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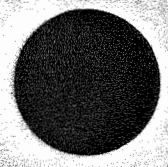
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WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET



- O - OUTGOING
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- Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 / 1 /

Name of Correspondent: Diane Chew

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

Subject: Address: Aid to the Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	DISPOSITION
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD
<u> CMT HOLL </u>	ORIGINATOR	86,03,14
	Referral Note:	1 1
<u> Cmt 18 </u>	R	86,03,14
	Referral Note:	S 86,03,14 ASAP
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- ACTION CODES:**

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

DISPOSITION CODES:

 - I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
 - R - Direct Reply w/Copy
 - S - For Signature
 - X - Interim Reply
- FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:**

 - Type of Response = Initials of Signer
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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/14/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ASAPSUBJECT: ADDRESS: AID TO THE NICARAGUAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

(3/14/86 2:30 p.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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input 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"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ELLIOTT</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Attached is the revised version of the President's speech. Please give your comments directly to Pat Buchanan, with an info copy to my office as soon as possible. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

(Buchanan/Dolan)
March 14, 1986
2:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: AID TO THE NICARAGUAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS
SUNDAY, MARCH 16, 1986

Tonight I want to ask your help on a grave matter, that concerns my most solemn duty. 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 -- a few hundred miles north of the Panama Canal. With the help of Castro's Cuba and Col. Qadhafi's Libya, the small Central American nation of Nicaragua -- whose borders are only two days driving time from our own -- is being transformed into a beachhead of aggression against the United States.

Let me tell you starkly and directly what I fear the consequences will be -- if we permit this Communist cancer in the heart of the Americas to consolidate and fester.

Nicaragua will accelerate its present program of subversion, terror and guerrilla war against its neighbors. One after another of the tiny and fragile democracies of Central America will fall to communism. The crucial corridor between North and South America will be incorporated into the Soviet Bloc and the Warsaw Pact. The Panama Canal would be compromised. Our vital Caribbean sealanes could be brought under direct threat of Nicaraguan- and Cuban-based air-craft. Mexico would become the next target of subversion. And desperate peoples by the millions would begin fleeing north into the cities of the southern United States.

Gathered in Nicaragua already, are not only thousands of Cuban military advisers and Soviet and East German contingents. All the odious elements of international terror -- from the PLO to Italy's terrorist Red Brigades -- are turning up on America's doorstep. Why are they there? Because as Colonel Qadhafi has publicly exulted: We are bringing the revolution home to the borders of the United States.

The United States must for its own security neutralize this Soviet beachhead in North America. But let me make one thing plain. I am not talking about American troops. They are not needed; they have not been requested. The democratic resistance fighting in Nicaragua is only asking America for the weapons and supplies they need to recapture their own country from Communists.

The question the Congress of the United States will answer this month is a simple one: Will we give the Nicaraguan democratic resistance the means to recapture their betrayed revolution, or will we turn our backs upon them and ignore the malignancy in Managua until it spreads and becomes a mortal threat to the entire New World.

Will we permit the Soviet Union to put a second Cuba, a second Beirut right on the doorstep of the United States?

The United States Congress has before it legislation to help stop this threat in time. The legislation is an aid package of a hundred million dollars for the 20,000 freedom fighters struggling to cut off communist intervention in Central America at its source. We are not asking for a single dime in new money.

We are asking only to be permitted to divert a part of our defense budget -- to the defense of our own southern frontiers.

Now, many of you must be asking yourselves, how can a tiny country like Nicaragua conceivably be a military threat to a great power like the United States.

A good question. And Nicaragua, by itself, poses no military threat to the United States.

Nicaragua, however, is a mortal threat to its neighbors. With a regular army and militia of 120,000 men, backed up by three thousand Cuban military advisers, Nicaragua's armed forces are the largest Central America has ever seen -- and they are growing monthly. The Nicaraguan military machine is more powerful than all its neighbors' combined; it is larger than the armed forces of Mexico, a nation five times as large and twenty times as populous.

The danger, then, is not some conventional invasion northward, but the use of subversion and terror tactics against all the vulnerable states of Central America, between Mexico and the Panama Canal. And the danger is not in the imagination; it is real.

