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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 7, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Faith Ryan Whittlesey  
THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond  
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*  
SUBJECT: Washington Times Editorial

I am forwarding a copy of the Washington Times' June 6th editorial in case you missed it. As I told you in my memorandum of June 3rd on Mr. Pickering, this appointment is the cause of considerable consternation among our supportive outside groups.

MCB:jet

1 Attachment a/s



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## Pickering, smickering

Have all the circuits blown at the White House? The nomination of Thomas Pickering as ambassador to El Salvador suggests that the lights went out over there.

The logic of selection is, at one level, apparent. Pickering is a career Foreign Service officer — as are Thomas O. Enders, the assistant secretary for Inter-American Affairs, and Deane Hinton, current ambassador to El Salvador, both of whom were pushed out the door last week. The man tapped to succeed Enders, Langhorne Motley, is not a career diplomat. There were reports circulating that another non-careerist was being considered as Hinton's replacement.

As a result of those changes and rumors of change, with the careerists not doing so well, there was muttering at the State Department. Political appointees are not overwhelmingly loved there. Secretary Shultz, an avuncular gentleman, apparently was made aware of the sullenness and decided to go with a Foreign Service officer to replace Hinton, and the president concurred.

But Pickering? On the face of it, his career credentials would delight a president who was a charter member of Americans for Democratic Action. Indeed, the criticism coming from conservatives is furiously of that opinion. "If they want to lose the war down there, he's the guy," was the harsh verdict from one conservative Capitol Hill suite.

Pickering's nomination makes us uneasy. There's something to the notion that a career diplomat should not be weighed by his previous assignments, that Foreign Service officers are professionals who carry out the policies of the man in the White House, whether in accord with them or otherwise. But that thesis is part of the Foggy Bottom mythology: Which is to say, it may be true in its generality but not in its particulars. A senior Foreign Service Officer

can substantially nudge Washington policy in a direction he thinks appropriate.

Thomas Pickering, now ambassador to Nigeria, is described by some as one of the best in the top career echelons of the State Department. But this is also the man who, as assistant secretary of state for oceans, environment and scientific affairs, was intimately involved in producing President Carter's abominable 1980 *Global Report to the President* — a.k.a., the Global 2000 Report.

That ridiculous document held, in effect, that the game's up. Unless we — the U.S. and the West, in the report's context — changed our wicked ways the world was going to be ruinously polluted, its resources squandered, and the poor and destitute would be on their sure way to deeper destitution and worse political repression. The Global 2000 Report has become the holy book of the most fatuous wing of the liberal congregation, whose members have delighted to bash Ronald Reagan over the head with it.

It is all very well to say that Pickering's chairmanship of the group that drew up the noxious report was merely in the line of duty as a State Department careerist. We suppose, however, that he would not have signed the letter of transmittal to Carter had he grave doubts about the intellectual integrity or validity of its contents. Thus, Pickering's role in formulating the 2000 Globaloney was something more than that of a casual passerby.

It is a tactical error amounting almost to a strategic blunder that the White House couldn't find a man in the Foreign Service whose philosophy would appear more consonant with the president's — particularly when the diplomat will be the administration's man on the spot in a region so hot it could melt. In diplomacy, as in much else, perception constitutes a large chunk of reality.

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GARNER '83



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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 1, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Faith Ryan Whittlesey  
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*  
SUBJECT: Speakers for the Wednesday Outreach  
Working Group Meetings

Ambassador Eugene Douglas has, with pleasure, accepted your invitation to brief our combined group next Wednesday afternoon at 2:30 p.m. He will speak to the potential refugee problems from a collapse in Central America.

In addition, Ambassador Richard Stone has agreed to brief our group upon his return from Central America on Wednesday, June 22nd.

MCB:jet

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 3, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Faith Ryan Whittlesey

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell MB

SUBJECT: Thomas R. Pickering

There is considerable gloom among supporters of the President's policy in Central America over the designation of Thomas Pickering as our new Ambassador to El Salvador.

My good friend, Dr. James Lucier, Chief Legislative Assistant to Senator Jesse Helms, called me today to point out the irony of Pickering's announcement appearing on the same front page of the Washington Post with another story headlined, "Carter Denounces Reagan's Record."

In the latter article, "Carter also accused President Reagan of ignoring poverty and oppression in El Salvador in pursuit of military aid for 'the most murderous government in this hemisphere.'" Carter's speech was to the Global Tomorrow Coalition, an alliance of left-wing groups established to work for recommendations of the Global 2000 Report, which happens to have been co-chaired by Thomas R. Pickering.

Once more, we are paying the cost of heterogeneous staffing and concensus decision making.

MCB:jet

## Carter Denounces Reagan's Record

By Cass Peterson  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Former president Jimmy Carter yesterday accused the Reagan administration of abdicating its responsibility as a world leader in environmental protection by undercutting international efforts and attempting to thwart the Environmental Protection Agency's enforcement of the law.

