" should be deleted. The requirements of the anti-lobbying legislation and appropriations riders are imprecise, but an explicit call for "telegrams and phone calls and letters" may go too far, even in Presidential remarks.

cc: David L. Chew

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING
Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1

Name of Correspondent: David Chew

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Remarks: Dropby Briefing on Contra Aid

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	Tracking Date	Type of Response	Completion Date
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	YY/MM/DD	Code	YY/MM/DD
<u>CUHOLL</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>8610311</u>		<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:			
<u>CUAT 18</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>8610311</u>		<u>86103112</u>
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	Referral Note:			

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
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to be used as Enclosure
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FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/11/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. 3/12/86

SUBJECT: REMARKS: DROPBY BRIEFING ON CONTRA AID

(3/11/86 11:30 a.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	POINDEXTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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CHAVEZ	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please give your comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott, with an info copy to my office by 10:00 a.m. tomorrow. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

(Noonan/BE)
March 11, 1986
11:30 a.m.

Received SS
1005 MAR 11 PM 12:35

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPHY BRIEFING ON CONTRA AID
FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1986**

Thank you very much.

Welcome to all of you -- Republicans, Democrats, and Independents. This is a bipartisan group and that's good because I want to discuss a question that needs a bipartisan solution.

One of the reasons we've asked you here is that we know you're influential back home. You're community leaders and your word and views are respected. We're hoping to win your support on the question of Central America, because we know that will help us win the support of Congress.

I know you came in here knowing a lot about what's going on in Nicaragua, and our previous speakers here have never been known for being shy about presenting the facts. What I want to do is simply address some of the questions people have about the freedom fighters, the so-called Contras. A lot of people who support the Contras never call them Contras, by the way, because "Contra" is short for counter-revolutionary -- and "counter-revolutionary" used to mean pro-Somoza. It was a Sandinista insult. But the way I see it, Somoza's been gone a long time, the revolution that toppled him has long since been revealed as a Communist coup, and the Contra's are against it. So I guess they're counter-revolutionary and God bless 'em and I guess that makes 'em Contras and that makes me a Contra too. I bet you're glad I cleared all that up for you.

They're fighting for freedom. And all of this has to do with my first point. I'll call it Slander Number One: The charge that the Contras are former members of Somoza's National Guard who are fighting to restore a dictatorship. Well, the truth is all three leaders of the Contras -- Adolfo Calero, Alfonso Robelo, and Arturo Cruz -- fought Somoza. Calero and Cruz were jailed by him. These men aren't fighting the Sandinistas because they're Somocistas -- they're fighting the Sandinistas because they're patriots. They're fighting for the only truly revolutionary idea of the latter part of the 20th century: democracy.

As for the Contra troops -- well, the average age of the freedom fighters is about 20. So a lot of these soldiers were 12 when Somoza fell. And they're supposed to have been his troops!

Slander Number Two: The U.S. is only picking on the Sandinistas because...well, because we're cultural Imperialists, and who are we anyway to judge their form of government? You mostly hear this sort of thing from the Blame America Firsters.

Now it happens to be famously true that our feelings toward democracy are much like Churchill's when he pointed out that "Democracy is the most imperfect form of government except for all the others."

But we are not supporting democracy for -- well, shall I call it 'merely idealistic' reasons. We are trying to build and strengthen democracy in Central America because democracy brings peace and communism brings war. So you see we're motivated by some very practical considerations.

Democracies bring peace because democratic governments serve at the will of the people -- and it's very hard to convince people, mothers and fathers, to send their sons off to war. Communist governments, on the other hand, exert almost total control over the people of their society -- from the state-run media that gives them nothing but propaganda to the secret police that drag their sons away in the night. It's not hard for them to wage war. And their whole reason for being is to make war -- to spread the revolution, to strike, ultimately, at the very heart of the West.

That's what the Sandinistas mean to do. They're players in a drama whose aim is to spread communism throughout this Hemisphere. They can't do it peacefully because almost nobody wants the product they're pushing, so they have to do it violently. Overt, covert, guerilla warfare, terrorist campaigns, disinformation -- they'll do what they have to. But they're not operating independently -- they're just part of the New Mob, part of the 20th century's answer to Murder Incorporated.

Slander Number Three: The Contras will never stop the Sandinistas.