This map represents much of the Western hemisphere. Now let me show you the countries in Central America where weapons supplied by Nicaraguan communists have been found: Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala. Farther south, Panama has seen subversives receive Nicaraguan support. In South America and the Caribbean, military training -- and sometimes arms and other forms of support -- have been provided by Nicaragua to radicals from each of the following countries: Argentina,

Colombia, Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic. Even that is not all, for there is an old communist slogan that the Sandinistas have made clear they honor: "The road to victory...goes through Mexico."

And if maps, statistics and facts aren't persuasive enough, we have the words of the Sandinistas and Soviets themselves. One of the highest-level Sandinista leaders was 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 have been no less candid. A few years ago, then Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko noted that Central America was, quote, "boiling over and ripe for revolution."

So, we are clear on the intentions of the Sandinistas. Let us be equally clear about the nature of their regime -- 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. There is no longer any independent labor movement in Nicaragua nor any right to strike. 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 and religious group. The capital's only synagogue was desecrated and

firebombed -- indeed, the entire Jewish community was forced to flee Nicaragua. 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, Cardinal Obando y Bravo, has put the matter forthrightly. "I want to state clearly that this government is totalitarian...We are dealing with an enemy of the church."

Against Nicaraguans of all kinds, there are many verified accounts of Sandinista atrocities, atrocities that make up a familiar pattern of communist conduct.

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," they taunted. Well, God did have other plans for Pastor Baltodano and

for 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 this nightmare -- the black lists, the mob violence. But, as if all this brutality at home were not enough, the Sandinistas are transforming their nation into a safe house, a control post for international terror.

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 Salvador -- they provide a Central American sanctuary for terror. 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 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 Interior Minister Tomas Borge was 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 narcotics 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 crime 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 Central America poses a peril to our own vital security interests.

As you can see, many of the countries of Central America are close to our southern borders -- Nicaragua itself is closer to Brownsville, Texas than Brownsville is to Washington. Through this crucial part of the Western hemisphere passes almost half our own foreign trade (arrow), more than half our imports of crude oil (arrow), and a significant portion of the military supplies we would have to send to the NATO alliance in the event of a crisis (arrow). These are the choke points where the lanes could be closed. (circle over the choke points).

Central America is the strategic rear of our Western alliance, 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 the Caribbean, the U-boats sank more American shipping than the entire German fleet in the North Atlantic.

How did this menace to the peace and security of our Latin neighbors -- and ultimately ourselves -- suddenly emerge. Let me give you a brief history.

In 1979, the people of Nicaragua rose up and overthrew a corrupt military dictatorship, and the so-called Sandinistas came

to power. At first the Sandinistas promised free elections and respect for human rights.

We now know those promises were sheer deceit.

In 1979, two months after the revolution, the Nicaraguan leadership met in secret, and in what came to be known as the "72-hour document," 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.

Rather than 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 own 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 first 2 years under the Sandinistas than in the previous thirty. Only when the mask fell, and the face of communist totalitarianism became visible to the world, did the aid stop.

Faced with this emerging threat, early in our Administration I went to Congress and, over strong opposition, managed to get help for the nations surrounding Nicaragua. Some of you may remember the incredibly inspiring scene when the people of El Salvador braved the threats and gunfire of communist guerrillas -- guerrillas controlled and supplied from Nicaragua --

and marched to the polls to vote decisively for democracy. For the communists it was a humiliating defeat.

But there was another factor the communists never counted on, a factor that now promises to give freedom a second chance -- the contras, the freedom fighters of Nicaragua.

You see, when the Sandinistas betrayed the revolution, many who had fought the old dictatorship literally took to the hills, like the French Resistance that fought the Nazis, began fighting the Soviet Bloc communists and their Sandinista collaborators.

With their blood and courage, the freedom fighters of Nicaragua have pinned down the Sandinista army and bought the people of Central America precious time. We Americans owe these freedom fighters a debt of gratitude. In helping to thwart the Sandinistas and their Soviet mentors, the resistance has contributed directly to the security of the United States.

Since its inception in 1982, the Nicaraguan resistance has grown in strength. Today it numbers some 20,000. Unfortunately, 2 years ago some Members of Congress tied our hands and prevented us from helping the resistance with what it needs most -- arms and ammunition. Now the freedom fighters' supplies are running short; and they are dying, defenseless, under the new Soviet helicopter gunships Moscow has sent to Managua.

So, now comes the critical test for the Congress of the United States. Will they provide these freedom fighters with the assistance they need to deal with Russian tanks and helicopter gunships -- or will they abandon the Democratic Resistance to its communist enemies?