In his harshest criticism of his successor to date, Carter also accused President Reagan of ignoring poverty and oppression in El Salvador in pursuit of military aid for the most murderous government in this hemisphere.

It is tragic indeed for our leaders

to ignore these clear warning signals and to allege that they are just the result of ill-advised foreign political decisions or a communist plot against us," Carter said in an address to the Global Tomorrow Coalition, an alliance of 64 environmental, conservation and population-control groups established to work for the recommendations in the Global 2000 report.

That report, a three-year study commissioned by Carter and released during the last year of his term, warned that without concerted international action the world faced a future of hunger, environmental degradation and political tensions.

Since its release, Carter said, several other nations have adopted the report as a basis for shaping their national policies.

"Our own government's actions,

See CARTER, A22, Col. 1

# Carter Denounces Reagan's Record on Environment, El Salvador



Associated Press

Former president Carter with National Audubon Society President Russell Peterson.

## CARTER, From A1

unfortunately, have been characterized by opposition to the recommendations—by retrogression and not progress," he said. "The needs we identified before January 1981 are now much more acute."

In his address and in a news conference later, Carter cited the administration's "obstruction" of an international Law of the Sea Treaty and its deep cuts in international research funding as examples of "inaction" that "exacerbates existing human suffering."

"The deliberate, across-the-board abandonment of U.S. leadership on environmental, resource and related global issues is of grave concern to us all," he said. "During the past 2½ years we have stood almost alone among nations in our refusal to cooperate with international efforts."

In his news conference, Carter said that under pressure from his administration El Salvador was just

beginning to correct human rights violations and initiate land reforms and free elections.

"For a time, we were making progress . . .," he said. "But those restraints have been abandoned and now it is just a tough militaristic confrontation that is being engendered there, ignoring the basic needs and suffering of the people."

Carter also criticized Reagan's defense policies, calling his so-called "Star Wars" proposal for a laser antiballistic missile system "ill-advised" and contrary to previous agreements with the Soviet Union.

Alan Hill, chairman of the White House Council on Environmental Quality, defended the administration's record against the assaults by Carter and other speakers at the conference's opening session, warning that trends and forecasts are not "an infallible crystal ball."

But Carter, who has agreed to contact foreign leaders on behalf of the coalition, urged private and po-

litical leaders to take action on their own to deal with the problems identified in the Global 2000 report.

The report has been attacked by a counter-report that called its conclusions "dead wrong" and said the world will be richer, less polluted and more peaceful in the year 2000 if current trends continue.

Max Singer, a Washington consultant who worked on the second report, commissioned by the Heritage Foundation and released last week, told the conference yesterday that the Global 2000 report was "founded on a fundamental error" and is an "attack on the moral foundation of the United States."

"Our triumph is mass production and mass consumption, as well as democracy," he said. "Since this report undermines our moral position, why use it?"

Both Carter and Russell Peterson, president of the National Audubon Society and chairman of the Global Tomorrow Coalition, dismissed Sing-

er's arguments and the conclusions of the second report. "It is a call to inaction," Peterson said. "Ours is a call to action."

Carter later told reporters he did not expect the issues of environmental protection or nuclear arms control to become 1984 campaign issues until after the primaries.

He also said that he did not expect to be a part of the primary campaign, and would be involved in the general election only if the Democratic nominee wanted him.

"I'm not presuming that a Democratic candidate will want me or anyone else wrapped around his or her neck," he said.

But an earlier comment suggested that Carter is not counting on a Democratic administration come 1985. Asked about the impact of the Reagan administration's environmental policies, he responded: "We can live with it four, possibly eight years—I dread the thought—and still be a great country."

Preservation Copy



# U.S. Personnel, Policy in Place, Shultz Reports

LATIN, From A1

Secretary of State Thomas O. Enders, are not a sign of a change in U.S. policy directions.

Citing Reagan's April 27 address on Central America to a joint session of Congress as an authoritative statement of U.S. objectives, Shultz said, "That policy has been in effect, remains in effect and is fully supported by all the people here with me."

Standing behind him in symbolic array as he spoke were Enders, Pickering and Langhorne A. Motley, U.S. ambassador to Brazil, who has been named as Enders' successor in the top Latin American policy job.

To the charge that U.S. policy in the region increasingly is being militarized, Shultz replied that "the militarization has been brought about by Soviet and Cuban to Nicaraguan military capabilities" applied through leftist guerrilla action in El Salvador and the export of revolution from Nicaragua. He said that any militarization from the U.S. side has been in response to this challenge.

Shultz paid tribute in elaborate fashion to Enders and Deane R. Hinton, the departing U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, and also praised their successors, Motley and Pickering, in warm terms. Enders is expected to be named ambassador to Spain, and Hinton to receive an as-yet-unspecified diplomatic post.

Reagan, in a brief question-and-answer session at the White House, confirmed that U.S. military doctors are being sent to El Salvador to treat military and civilian patients.