Well -- talk about your self-fulfilling prophecies! Yes, if we give the Contras no help, if we send them out there to fight with carbines that last saw action in the Korean War, if we give them nothing but a pat on the back and a roll of bandages -- then, sure, they'll lose. And the people who refused to help them will sit back and say: See? We always said they were losers!

The truth is there are about 20,000 freedom fighters who are desperately waiting for everything from shoes to ammunition -- and when they get them they'll move and when they move they'll win.

I think we should ask ourselves one question: Why is it the Communists have had to engage in the forcible relocation of almost 10 percent of the Nicaraguan population? This has included the burning of peasants' homes, the destruction of farms, the placing of the Miskito Indians in concentration camps. Why have they done this? To prevent the general population from giving aid and assistance to the freedom fighters. The Contras are popular with the people -- because the people, like the revolution they once supported, have been betrayed by the Sandinistas. This is not well known but the Sandinistas themselves have admitted that in the first 5 months of 1985 alone they forcibly relocated 180,000 peasants. That's tearing people off their farms and out of their houses for the sin of either supporting the Contras or showing signs of being sympathetic to them.

I think this tells us a lot, that the Sandinistas are afraid of their own people.

Slander Number Four -- the U.S. never gave the Sandinistas a chance, and that's why they turned out so bad.

There's some truth in this -- we didn't give them a chance, we gave them about a million chances. I won't repeat the whole sad history here, but I do want to address the issue of talking to the Sandinistas at the peace table. We've tried to do it --

we've encouraged the Contadora process -- we've tried to resolve this question through negotiations. The Sandinistas have not been interested in talking seriously and sincerely. All of a sudden now their apologists come out and say, oh it's time to give new talks a chance. Well that sounds just fine and peaceful and non-harmful. But what the Sandinistas' apologists don't seem to know is that if we delay aid for a few months while we're talking, the Sandinistas will take that time and use it to finish off the Contras. That's the Communists' strategy -- to kill them off. And when the execution is complete, they'll end the talks.

I ask you one question: Did you ever, ever in your reading of history hear of a Communist regime that negotiated itself into a democracy? I'm sorry but this is like a skunk negotiating itself into a rose, it doesn't happen a lot. If just one of you can cite an example of a Communist regime that negotiated itself out of existence I will eat my hat. And I do not say that lightly, chapeau is not my favorite flavor.

Nothing is as urgent as the question of Nicaragua. There is no question that has faced this Administration -- there is no question, I think, that has faced our times -- that is more crucial to our future than what happens in Central America.

And this is the time to help. You've heard the saying, "Timing is everything." In this case it's true. If we help now, we can literally turn the situation around and change the future. If we fail now, I think we guarantee untold problems for the people of Central America and for our own children.

When I was a young man back in the 1930's a war was simmering in Europe. And England was imperiled, and its great leader looked across the sea for hope. Churchill said, "Give us the tools and we'll do the job." And we gave them the tools -- and they did it.

Today Adolfo Calero, Alfonso Robelo, and Arturo Cruz look to us for hope -- and we must help them. History will know what we did; and it will know what we didn't do; and history will judge. I have made my position clear. I need your help as much as the Contras need our help. They need real guns -- I need real telegrams and phone calls and letters. I need for the Congress to know that you want to help the freedom fighters. If they know you care, we will win. If they know you don't care then we've lost.

It's that simple. It's up to you. Please help. Thank you. God bless you.

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

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Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

Name of Correspondent: David Chew

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Presidential address: Nicaragua

ROUTE TO:		ACTION	DISPOSITION			
Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/12/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NICARAGUA (3/12 - 4:00 p.m.)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	POINDEXTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MILLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ELLIOTT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

RECEIVED 3/12/86

(Dolan/PMR)
March 12, 1986
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NICARAGUA
SUNDAY, MARCH 16, 1986

Tonight I want to ask your help on a grave matter, one that concerns my most solemn duty as President: the national security of the United States, the safety of the American people, the right of your children to live in a land secure from foreign attack and subversion.

As President, I must tell you that at this moment the Soviet Union is establishing a subversive base camp on the mainland of North America. With the help of Soviet allies like Castro of Cuba and Col. Qadhafi of Libya, the small Central American nation of Nicaragua -- whose borders (show map) are only two days driving time from our own -- is being transformed into a beachhead of aggression against the United States.