In answering that question, I hope Congress will reflect deeply upon ~~what~~ the Contras are fighting in Nicaragua:

Ask yourselves, what in the world any Soviets, East Germans, Bulgarians, North Koreans, Cubans, and terrorists from the PLO to the Red Brigades, doing in our hemisphere, camped on our own doorstep? Is that for peace?

Why have the Soviets invested \$500 million to build Nicaragua into an armed force twice the size of Mexico's? Is that for peace?

Why did Nicaragua's dictator, Daniel Ortega, go to the Third Cuban Communist Party Congress in Havana and endorse Castro's resolution calling for the worldwide defeat of the United States and the triumph of communism worldwide. Was that for peace?

Some Members of Congress ask me, why not negotiate? Good question -- but addressed to the wrong party. Ten times we have sought to negotiate with the Sandinistas. Ten times they refused. Last year, we offered face-to-face negotiations between government and guerrillas. The Soviet Union and the Sandinistas responded with a quarter billion dollars in mortars, tanks, and helicopter gunships.

We will negotiate. But let me remind our critics that history has no example of a Communist regime which took power through force, ever surrendering power peacefully.

Clearly, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact have grasped the great stakes involved, the strategic importance of Nicaragua. The Soviets have made their decision -- to support the Communists. Fidel Castro has made his decision -- to support the Communists. Arafat, Qadhafi, and the Ayatollah have made their

decision -- to support the Communists. Only Congress has yet to make a decision. Only Congress can now prevent an outcome deeply injurious to the national security of the United States.

If we refuse again, history will hold us accountable; there will be no evading responsibility.

This is not some narrow partisan issue; it is a national security issue, an issue on which we must act not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans.

Senator Scoop Jackson, who led the fight on Capitol Hill for an awareness of the danger in Central America, said it best: On matters of national security, the best politics is no politics.

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, leaders of our own time must do so. My

fellow Americans, you know where I stand. The Soviets and the Sandinistas ~~must~~ not be permitted to crush freedom in Central America and threaten our own security on our own doorstep.

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. Get in touch with your Congressmen and Senators and tell them to vote yes; tell them to help the freedom fighters.

I have only 3 years left to serve, 3 years to carry out the responsibilities you entrusted in me; 3 years to work for peace. Could there be any greater tragedy than for us to sit back and permit this cancer to spread, leaving my successor to face far greater problems, far more agonizing decisions in the years ahead?

We still have time to do what must be done so history will say of us, we had the vision, the courage and good sense to come together -- Republicans and Democrats -- when the price was not high and the risks were still not great, to meet our responsibility. We left America safe, we left America secure, we left America free.


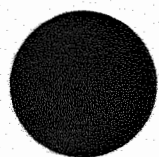
Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 17, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR THOMAS F. GIBSON III
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS  
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Talking Points on Contra Aid

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced talking points and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective.

cc: David L. Chew

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

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

Name of Correspondent: Dave Chew

MI Mail Report

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

Subject: Jubing Points on Contra Aid

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>CUNHOLL</u>		<u>ORIGINATOR</u>	<u>86,03,17</u>			<u>1 1</u>
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<u>CUAT 18</u>		<u>R</u>	<u>86,03,17</u>			<u>5 86,03,17</u>
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		Referral Note:				

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
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DISPOSITION CODES:

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- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

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Comments: _____

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/17/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 p.m. TODAY

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS ON CONTRA AID

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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"/>
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BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	THOMAS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please submit any comments on the attached directly to Tom Gibson by 3:00 this afternoon, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 17, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID CHEW

FROM: TOM GIBSON *TG*

SUBJECT: One-pager on Contra Aid

Attached, for staffing, is a one-page draft on Contra Aid. It has been edited down from fact sheet materials. It will require a quick turnaround. I have already consulted with Ollie North on this. The only thing missing is "no new money." I think I can fit that in.

Thanks very much.

DEMOCRACY IN NICARAGUA; SECURITY TO OUR SOUTH & CONGRESSIONAL RESOLVESeveral Questions -- One Vote.

- o Why are the Soviets, Libyans, North Koreans, Cubans, PLO and Red Brigade terrorists in our hemisphere as guests of the Sandinistas?
- o Why have the Soviets invested \$600 million in military aid to build Nicaragua into an armed camp having forces larger than all of Nicaragua's neighbors combined?
- o Why did Nicaragua's dictator, Daniel Ortega, endorse Castro's call for worldwide defeat of the U.S. and the triumph of Communism?