Asked how he would reply to those who see the military medical teams as a step-up in U.S. involvement in that country, Reagan said: "Well, if they say it, they will be as wrong as they've been on so many other things. Because, as I said, there is a real need for medical care down there, and in the civilian society as well."

He said the teams were being sent after consultation with Congress. The reaction of "key members of Congress" has been that of "understanding and general approval," according to a White House statement.

The U.S. team of 20 to 25 doctors, technicians and medics from various branches of the armed forces is being dispatched in response to a request from El Salvador, according to the White House. Spokesman Larry Speakes said a U.S. survey team to plan for the medical mission is now in El Salvador, and that an earlier survey team had made a report to Reagan.

Citing the serious need, which Speakes said had been recognized as "overwhelming" two or three months ago, another administration official said additional medical teams might be sent to El Salvador, perhaps from units now in Panama, if the situation seems to require it.

Also under consideration, Speakes said, is "a medical health services emergency package" to provide more aid to the civilian population.

The military medical personnel are not being counted against the self-imposed limit of 55 U.S. military advisers in El Salvador, the White House said.

At the Pentagon, officials showed reporters a series of color photographs of conditions at the only military hospital in El Salvador in an attempt to dramatize the need for American help.

A Salvadoran was shown arched in pain as he lay on a hospital bed. A doctor was cleaning the wound from an arm amputation. Pentagon officials said the doctor had put a block of wood in the patient's mouth for lack of painkillers.

Jerry M. Brown, director of international health affairs at the Defense Department, said Lt. Col. Edward Lynch of the U.S. military's Southern Command in Panama had taken the pictures for use by the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador.

Pentagon officials said it was the ambassador who had launched the plan to send an American military team of physicians, nurses, corpsmen and administrators to the military hospital in San Salvador.

Col. Jay C. Bisgard, deputy assistant secretary for health affairs at the Pentagon, said there is no plan to send the American medical specialists out into the field where they might get shot.

He added that the specialists probably would not remain at San Salvador's 100-bed military hospital, which treats both soldiers and civilians and has been overwhelmed with war casualties, for more than six months.

Meanwhile, there were these other developments regarding Central America:

- Members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee put off to next week efforts to reach bipartisan agreement limiting undercover U.S. aid to rebel forces fighting the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.) is circulating a proposal that would allow U.S. aid "solely for the purpose of intercepting ongoing arms shipments across international borders."

- Richard Stone, the newly installed special envoy for Central America, departed on a 12-day mission to the area. Included in his itinerary is a June 10 visit to Nicaragua, which will provide the opportunity for a rare, high-level diplomatic contact between Washington and Managua.

- Shultz said Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, who had been asking for an appointment with Reagan during a current visit to Washington, had been granted a meeting with J. William Middendorf II, U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States, but that Bishop did not appear.

In a statement last night, Grenada's ambassador to the OAS, Dessima Williams, said his country regarded the offer of a meeting between Bishop and Middendorf as "an affront to the integrity of Grenada . . . quite inappropriate as well as a breach of diplomatic norm."

The statement added that Bishop continues to want an appointment with Reagan.

Staff writers Lou Cannon, David Hoffman, Margot Hornblower, Joanne Omang and George C. Wilson contributed to this report.

Preservation Copy

# Cubans Push Talks In Central America, Say Leftists Gaining

CUBA, From A1

ing to this source, Cuba has assured Argentina that it will no longer have anything to do with leftist guerrillas operating in that South American country, and Argentina has assured Cuba that it has withdrawn the trainers it sent to instruct anti-Nicaraguan guerrillas in Honduras.

Perhaps more significantly, Cuban efforts to move closer to Western Europe, targeted primarily at France, Spain, Sweden and to some extent West Germany, have brought results. Following a visit here last October by Regis Debray, French President Francois Mitterrand's adviser on Latin America, Cuba and France began a series of cultural and economic exchanges that will culminate in a scheduled trip here by French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson in August.

According to informed European sources, Cheysson is expected to firm up plans for a visit by Cuban President Fidel Castro to Paris within the next year, a plum long sought by Havana.

"We have a level of dialogue we never had before" with the Cubans, one European diplomat said. "We can talk frankly about anything. They supply us on an almost daily basis with information from Central America."

Both the Latin Americans and the Europeans said they were under no illusions that long-term Cuban goals have changed. Cuban "support for negotiations in Central America is always partly tactical," a diplomat said.

European diplomats here say they have made it clear to Cuba that whatever new closeness may evolve between them, they have no plans to change their overall global view of Cuba as a Soviet surrogate, nor to go beyond a certain point in direct opposition to the United States in what is considered the U.S. sphere of influence.

But several Europeans said Cuba has made a correct assessment of both the desire of their governments for a political rather than military solution and their increasing distance from U.S. policy.

The Cuban belief that Washington is fighting a losing political and public relations battle on Central America at home and abroad was re-

posed by the guerrillas, he said, but an unacceptable call for "unconditional surrender."