The United States Congress has before it legislation that can help stop this threat in time. The legislation is an aid package of a hundred million dollars for the more than 20,000 freedom fighters struggling to bring democracy to Nicaragua and cut off communist intervention in Central America at its source. I am asking your help tonight in getting Congress to vote 'yes' on this legislation, asking your help so that we may act now, while this problem can still be dealt with by a modest assistance package for the freedom fighters -- and not the expenditure of billions of dollars and the lives of thousands of American boys, who may have to fight if we do not act now. Act to restore freedom and peace to Central America; act to protect our southern borders.

Let me assure you, there are not only grounds for hope but outright optimism that the real danger we face in Central America can be turned around. Because, you see, what we are observing now in Nicaragua is really the final act in a drama that has been unfolding for some time, a drama in which, at first, everything was going against the forces of freedom and human rights. But now that tide has turned and turned dramatically in the other direction. More on this in a few moments.

First, however, we need to be clear about Soviet intentions and those of their allies, the communist dictators of Nicaragua called Sandinistas. The Soviets and the Sandinistas do not just intend to build a totalitarian dictatorship in Nicaragua -- they seek to destabilize all of Central and South America and ultimately the United States itself. This State Department map, for example, shows where communist arms provided by or channeled through Nicaragua have recently been found. As you can see, with only three exceptions, every nation in South America is included. And it's to this end that the Soviets have supplied the Sandinistas with more than \$500 million in weapons -- and with soldiers and so-called advisors who are Cuban, Bulgarian, East German, North Korean, Libyan...and Soviet. Most recently, the Soviets have supplied the Sandinistas with a highly sophisticated helicopter gunship (the same one, by the way, that the Red Army is using to crush freedom half a world away in Afghanistan). These gunships now in the skies over Nicaragua are being piloted not by Central Americans, but by Cubans, East Germans, and Soviets.

And if maps, statistics and facts like these aren't convincing enough, we have the words of the Sandinistas and the Soviets themselves. One of the highest-level Sandinista leaders was recently asked by an American magazine whether their communist revolution will -- and I quote -- "be exported to El Salvador, then Guatemala, then Honduras, then Mexico?" He responded, "That is one historical prophecy of Ronald Reagan's that is absolutely true."

The Soviets themselves have been no less candid. A few years ago, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko noted that Central America was, quote, "boiling over and ripe for revolution." But this is nothing compared to the remarks of Soviet General Ogarkov, then the head of the Soviet Red Army. In remarks to the leaders of Grenada, when Grenada was still in communist hands, General Ogarkov talked of Cuba and Grenada, and how the war the Nicaraguans were waging against El Salvador was part of an overall plan of Soviet conquest.

"Two decades ago, there was only Cuba in Latin America," General Ogarkov told the Grenadian leaders, "today there are Nicaragua, Grenada and a serious battle is going on in El Salvador."

So, we are clear on the intentions of the Sandinistas; let us be equally clear about the nature of their regime itself -- its utter ruthlessness, its nightmarish brutality, its penchant for insane violence. To begin with, the Sandinistas have revoked the civil liberties of the Nicaraguan people, depriving them completely of any legal right to speak, to publish, to assemble or to worship. Independent newspapers have been shut down --

today only one survives, under heavy censorship and constant threat. There is no longer any independent labor movement in Nicaragua nor any right to strike. An attempt not long ago by the dockworkers of Corinto to hold an independent union meeting was broken up and its leaders beaten. As AFL-CIO leader Lane Kirkland has said, "Nicaragua's headlong rush into the totalitarian camp cannot be denied by any who has eyes to see."

Like totalitarian governments everywhere, the Sandinistas have launched assaults against every independent ethnic, religious or fraternal group. Jewish synagogues have been desecrated and firebombed -- indeed, the entire Nicaraguan Jewish community has been forced to flee the country. Protestant Bible meetings have been broken up by raids, by mob violence, by machine guns. The Catholic Church has been singled out -- priests and nuns have been expelled from the country, Catholics beaten in the streets after attending mass, the Catholic press and a Catholic radio station shut down. The Catholic primate of Nicaragua, Miguel Cardinal Obando, has put the matter forthrightly. "I want to state clearly that this government is totalitarian...We are dealing with an enemy of the church."

