

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Blackwell, Morton: Files

Folder Title: Central America – Miscellaneous Materials
Generated by White House / Inside Group
(7 of 7)

Box: 56

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

Notes
from

Sally Barclay

file

Fronte Feminista - 75,000
- Jack bones

Central
America

Women's International Alert

Orlando de Solo → son of physician
→ cons. org. teacher
→ massing get out
→ Church betrayed

Colts -

Military draft except for Nat. Guard

Flam around the country
houses burned down

Message

{ Don't allocate ~~the~~ money w/o
close supervision -
Invoke Monroe Doctrine

Victor Steiner - Pres. El Salvador Chamber
of Commerce

Fronte - Rhina Carballo

Mrs. Margarita Jerez

Gloria Paz

Orlando's Mother

(Ileana Wright de Solo)

Margarita Zelaya - <sup>husband w/
cotton loop</sup>
Cessna

coffee
all

(freggy) Gregorio Szelaya

leader - not well
- diabetic

SUGGESTED DRAFT

RESOLUTION GROCERY MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

** The Grocery Manufacturers Association of America recognizes the historic process taking place in Central America whereby the countries peoples of that area are attempting to establish democratic representative governments with free pltralistic socities where they do not now exist.

** The Grocery Manufacturers Association of America supports the right of these peoples to select their own goverments through free, open elections. Legitimacy is bestowed by the ballot box -- not seized at gun point.

** The Grocery Manufacturers Association of America also recognizes the urgent need for cessation in the killing and human rights abuses perpetrated by all factions in this region. We believe that the establishment of true democracy in the area will lead to a genuine and lasting peace.

** The Grocery Manufacturers Association of America believes that, due to its proximity to the United States and its location bordering on both the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, this region is vital to the security interests of our country.

** The Grocery Manufacturers Association of America further recognizes that the Marxist led guerrilla insurgency in El Salvador is seeking by terrorist means to overthrow the democratically established government of El Salvador and expresses its support for that government.

** The Grocery Manufacturers Association of America condemns the efforts of the increasingly Marxist government of Nicaragua to subvert the efforts of its own citizens to establish a free, pluralistic society providing for genuine political parties, labor unions, and other associations.

** The Grocery Manufacturers Association of America also condemns and opposes the long-standing support by the government of Nicaragua for the Marxist insurgent groups in El Salvador; this support includes the supply of war materiel, training, military and political guidance, and the provision of a headquarters and communications facility near the Nicaraguan capital.

** In view of the above, the Grocery Manufacturers Association of America strongly supports the policies and efforts of the Reagan Administration to provide the appropriate economic and security assistance to the countries of Central America to enable them to establish democratic governments and societies; and, where necessary, to keep the Marxist-guerrillas from seizing power. We also support the Administration's efforts to control human rights abuses and to seek a just peace through national reconciliations, and free elections.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: Faith Ryan Whittlesey

SUBJECT: Polling Data on Central America

This morning, Dick Wirthlin briefed me on recent trends in American opinion related to Central America.

We established that there is an urgent need to know which arguments will be most effective in behalf of the President's policy in Central America.

Dick is going to go into the field this weekend with a poll and is quite willing, if you approve, to incorporate questions that will be of most use to us, particularly with U.S. groups that are our natural allies.

Dick says the sort of question that would be most useful is a "push" question. Attached is a listing of my proposed sample questions.

If you agree that this is information that we need, I would appreciate you passing your approval on to Dick Wirthlin.

1 Attachment a/s

PUSH QUESTIONS

"If you knew (_____ insert _____) would that make you more likely or less likely to support President Reagan's policy in Central America?"

1. that Marxist revolutionaries in El Salvador and Nicaragua have said their intention is to take over every country in Central America
2. that El Salvador is closer to Texas than Texas is to New York City
3. that the Marxist government of Nicaragua has confiscated Jewish businesses and closed the last Jewish synagogue there and that almost all Jews there have fled to other countries
4. that the Sandinista government of Nicaragua has persecuted many Catholic priests and organized demonstrations to shout down the Pope when he recently visited the country
5. that the Marxist government of Nicaragua has persecuted most Protestant missionaries and shut down dozens of Protestant churches there
6. that the Sandinista government has set up concentration camps for their political opponents and for thousands of members of the Miskito Indian tribe in Nicaragua
7. that the Marxist government of Nicaragua is systematically expropriating the businesses and farms of anyone who politically opposes them
8. that Cuba, the Soviet Union, East Germany, North Korea and other communist countries have recently sent more than 8,000 troops and organizers to Nicaragua
9. that Marxist government officials in Nicaragua have said they are willing to accept Soviet nuclear missile bases in their country
10. that the rebels in El Salvador are closely tied to Fidel Castro
11. that the Marxist guerrillas in Central America intend to set up a communist government in Mexico
12. that 10% of the population of El Salvador has already fled to the United States as refugees

13. that 2 million more refugees will crowd into the United States if Central America falls to the Communists
14. that 10 million more refugees will crowd into the United States if Central America and Mexico fall to the Communists
15. that the United States would have to station troops on our Southern border if Mexico fell to the Communists
16. that United States use of the Panama Canal is endangered by Communist activity in nearby countries
17. that the Marxist government in Nicaragua has shut down free labor unions and is forcing workers to join communist-run unions
18. that more than three-fourths of the United States assistance to El Salvador has been economic aid, not military aid
19. that the Soviet Union is spending much more to support revolutionary activity in Central America than the United States is spending to oppose communism in the region
20. that communist takeover of more countries in Central America will endanger the United States economy because more than half of our imported energy supplies and industrial raw materials are now shipped through the area

*Central
America*

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
- 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?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 9, 1983

Mr. Albert E. Strong, Director
PROJECT HELPING HAND
1377 "K" Street, N.W.
Suite #78
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Mr. Strong:

Mrs. Faith Ryan Whittlesey asked me to let you know she was very pleased to hear from Steven Rhodes of your activities.

While private sector initiatives are generally handled by James K. Coyne, Special Assistant to the President for Private Sector Initiatives, Mrs. Whittlesey is particularly interested in your activities relating to refugees. The best estimates are that the United States would receive in excess of two million refugees if Marxist-Leninist regimes were established throughout Central America. This would place a crushing burden on government agencies, and private sector relief groups. We receive increasing indications of concern from the public regarding the refugee problem.

I would encourage you to communicate directly with Ambassador H. Eugene Douglas, United States Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, Suite #7526, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520. Ambassador Douglas is the most knowledgeable person in the country regarding refugee matters.

If there is anything specific which our office could do to help you, please let us know.

