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UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

June 3, 1983

199 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

TO: Mort Blackwell

FR: Jackie Tillman *JT*

Enclosed is the first cut for the Central America update. For this first one, I have included items only about Nicaragua and Cuba. I intend to cover the rest of Central America in the future ones, but to get one off the press by next Wed., I'll leave it at that. I, again, want to stress with you that since Ambassador Kirkpatrick (and consequently, I) does not have formal responsibility for Central America policy, it is really important that the NSC clear on these items as to content, accuracy, etc. I have indicated with each item the source of information. As you can see, some of the items come from unclassified paragraphs of otherwise classified cables, the rest are taken from FBIS (the Foreign Broadcasting Information Service), which is also unclassified.

2 per month
MB

It would be very helpful for me to have a schedule from you indicating how many times a month you desire to put out the updates, when you need the information in order to make your publication deadlines, etc.

I have not attempted to address the "bias" question with this update, but I do think it ought to be considered. My feeling is that the US press covers all the "bad news" coming from El Salvador, Guatemala, etc., but has not touched most of the items in this update that tend to bolster the Administration's case. So, for example, if the military, or someone, in El Salvador has committed an atrocity, I have not mentioned it here. Perhaps someone needs to decide our policy regarding balance, preferably before this series is issued, so it can be explained at the beginning of the process.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
June 2, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Faith Ryan Whittlesey
THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
SUBJECT: Second White House Digest Paper

You will recall that Ambassador Middendorf urged that we issue a paper on "Libertion Theology." He volunteered to generate the piece.

Here is the draft by his Senior Policy Advisor, Alberto M. Piedra. I suggest that you forward it to Dick Darman for clearances so that it can be our second "White House Digest" paper.

MCB:jet

1 Attachment a/s

Some Observations on Liberation Theology

Liberation theology, which blossomed in Latin America soon after the end of World War II, has shaken the very foundations of the Catholic Church. However, in spite of its Latin American growth, the first seeds of liberation theology appeared in Europe, in particular at the University of Louvain in Belgium, where many Latin American priests and nuns received their more advanced graduate education.

Even though Camilo Torres, the Colombian revolutionary cleric killed in his native country in 1965, was one of the first apostles of liberation theology, the Peruvian priest Gustavo Gutierrez can be considered the founder of the liberationist movement in Latin America. His book, (A Theology of Liberation, Maryknoll:Orbis, 1973) is well known in left wing Catholic intellectual circles. Other Latin American liberation theologians are the Argentine Jose Miguez-Bonino (Christians and Marxists, Grand Rapids:Erdmans, 1976), the Uruguayan Juan Luis Segundo S.J., (A Theology for the Artisans of a New Humanity, Maryknoll:Orbis, 1974, 5 Volumes), Hugo Assman, (Theology for a Nomad Church, Maryknoll:Orbis, 1975) and Enrique Dussel, (History and Theology of Liberation: A Latin American Perspective, Maryknoll:Orbis, 1976).

As already indicated, liberation theology has its roots in Europe, in spite of its wide diffusion in Latin America. The Belgian priest Joseph Comblin is one of the most fervent advocates of liberation theology (The Church and the National Security State, Maryknoll:Orbis, 1979). Comblin's influence in Latin American Catholic circles has been significant. He is responsible for introducing the so called "national security doctrine". According to this doctrine, military regimes are largely responsible for the political repression being practiced in Latin America and the brunt of the blame should fall on the United States. Comblin claims that the "national security ideology system" can be traced to the National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, under the National Security Act of 1947.

Catholic and Protestant German theologians have contributed also to the development of liberation theology. J.B. Metz, R. Bultmann, J. Moltmann and Dorothy Solle are among the better known theologians who have developed a formal "political theology". As Father James V. Schall has stated, "such political theology tends to stress not how difficult it is to live in and support any existing society, but concentrates on all the defects and imperfections in the light of some utopian or future norm".