Then there is the genocidal war the Sandinistas have waged against another ethnic group they distrust; I speak here of the tragedy of the Miskito Indians. At least 20,000 of these helpless people have been forcibly resettled, three to four thousand are missing and many have been tortured and killed. I have seen some of the affidavits about the atrocities committed by the Sandinistas against these poor Indians; they are stomach turning accounts of brutality and inhumanity.

Against Nicaraguans of all kinds, there are many verified accounts of Sandinista atrocities, atrocities that make up a pattern of conduct that is condoned, even encouraged by the Sandinista government. Nicolas Perez, for example, was a taxi driver who dared to boo a Sandinista leader at a union meeting. After the meeting, he was detained by security forces and a few days later his family heard on television he had been shot while trying to escape. In fact, when the Perez family got Nicolas's body back, it showed he had not been shot at all -- just tortured to death, with deep cuts in his back and neck and burns on his face.

In a town called Kininahaus, a little girl called Maritz Herrera attended a prayer meeting which Sandinista troops ordered disbanded -- then attacked by machine guns and grenades. Maritza was shot twice. She survived -- but her brother and six others who, like her, had committed the crime of praying, were not so lucky.

Ten-year-old Martha Murillo saw the Sandinistas attack her village, killing her brothers and sisters and mother -- then they shot little Martha in the leg. After this raid, Martha and her uncle buried the dead and left for the border. As they were crossing the river, the Sandinistas attacked again, cutting off her uncle's head and throwing his body into the water. Then they stabbed Martha with a bayonet and left her for dead.

Pastor Baltodano gave a Sandinista patrol his name as a routine matter. Then he found out he was on their hit list. "You don't know what we do to pastors -- we are communists and don't believe in God," they told him. Pastor Baltodano was tied

to a tree, struck in the forehead with a rifle butt, stabbed in the neck with a bayonet -- finally his ears were cut off, and he too was left for dead. "See if your God will save you," the Sandinistas said to him. Well, God did have other plans for Pastor Baltodano and for little Martha Murillo. Both lived to tell the world their stories -- to tell them, among other places, right here in the White House.

I could go on about the nightmare of totalitarian rule in Nicaragua -- the black lists, the mob violence, the press gangs forcing young Nicaraguans into the army -- young Nicaraguans who don't want to be forced by their communist government to fight the freedom fighters we are trying to help.

Yet, as if all this brutality at home and intervention in the rest of Central America is not enough, the Sandinista dictators are also transforming their nation into a safe house, a haven, a control post for international terrorists.

The Sandinistas now not only sponsor terror in El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Honduras -- terror that led last summer to the murder of four U.S. Marines in a cafe in San Saluado -- they provide an American sanctuary for international terrorists. Prime Minister Craxi of Italy has charged Nicaragua with harboring some of Italy's worst terrorists, the Red Brigades. Other elements of the world's most vicious terrorist groups -- West Germany's Baader-Meinhoff Gang; the Basque E.T.A.; the P.L.O.; the Tupamaros; and the I.R.A. -- have found in Nicaragua a safe haven.

Still worse, the Sandinistas have involved themselves in the international drug trade. The chief investigator for the Human

Rights Commission of Nicaragua had to flee the country after discovering that the Sandinista dictators, including Tomas Borge, the Interior Minister, were deeply involved in the drug trade. I know every American parent concerned about the drug problem will be outraged to learn that U.S. undercover agents with the Drug Enforcement Agency found themselves landing in Nicaragua -- their aircraft was then loaded with millions of dollars in illegal drugs by Sandinista soldiers under the direction of the top assistant to Borge. The man's name is Federico Vaughn and this picture (show picture), secretly taken, shows him loading the aircraft with the illegal drugs.

No, there is no wrongdoing to which the Sandinistas will not stoop -- this is an outlaw regime, a criminal regime, a regime evil to its core.

If we return for a moment to our map, it becomes clear why having this regime in the Central American region poses a peril to our own vital security interests.

As you can see, many of the countries in Central America are closer to Washington than parts of Texas or California. Through this vital area in the Western hemisphere comes half our Nation's exports and imports, two-thirds of our shipping trade, three-quarters of our oil imports and as much as 90 percent of some strategic minerals vital to our Nation's defense.