Among other points made by the Cubans concerning Central America:

- Both Rodriguez and Alarcon repeated Cuban insistence that Havana stopped a regular supply of arms to Salvadoran guerrillas approximately two years ago. They called on Washington to "show us the proof" that arms continue to flow to El Salvador from Cuba through Nicaragua.

Alarcon acknowledged that U.S. efforts to monitor and intercept a flow of arms into El Salvador made such supplies "not possible right now."

But, he insisted, the guerrillas "don't need it... they have their own methods" of obtaining arms. "We don't accept the rationale that we shouldn't do it from an ethical point of view," he said. "By saying we are not [sending arms] we are not trying to make a gesture or a compromise."

He said the Salvadorans "don't have to look outside" at the moment for anything other than "things like plasma, medicine, some special equipment they may lack. I'm not saying they are not buying things in a store in Brooklyn. I'm saying that the 'flow of arms' described by the administration 'does not exist.'"

- Rodriguez denied Reagan administration assertions that Cuba has as many as 2,000 military advisers, as well as 6,000 militarily trained teachers, doctors and other workers in Nicaragua. "There are several dozen" Cuban military, intelligence and security advisers in Nicaragua, he said. "I repeat, several dozen. Not many dozen." He said that this figure has been relatively constant since Cubans first arrived in Nicaragua following the Sandinista victory in July 1979.

As for the overall total of Cubans, he said, "The total is much fewer than 8,000... the teachers are teaching, the doctors practicing medicine, the road builders building roads."

According to Education Minister Jose Ramon Fernandez, who also is chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, Cuba was so enraged at charges by then-secretary of

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peated over and over again in interviews during the past week with several high-level Cuban officials, including Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez.

At the same time, in what amounts to a Cuban version of the "two-track policy" of simultaneous military pressure and movement toward negotiations reportedly advocated for Washington by Assistant Secretary of State Thomas O. Enders before he was replaced last week, the Cubans also believe they hold a strong military card.

Barring direct U.S. military intervention, which they say will fail because of domestic and international "outrage," the Cubans see the military position of the Central American left—particularly El Salvador's guerrillas—as growing strong.

The Cubans repeatedly insist that they want a negotiated solution in Central America, and point to their public support of international initiatives in that direction as proof. They say their reasons are moral and ideological—to prevent more bloodshed and to allow the socialist regimes they see as inevitable to develop in evenly paced, viable ways.

Failure to begin negotiations soon, Rodriguez warned, will "accelerate" the "transformation" to nonpluralistic socialism by lessening the influence leftist moderates have in their coalitions with militaristic guerrillas.

Right now, said Vice Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon, the Salvadoran guerrilla coalition "is not proposing a regime that would prohibit other sectors, which would have to be excluded from a purely military perspective," such as the political parties and armed forces now governing El Salvador.

"If there is a military victory," Alarcon said, "the ones who win with guns would take control."

"We want negotiations," Rodriguez said. "We have said it. The guerrillas have said it." Reflecting Cuban confidence in guerrilla military capabilities, he added, "The negotiations being sought by France, Mexico and other Latin American countries are not negotiations that would submit a guerrilla movement, [which] has certain popular support and is carrying out successful military actions, to the government."

Talks limited to elections, as proposed by the administration and the Salvadoran government, "are not unconditional negotiations" as pro-

state Alexander M. Haig Jr. in 1981 that supposed Cuban teachers in Nicaragua were actually military personnel that it compiled its own defense documents.

During an interview, Fernandez pulled out a two-foot-tall stack of books in which he said had been listed the names, addresses, training and most recent job in Cuba of every civilian who volunteered for duty in Nicaragua. Attached to each listing was a photograph of the "teacher" in question. "We were ready for the debate," Fernandez said. "But it never came."

The Cubans declined comment on administration reports that they trained at least 20 Honduran leftists last year and currently are training 16 more to be infiltrated back into that country. "They have such precise numbers," Rodriguez said. "I don't know" if the reports are true, he said, noting that such small groups could "hardly be a threat."

Rodriguez said he "does not think" Cuba is directly aiding the left in Costa Rica, as the administration has charged. He indicated that Costa Rica should be presumed exempted from Cuban interference because ways to peaceful change were open there.

The vice president acknowledged U.S. reports that Cuba has had a leading role in unifying guerrilla forces in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras. "Cuba, and Fidel personally," he said, "have brought together [the guerrilla] forces."

"If guerrilla movements are going to make transformations . . . it is absurd that they have similar goals and tactics yet are divided" among themselves. Their unity, Rodriguez said, "means less loss of blood, less destruction. It accelerates the victory and permits necessary democratic changes to occur more rapidly."

Referring to a series of charges against Cuba that came out of Washington last week, Rodriguez acknowledged that 400 Cuban marines have been practicing amphibious assault landings on a beach near the port of Mariel. A U.S. specialist was quoted in news reports as saying this was an "important development," indicating a new Cuban threat to nearby Caribbean islands.