Will Congress provide the forces of Nicaraguan democracy the aid to fight for a negotiated peace -- or will it abandon freedom fighters in Nicaragua to face totalitarian repression, tanks, and helicopter gunships alone?

Why not wait for a negotiated settlement?


- o Ten times the Administration has tried to negotiate peace with the Sandinistas. Ten times we ~~came away empty handed.~~
were rebuffed.
 - Secretary of State George Shultz visited Managua in 1984 and offered to begin bilateral discussions.
 - The President's special envoy, Harry Shlaudeman, met eight times with the Sandinistas in Manzanillo, Mexico, and once in Atlanta, Georgia.
 - The President dispatched his new special envoy, Philip Habib, to Central America. This represented the 49th trip by a Presidential envoy to work with Latin American governments in search of peace.
- o Last year, the democratic resistance called for face-to-face talks with the Sandinistas to be mediated by the Church. Soviet and Sandinista response: More tanks and helicopter gunships.
- o The U.S. supports verifiable and comprehensive implementation of the 1983 Contadora Objectives -- includes the democratization and reconciliation between El Salvador and Nicaragua.
- o U.S. pressure on the Sandinistas has been the engine behind the Contadora process, not an obstacle. There will never be a Contadora agreement or democracy in Nicaragua without U.S. support for the Contras. Above all the Sandinistas are seeking to end that support.
- o Delay in the peace process, delay in aid to the Contras works to the advantage of the Sandinistas who continued to welcome Soviet arms and Cuban pilots. Delay means further entrenchment of the Communist dictatorship in Nicaragua.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 20, 1986

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

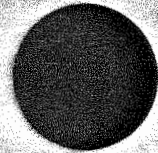
FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Reception
with Contra Aid Supporters

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft remarks. The final paragraph on page 3 raises serious concerns under the Neutrality Act. It is the position of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice that a private citizen who contributes funds for the purchase of arms or other military equipment to be used against a country with which the United States is not at war violates the Act and is thereby subject to Federal prosecution and a fine of up to \$3,000 and/or a prison term of up to three years. The President cannot encourage private citizens to engage in such activity. The reference to private donations must either be deleted or revised to make clear that only donations for humanitarian aid (not covered by the Neutrality Act) are encouraged.

cc: David L. Chew

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 Remarks Reception with Contra Aid Supporters

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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<u>CU at 78</u>	R	<u>86103120</u> S 86103120
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	Referral Note:	
		1 / 1
	Referral Note:	

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
 - I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
 - C - Comment/Recommendation
 - R - Direct Reply w/Copy
 - D - Draft Response
 - S - For Signature
 - F - Furnish Fact Sheet
 - X - Interim Reply
- to be used as Enclosure

DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- C - Completed
- B - Non-Special Referral
- 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, OEOB).
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/20/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 7:00 p.m. TONIGHT

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECEPTION WITH CONTRA AID SUPPORTERS

	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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ELLIOTT</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Curtmanche</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Faulkner</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please provide any comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott by 7:00 p.m. tonight, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

(Gilder/BE)
March 20, 1986
5:00 p.m.

RECEIVED
1986 MAR 20 5:00 PM
PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECEPTION WITH CONTRA AID SUPPORTERS
FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1986

Thank you all and welcome to the White House.

I want to express my personal thanks, and the gratitude of the American people, for the hard work and dedication you have all given this freedom struggle.

Unfortunately for America, blind partisanship has prevailed in the House of Representatives -- for the moment. But let me assure these brave men who stand beside me -- Adolfo Calero, Alfonso Robelo, and Arturo Cruz -- America will not desert you and the courageous men and women of Nicaragua who battle to roll back Communist tyranny on the American mainland.

In the words of another famous freedom fighter, John Paul Jones, I have not yet begun to fight. The Senate will be voting on our aid package in a few days, and we intend to bring this back to the House as many times as it takes to win.

Never has party politics been so shameful. The House of Representatives -- pushed by its Democratic majority -- has given the green light to Soviet expansionism on the American mainland and opened the door wide to the P.L.O., Qadhafi, and Khomeini -- and the worldwide terrorist network.

They have cruelly severed our support to the freedom fighters and left them to the mercy of a vicious and implacable force of Communists and terrorists. When the terror war heats up in Latin America, as America's neighbors fall one by one into the Soviet orbit -- then it will be too late for excuses.