As the London Times once noted, Central America is the strategic rear of our alliance with the European democracies; a fact always understood by our foreign enemies. In the first six months of World War II, for example, when Hitler sent only a handful of submarines into this area, the U-boats sank more

shipping than the entire German fleet in the North Atlantic. Today this area is even more crucial to our security and the Soviet Union already has there what other foes of Western democracy never had -- a base of operations. Today, in Cuba, there is a large submarine base used by Soviet nuclear submarines, several major airfields used by Cuban and Soviet nuclear-capable aircraft as well as some 14,000 Soviet military advisors and even a 2,800 man combat brigade of the Soviet Red Army.

Cuba's efforts to export revolution into Latin America were largely thwarted until the late 70's -- when it began to work hard to install communist governments in Grenada and Jamaica. Both these efforts ultimately failed, but we now know that the main focus of Soviet-Cuban efforts was in Nicaragua all along -- and these efforts succeeded. To put it briefly: In 1979, the people of Nicaragua overthrew a corrupt military dictatorship and the Sandinistas took over. At first the Sandinistas promised free elections and respect for human rights.

We now know those Sandinista promises were sheer deceit.

In 1979, two months after the revolution, the Nicaraguan leadership met in secret to outline their principles and objectives. In what came to be known as the "72-hour document," the communists described themselves as the "vanguard" of a revolution that would sweep "Central America, Latin America," and finally the "world." Their main enemy, they declared: the United States.

But they didn't make this document public. They followed the advice of Fidel Castro, who told them to put on a facade of

democracy. While Castro considered the democratic elements, in his words, "bourgeois garbage," he told his Nicaraguan friends: keep them in your coalition -- in minor posts -- as window dressing to deceive the West. "That way," Castro said, "the Americans will pay for it and you can have your revolution."

And we did pay for it. More American aid flowed to Nicaragua in the previous 30 than in the 2 years under the Sandinistas. Only when the mask fell, and the face of communist totalitarianism became visible to the world, did the aid stop. ✓

Faced with this communist threat, I went to the Congress early in our Administration and over strong opposition managed to get commitments to help the nations surrounding Nicaragua fight off the danger posed them by the Sandinistas. Some of you may remember the incredibly inspiring scene we saw a few years back when the people of El Salvador braved the threats and gunfire of communist guerrillas -- guerrillas controlled, supplied and trained from Nicaragua -- and marched to the polls to vote decisively for democracy. For the communists it was a humiliating defeat.

There was another factor in Central America the communists never counted on, a factor that now promises to give true freedom another chance. That factor is the contras, the freedom fighters of Nicaragua.

You see, when the Sandinistas betrayed the democratic ideals of the Nicaraguan revolution, many who had fought against the old dictatorship quite literally took to the hills of their country and, like the French Resistance that fought the Nazis in World War II, these pro-democratic Nicaraguans have been fighting the

Soviet Bloc communists and their Sandinista collaborators ever since.

In many ways this has been the worst setback of all for communist hopes in Central America. By forcing the Sandinista dictators to deal with a democratic insurgency in their own front yard, the resistance has pinned down thousands of Sandinista troops and countless military assets -- resources that would otherwise be devoted to acts of terror and economic disruption in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica.

With their blood and their courage, the freedom fighters of Nicaragua have bought the people of other Central America nations precious time. So too, we Americans owe the freedom fighters in Nicaragua a debt of gratitude, for in helping to thwart the aggressive designs of the Sandinistas and their Soviet-bloc operatives, the resistance has contributed directly to the safety of the United States and the American people.

Since its inception in 1982, the Nicaraguan resistance has grown in strength. Today it numbers some 20,000 -- about four times the size of the Sandinista forces when they took power. Unfortunately, 2 years ago some Members of Congress succeeded in preventing us from helping the resistance with what it needs most -- arms and ammunition. Now the freedom fighters' supplies are running short, and the resistance can no longer arm and train the thousands of volunteers who seek to join their forces.

Three decades ago, freedom fighters in another nation sought our help. And as Soviet tanks clattered through the streets of Budapest, Hungary, and brave men died, here were the words of those freedom fighters' last desperate radio message: "Civilized

people of the world, in the name of liberty and solidarity, we are asking you to help. Our ship is sinking. The light vanishes. The shadows grow darker from hour to hour. Listen to our cry....extend to us brotherly hands. People of the world, save us." We could not answer that plea. But today in Nicaragua, no such obstacles confront us; we can extend brotherly hands to keep the freedom fighters' light from going out.