Cordially,



MORTON C. BLACKWELL
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

cc: J. Steven Rhodes
Assistant to the Vice President
for Domestic Policy



United States Department of State
Office of the Secretary

November 14, 1983

NOTE TO: MORTON BLACKWELL
FROM : PATRICE MALONE *PM*
SUBJ : REGIONAL BRIEFINGS

Ambassador Reich has prepared an action plan to carry out the regional briefings which we have discussed.

Please review this and let us have your comments. If this plan is acceptable to your office, would you please have Ambassador Whittlesey sign the attached.

done

Ret. to State 11/15



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 14, 1983

MEMORANDUM

TO: PA - Mr. John Hughes

FROM: S/LPD - Otto J. Reich
WH/OPL - Faith Whittlesey *FHW*

SUBJECT: Major Media Market Briefings

We would like to ask your assistance in implementing the attached proposal for a series of regional briefings on Central America to begin in early December.

We have discussed this concept with Jim Baker and have received his approval.

Attachment: Regional Briefings
on Central America

REGIONAL BRIEFINGS ON CENTRAL AMERICA

Concept:

Organize a series of regional briefings on Central America in an effort to reach the greatest number of Americans to inform the public on United States policy in Central America.

Organization:

The top 24 media markets have been selected as one effective vehicle for communicating U.S. policy to the American public. They are as follows:

- New York
- Los Angeles
- Chicago
- Philadelphia
- Detroit
- San Francisco
- Washington
- Dallas/Fort Worth
- Houston
- Boston
- St. Louis
- Pittsburgh
- Baltimore
- Minneapolis/St. Paul
- Atlanta
- Cincinnati
- Milwaukee
- Denver
- Cleveland
- San Diego
- Miami
- Seattle-Everett
- Tampa-St. Petersburg
- Phoenix

By organizing these 24 media markets into regional briefings of 2 to 3 cities depending on the proximity, we can maximize the use of our resources.

The proposed tours are as follows:

Philadelphia/New York/Boston
Baltimore/Washington
Pittsburgh/Cleveland/Detroit
Dallas/Ft. Worth/Houston
San Diego/Phoenix/Los Angeles
Milwaukee/Chicago/Minneapolis-St. Paul
Atlanta/Miami/Tampa-St. Petersburg
Cincinnati/St. Louis
San Francisco/Denver/Seattle

Depending on the number of cities involved, each tour would consist of 2 or 3 major forums hosted by prominent organizations within the participating city, i.e., World Affairs Council, International Chamber of Commerce, and/or the League of Women Voters. Media add-ons would be scheduled around the platforms, for example, interviews with editorial boards, TV talks shows and/or other town meetings.

Briefing teams will be composed of senior as well as mid-level USG officials representing all components of our foreign policy in the region. A few examples are as follows:

<u>Team Leader</u>	<u>Destination</u>
Jeane Kirkpatrick or Vernon Walters	Philadelphia/New York/ Boston
Bill Middendorf	Baltimore/Washington
Peter McPherson	Pittsburgh/Cleveland/Detroit
Eugene Douglas	Dallas-Ft.Worth/Houston
Caspar Weinberger	San Diego/Phoenix/Los Angeles
John Vessey	Milwaukee/Chicago/Minneapolis- St. Paul
Otto Reich	Atlanta/Miami/Tampa- St. Petersburg
Verne Orr	Cincinnati/St. Louis
Tony Motley	San Francisco/Denver/Seattle

The above team leaders were selected because of their knowledge of the geographic area.

Our goal is to communicate our policy to the greatest number of persons. With this in mind, we believe that the White House would be able to generate more interest within the communities to attend a "National Security Briefing on Central America," therefore, the invitation should be issued from the White House.

We have explored this idea with organizations in a few of these key cities and their response has been extremely positive.

Our thought is to schedule these briefings throughout December and into the month of January.

Fact Sheet on Threat to Latin America

1. Cuban Buildup:

- Cuba's military capability is far in excess of defensive needs.
- Army (225,000) includes nine active and 18 reserve divisions; Navy (11,000); Air and Air Defense Forces (16,000).
 - With about 21 times the population of Cuba, the United States in contrast has only 24 divisions -- 16 active and 8 reserve.
- 2.3% of Cuba's population is in the regular armed forces.
 - One of every 20 Cubans participates in some kind of security mission.
 - By comparison, Mexico (with seven times Cuba's population) maintains regular defense forces half the size of Cuba's and less than 2/10 of one percent of its people.
 - The US has less than one percent of our people in the regular armed forces.
 - Castro's military effort is about 10 to 20 times greater than any other major nation in this hemisphere.
- 200 MIG fighters (including 2 squadrons of MIG-23s); 650 tanks; 90 helicopters (including MI-24 HIND attack helicopters); 1 Koni-class frigate; 2 Foxtrot attack submarines; 50 torpedo and missile attack boats (including the modern Turya torpedo boat, exported only to Cuba) and 2 amphibious assault ships.
- 68,000 metric tons of military equipment poured into Cuba in 1982, the highest yearly total since 1962. In 1981, deliveries were 66,000 metric tons.
- Over the last two years (1981-82) military aid exceeded \$1 Billion.
- Cuba's newly received equipment, combat experience in Africa, employment of reserve forces, and extensive training have given Cuba an independent capability to project limited power in the Caribbean Basin.

2. Soviet Influence and Presence in Cuba:

- Soviet Brigade (2,600 - 3,000 men) located near Havana provides a palace guard.
- Soviets have a major intelligence collection facility (largest of its kind in the world) which monitors US communications.
- Soviet advisors in Cuba: civilian (6-8,000); military (2,500) reflects an increase of 500 in 1982.
- In 1982 Soviet economic aid soared to \$4 billion annually, more than 1/4 of the estimated GNP.

- Soviet leverage with Cuba is based on several factors:
 - Massive Soviet economic support.
 - Presence of large numbers of Soviet personnel in Cuba.
 - Soviet/Cuban consultations at the highest levels before implementation of decisions.
 - Common objectives to support revolutionary movements and curtail US influence.