Because between Qadhafi and those fighting for democracy there is no middle ground. Qadhafi has boasted of his intention to fight America, quote, "at its doorstep." Tomas Borge has promised to carry his Communist revolution into the United States. The Soviet Union is pouring billions of dollars into Latin America with only one purpose -- to destroy democracy and ring their main enemy, the United States, with the noose of hostile, Communist states. And what is the reaction from the Democratically-controlled House of Representatives? Go ahead, we don't care.

We don't care about freedom in Nicaragua; we don't care about democracy in Latin America; we just don't really care about the national security of the United States.

You know, I've lived through three quarters of this 20th century. I've lived and learned its lessons -- and don't want to repeat its mistakes. Yesterday brought a stark and troubling memory back to me. It was in 1938, when Neville Chamberlain announced that by sacrificing Czechoslovakia to Hitler's storm troopers, he had secured "peace in our time." Of course, his illusions almost brought an end to freedom in Europe and plunged the world into the most destructive war in history. If the Democrats are successful in blocking aid to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters, history will treat them no more kindly.

Winston Churchill once described appeasement as "feeding the crocodile everything you have in the hope that he'll eat you last." Well, with yesterday's vote in the House, the crocodile

has been let loose from its cage and allowed into our front yard -- how long before he's attacking us in our own home?

History will remember March 20th, 1986. It will record the votes in the House of Representatives in sorrow and anger. The 99th Congress has sent a message around the world that the United States is not a reliable ally of freedom. Today, you can hear the cheering from Managua to Havana to Moscow.

The question now is, will our Democratic Congressmen pull themselves and our Nation back from this cliff; will they reverse this tragic course before it is too late? Will they provide aid to freedom while the price is still not high, while the risks are still not great?

The answer will be, the answer must be, yes. There is no more important question of foreign policy before us -- there is simply no more important question before the U.S. Congress today. We cannot give this up without giving up on America.

Emboldened by yesterday's vote in the House, the Communists have stepped up their offensive along the Honduran border, hoping to wipe out the freedom fighters before aid can arrive. We can't let that happen. We can't let the final hope of freedom in Nicaragua be extinguished while Congress slowly makes up its mind to do the right thing. For that reason I ask you -- and I ask private citizens throughout the country -- to give private donations to the freedom fighter cause. Help them survive this Soviet-Cuban-supplied onslaught. Help these brave freedom fighters last out until American aid can reach them.

Alfonso. Adolfo. Arturo. Come up here and stand beside me. Take my hands. Let us join hands, while I give you my solemn pledge: I will never rest until freedom is given a fighting chance in Nicaragua.

Let us all pledge to wipe the shame of this vote from the record. We will spare no effort and give no ground in supporting the democratic resistance in Nicaragua. Until these men are successful in their freedom struggle, there will be no peace in our souls, and there will be no peace in Central America.

Thank you all again from the bottom of my heart. God bless you all.

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: Presidential Remarks Reception with Contra Aid Supporters

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>CUHOLL</u>	<u>ORIGINATOR</u>	<u>86,03,21</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
<u>CUAT 18</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>86,03,21</u>		<u>S</u>	<u>86,03,21</u>
	Referral Note:				<u>10am</u>
		<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:

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

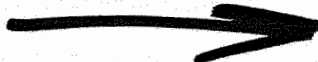
Comments: _____

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/21/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. TODAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECEPTION WITH CONTRA AID SUPPORTERS

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input type="checkbox"/> SS	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING 	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ELLIOTT</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Courtmanche</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Faulkner</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please provide any comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott by 10:00 a.m. this morning, with an info copy to my office.
Thank you.

RESPONSE:

(Gilder/BE)
March 21, 1986
9:15 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECEPTION WITH CONTRA AID SUPPORTERS
FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1986

Thank you and welcome to the White House.

I want to express my personal thanks, and the gratitude of the American people, for the hard work and dedication you have all given this freedom struggle. Perhaps never before on a foreign policy issue have we seen such a broad-based coalition. In the audience today, we have Christians and Jews, veterans and businessmen, ethnic and minority groups. You all have come together in a noble cause.

Unfortunately for America, that cause -- the cause of freedom and hope and democracy -- suffered a temporary setback yesterday in the House of Representatives. History will record yesterday's vote in sorrow and in anger. But let me assure these brave men here today -- Adolfo Calero, Alfonso Robelo, and Arturo Cruz -- America will not desert you and your courageous struggle to expel Communist tyranny from the American mainland.