We must not, we cannot, desert them.

Now I know many of you may actually be puzzled about why, with so much right on their side, there should be any hesitation about providing the freedom fighters with help. Well, let me assure you, those opposed to this aid do not intentionally seek the end result of their advice: communist victories in Nicaragua and throughout Central America. These people are not soft on communism; they are blind to the danger of communism, to the danger it poses, especially in Central America.

The record bears this out. In recent years, many of these honest but mistaken voices opposed our successful efforts to strengthen democracy in El Salvador. In Grenada, even before the facts were in, they took to the airwaves to denounce our rescue of American medical students and the liberation of that nation. A few years back these voices were assuring us that communist victories in Vietnam and Cambodia would not result in a bloodbath. The hundreds of thousands of boat people fleeing communist Vietnam and the millions murdered in Cambodia demonstrated again how wrong these critics are about the communists.

This vote coming up in Congress is a chance to put all this naivete about communism behind us, to reject what has been called the post-Vietnam syndrome and start taking seriously communist attempts to dominate other countries and threaten our own national security. And that is why I believe this cause needs the support of every American -- Republican, Democrat and Independent. For many years on Capitol Hill, there was a bipartisan consensus, united in standing up for freedom and opposing communist expansionism. That bipartisan coalition has been regaining strength during the past few years but, believe me, on this vote it faces its severest, most important test.

It is my duty as President to tell you: unless you and I together can persuade some in the Congress to stop temporizing over this threat -- we will shortly be facing perhaps the most serious national security crisis since Pearl Harbor. Have no illusions: the communists seek to use Nicaragua to set Central America ablaze, establish a Warsaw Pact military presence on our own, unguarded Southern borders and send millions of refugees streaming across our borders and flooding our southern cities and States.

You know, recently one of our most distinguished Americans, Clare Boothe Luce, had this to say about the coming vote.

"In considering this crisis," Mrs. Luce said, "my mind goes back to a similar moment in our history -- back to the first years after Cuba had fallen to Fidel. One day during those years, I had lunch at the White House with a man I had known since he was a boy -- John F. Kennedy. 'Mr. President,' I said, 'no matter how exalted or great a man may be, history will give

him no more than one sentence. George Washington -- he founded our country. Abraham Lincoln -- he freed the slaves. Winston Churchill -- he saved Europe.'

'And what, Clare,' John Kennedy said, 'do you believe my sentence will be?'

'Mr. President,' she answered, 'your sentence will be that you stopped the communists -- or that you did not.'"

John Kennedy, Mrs. Luce said, never had the chance to decide that sentence. Now, it is the leaders of our own time who must do so. My fellow Americans, I have only 3 years left in which to serve my country. I will not leave my successor -- I will not leave our children -- to face the grave dangers that with a minimum of foresight and courage could have been averted. You know where I stand. The Soviets and the Sandinistas will not be permitted to crush freedom in Central America and threaten our own borders. Not while this President serves. Not on my watch. But what of the 99th Congress? As Mrs. Luce ended by saying, "Only this is certain. Through all time to come, this, the 99th Congress of the United States, will be remembered as that body of men and women that either stopped the communists before it was too late -- or did not."

So, my fellow Americans, there can be no mistake about this vote: It is up or down for Central America. It is win or lose for freedom. It is yes or no to America's national security.

So tonight I ask you to do what you have done so often in the past and respond to my call for help. Get in touch with your Congressmen and Senators and tell them to vote yes; tell them to

help the freedom fighters, now, while the crisis can still be prevented.

In doing so, you will not just be helping them, you will be helping yourselves, your children, and all the peoples of the world. You will be demonstrating that America is still a beacon of hope, still a light unto the nations. Yes, a great opportunity awaits you and me, an opportunity to show that hope still burns bright in this land and over our continent, casting a glow across the centuries, still guiding millions -- to a future of peace and freedom.

Thank you, and God bless you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR PATRICK J. BUCHANAN
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Aid to the Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft address. As pointed out in my memorandum of March 13 for Ben Elliott on a prior draft, the Department of Justice cannot substantiate a direct link between Tomas Borge and drug trafficking. Care should therefore be taken to ensure adequate substantiation from a source other than the Department of Justice for the second sentence in the last paragraph on page 6.