It is often claimed that the theological bases of liberation theology can be traced to the writings of the Roman

Pontiffs, to the Second Vatican Council and, in particular, to some of the conclusions reached during the Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops held in Medellin, Colombia in 1968 (CELAM II). It is true that the encyclicals Mater et Magistra and Pacem en Terris of John XXIII had a profound influence on Catholic social teachings. The same can be said of Paul VI's encyclical Populorum Progressio, in which the Pope came out strongly in defense of human rights and stressed the need to remedy the imbalance between the rich and the poor nations. It is also true that CELAM II, held in Medellin in 1968, called for social activism and indicated that the Church could not stand idly by in the face of the extreme inequities that prevailed in Latin American society. Terms such as "dependency" and "economic colonialism" were used widely. It was even said that institutional violence generated oppression by the ruling power groups and this was often done under the guise of maintaining peace and order. This state of affairs only brought about the continuous and inevitable seed of rebellion and war.

The growth of liberationism has been great in Latin America. Using mainly the writings of Gustavo Gutierrez, Juan Luis Segundo, Jose Miguez-Bonino and Hugo Assman, the proponents of liberation theology have been able to influence large sectors of Catholic thought, including the ideas of bishops and cardinals.

In essence, liberation theology maintains the following points:

1. Sin is identified with unjust social structures, namely capitalism. Salvation, or deliverance from sin, can be achieved by armed revolution. The revolutionary cadre, or the party, acts as the messiah that will lead the people out of misery into the true kingdom of socialism.
2. Jesus sided with the poor and, as a result, he clashed with the Roman authorities who were in favor of intolerance, the status quo and out-moded social and political institutions. The Christians of today must also side with the poor against the intolerance and abuses of an unequal and decadent capitalist structure.
3. Following the example of God who incarnated himself in a fleshy condition, the Christians of our modern era must also incarnate themselves in a concrete, even temporal, political project: the Marxist revolution.
4. The Church must, therefore, take up the cause of the oppressed people against the oppressor, sensitize the common people of the less developed countries to the social injustices which surround them and strive to change - even through violent means - the prevailing economic and social system (capitalism). Only this way will people be permitted to develop fully their spiritual and secular

potentials. Thus, the liberationists believe in the validity of Marxist analysis - including class struggle and historical determinism - and justify the use of violence to reach their proposed ends.

Opposition to liberation theology, as originally propounded by its founders, is developing slowly within Catholic circles. It is realized increasingly that liberation theology provides the radical left with a valuable asset which is often utilized to criticize the institutional Church. It is a well known fact that, oftentimes, Spanish, French and American priests have helped the guerrillas with food, funds and propaganda support through various charitable and relief organizations. There are also reports of active collaboration between certain priests and members of the Communist Party, especially in El Salvador.

To counteract any possible deviation from traditional Catholic doctrine, resulting from false interpretations of the Gospel, Pope John Paul II has stated repeatedly the Church's position on the role of priesthood in political, social and economic matters. The Pontiff is very much aware of the dangers to the faithful resulting from doctrinal deviations which attempt to interpret the gospel in a way which casts serious doubts on the divinity of the man Christ. Perhaps, the address of John Paul II given at Puebla, Mexico, on occasion of the Third General Conference of Latin American Bishops in 1979 (CELAM III), expresses better than any other document, the Pontiff's concern about the implications of liberation theology. If any doubts remain about the Church's position vis a vis liberation theology, they should be discarded after a careful analysis of the Papal address at Puebla. The Pope specifically stresses the need to correct whatever misinterpretations have sometimes resulted from CELAM II.

The major doctrinal beliefs spelled out by the Pope and his principal objections to the so-called theology of liberation can be reduced to the following:

1. "The primary and irreplaceable duty of the pastor, as the teacher of faith, is to carefully watch over the purity of doctrine of the Gospel. This is basic in building up the Christian community."

2. "The preacher of the Gospel never betrays or misrepresents the truth out of a desire to please people, to astonish or shock people, to display originality or to strike a pose."

3. "... today we find in many places a phenomenon that is not new. We find re-readings of the Gospel that are the product of theoretical speculation rather than of authentic mediation of the Word of God and genuine evangelical commitment. They cause confusion insofar as they depart

from the central criteria of the Church's faith, and people have the temerity to pass them on as catechesis to Christian communities."

4. "Christ is alleged to be only a prophet, a proclaimer of God's Kingdom and love, but not the true Son of God. Hence, he allegedly is not the center and object of the gospel message itself."