To paraphrase another famous freedom fighter, John Paul Jones, we have not yet begun to fight. The Senate will be voting on our aid package in a few days, and we intend to bring this back to the House as many times as it takes to win. And we will win.

But time is of the essence. Yesterday's vote in the House of Representatives delivered a license to kill to the Communists. Every day that passes, every day that the freedom fighters are

left to face Soviet helicopter gunships with handheld rifles is a day of shame for our country.

If this vote is not quickly reversed, we will be sending a message to the world that the United States of America won't lift a finger for freedom, that we care less about defending democracy than the Soviet Union cares about destroying it. We will be giving a green light to Soviet expansionism on the American mainland and inviting the worldwide terrorist network to set up shop on our own continent.

Qadhafi has boasted of his intention to fight America, quote, "at its doorstep." The Nicaraguan Communists have threatened to carry their revolution into the United States itself. The Soviet Union is pouring billions of dollars into Latin America with only one purpose -- to subvert the democracies of Central America and ring their main enemy, the United States, with the noose of hostile, Communist states. Soon it will be too late for excuses.

You know, I've lived through three quarters of this 20th century. I've lived and learned its lessons -- and don't want to repeat its mistakes. Yesterday brought a stark and troubling memory back to me. It was of the Munich Conference in 1938, when Neville Chamberlain announced that by sacrificing Czechoslovakia to Hitler's storm troopers, he had secured "peace for our time." Of course, his illusions almost brought an end to freedom in Europe. If we don't reverse this tragic vote soon and give the Nicaraguan freedom fighters the aid they need, history will treat us no more kindly.

Winston Churchill once described appeasement as "feeding the crocodile everything you have in the hope that he'll eat you last." Well, with yesterday's vote in the House, the crocodile has been let loose from its cage and allowed into our front yard -- how long before he's attacking us in our own home?

Today, you can hear the cheering from Managua to Havana to Moscow. The question now is, will we pull our Nation back from this cliff in time; will we reverse this tragic course before it is too late? Will we support freedom while the price is still not high, and the risks are still not great?

The answer will be, the answer must be, yes. There is no more important question of foreign policy before us -- there is simply no more important question before the U.S. Congress today. We cannot give up on this without giving up on America.

The Communists have already intensified their offensive along the Honduran border. No doubt they are emboldened by yesterday's vote in the House and hope to wipe out the freedom fighters before aid can arrive. We can't let that happen. We can't let the final hope of freedom in Nicaragua be extinguished while Congress slowly makes up its mind to do the right thing. For that reason I ask you -- and I ask private citizens throughout the country -- to give humanitarian donations to the freedom fighter cause. Help them survive this Soviet-Cuban-supplied onslaught. Help these brave freedom fighters last out until American aid can reach them.

Alfonso. Adolfo. Arturo. Come stand by my side. I want to tell you something. We are in this together. The future of

Central America is not with communism; the future of Central America is with democracy and all those who are fighting for freedom. You are the future of Central America.

Today, I give you my solemn pledge: I will never rest until freedom is given a fighting chance in Nicaragua.

Let us all pledge to wipe the shame of this vote from America's proud face. We will spare no effort and give no ground in supporting the democratic resistance in Nicaragua. Until these men are successful in their freedom struggle, there will be no peace in Central America, and there will be no peace in our souls.


Thank you all again from the bottom of my heart. God bless you all.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 21, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR BENTLEY T. ELLIOT
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Reception with
Contra Aid Supporters

Counsel's Office has reviewed the 9:15 a.m. draft of the above-referenced remarks. On page 3, lines 22-23, "humanitarian donations to the freedom fighter cause" should be changed to "donations for humanitarian aid to the freedom fighters," to avoid any misinterpretation in light of the Neutrality Act prohibition discussed in my memorandum on the previous draft.