3. Nicaraguan Buildup:

- Compared to Somoza's 9,000 man National Guard, the Sandinistas have increased the active Armed Forces to about 25,000 and militia and reserves to 50,000.
 - 39% of the males over 18 years old fit for military service are already in uniform.
- The Sandinistas have announced intentions to buildup their armed forces to an estimated strength of 250,000, including 50,000 in the active Armed Forces and 200,000 in the reserves and militia.
 - One of every ten Nicaraguans would be under arms. This would be an unprecedented ratio.
- The Sandinistas have built 45 major military bases, complete with Soviet-style obstacle courses, to support the rapidly increasing Sandinista forces. (This contrasts sharply with 29 small garrisons under Somoza.)
- About 70 Nicaraguans were sent to Bulgaria for training as pilots and mechanics. According to a Sandinista official, the first class of 30 pilots completed its training in December 1982. Five Nicaraguans are now receiving instruction on the MIG-21 in the USSR.
- Existing landing strips in Nicaragua are being lengthened and will be able to accommodate sophisticated jet aircraft. One - Punta Huete - can accommodate any aircraft in the Soviet inventory.
 - Arrival of MIGs in Nicaragua, which could be flown in quickly from Cuba, would dramatically increase Nicaragua's threat to its neighbors.
- The Soviets have provided a variety of helicopters and transports to Sandinista counterinsurgency capabilities.
- Approximately three battalions of Soviet tanks have been introduced into Nicaragua.
- Nicaragua has received over 1,000 East German trucks, about 100 anti-aircraft guns, and Soviet 152 millimeter howitzers with ranges over 17 kilometers.
- Soviet support includes blatantly delivering equipment directly to Nicaragua on Soviet Bloc ships.

-- There have been more Soviet Bloc ship deliveries in the first eight months of 1983 than in all of 1982.

4. Communist Influence/Presence in Nicaragua:

- Cuban advisors: civilian (5,500); military and security (2,000).
 - About 1200-1500 so-called "teachers" in Nicaragua are reportedly Cuban soldiers or military advisors.
 - Cuban advisors are serving in key posts throughout the government. Cuban counterinsurgency expert General Ochoa has been reported in Nicaragua.
- There are also advisors from the USSR, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Libya and the PLO.
 - The USSR has 100 military and 100 civilian advisors in Nicaragua. Soviet advisors are deeply involved in directing the effort to upgrade the Nicaraguan Air Force. Soviet advisors have included generals, reportedly five at one sighting.
 - Thirty five East German advisors are assisting in the establishment of a tight security apparatus and 100 East Germans on economic advisors.
 - About 100 Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian, Polish and Hungarian economic advisors are also present. The Bulgarians are committed to a \$125M project now underway to expand the port at El Bluff.
 - There are about 20 Libyan pilots and mechanics in Nicaragua training the Nicaraguan Air Force. In 1981, the Libyans approved a \$100M loan for Nicaragua. They have been actively supplying the Sandinistas with arms and equipment.
 - As many as 50 PLO pilots and mechanics are flying and servicing both the Sandinista Air Force and Aeronica, the civilian airline. PLO advisors in Nicaragua have trained Salvadoran guerrillas. Since 1980, the PLO has provided about 50 tons of arms and equipment to the Salvadoran guerrillas.

5. Cuban Subversive Activities in El Salvador:

- Cuba organized the guerrilla combined military command in 1980 and assisted in developing a military strategy and initial war plans.
- Cuba assisted the guerrillas in launching the ill-fated offensive in January 1981.
- Cubans have been instrumental in arranging for acquisition and delivery of weapons to the guerrillas from Vietnam, Ethiopia, and Eastern Europe by way of Nicaragua.
- Guerrilla recruits have been transported to Cuba and elsewhere for extensive training in military skills.
- Some guerrillas have reportedly trained as units in Cuba.

6. Cuban Influence on Grenada:

- Cubans are financing and constructing an airbase capable of accommodating advanced jet aircraft that far exceeds the requirements of Grenada.
 - While the new airfield is ostensibly to stimulate the sagging tourist industry, tourist facilities are not being increased.
 - Selwyn Strachan, the Grenadian Minister of National Mobilization, has boasted publicly that Cuba will eventually use the new airport to supply troops in Angola. He also indicated that because of its strategic location, the airport may be used by the USSR.
 - The airport could be used for forward basing of Cuban and Soviet aircraft which would increase the air threat to US sea lines of communication.
- Cuban goals in Grenada are military and political, aimed at ensuring the viability of the Bishop Government while serving as a base for Cuban propaganda dissemination and support to leftist groups in the Eastern Caribbean.
- The number of Cuban civilians in Grenada has increased from 350 in 1982 to 600 in 1983. The number of Cuban military personnel has more than tripled from 10 in 1982 to over 30 this year.
- Cuba has constructed a military camp in Grenada, including barracks, administration buildings, vehicle storage sheds, support buildings, and a training area with a Soviet-style obstacle course.
 - Clearing activity indicates that additional training facilities may be build near Petit Calivigny Point and Point Egmont.
 - The camp is built to house a battalion-size unit and is being built by Cubans.
 - The camp could serve as a base for Cuban and/or Grenadian troops; a training facility for Grenadian Armed Forces or Caribbean leftist groups; and a forward supply depot for overseas contingents, leftist groups and governments.
- Cuba has installed a radio transmitter on Grenada. Cuban transmissions to Latin America and the Caribbean already account for about 250 hours weekly, compared to about 200 hours by the USSR and less than 100 by the US.

7. Cuban Influence in Suriname:

- The Cuban Ambassador is a senior intelligence officer who was formerly Chief of the Caribbean Section of the Americas Department of the Cuban Communist Party that is responsible for Cuban covert activities.
 - He has a very close relationship with LTC Bouterse, Suriname's military leader.
- In December 1982, Bouterse cracked down on his opposition who were trying to restore democracy to Suriname.

- He firebombed labor union headquarters and radio stations and arrested 15 prominent labor leaders, journalists, the bar association president, and student leaders. All were tortured and killed.
- A subsequent military purge resulted in the death of Bouterse's own deputy.

8. Potential Soviet/Cuban Influence in Latin America:

Soviet Bloc Scholarship Programs:

- Number of Soviet Bloc academic grants offered annually to Latin American students jumped from 400 in the 1960s to about 7,000 now.
 - Figures do not include Cuban students; Moscow admitted that 7,000 Cubans were studying in the USSR in 1979.
 - Soviet scholarships include free tuition, room, board, transportation, medical care, and a small stipend.
 - Courses of study include such diverse fields as agronomy, medicine and mining engineering, but all involve considerable political orientation.
 - In 1982, 3,000 - 5,000 Panamanians were estimated to be studying at the college level in communist countries (including Cuba).
 - In 1982, 700 Nicaraguans were reported to be studying in the Soviet Union and an additional 300 scholarships were being provided.

Cuban Programs:

- Number of Latin American students studying in Cuba is estimated to be 2,500 - 3,500.
 - About 300 are from the Eastern Caribbean.
 - Cuba has recently put more emphasis on Central America, with the number of Nicaraguan students growing.
- On the Isle of Youth, there are 17,000 Cuban and 9,000 foreign students.
 - All the foreigners and 14,000 of the Cubans are in "basic secondary schools in the country," live-in schools for 7th, 8th, and 9th graders 12 to 18 years old.
 - Foreign students include 2,300 each from Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia, and 1,100 from Nicaragua. (About 500 Nicaraguans are also studying elsewhere in Cuba.)
 - Each nation has its own school buildings and teaching staff, including small numbers of its nationals.
 - The program involves a combination of work and study shifts. As a result of the work shift, citrus acreage has been increased from about 1,700 acres to about 60,000 acres and the fruit and juice are used for export and domestic consumption.