"In other cases people purport to depict Jesus as a political activist, as a fighter against Roman domination and the authorities, and even as someone involved in the class struggle. This conception of Christ as a political figure, a revolutionary, as the subversive from Nazareth does not tally with the Church's catechesis. Confusing the insidious pretext of Jesus' accusers with the attitude of Jesus himself - which was very different - people claim that the cause of his death was the result of a political conflict; they say nothing about the Lord's willing self-surrender or even his awareness of his redemptive mission. The Gospels show clearly that, for Jesus, anything that would alter his mission, as the Servant of Yahweh, was a temptation (Matt. 4:8; Luke 4:5). He does not accept the position of those who mixed the things of God with merely political attitudes (Matt. 22:21; Mark 12:17; John 18:36). He unequivocally rejects recourse to violence. He opens his message of conversion to all, and he does not exclude even the politicians. The perspective of his mission goes much deeper. It has to do with complete and integral salvation through a love that brings transformation, peace, pardon and reconciliation."

5. "Against such re-readings (of the Gospels), therefore, and against the perhaps brilliant but fragile and inconsistent hypothesis growing from them, evangelization in Latin America's present and future, cannot cease to affirm the Church's faith: Jesus Christ, the Word and Son of God, becomes human to draw close to human beings and to offer them, through the power of his mystery, the free gift of God that is salvation."

6. "... evangelizing is the essential mission, the specific vocation, the innermost identity of the Church, which has been evangelicalized in turn. Sent out by the Lord, the Church in turn sends out evangelizers to preach not themselves or their personal ideas, but a Gospel that neither they nor the Church own as their own absolute property, to dispose of as they see fit."

7. "How could there be any authentic evangelization in the absence of prompt, sincere respect for the sacred magisterium, a respect based on the clear realization that in submitting to it, the People of God are not accepting

the word of human beings but the authentic Word of God. The objective importance of the magisterium must be kept in mind and defended against the insidious attacks that now appear here and there against some of the solid truths of our Catholic faith."

8. "Allusion is made, for example, to the separation that some set up between the Church and the Kingdom of God. Emptied of its full content, the Kingdom of God is understood in a rather secularist sense: i.e., we do not arrive at the kingdom through faith and membership in the Church but rather merely by structural change and socio-political involvement. Where there is a certain kind of commitment and praxis for justice, there the Kingdom is already present. This view forgets that the Church ... receives the mission to proclaim and to establish among all peoples the Kingdom of Christ and of God. She becomes on earth the initial budding forth of that kingdom."

9. "... it is a mistake to state that political, economic and social liberation coincide with salvation in Jesus Christ; that the regnum Dei is identified with the regnum hominis."

10. "In some instances an attitude of mistrust is fostered toward the institutional or official Church which is described as alienating. Over against it is set another, people's Church, one which is born of the people and is fleshed out in the poor. These positions could contain varying and not always easily measurable degrees of familiar ideological forms of conditioning."

The Pope's opening address at Puebla should convince all those who are still doubting the Church's position with respect to liberation theology. John Paul II continuously stresses that "whatever the miseries or sufferings that afflict human beings, it is not through violence, power plays, or political systems but through the truth about human beings that they will find their way to a better future". And this is precisely the opposite of what many liberation theologians are preaching in Latin America.

With reference to the term liberation, the Pontiff clearly states that the Christian concept of liberation means "liberation from everything that oppresses human beings, but especially liberation from sin and the evil one, in the joy of knowing God and being known by him". He goes on to say "it is a liberation that, in the framework of the Church's specific mission, cannot be reduced simply to the restricted domain of economics, politics, society or culture, ... can never be sacrificed to the requirements of some particular strategy, some short term praxis or gain".