With respect to the third sentence in the same paragraph, Justice advises that it is inaccurate to refer to "U.S. undercover agents." The individual involved -- only one -- should be described as a confidential informant working with the DEA.

cc: David L. Chew

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Nicaragua

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft address. The Department of Justice advises that it cannot substantiate a direct link between Tomas Borge and drug trafficking. The Department also recommends that any statements about such trafficking and the Nicaraguan government refer to involvement in trafficking by some government officials, rather than by the government itself. Thus, unless there is a valid source for the carryover sentence between pages 6 and 7 other than the Department of Justice, "the Sandinista dictators, including Tomas Borge, the Interior Minister," should be deleted and "some Sandinista officials" or something similar inserted in its place.

With respect to the first full sentence on page 7, the pertinent information was developed not by "U.S. undercover agents" but by a confidential informant working with the DEA. I would change "U.S. undercover agents" to "a confidential informant working," change "themselves" in the next line to "himself" and "their" to "the." If the reference to Borge earlier in the paragraph is deleted, "to Borge" at the end of this sentence should be changed to "to Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomas Borge."

Justice advises that the plane in question actually landed at a Nicaraguan military air base. Mentioning this would strengthen the point of the paragraph. In line 5 on page 7, I would substitute "at a Nicaraguan military air base" for "in Nicaragua."

Justice has advised that it has no objection to the last sentence of the paragraph, or to showing the photograph of Vaughn.

cc: David L. Chew

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR KATHY RATTE JAFFKE
DIRECTOR
CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

FROM: RICHARD A. HAUSER *Original signed by RAH*
DEPUTY COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Alleged Cocaine Trafficking by
FDN and ARDE Individuals

You have asked for our views on who should sign the draft response on the above-referenced subject provided by the Department of Justice. It is my view that since the response concerns pending investigations at DEA, Justice should send it directly.

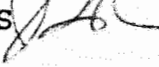
RAH/JGR:jmk
cc: RAHauser
✓JGRoberts
subject
chron.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD A. HAUSER

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 

SUBJECT: Alleged Cocaine Trafficking by
FDN and ARDE Individuals

I have been asked to prepare a response for your signature to an inquiry from Legislative Affairs concerning a Department of Justice response to a letter from Congressman Sam Gejdenson to the President. Gejdenson's letter concerned allegations that the Contras are involved in drug trafficking; the DEA response notes that there are no active investigations involving the Contras but there have been "several unsubstantiated allegations." Legislative Affairs wants to know who should send the response.

It seems clear to me that a direct response from Justice is preferable, since the whole substance of the reply concerns DEA investigations.

ID # 365658 CU

WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

4200601

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

Name of Correspondent: Kathy Ratté Gusske JR

MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: alleged cocaine trafficking by FDN and ARDE individuals

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CULTOOL</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>8610310</u> IR			<u>1 1</u>
<u>cust 18</u>	Referral Note:	<u>for RAH signature</u>			
		<u>8610311</u> IR		<u>S</u>	<u>8610321</u> IR
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comment/Recommendation
- D - Draft Response
- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure

- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments:

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOP).
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

365658 cu

March 7, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DIANNA HOLLAND

FROM:

KATHY RATTE JAFFKE *KRJ*

SUBJECT:

Alleged Cocaine Trafficking
by FDN and ARDE Individuals

The Department of Justice has provided us with the attached draft; however, I do not think this response should come from Legislative Affairs.

I am requesting guidance from the Counsel's Office as to whether your office would provide the follow-up or Justice should be asked to respond.

Thank you for your assistance.

cc: Records Management - FYI



U.S. Department of Justice
Office of the Deputy Attorney General
Executive Secretariat

3/5/86

Sally,
attached is a proposed
draft as requested.

Thanks
Wes



U.S. Department of Justice

Drug Enforcement Administration

Honorable Sam Gejdenson
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Gejdenson:

I am replying to your inquiry regarding alleged cocaine trafficking by members of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (ARDE) as reported in The Washington Post on December 27, 1985.

I have caused a review of Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) files to determine whether there are any active drug investigations involving members of the above groups. The specific names mentioned in the newspaper article, as well as the names of other individuals and groups known to be associated with the Contras, were checked in DEA files.

This review disclosed that there are no active investigations involving the Contras. There are several unsubstantiated allegations concerning involvement in drug trafficking by members of the Contras movement.