Rodriguez described the amphibious assault practice as defensive. "To learn to repulse an invasion, you have to learn how invasions are done," he said.

Preservation Copy

# Personnel, Policy In Place for Latin Goals, Shultz Says

By Don Oberdorfer  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Secretary of State George P. Shultz introduced a new U.S. ambassador to El Salvador yesterday and announced that both the personnel and the policy are now in place to deal with strife-torn Central America.

Shultz' steady-on-course viewpoint was shared by President Reagan, who said as he left for the weekend at Camp David that the planned dispatch of new U.S. medical teams to El Salvador does not constitute an escalation of U.S. involvement.

At a hastily summoned news conference, Shultz revealed that veteran diplomat Thomas R. Pickering has been selected as the new U.S. envoy in San Salvador. Pickering, currently ambassador to Nigeria, is reported to have been the choice of Shultz and of dismayed career Foreign Service officials who sensed that Central America policy was being taken out of their hands and lodged in the White House.

As late as Sunday, according to official sources, retired Adm. Gerald E. Thomas, currently ambassador to Guyana, was the White House choice for the sensitive El Salvador post. But Shultz advanced the name of Pickering during Tuesday discussions in Williamsburg, and the career diplomat hastily flew here Wednesday from London, where he had gone for medical treatment.

Pickering got the final nod from Reagan at an unannounced White House meeting yesterday morning, sources said.

Pickering, 51, joined the Foreign Service in 1959 and has served as ambassador to Jordan, executive secretary of the State Department and assistant secretary for oceans and international environmental and scientific affairs.

Officials said Thomas, who was one of the Navy's senior black officers, is being given a consolation prize of the ambassadorship to Kenya, a much more important and populous country than Guyana.

White House and State Department sources said there is no plan to replace the U.S. ambassador to Guatemala, Frederick Chapin, at this time, despite reports to the contrary Wednesday night. A new U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica, Curtin Windsor Jr., was named by the White House five weeks ago.

Under persistent and skeptical questioning, Shultz insisted that the personnel shifts in Central American diplomacy, including the sudden replacement last week of Assistant

See LATIN, A17, Col. 1

## Cuba Seeks Ties to West

### New Policies Aim To Ease Isolation

By Karen DeYoung  
Washington Post Foreign Service

HAVANA—While continuing its support for leftist revolutionaries in Central America, Cuba is strenuously pursuing a strategy of improving political, diplomatic and economic ties with key Western European and Latin American states in a bid to intensify opposition to U.S. actions in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

By consistently supporting calls for negotiated settlements of the region's conflicts, Cuba is attempting to place itself in a mainstream of western opinion on Central America that ultimately

#### NEWS ANALYSIS

could force the Reagan administration to back down from its own increasingly hard-line policies and opposition to such talks.

In a larger sense, however, the Cubans appear to hope that U.S. Latin American policy in general—and a perceived shift in international attention from what Cuba is doing to what Washington is doing—will lessen Cuba's overall isolation from the West.

The policy already has shown signs of paying off, according to a number of Latin American and European diplomats here. Following Cuba's strong support for Argentina during the Falklands War, relations between the two "have never been better," according to one informed diplomat.

Noting that the two countries have upgraded their diplomatic staffing in each other's capitals and signed a broad range of commercial agreements during the past year, he called the Falklands "a miracle for Cuba." Accord-

See CUBA, A18, Col. 1

Preservation Copy

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

6/1

FAITH:

RE: Central America

Opposition Analysis has been assigned to Penn Kemble who will bring or send it today.

Wirthlin has been invited -- will be here next week or the next. Will try to pin down today so it can be announced.

Gergen will be invited next week to speak.

McCormack is scheduled for 2:30 to 2:45 and Nancy Risque from 2:50 to 3:00 with Nancy having to leave at that time

Morton will plan to join you at 5 p.m. on Friday at Judge Clark's meeting.  
An outline agenda will be announced each meeting  
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In the above conversation with Morton, I also advised him the school prayer letter would go out and to contact Nancy Risque on tuition tax credits.

He will invite Harry Walters, VA, to this afternoon's picture taking session with the Jewish war veterans.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON  
May 31, 1983



*f12*  
*MB*

MEMORANDUM TO: Faith Ryan Whittlesey  
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*  
SUBJECT: Speaker for the U.S. Chamber's  
July 16, 1983 Breakfast Meeting of  
Washington Representatives

I spoke to Dixie Davis of the U.S. Chamber about his request for a speaker on Central America for the July 16th breakfast meeting of the U.S. Chamber's 300 or so Washington Representatives of major corporations.

I first arranged for Assistant Secretary of State Richard McCormack, but Davis tells me they very badly want to have Judge Clark address them.

Roger Fontaine is ready to write appropriately hard-hitting remarks for Judge Clark's use before this group.