Finally, John Paul II, to make sure no one misunderstands the message he is trying to convey, specifically alerts the Christian community against the danger of misinterpreting the Christian concept of liberation which basically means liberation from sin and death. He points out that the Church must safeguard the originality of the Christian meaning of liberation. Otherwise, the Church's message of liberation would have nothing original, and it would lend itself to ready manipulation and expropriation by ideological systems and political parties. "There are many signs", he goes on to say, "that help us to distinguish when the liberation in question is Christian and when, on the other hand, it is based on ideologies that make it inconsistent with an evangelical view of humanity, of things and of events. These signs derive from the content that the evangelizers proclaim or from the concrete attitudes that they adopt. At the level of content, one must consider how faithful they are to the Word of God, to the Church's living tradition and to its magisterium. As for attitudes, one must consider what sense of communion they feel, with the bishops first of all, and then with the other sectors of God's People".

Pope John Paul II's statement at Puebla reaffirms the Church's position on the role of Christ and how it is only from a solid Christology that light is shed on doctrinal and pastoral themes. The Pope is very critical of theological interpretations of the Gospel which deviate from the magisterium. He rejects Marxism and alerts Christians against false theologians who try to interpret the Gospel according to the Marxian categories of class struggle and economic determinism. The Pontiff falls short of an outright condemnation of liberation theology but he does say, in no uncertain terms, that the economic and social analysis of this type of theology is extremely dangerous and often times distorted. It is a well known fact that liberation theology accepts all or part of Marxist analysis and considers it scientifically true. Once this premise is accepted, it is easy to conclude that there is no distinction between Christianity and Marxism. It is obvious, that in the light of present and past papal documents, this position cannot be accepted by the Catholic Church.

During the Pope's recent visit to Central America, the Pontiff once again warns the Christian community about the dangers of using the Christian faith for temporal political ends (Marxist ones). The purity of the Gospel must not be subverted or distorted to serve the needs of Marxist theory. When in Nicaragua, the head of the Catholic Church insisted that it was wrong to attempt to distort the faith through "earthly considerations, unacceptable ideological compromises and temporal options, including a conception of the Church that replaces the true one".

Hopefully, the Pope's visit to Nicaragua has eliminated much

of the confusion that existed among the Sandinista supporters who tried to link the Gospel with Marxist ideology. The presence of several priests in the government of Nicaragua and the fact that liberation theology was widely accepted in certain radical Catholic circles did not constitute an impediment for the Pope to speak out openly and with clarity about the dangers of trying to equate the Kingdom of God with Nicaragua's Marxist-Leninist regime. After the Pope's numerous and categorical statements in Central America and elsewhere, it is very difficult, even for lukewarm Catholics, to follow the dictates of those "liberation theologians" who apparently have forgotten that God's Kingdom is not of this world. As Christopher Dawson said some years ago: "We have no right to expect that Christian principles will work in practice in the simple way that a political system may work. The Christian order is a supernatural order. It has its own principles and its laws which are not those of the visible world..."

file: CA Misc.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 1, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Michael E. Baroody
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
SUBJECT: Issue Paper

I understand from Mrs. Whittlesey that you are now working hard to produce 100 copies of the first paper generated by our Outreach Working Group on Central America. I really appreciate your cooperation on this.

Earlier this morning, my Assistant, Joyce Thomann, sent you a draft with corrections from Roger Fontaine of the NSC. I understand from Walt Raymond of the NSC that the rest of the clearance process from State, CIA, etc. has been completed. I believe Dick Darman has any suggested changes.

Again, thank you very much for your cooperation and I am hopeful we can have copies for distribution at our 2:30 p.m. meeting today in Room #194.

MCB:jet

cc: Mrs. Faith Ryan Whittlesey

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 24, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Kevin Hopkins

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*

SUBJECT: First "Issue Up Date" to be Generated by
Out-Reach Working Group on Central America

Attached is Roger Fontaine's edited draft. He has only two changes -- adding a word on page 4, and deleting a word on page 6.

MCB:jet

1 Attachment a/s

*6-1-83: Corrections red tagged to Jude (Baroody's Office - 160)
10:22*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 24, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Roger Fontaine

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell *MB*

SUBJECT: First "Issue Up Date" to be Generated by
Out-reach Working Group on Central America

Attached is Jackie Tillman's text as edited by the White House Office of Policy Information.

Mrs. Whittlesey urgently wants this cleared by close of business today so that it can be printed and distributed at our Out-reach Working Group meeting tomorrow afternoon.