Honorable Sam Gejdenson

Please be assured that the Drug Enforcement Administration has placed the highest priority upon investigating any such allegations.

Thank you for your interest in this matter.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

M. B. Oglesby, Jr.
Assistant to the President

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

JANUARY 27, 1986

TO: DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ACTION REQUESTED:
APPROPRIATE ACTION

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 365658

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JANUARY 8, 1986

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: THE HONORABLE SAM GEJDENSON
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON DC 20515

SUBJECT: REQUESTS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION INVESTIGATE
THE WASHINGTON POST REPORT OF COCAINE
TRAFFICKING BY MEMBERS OF THE NICARAGUAN
DEMOCRATIC FORCE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE.

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JANUARY 13, 1986

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE SAM GEJDENSON

SUBJECT: REQUESTS INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED DRUG
TRAFFICKING BY MEMBERS OF THE NICARAGUAN
DEMOCRATIC FORCE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION		
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C D	COMPLETED YY/MM/DD
M. B. OGLESBY		ORG	86/01/13	MO	A	86/01/21
<i>99005</i>	REFERRAL NOTE:					
	REFERRAL NOTE:	A	86/01/29		C	86/03/05 TR
LAUREL BALL	REFERRAL NOTE:	A	86/03/07 TR			
	REFERRAL NOTE:					
	REFERRAL NOTE:					
	REFERRAL NOTE:					

COMMENTS:

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1230
MAIL USER CODES: (A) (B) (C)

- *****
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| *ACTION CODES: | *DISPOSITION | *OUTGOING | * |
| * | * | *CORRESPONDENCE: | * |
| *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION | *A-ANSWERED | *TYPE RESP=INITIALS | * |
| *C-COMMENT/RECOM | *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL | * OF SIGNER | * |
| *D-DRAFT RESPONSE | *C-COMPLETED | * CODE = A | * |
| *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET | *S-SUSPENDED | *COMPLETED = DATE OF | * |
| *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC* | | * OUTGOING | * |
| *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * | | | * |
| *S-FOR-SIGNATURE * | | | * |
| *X-INTERIM REPLY * | | | * |
- *****

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

January 21, 1986

Dear Sam:

The President has asked me to thank you for your January 8 letter regarding reports of cocaine trafficking by members of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force and the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance.

Your serious concerns in this matter are appreciated, and you may be assured that your request for an investigation has been brought to the attention of the appropriate Administration officials for consideration and further response.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

M. B. Oglesby, Jr.
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Sam Gejdenson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MBO:KRJ:MDB:mdb

cc: w/copy of inc to Phillip Brady, Legis Affairs,
Dept of Justice - for DRAFT response

WH RECORDS MANAGEMENT HAS RETAINED ORIGINAL INCOMING



365658

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEES:
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
INTERIOR

January 8, 1986

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

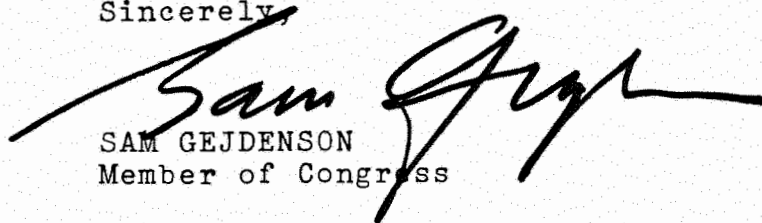
Dear Mr. President:

I am troubled by news reports of cocaine trafficking by members of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (ARDE). These news accounts indicate that such smuggling operations have included "refueling planes at clandestine airstrips and helping transport cocaine to other Costa Rican points for shipment to the United States".

In view of the seriousness of the drug problem in this country, I respectfully request that your Administration fully investigate the evidence presented in the Associated Press story (Washington Post, December 27, 1985) with the same vigor and determination that it has applied to investigations of drug trafficking by others in the region.

As I am sure you would agree, the smuggling of drugs into this country, by whatever source, is cause for considerable concern. This type of activity, for whatever gain, should not go unchecked. As such, I trust that you will marshal all the considerable resources at your disposal, including the Drug Enforcement Agency, the Treasury Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department, to investigate and put an end to any drug trafficking that the Nicaraguan resistance may be engaged in.

Sincerely,



SAM GEJDENSON
Member of Congress