- Each of 17 schools for foreigners costs the Cuban government \$1.7 million to build and \$572,000 annually to operate.
- The annual cost per student for food, medicine, books and teachers' salaries is about \$1,000.

Prepared by: Heyward G. Hutson
COL, USA
OSD/ISA-IA, (202) 695-3607

Marxist/Leninist Activity in El Salvador - A Brief

- Since the Sandinistas came to power in 1979, Nicaragua has become a base for export of violence to its neighbors. El Salvador became a target almost immediately after the takeover.

- In 1979, to overcome the differences espoused by communist groups in El Salvador over revolutionary tactics, Fidel Castro summoned the leaders to Cuba for a unity meeting where he outlined his strategy: El Salvador and Guatemala would be "next", with Honduras to be used as a corridor for the transit of guerrillas and arms.

- In 1980, further unification arrangements occurred in Havana which created the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN), a new umbrella organization, to direct and continue the insurgency in El Salvador; its headquarters was established in Managua, Nicaragua. Cuba and its Soviet bloc allies then provided training and supplies which began to flow clandestinely through Nicaragua to El Salvador.

- The FMLN exerts Marxist-Leninist control over five extreme leftist groups -- the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL); the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN); the Peoples Revolutionary Army (ERP); the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (PRTC); and the Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL). It is a professional guerrilla organization bent on establishing in El Salvador the kind of one-party dictatorship linked to the Soviet Union that already exists in Nicaragua.

- FMLN headquarters in Nicaragua has evolved into a sophisticated command and control center -- more elaborate in fact than the Sandinistas used against Somoza. Planning and operations for FMLN guerrillas are guided from this headquarters. This includes logistical support, food, medicine, clothing, money and most importantly--weapons and ammunition. This guidance and support flows to guerrilla units in El Salvador.

- The headquarters in Nicaragua decides on most locations to be attacked in El Salvador and coordinates supply deliveries to those guerrilla groups who will execute the action. Aircraft carrying weapons and supplies from improved airfields north of Managua have been confirmed by photographic evidence and later identified by sightings in El Salvador.

- Captured guerrilla leaders, like Alejandro Montenegro, have given details of Cuban/Nicaraguan support such as:

- Cubans trained the guerrillas who conducted a successful raid in 1982 on Salvadoran aircraft at Ilopango Air Base near San Salvador.
- Cubans held high level meetings with Salvadoran guerrilla leaders in Havana and Managua where they reviewed strategy and gave advice.
- Guerrillas made numerous trips to Managua to pick up arms using trucks modified to carry concealed weapons.
- Hundreds of guerrillas have received military training in Cuba attending courses for combatants, commanders, and staff and intelligence officers.
- Sandinistas control weapons delivered from Viet Nam to Nicaragua for Salvadoran insurgents and provide an extensive base of operations near Managua where even schools are provided for children.

- The scope of Cuban/Nicaraguan support was recognized and reported on May 13, 1983 by the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence which judged that intelligence information shows with certainty that:

A major portion of the arms and other material sent by Cuba and other communist countries to the Salvadoran insurgents transits Nicaragua with permission and assistance of the Sandinistas.

- The FMLN guerrillas have grown to about 5000 full time fighters and an estimated 5000 to 10,000 part time activists who provided logistical and political as well as combat services. Despite their size and extensive support received the guerrillas have suffered major set backs.

-- In January 1981, the guerrillas launched their heralded "final offensive" which failed despite Cuban assistance and participation in detailed planning, and an extensive Soviet/Cuban military supply operation which covertly shipped 200 tons of equipment and weapons.

-- During the first three months of 1982, shipments of arms into El Salvador surged in preparation for disruption of the March 1982 elections. The guerrillas destroyed public buses, cut highways, attacked villages, towns and voting places. Nonetheless, in the presence of several hundred election observers from democratic countries and 700 foreign journalists, the Salvadoran people repudiated the extreme left by voting in overwhelming numbers -- more than 80% of the eligible population participated even though threatened with death by the guerrillas.

- Since their failures in 1981 and 1982 the guerrillas have stepped up their war against the Salvadoran economy by the following actions:

- Attacking and destroying farms.
- Destroying 55 of the country's 260 bridges and damaging others.
- The national water authority is attempting to rebuild 112 water facilities damaged by guerrilla action.
- Two hundred and forty-nine attacks on the telephone system have caused millions of dollars in damages.
- Electrical systems have suffered over 5,000 guerrilla-caused power interruptions in the past two years, an average of almost 8 per day.
- The eastern region was blacked out for over a third of the year in 1981 and 1982.
- Thirteen crop-dusting planes have been destroyed or damaged since last October.
- The guerrillas destroyed over 200 buses in 1982 alone.
- Less than half the rolling stock of the railways remains operational.

- In short, guerrilla sabotage is deliberately and systematically depriving the people of El Salvador of food, water, transportation, lights, sanitation and work.

- Today new elections are scheduled for El Salvador and once again the left refuses to participate; instead, they call for unconditional "dialogue", a negotiating technique whose objective is to share power in El Salvador. ~~By sharing power they can then subvert the government from within, a tactic which has historically been successful for communists.~~

Soviet/Cuban Threat and Buildup in the Caribbean

Since 1978 we have seen an ever increasing Soviet presence in the Caribbean Region. The USSR through its surrogate--Cuba--has been able to establish a permanent presence in the Western Hemisphere.