Ed Harper's office is rushing this through the Darman clearance procedure. If you have suggested changes, please let us know as soon as possible.

Thank you.

MCB:jet

1 Attachment a/s

p. 4
p. 6

NICARAGUA'S SANDINISTAS: HAVING IT ALL WAYS

When the Nicaraguan revolutionaries succeeded in overthrowing the reviled Somoza regime in 1979, they received enormous support from within and outside of the country because of their promises to replace a dictatorship with a democracy.

The Sandinista regime that subsequently came to power in Nicaragua promised elections, respect for human rights, a mixed economy, and other long-sought reforms. But as President Reagan pointed out:

The Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua turned out to be just an exchange of one autocratic rulers for another, and the people still have no freedom, no democratic rights, and even more poverty. Even worse than its predecessor, it is helping Cuba and the Soviets to destabilize our hemisphere.

Yet the Sandinistas still claim extensive overseas support because of their ability to "have it all ways" in the court of international opinion. Distinguishing the myths and realities of the Sandinistas is vital to understanding the nature of many of the so-called "national liberation movements" in Central America.

Western Aid/Communist Arms

Many Americans were misled by the Sandinistas because the coalition that overthrew Somoza was broad-based and contained many democrats, including representatives from labor, the press, political parties, the business community and the church. But from the beginning, many of the best-organized revolutionaries were armed Marxist-Leninists with long-standing ties to Fidel Castro, the PLO, and other anti-democratic groups. When the coalition finally overthrew Somoza, the democrats and communists pursued different goals.

Various members of the international community also sought different objectives in Nicaragua. The United States and other Western countries rushed economic assistance to the battle-torn nation while the communist bloc sent arms and military advisors.

At the end of the revolution, Nicaragua's economy was devastated; 40,000 people had lost their lives, and many more were homeless. In the first 10 weeks, the U.S. provided \$~~24~~⁴4.6 million in emergency relief such as food, medical supplies, housing assistance and a grant to the grain stabilization institute. During the first year and a half, *the U.S. gvt authorized* ~~the Sandinista government~~ received \$118 million in economic *assistance for the Sandinista gvt.* aid from the U.S. -- more than from any other *developed* country.

In addition, the U.S. actively supported all loans to Nicaragua from international lending institutions, helping them receive \$262 million from the InterAmerican Development Bank, about twice what Somoza received in total between 1960 and 1979.

But while the U.S was helping Nicaragua recover economically from the revolution, the Soviet bloc helped to arm the Sandinistas. Because of the buildup of military supplies, the Nicaraguan arsenal now includes sophisticated weapons such as Soviet-made T-55 tanks, amphibious ferries, helicopters, and transport aircraft. Airports are being upgraded to accommodate sophisticated jet fighters, such as Soviet MIG jets. And the entire society has been militarized, with a new secret police, an expanded army and militia, more reservists and new neighborhood bloc committees.

Nicaragua, with a population of 2.7 million, now has ^{22,000} 25,000 active duty forces -- at least twice the size of Somoza's National Guard -- and with its 50,000 reservists and militia, has forces under arms larger than the armies of the rest of Central America combined. To accommodate and train this force, 36 new Cuban-designed military garrisons have been built, adding to the 13 inherited from Somoza. Sandinista soldiers are trained by Cubans, the PLO, Bulgarians, and other Soviet-bloc soldiers; arms are supplied by Vietnam, Libya, the USSR and their allies.

In all, the West provided Nicaragua with about \$1.5 billion in economic aid while the Soviets helped the Sandinistas build up a military arsenal far beyond its defense needs. The U.S. offered assistance not only because of its traditional humanitarian principles but also because it hoped the democrats would prevail with Western support. On the other hand, the Communist bloc hoped that by militarizing the country, they would further Soviet expansionist policies.

Unfortunately, U.S. assistance and the good faith that came with it had no moderating effect on the communist Sandinistas in the new government. As is often the case, those with the guns won the power struggle and the communists defeated the democrats.