Is it appropriate for me to call Judge Clark directly, or would you prefer to make the request?

MCB:jet

*Call Ponder*

*Export Control*  
*Richard Perle*

*Pete Petersen* → *Virginia-Weyrich*  
*Salvador* → *Jewish*

Document No. \_\_\_\_\_

### WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: May 3 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: OUTREACH STRATEGY GROUP AGENDA FOR May 3rd

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	GERGEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	WILLIAMSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCMANUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Remarks:

The attached is for discussion at the 3:15 meeting this afternoon.

*E. C. Jewish*

*Al Meyer*  
*Bob Helms*

Richard G. Darman  
Assistant to the President  
(x2702)

Response:

*Walt Raymond*  
*Howard NSC*

## OSG -- AGENDA

(A) CENTRAL AMERICA

-- Review of Blackwell Plan pp. 8-18.

General Questions:

- o Can heightened visibility be made to yield necessary Congressional victories -- or is it just to accentuate differences for campaign purposes? If the former, how? If only the latter, is that a net plus?
- o Can theme 3 be made consistent with President's pledge not to send in U.S. troops?

Specific Questions

- o [Review individual elements of plan]

(B) MX

-- Note: We need a sub-group to convert the concepts into a detailed schedule intended to show and build momentum over 35 days.

(C) EDUCATION

-- We need an action plan to make this our issue. It's getting a lot of play as a national problem, but much of that play is blaming us! Obviously: we need to turn this to advantage. Hence: who/what/when/how?



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 11, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

FROM MORTON C. BLACKWELL

SUBJECT: Talking Points on Central America for  
the White House Fellows

- U. S. credibility is at stake. How can our friends in Europe, Israel and elsewhere take our guarantees seriously if we cannot stop Marxist aggression in our front yard?
- How many disasters will it take before enough Americans realize that fine-tuned minimum efforts only guarantee failure? Cases in point:
  - a. Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion
  - b. Johnson's gradual escalation in Vietnam
  - c. Carter's Iranian hostage rescue fiasco
  - d. *Trapeze artist analogy*
- Ten percent of the population of Cuba fled over water from Castro's totalitarian regime. How many refugees, boat people and feet people, will crowd into the U.S. as freedom dies in Central America?

*Confidence in stability  
Interest rates will soar*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Faith Ryan Whittlesey  
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*  
SUBJECT: Outreach Working Group

I am following up on the items from our Wednesday meeting with the Working Group and outside leaders. There are, however, a number of items which do require your attention:

1. Getting together with Dick Darman on the clearance procedures for papers the Working Group generates. This should not be complex because he has established procedures.
2. Getting Dave Gergen to designate a format through which the White House can issue the papers on Central America.
3. Decision and action on writer for the project. (My suggestion is Nicolaides.)
4. Decision and action on Dolf Droge for briefings and speakers coordinator.
5. Call to Lane Kirkland regarding union hawk participation.

If there is anything I can do to advance any of these items, please let me know.

MCB:jet

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 23, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY  
FROM MORTON C. BLACKWELL *MB*  
SUBJECT: Cooperation with Office  
of Policy Information

Attached is a memo to Ed Harper for  
your signature, per our conversation

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ED HARPER

FROM FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

SUBJECT: Issue Updates and News Alerts

As you know, I am chairing our Outreach Working Group on Central America. Our greatest need at present is for much better, official government information on issues related to the area.

I am hopeful that we can cooperate on a series of White House Office of Policy Information Issue Updates. Members of our Working Group in various departments and agencies are preparing first drafts on a variety of Central American topics. For a time, I would hope that we could produce Issue Updates in this series every few days.

On a related matter, we have a great need for current information across the range of Central American issues. In this regard, could you produce for us, from material our Working Group would provide, bi-weekly issues of your News Alerts devoted to Central America?

There is much interest inside and outside the government on improving the flow of useful information on Central America. Your Issue Updates and News Alerts appear to me to be the right vehicles to help us generate support for the President's policy in this endangered area.


THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

FROM

MORTON C. BLACKWELL 

SUBJECT:

Writer for Central America Outreach Working Group

Per our discussion, I had a conversation with Anne Higgins about the prospect of Phil Nicolaides taking on the job of our Working Group writer.

She said he would be perfect for this task. She is now paying him only a token wage. She suggested you get him detailed here from an agency at a GS 15, justifiable based on previous salary at USIA. She said Ron Mann knows of specific "slots" available in appropriate departments.

Anne said she would be pleased to let Phil keep his desk in her area if you like.

If you are interested, I suggest you have a chat with Phil at extension 7610.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 5, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER III

FROM FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

*FRW*

SUBJECT: Outreach Working Group on Central America

Here are my revised Plan of Action on Central America and my suggested list of the Working Group. With your approval, I will promptly convene this group and proceed to implement the plan.