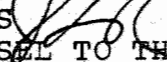
cc: David Chew

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 21, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR BENTLEY T. ELLIOT
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

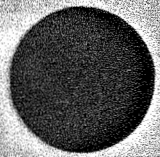
FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Radio Talk: Contras in Nicaragua

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced radio talk and finds no objection to it from a legal perspective.

cc: David Chew

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET



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

Name of Correspondent: Mae Chew

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

Subject: Radio Int: Contras in 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
<u>CUHOU</u>		ORIGINATOR	<u>86103121</u>			<u> 1 / 1 </u>
		Referral Note:				
<u>CUAT 18</u>		<u>R</u>	<u>86103121</u>		<u>S</u>	<u>86103121</u> <u> 2 / 30 </u>
		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:				

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>ACTION CODES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A - Appropriate Action C - Comment/Recommendation D - Draft Response F - Furnish Fact Sheet
to be used as Enclosure | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary R - Direct Reply w/Copy S - For Signature X - Interim Reply | <p>DISPOSITION CODES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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: _____

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 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/21/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:30 TODAY

SUBJECT: RADIO TALK: CONTRAS IN NICARAGUA

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ELLIOTT</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please provide any comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott by 2:30 this afternoon, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

(Robinson/BE)
March 21, 1986
1:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: CONTRAS IN NICARAGUA
SATURDAY, MARCH 22, 1986

My fellow Americans, last Thursday the House of Representatives voted on a proposal to send aid to the freedom fighters of Nicaragua, the men and women struggling against the Communists who control their country. At the modest cost of \$100 million -- a tiny fraction of the aid we provide to foreign countries every year -- this legislation would have protected our own southern borders and given the freedom fighters the chance to reclaim their nation for liberty. By a margin of 12, the House voted 'no.'

Every day that the House permits this vote to stand, every day that freedom fighters are left defenseless against Soviet helicopter gunships, more lives will be lost and the dangers will grow from this Soviet beachhead on our own doorstep.

Already, the Soviets have armed Nicaragua with tanks, anti-aircraft missiles, and helicopter gunships. So-called advisers from the Soviet Union, East Germany, and Cuba swarm Nicaragua in the thousands and have helped the Nicaraguan Communists to build an army and militia of more than 100,000 -- by far the biggest armed force that Central America has ever seen.

But that is not all. The Sandinistas have openly stated -- indeed, boasted -- that they intend to carry subversion to our own borders by overthrowing the government of Mexico itself. And as the Communists spread their revolution in Central and South

America, refugees -- easily in the millions -- would flood our southern states. To date, more than 100,000 have fled Nicaragua itself.

But the Nicaraguan freedom fighters have presented the Communists with a setback, for they have pinned down thousands of Sandinista troops and countless military assets. With their blood and courage, then, the freedom fighters have bought the people of other Central American nations the precious time they need to strengthen their democracies. And in helping to thwart the aggressive designs of the Nicaraguan Communists and their Soviet-bloc accomplices, they have directly contributed to the safety of the United States and the American people.

We owe the freedom fighters a vote of thanks. Why then did the House of Representatives vote to slap them in the face? I refuse to accept this House action as final, for I cannot believe that it reflects the informed and considered will of the American people.

Next week, aid to the freedom fighters will move to the Senate. The situation in Nicaragua is dire. Our proposal as it now stands, with the defensive weapons that must be sent immediately, represents the absolute minimum of assistance to which I can agree. Any less would be too little. Any further delay would be too late. On this, there can be no compromise, and I ask you to join me in urging the Senate, and then the House, to vote 'yes.'

But some of our critics insist that even this minimal assistance is too much and that negotiations and negotiations alone are the answer. Well, I must remind them that the

Sandinista Communists have already concluded negotiations -- in 1979 with the Organization of American States.

They agreed, in return for replacement of the former Somoza regime and diplomatic recognition of their new regime, that they would hold, quote, free elections as soon as possible that will lead to the establishment of a truly democratic government. In addition, they pledged to the OAS that they would conduct a nonaligned peaceful foreign policy and maintain a mixed economy.

For 5 years, my Administration has pursued active diplomacy -- 49 trips to the region -- to ensure that the Communists finally live up to these commitments they made to the OAS, and that they stop their aggression against their neighbors further. The Congress passed the Burton Amendment in 1985 which stipulated that U.S. foreign policy must seek the implementation of these commitments.

So I would say to our critics -- join with me in providing all the resources necessary -- and that means military aid to the freedom fighters -- to make the Communists honor an international agreement they have already made, but have been violating since 1979.

As your president, I cannot leave my successor -- I cannot leave our children -- to face grave dangers and agonizing decisions that with a minimum of foresight and courage could have been averted. The freedom fighters have done much; they ask little. Let us act to help them together, Democrats and Republicans, and let us act now. Until next week, thanks for listening and God bless you.