Internal Repression/External Respectability

Many Americans are also confused about the nature of the Nicaragua regime because the Sandinistas enjoy a degree of international respectability that such a repressive regime would ordinarily not receive. Nicaragua won a seat on the U.N. Security Council in 1982 and hosted a ^{preparatory} meeting of the Non-Alligned Movement last ~~fall~~ ^{winter}. They continue to receive support from the Socialist International and many Western countries, despite the repressive measures used to consolidate their totalitarian control over the nation's

population and institutions.

The Sandinistas worked hard to attain their international standing. The Nicaraguan foreign minister and other government officials during extensive travels abroad stressed the alleged Sandinista commitment to non-alignment, pluralism and peace. The worldwide Cuban and Soviet propaganda networks also provided extensive aid to the Sandinistas.

Yet while Sandinista diplomats are hailed internationally, their government at home has systematically abridged the most basic freedoms of the Nicaraguan people.

For example, despite their promises to hold "the first free elections (their) country will have in this century," the Sandinistas now say no elections are in sight. They ^{— certainly no elections of a kind we would recognize —} originally said their countrymen would be allowed to choose their own leaders in 1985, but a member of the Directorate recently said that elections may not be held even then. In the meantime, government decisions are made by the Sandinista- dominated Council of State, which ratifies the decrees of the nine-member Directorate.

Furthermore, the Sandinistas have harassed independent political parties, denied them permission to have political rallies, and attacked their headquarters. Leaders from MDN, the Social Democratic Party, and the Democratic Conservative

Party are now living in exile.

The Sandinistas have also nearly extinguished the freedom of the press. La Presna, for years the voice of opposition to the Somoza regime, has been closed repeatedly; it and other independent news services are now heavily censored. Government-controlled newspapers and the media publish news as ordered by the Ministry of Interior.

The freedom of religion is also under attack. The Sandinistas banned Archbishop Obando Bravo from performing mass on television, and have shut down the Catholic Church's radio station several times. Clergy have been attacked and harassed. And in an eight page letter of support to the nation's Bishops, Pope John Paul II described the Sandinista attempt to organize a parallel "People's Church" as "absurd and dangerous" and a "grave deviation." When the Pope visited Nicaragua in March 1983, his mass was interrupted by heckling and chanting, insulting the Pontiff in a manner ~~almost~~ unprecedented in modern history. A variety of Protestant sects, including Evangelicals, Mormons, Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Moravians, have been attacked; ~~with~~ their centers taken over by the Sandinista Defense Committees. *and in some cases, they have not been returned to the sects.* The Sandinista military has burned at ^{more 46 50} least 55 Moravian churches in the Atlantic Coast area.

7

The Sandinistas' totalitarian attempts to control every aspect of Nicaraguan life has been especially tragic for the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians on the country's Atlantic Coast. The government has tried to replace the traditional governing Councils of Elders with Sandinista Defense Committees. Villages that resist and even some that do not have been burned to the ground. Indians have been moved from their traditional homelands to detention centers. Many Indians and Indian leaders have been arrested or killed; more than 15,000 are in exile in Honduras.

The business community, too, has been under attack by the Sandinista leaders. In October, 1981, the Sandinistas arrested leaders of COSEP, the umbrella private sector organization, and jailed them for four months because they issued a statement criticizing official policy. Moreover, economic freedoms are subject to the whims of the Directorate: the government has expropriated so many businesses that it now owns close to half the economy. Predictably, shortages and rationing of basic goods are chronic.

Labor organizations have fared little better. The Sandinistas have harassed independent labor unions as they attempted to organize, and have beaten and arrested their leaders. Tightly controlled Sandinista labor and peasant organizations have been established to take the place of independent groups.

Since all this adds up to a disheartening human rights record, it is not surprising that ^{about four} ~~three~~ years after the Sandinistas took power, there are still 3600 political prisoners in Nicaragua. Allegations of political arrests and disappearances have increased since Somoza's fall. And human rights leaders who opposed Somoza have been persecuted by the new regime as well because they continue to call for the end of repression.

Aggressor/Victim

Another popular myth concerning the Sandinistas is their charge that they are the victims of U.S.-sponsored aggression and intervention. They make this claim repeatedly to justify their internal repression, their military buildup, and their intransigence in negotiating with neighbors seeking peaceful reconciliation in the region.