From time to time I would invite (to some meetings of the Working Group) leaders of outside organizations working to support the President's policy in Central America.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM J. CASEY

FROM FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

SUBJECT: White House Outreach Working Group for  
Central America

Our White House Outreach Strategy Group has decided to establish an Outreach Working Group for Central America. This group will be chaired by me and will include specific staff of several White House Offices and other appropriate departments.

This is not a policy-making body but a Presidential public outreach effort to supportive and uncommitted groups.

Mr. Baker has authorized me to ask you to release to participate in our Outreach Working Group meetings Constantine Menges.

Our first meeting will be 1:30 P.M., Monday, May 16 in room 194 of the OEOB. I hope that Constantine Menges can attend.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR CASPAR W. WEINBERGER

FROM FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

SUBJECT: White House Outreach Working Group for  
Central America

Our White House Outreach Strategy Group has decided to establish an Outreach Working Group for Central America.

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Mr. Baker has authorized me to ask you to release to participate in our Outreach Working Group meetings Nestor Sanchez, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Inter American Affairs.

Our first meeting will be 1:30 P.M., Monday, May 16 in room 194 of the OEOB. I hope that Nestor Sanchez can attend.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE P. SHULTZ

FROM FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

SUBJECT: White House Outreach Working Group for  
Central America

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This is not a policy-making body but a Presidential public outreach effort to supportive and uncommitted groups.

Mr. Baker has authorized me to ask you to release to participate in our Outreach Working Group meetings

Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of  
Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs  
Dolf Droge, Special Assistant to the Associate Director  
for Training and Personnel (AID)

Richard McCormack, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of  
Economic and Business Affairs

William Middendorf, U.S. Permanent Representative, Permanent  
Mission of the USA to the OAS

Otto Reiche, Assistant Administrator, Bureau of Latin  
America and the Caribbean (AID)

Jacqueline Tillman, Executive Assistant, Office of the  
United Nations Ambassador

Our first meeting will be 1:30 P.M., Monday, May 16 in room 194 of the OEOB. I hope that these people can attend.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 5, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER III

FROM FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

*FRW*

SUBJECT: Outreach Working Group on Central America

Here are my revised Plan of Action on Central America and my suggested list of the Working Group. With your approval, I will promptly convene this group and proceed to implement the plan.

From time to time I would invite (to some meetings of the Working Group) leaders of outside organizations working to support the President's policy in Central America.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SUGGESTED CENTRAL AMERICAN WORKING GROUP

CHAIRMAN

FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY  
Assistant to the President

Ed Rollins  
Assistant to the President  
Office of Political Affairs  
456-7620

Morton C. Blackwell  
Special Assistant to the President  
Office of Public Liaison  
456-2657

Roger Fontaine  
Senior Staff Member  
National Security Council  
395-5694

Maj. Oliver North  
Staff Member  
National Security Council  
395-3345

Pam Turner  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
Office of Legislative Affairs  
456-7054

Constantine Menges  
Central Intelligence Agency  
351-5972

Richard McCormack  
Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs  
Department of State  
632-0396

William Middendorf  
U.S. Permanent Representative  
Permanent Mission of the USA to the OAS  
Department of State  
632-9376

Nestor Sanchez  
Deputy Assistant Secretary, Inter American Affairs  
Department of Defense  
697-5851

Otto Reiche  
Assistant Administrator, Bureau of Latin America and the Caribbean  
Agency of International Development  
632-8246

Jacqueline Tillman  
Executive Assistant  
Office of the United Nations Ambassador  
Department of State  
632-8344

Dolf Droge  
Special Assistant to the Associate Director for Training and  
Personnel  
Agency for International Development  
235-9224

Tony Dolan  
Special Assistant to the President  
Presidential Speechwriting Office  
456-7805

Mort Allin  
Deputy Press Secretary to the President  
456-2947

## PLAN OF ACTION FOR WINNING IN CENTRAL AMERICA

### A. Preparation

1. Immediately establish a White-House-led Outreach Working Group for Central America, composed of representatives of: N.S.C., State Department, Defense Department, C.I.A., O.A.S., A.I.D., U.S. Delegation to the U.N., the White House Offices of Public Liaison, Political Affairs, Communications and Legislative Affairs. This group will meet at least three times a week to oversee all aspects of the Administration's effort to shape public opinion to win for Central America in the country and in Congress.
2. Members of the Working Group will begin close liaison with outside coalitions supporting the President on Central America, sharing ideas and information with leaders of these coalitions.
3. Written materials--Current materials on defense and Central America are far from first class. In most cases our materials are turgid, partially outdated or barely legible xeroxes of xeroxes of xeroxes. All the highly paid talent available to us surely can create more materials and more

useful materials to support the President. Materials such as:

- a. Official, individual papers on a variety of topics, including, but not limited to:
  - i. A survey of Marxist-Leninist activity in the region in recent years.
  - ii. The tightening totalitarian grip of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.
  - iii. PLO and Libyan activity in Central America.
  - iv. Democracy and reform in El Salvador.
  - v. Composition, support and activities of the Marxist forces in El Salvador.
  