The Characteristics of the Soviet/Cuban Build-up: Men, Money, Materiel

- The Soviet Union maintains and reinforces its presence by:
 - Deploying its long range Bear Bombers to the region on an almost back-to-back basis.
 - Deploying its naval combatants for joint training exercises with Cuba.
 - Providing a palace guard of approximately 3,000 men of its Soviet Brigade near Havana and an additional presence of 2,500 military advisors.
 - Providing Cuba with 8,000 civilian advisors.
- In 1982, the Soviets and Cubans had 50 times as many military advisors in Latin America as did the US. Last year the Soviets increased their military advisors in Cuba by 500.
- The USSR has also provided a steady stream of military equipment to Cuba. In 1981 alone, Moscow provided 66,000 metric tons in military assistance valued at \$600 million. Deliveries in 1982 exceeded 1981 by 2,000 metric tons and amounted to over \$1 billion in military assistance in the last two years.
- Cuban armed forces have grown to a size disproportionate for defensive needs:
 - Cuba possesses an Army of over 225,000; a Navy of 11,000 and air and air defense forces of 16,000 not including hundreds of thousands of paramilitary.
 - Cubans have well over 200 MIG fighter aircraft.
 - Castro has about 65,000 Cubans serving overseas, 40,000 military (25,000 troops in Angola, about 12,000 in Ethiopia) and 25,000 civilian technicians.
 - Cuba has 2.3% of its population in the regular armed forces, one of every 20 Cubans participates in some security mission.
- Moscow underwrites the activities of its Cuban surrogate at a cost exceeding \$4 billion annually (1/4 of Cuba's GNP) and supports efforts to collect funds, arms, and supplies from the communist bloc for guerrilla activities in Central America and the Caribbean.
- The number of Soviet Bloc academic grants offered annually to Latin American students jumped from 400 in the 1960's to about 7,000 now. In 1979 Moscow admitted to sponsoring 7,000 Cubans for studies in the Soviet Union. Last year 700 Nicaraguans were reported studying there and an additional 300 scholarships were being provided. Scholarships include free room, board, tuition, transportation, medical care and a small stipend.
- About 3,000 Latin American students, including 1,600 Nicaraguans are studying in Cuba. Cuba has constructed 17 schools for foreigners each costing about \$2 million to build and \$600,000 to operate annually.

SOVIET MILITARY DELIVERIES TO CUBA

THOUSANDS OF TONS

250

CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS
(JULY - OCTOBER, 1962)

70

60

50

40

HEIGHT OF CUBAN
INVOLVEMENT IN BOLIVIA

30

20

CUBAN TROOPS
IN ETHIOPIA

CUBAN TROOPS
IN ANGOLA

CUBAN/SOVIET
POLICY RIFT

ARMS TO
CENTRAL AMERICA

10

0

1962

63

65

67

69

71

73

75

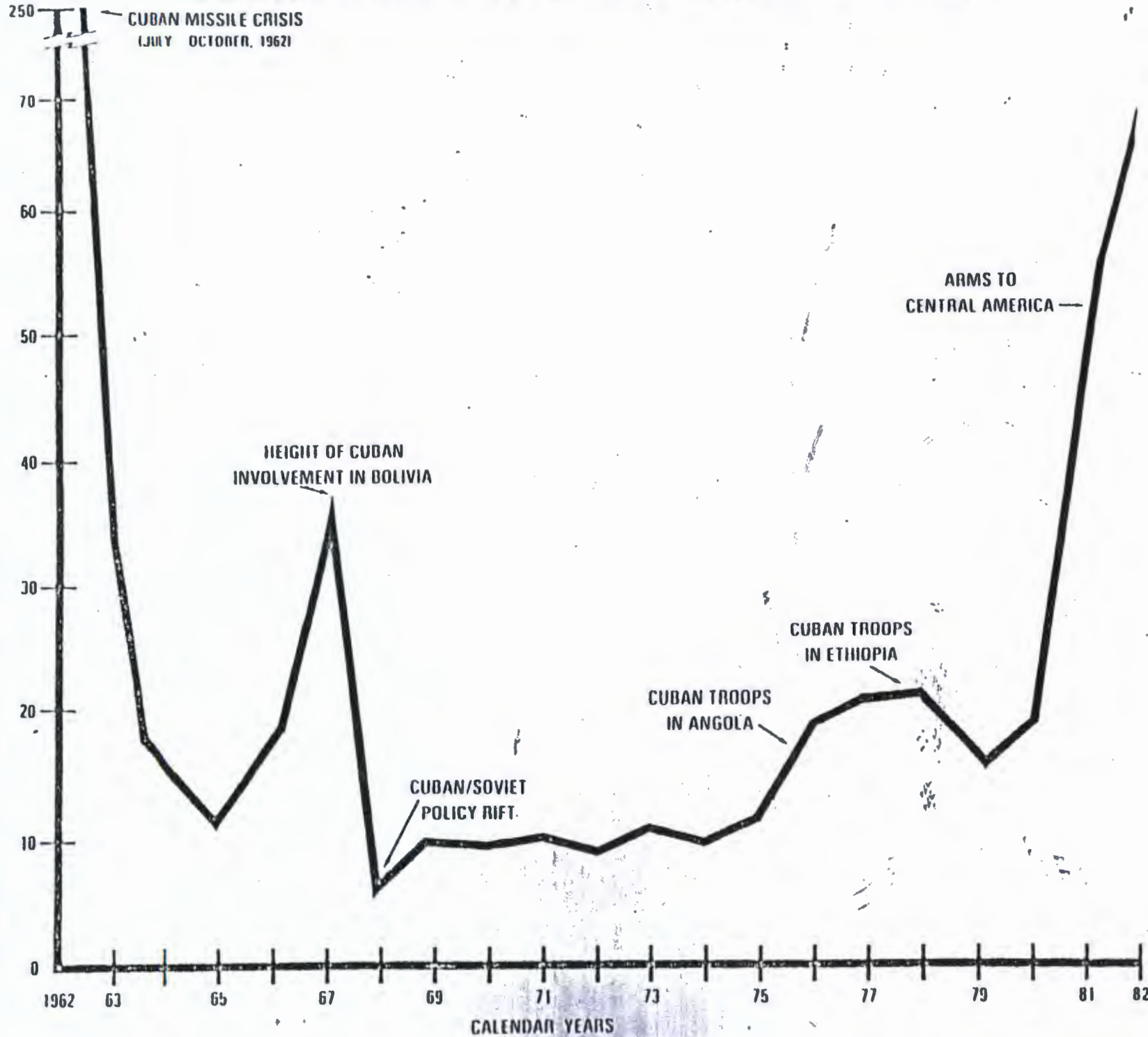
77

79

81

82

CALENDAR YEARS



Spreading Soviet/Cuban Intervention Throughout The Region

- The implication of the Soviet/Cuban buildup is that it provides a platform for spreading subversion and supporting guerrillas throughout the region.

- It was Cuba that acted as the catalyst to organize and unify the far-left groups in El Salvador, assisted in developing the military strategy and encouraged the guerrillas to launch the ill-fated "final" offensive in January 1981. Cuba continues to be vital in training and supporting continuing offensives in El Salvador by funneling weapons and supplies via Nicaragua to rebel forces in El Salvador.

- Castro is actively engaged in converting Nicaragua into another Cuba. There are approximately 5,500 Cuban civilian advisors and more than 2,000 Cuban military and security advisors in Nicaragua.