But the plain truth is that the real victims of aggression and intervention in Central America are Nicaragua's neighbors: Costa Rica, Honduras, ~~Guatemala~~, and El Salvador. The real aggressors in the region are the Sandinistas.

Within two weeks of coming to power, the Sandinistas were sending large shipments of arms to the communist guerrillas in El Salvador. By January 1981, more than 200

tons of military material had been sent. The Sandinistas began providing training and support to the guerrillas within months of taking power. It was not long before the Sandinistas were assisting and directing guerrilla military, logistical, and support actions in El Salvador from command and control centers inside Nicaragua.

The arms shipments to the Salvadoran guerrillas continually violate the sovereignty and territory of Honduras. Worse, the Sandinistas helped establish a new communist guerrilla front that, from the safety of Managua, Nicaragua, declared war against the democratically-elected government of Honduras. The Sandinistas have also stocked arms inside Honduras; more than ten tons of explosives, thousands of rounds of ammunition, small arms, sophisticated communications equipment, uniforms, passports, propaganda, and trucks and cars for transporting arms were uncovered in safe houses by Honduran authorities by the end of 1982.

The Sandinistas have also harassed Costa Rica. They try to deny the Costa Ricans the use of the San Juan River, violate their border, and make arrogant threats that would deny Costa Ricans the right to develop and use their own territory. The Costa Rica government was forced to expel two Nicaraguan diplomats assigned to Costa Rica because of their direct involvement in the San Jose bombing of a SAHSA airline office on July 3, 1982.

The real threat to the Sandinistas is not from their neighbors but from the Nicaraguan people themselves. The rage, anguish, and frustration borne of the betrayal of Sandinista promises for democracy has been exacerbated by the controlling presence of international communism. No one denies that there are Nicaraguan patriots who oppose the Sandinista regime. But they are not an "invading force." They are the same democrats who had joined the Sandinistas to rid their country of dictatorship and now hope to pressure them into fulfilling the commitments to democracy made in 1979.

U.S. National Interests

Some of those who opposed Somoza simply wanted freedom and democracy; others wanted to create a communist dictatorship. The friends of freedom lost and a communist state was established in the heart of Central America.

The Sandinistas accomplished these feats through lies and threats and through by misuse of the good will of the Western world. They managed to have it all ways: to receive humanitarian assistance from the West and military hardware from the communists, to repress their own people but gain international respectability, and to portray themselves as the victims of ^{continuing} aggression while they themselves were destabilizing their neighbors.

The Sandinista campaign to overthrow the other Central American countries and ^{eventually to} incorporate the region into the Soviet orbit is a direct threat to the national security of the United States.

It also a potential human tragedy for the citizens of Central America, since communist regimes invariably produce misery and desolation for the people they subjugate. Communist countries do not bring freedom; they create refugees fleeing ^{the Communist} dictatorship. They pursue aggression instead of peace and produce deprivation instead of prosperity. As freedom-loving humanitarian people, Americans should care deeply what happens to our neighbors.

As President Reagan has said:

Are democracies required to remain passive while threats to their security and prosperity accumulate? Must we just accept the destabilization of an entire region from the Panama Canal to Mexico on our southern border? Must we sit by while independent nations of this hemisphere are integrated into the most aggressive empire the modern world has seen? Must we wait while Central Americans are driven from their homes like the more than a million who have sought refuge out of Afghanistan, or the 1 1/2 million

who have fled Indochina, or the more than a million Cubans who have fled Castro's Cuban utopia?.....

The national security of all Americans is at stake in Central America. If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail elsewhere. Our credibility would collapse, our alliances would crumble, and the safety of our homeland would be put in jeopardy.