- b. A frequently updated file of suggested speeches and talking points on each of the above topics.
  
- c. Bi-weekly Central American Issue Updates.
  
- d. A compilation updated monthly, of "Questions and Answers on Central America."
  
- e. A steady stream of Op Ed pieces on Central America to be signed by Administration officials and materials to help outside supporters writing their own Op Ed pieces.

- f. Speedily reprinted and widely distributed copies of Gerhart Niemeyer's small but powerful A.E.I. book, Communists in Coalition Governments.

B. Themes

By default, our opposition has achieved a virtual monopoly of themes used in public discussion of the problems in Central America. We must develop themes of our own around which to discuss the region. The President's April 27 speech was useful in this respect, but we have much work to do in politically useful theme development. Some themes can be used by all spokesmen; others will be appropriate primarily for spokesmen outside the Administration. Some themes:

1. U.S. credibility--How can our friends in Europe, Israel or elsewhere take our guarantees seriously if we cannot stop Marxist aggression in our front yard?
  
2. How many disasters will it take before enough Americans realize that fine-tuned minimum efforts only guarantee failure? Cases in point:
  - a. Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion
  - b. Johnson's gradual escalation in Vietnam
  - c. Carter's Iranian hostage rescue fiasco

4. Ten percent of the population of Cuba fled over water from Castro's totalitarian regime. How many refugees, boat people and feet people, will crowd into the U.S. as freedom dies in Central America?

C. Implementation and Timing

1. Urgency--Turning back Soviet supported aggression in Central America will be a long term project, but we should begin our efforts with maximum momentum now. The President took the point position April 27 in this struggle with our foes in the Congress. We cannot let him be the target out there alone.
2. Briefings
  - a. Begin now to hold periodic inside briefings on Central America policy for all Administration appointees, down to Schedule C employees.
  - b. Begin now to hold briefings for our outside coalitions and supportive (and non-supportive) business leaders, civic groups, farm groups,



organized labor, ethnic groups, women's groups and news media. Schedule Presidential drop-bys at the appropriate briefings. Provide initial packets of information and a steady stream of updates. At the outset we should schedule so many of these gatherings that our briefing room chairs don't have time to cool down between briefings.

- c. Begin now to invite to the White House groups of civic leaders from selected states and cities for Presidential briefings on Central America. President Carter used such briefings with devastating effectiveness in the Panama Canal treaty battles. Invitation lists should be coordinated between Office of Public Liaison and Office of Political Affairs.
- d. Lists of those briefed--Each outside group briefed should be given the list of addresses of those in their briefing so they can follow up with each other if they choose to do so.

### 3. Surrogate Speakers

- a. A number of Administration spokesmen, at least five, should be thoroughly prepared to speak out

on our Central American policy. Every national news outlet and virtually every significant group should be made aware that a talented and prominent Administration spokesman is available to speak to them on this topic if invited. During the Vietnam conflict hundreds of interested outside groups covered the expenses of Administration speakers on defense issues. Such a policy saves money and, with proper promotion, will result in hundreds of appropriate invitations.

- b. Virtually every Administration official, at virtually every speaking opportunity, should work themes relating to Central America into his or her remarks. Department and agency heads should send to the Working Group periodic summary reports.

#### 4. Trips to El Salvador

Cooperate with leaders of groups in the private sector who decide to visit El Salvador. The vast majority of people there hate the guerillas. There are hundreds of thousands of internal refugees, driven from their homes by the Marxists. The San Salvador hospitals are crammed with innocent victims of terrorist attacks.

Salvadoran business, government and religious leaders jump at the chance to brief U.S. visitors. The cost and time commitment are not excessive for organization heads and influential Americans.

5. Encourage U.S. private sector initiatives to provide food, medical care, clothing and shelter for the Salvadoran internal refugees driven from their homes by the Marxist guerillas. There is a crying need for humanitarian aid, which is difficult for any congressional foe to fault. The gathering of charitable resources from the U.S. private sector will highlight the barbarity of the Marxist forces in El Salvador.
  
6. Presidential Involvement
  - a. Give periodic speeches centered on Central American policy
  
  - b. Frequently include Central American issues in remarks not primarily focused on this area.
  
  - c. Schedule a Presidential drop by at each major White House briefing on Central America.

- d. Hold Oval Office meeting with selected leaders of charitable private sector initiatives to discuss private efforts to send medicine, food and clothing for internal refugees in El Salvador.
  
- e. Arrange special thanks from the President to leaders who help generate significant support. The thanks could be in the form of Oval Office invitations, special briefings, phone calls, and personal letters of thanks. For some of the grassroots lobbys, a photo with the President or even a letter of thanks can generate much greater financial resources to expand the effective work of the organization. Some groups, for instance, already have available for computer mailings the lists of contributors to every Member of Congress.