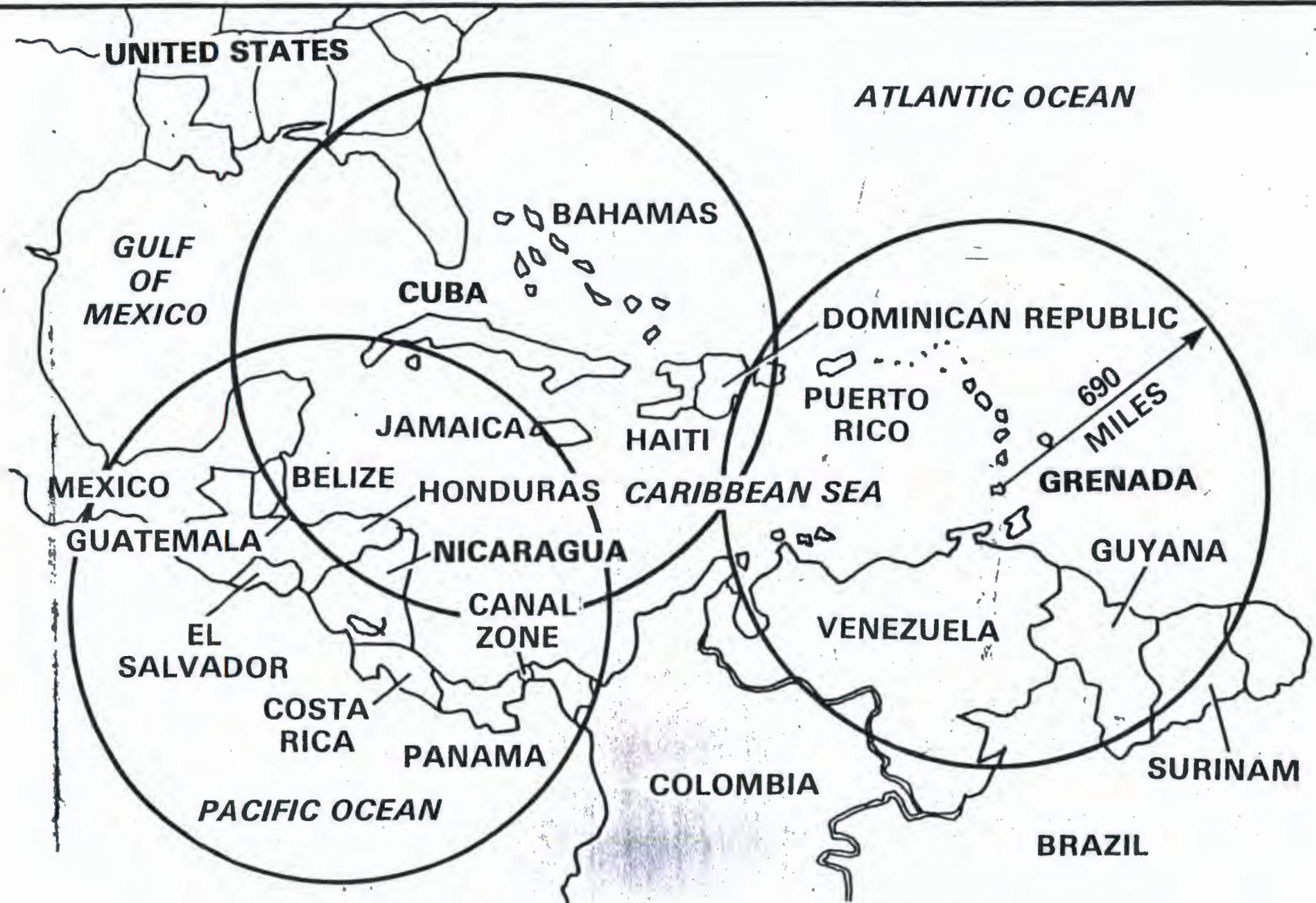
- The Sandinistas themselves have boasted they have 138,000 men under arms in their active armed forces, reserves, militia, police and security forces. At its present strength the Sandinista Army represents the largest military force in the history of Central America. The Sandinistas have built 36 new military garrisons since Somoza's downfall.

- Approximately 70 Nicaraguans were sent to Bulgaria for training as pilots and mechanics. Existing landing strips in Nicaragua are being lengthened and will be able to accommodate the most sophisticated Soviet jet aircraft. MIGs could be flown in quickly from Cuba.

- In Grenada, the Cubans are constructing air facilities that exceed the requirements of that tiny island. The Grenadian Minister of Mobilization, Selwyn Strachan, has boasted publicly that Cuba will eventually use the new airport to supply troops in Angola, and because of its strategic location it will also be used by the Soviet Union. Over the past 2 years, Cuba's presence has been aimed at ensuring the viability of the Bishop government. Cuba has constructed a battalion size military base, including barracks and training areas; and it is building additional training facilities at Calivigny Point and Point Egmont.

- In Suriname, the Cuban Ambassador is a senior intelligence officer who was formerly Chief of the Caribbean Section of the Americas Department of the Cuban Communist Party. The Americas department is responsible for Cuban covert activities. The Cuban Ambassador maintains a very close relationship with LTC Desire Bouterse, Suriname's military leader, and has continuous access to key leaders.

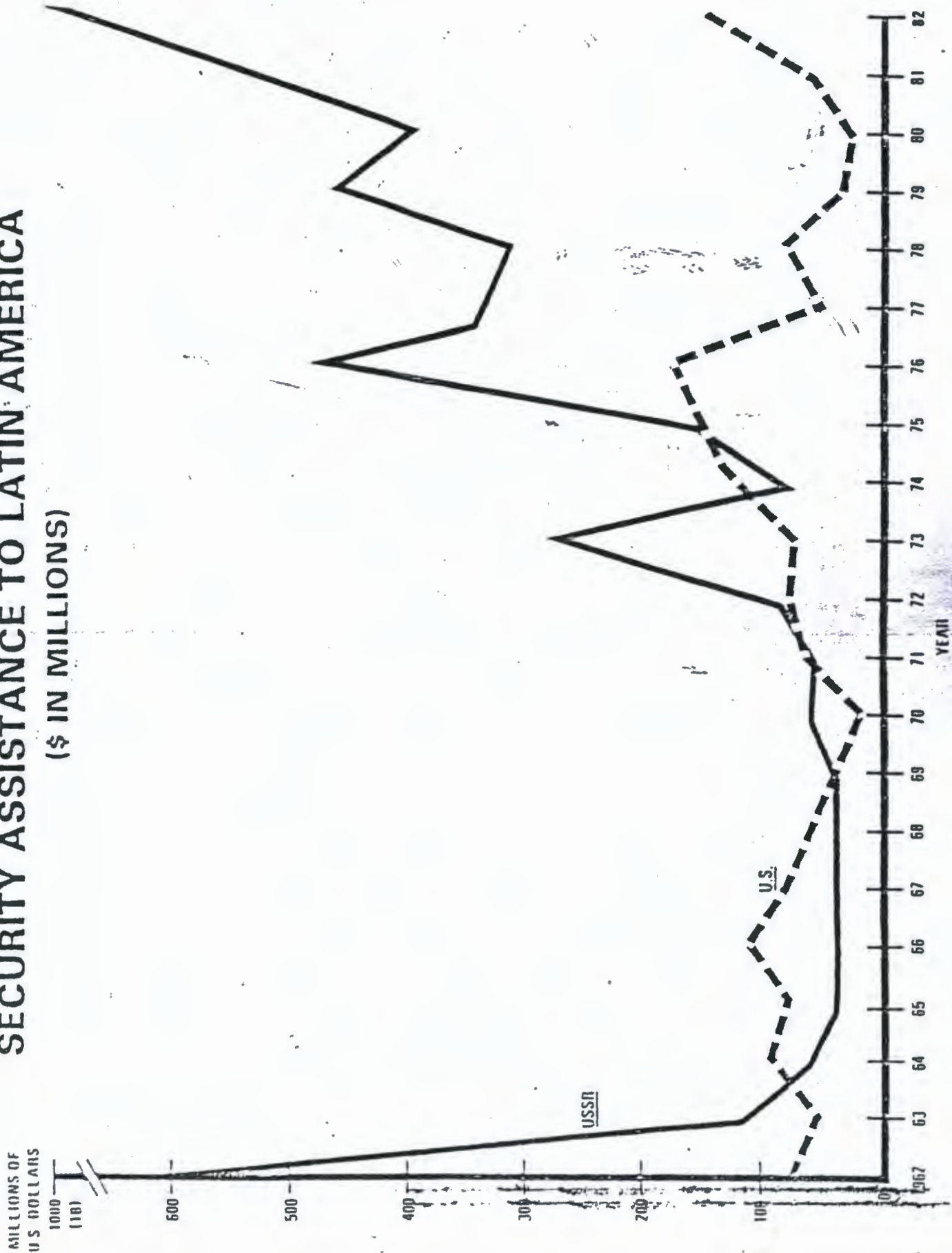
RADIUS OF ACTION FOR MIG AIRCRAFT STATIONED IN CUBA, NICARAGUA AND GRENADA



The Threat Posed by Soviet Expansionism

- Such communist expansion could lead to an extensive and permanent Soviet presence, and an increased Soviet strategic capability in the region which would create significant military consequences for the US.
 - It could place hostile forces and weapons systems within striking distance of targets in the US.
 - It could provide air and naval bases, such as those in Nicaragua and Grenada, for recovery of Soviet aircraft after strategic missions.
 - It would furnish missile sites for launching attacks against the US with short and intermediate range missiles.
 - It could provide bases for use in covert operations against the US and our neighbors.
 - It could provide for prepositioning of Soviet equipment, supplies and ammunition in our hemisphere.
 - It could allow the Soviet Pacific and Atlantic fleets to operate near our shores without having to return to the USSR for maintenance.
 - It could threaten our Caribbean Sea Lines of Communication through which a large volume of our goods pass; thus endangering the economic well-being of our nation.
 - And finally, it could cause the US to divert scarce resources in manpower and materiel from other areas of the world to protect an area previously considered militarily secure.
-

SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO LATIN AMERICA (\$ IN MILLIONS)



- During World War II, over 50 percent of the supplies and reinforcements bound for the European and African theaters passed through ports in the Gulf of Mexico. From February to July 1942, German U-boats sank 114 allied ships - more than 560,000 gross tons - without having the submarine bases in the Caribbean area the Soviets now have use of. Today, significant numbers of NATO reinforcements and fifty percent of the resupply material would originate at these same gulf ports. This vital shipping must then pass through the Straits of Florida or the Yucatan Channel - the major choke points between the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic.

- The Soviet Union long ago recognized the strategic importance of Cuba lying amidst these two narrow choke points. For less than the annual cost of supporting an aircraft carrier battle group, the Soviets have developed a formidable weapon.

- The weapon is Fidel Castro's Cuba. Cuba is an unsinkable aircraft carrier that comes with a 225,000 man army and an Air Force which includes more than 200 MIG aircraft. This Soviet weapon sits astride the sea lanes into and out of the Gulf of Mexico.

- During the last five years the Soviets have accelerated their program of modernizing Cuba's military forces to provide them with an offensive interdiction capability. Today, Cuba, with its diesel attack submarines, missile-equipped patrol boats, hydrofoil torpedo boats, and air-to-ground capable aircraft, has the potential to seriously threaten these vital shipping routes. The Cuban government has also been provided a Soviet-built, Koni-class frigate further enhancing their military arsenal. With the recent addition of two Soviet Polnocny Class amphibious ships, Cuba is developing the capability to project force throughout the Caribbean. They have rehearsed amphibious landings with 400 marines and light tanks on beaches near Mariel.

- This Soviet-Cuban arsenal represents a direct military threat just 90 miles from our shores. In the past 20 years, we have moved from a position of relative security in this hemisphere to a situation where we could very well find Soviet bases on our southern flank. This creates a vulnerability which our country has not had to address - and one which could totally alter our strategic position and limit our military options throughout the world. Unfortunately, Congress and the American public have not begun to understand the gravity of the situation.

- For the future, the Soviets will strive to maintain Cuba as their satellite state, and Cuba is expected not only to support Soviet policies and objectives in the Western Hemisphere, but also to pursue aggressively its own objectives. Castro will continue to exploit every opportunity to export terrorism and revolution to increase his communist influence and destabilize established governments in the area. Nicaragua is already a puppet of Cuba and is being used as a funnel through which weapons and supplies reach rebel movements throughout the Central American region. The Sandinistas are espousing a "revolution without frontiers."

- With the current forces, we are only capable of executing a sequential strategy. The forces needed to secure the Caribbean are the same ones needed to ensure the security of the North Atlantic. The same forces are also needed in Europe. At the beginning of hostilities, some of these forces may be deployed to the Indian Ocean and some in the Mediterranean or Caribbean. The choice of the sequence may well belong to the Soviets.

- It is imperative that we strengthen our commitment in the Caribbean, re-establish close working relationships with our friends and neighbors in the area, and reaffirm our support and assistance to each of the friendly governments there.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

THROUGH: JACK C. COURTEMANCHE

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL *MB*

SUBJECT: Outreach Working Group "Questionnaire"

The attached questionnaire is intended for the people who have attended our Wednesday Central America briefings. This version of the questionnaire is based on the recommendations of the members of the Working Group at the Monday, November 28th meeting.

This questionnaire is being sent to you for your review and approval. I would appreciate it if you could advise me of your review today, so that the questionnaire can be included in our imminent mailing. Thank you.

*Nov. 30
OK
FRW*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

A Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

Please take a few moments to complete this questionnaire and return it to: The Office of Public Liaison, Room #191-CFOB, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500. Thank you.

1. How many Wednesday Central America briefings, approximately, have you attended?
2. Please comment on the usefulness of the briefings you have attended.
3. What topics would be of interest to you for future speakers to address?
4. Who would be of particular interest to you as a speaker?
5. Would you recommend changing the format of the briefings? If so, how?
6. Have the materials which have been distributed to date been useful to you?
7. What additional types of materials/information would be useful to you?
8. Has your organization engaged in any outreach activities? For example: speakers/programs on Central America, op-ed pieces, newsletters, articles in publications of your organization, etc. Please specify.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
August 17, 1983

*Sample:
Ltr to those who
have expressed an
interest, but have
not attended a
mtg.*

Dear Mr. Meyer:

Mrs. Faith Ryan Whittlesey, Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, has asked me to extend her thanks to you for your expressed interest in the White House Outreach Working Group on Central America.

For your information, I am enclosing an article which appeared in the Washington Post regarding the White House Outreach Working Group. I am also enclosing copies of the five White House Digests which have been issued to date as well as a Background Paper on Central America which I believe you will find of interest.

Our featured speakers for the remainder of August will be:

August 24 - Ambassador Vernon A. Walters

August 31 - The Honorable John Marsh,
Secretary of the Army

The meetings will begin at 2:30 p.m. and will be held in Room #450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

We hope you will be able to put the meetings of the Outreach Working Group on your calendar. In that regard, I am enclosing a copy of a "Registration Form" and ask that you take a few minutes to complete it indicating whether or not you desire to be placed on our Regular Clearance List. We are asking for your Social Security Number and Date of Birth to facilitate the clearance procedure for those meetings with the President/Vice President in attendance. Please return the completed form to: Mrs. Joyce Thomann, Office of Public Liaison, Suite #191-OEOB, Washington, D.C. 20500, or give it to her at the next meeting.

Sincerely,

Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

Mr. M. Barry Meyer
Senior Vice President - Government Relations
ALUMINUM ASSOCIATION
818 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Enclosures

(Stored at 49)

*Sample:
Ltr. to those who have
attended a mtg.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 17, 1983

Dear Ms. Weinstein:

Mrs. Faith Ryan Whittlesey, Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, has asked me to extend her thanks to you for your expressed interest in the White House Outreach Working Group on Central America.

For your information, I am enclosing an article which appeared in the Washington Post regarding the White House Outreach Working Group. I am also enclosing copies of the five White House Digests which have been issued to date as well as a Background Paper on Central America which I believe you will find of interest.

Our featured speakers for the remainder of August will be:

August 24 - Ambassador Vernon A. Walters

August 31 - The Honorable John Marsh,
Secretary of the Army

The meetings will begin at 2:30 p.m. and will be held in Room #450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

We hope you will continue to put the meetings of the Outreach Working Group on your calendar. In that regard, I am enclosing a copy of a "Registration Form" similar to the one you have already filled out and ask that you take a few minutes to complete it indicating whether or not you desire to be placed on our Regular Clearance List. We are asking for your Social Security Number and Date of Birth to facilitate the clearance procedure for those meetings with the President/Vice President in attendance. Please return the completed form to: Mrs. Joyce Thomann, Office of Public Liaison, Suite #191-OEOB, Washington, D.C. 20500, or give it to her at the next meeting.

Sincerely,

Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

Enclosures

Ms. Diane Weinstein, Esq.
PEABODY, LAMBERT AND MYERS
1150 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

(Stored at 50)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 17, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR:

~~MORTON C. BLACKWELL~~

FROM:

Edward A. Lynch *EL*

SUBJECT:

Status of papers on refugees and Christians

To Ed Lynch
↙

I had several conversations with Mike Baroody's office and Dick Darman's office today. The depressing results are as follows:

The refugee paper has once again been held up in the NSC. I spoke to Constantine. He wrote another memo saying that the NSC had cleared the paper last week. He promised to check with Bob Kimmit and see what the problem is. I sent Constantine a copy of the President's statement on refugees.

An early draft of the Persecutions of Christians paper, which does not include the changes made during the informal clearance process, has been cleared by Senior White House Staff and the NSC. This draft does not include the stylistic changes made, such as shorter paragraphs, or substantive changes such as the persecution of the Jewish community, the incident with Father Bismark Carballo, or changes in the wording.

As I see it, we have two choices. First, we can go with the earlier draft, which will save time but will undoubtedly raise objections from people in the State Department. Or, we can have Darman task out the revised draft, which will take more time but will, in my opinion, produce a superior DIGEST. I would be inclined to do the latter, although I am not happy with either option. Please advise.

yes
MB

I do not know how Darman's office got the earlier draft. My best guess is that the draft I sent through you to FRW got detached from the cover memo and that she retrieved the earlier copy from her files and sent that to Darman's office last week.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 1, 1983

Dear Major North:

Thank you so much for giving so freely of your time to enhance the efforts of our White House Outreach Working Group on Central America.

I am sorry that I was unable to be present for your briefing to the members of the Religious Broadcast community on Thursday afternoon, but Morton tells me that you did an outstanding job. He tells me that your authoritative discussion on the spread of communism in Central America was most stimulating.

Thank you again for your able participation in our Outreach efforts.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

Major Oliver North,
National Security Council
Suite #392 - OEOB
Washington, D.C. 20500

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 1, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO JUDGE WILLIAM P. CLARK,
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

FROM: Faith Ryan Whittlesey

SUBJECT: Major Oliver L. North

I want to thank you for providing Major Oliver L. North of the NSC staff to speak before a group of the religious broadcast community on Thursday, July 28, 1983 on the subject of Central America.

Ollie's presentation, I am told, was one of the highlights of the meeting. He spoke off the record, but the insights which he gave to this group of very supportive and valuable communicators have materially assisted our efforts to communicate the President's policies on Central America.

It is my understanding that a two-hour television documentary will be done from the materials and on the record information presented to this group. In addition, many radio broadcasts have been given and others are in preparation.

For your information, I am attaching a copy of the Agenda for the July 28th program. In keeping with Major North's request that his presentation be totally off the record, his name did not appear on the formal Agenda.

Thank you again for the support which you have given me.

1 Attachment a/s