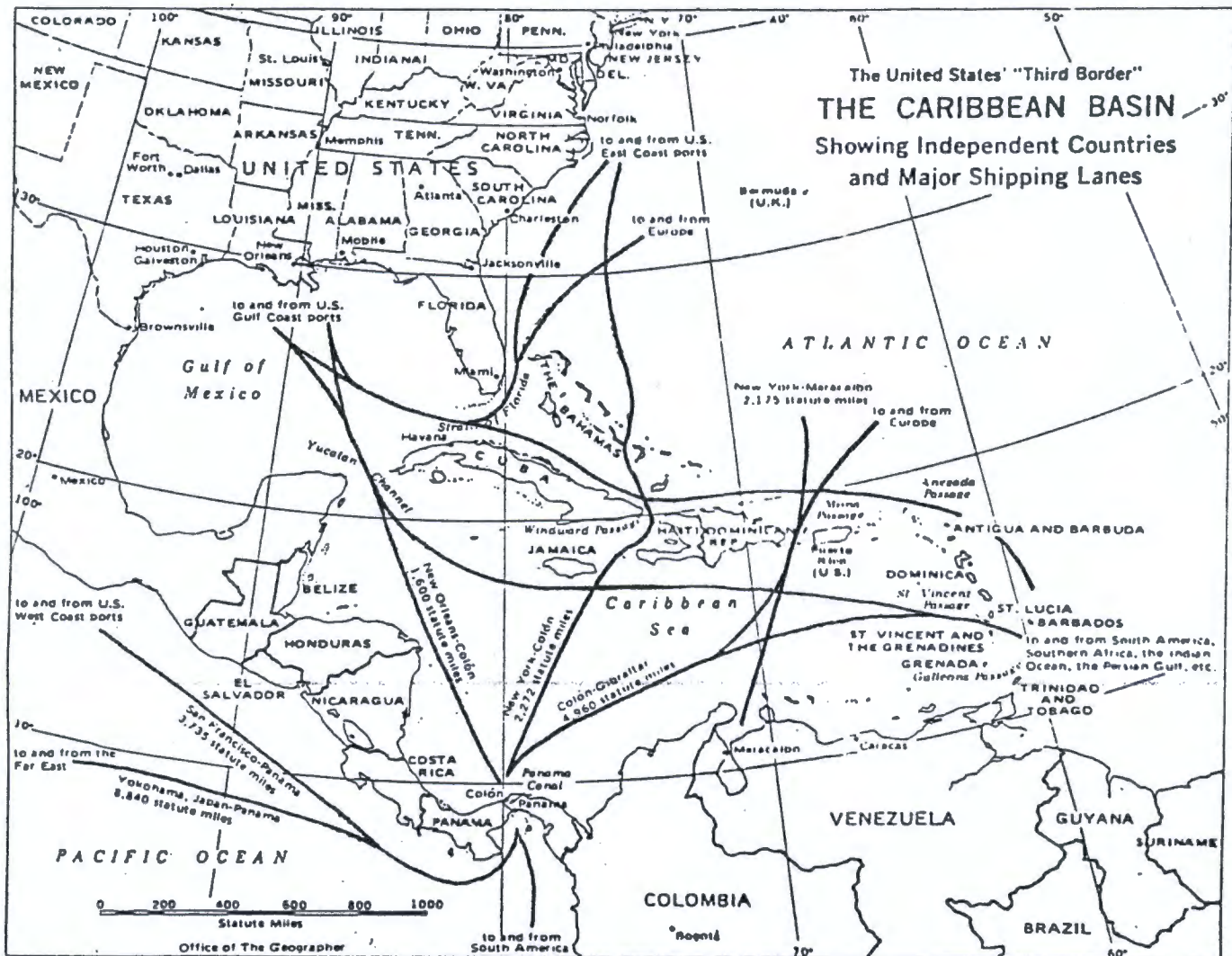
We have a vital interest, a moral duty, and a solemn responsibility.

#

Sanchez
"threat
paper"
#3

The Significance of Caribbean Sea Lanes and the Potential Threat

The United States is dependent upon a steady stream of imported raw materials and the export of finished products. Many critical raw materials, essential to the economic and military security of the United States, are transported from the Persian Gulf, Africa and South America to our ports in the Gulf of Mexico. The Caribbean Basin contains many of these vital sea and air lines of communication.



- During peacetime, 44% of all foreign trade tonnage and 45% of all import tanker tonnage moves through the Caribbean Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs) to US Gulf Coast ports. The Caribbean states also provide 75% of our nation's aluminum requirements. Additionally, numerous Caribbean ports serve as transshipment points for supertankers bringing petroleum from the Persian Gulf destined for US refineries. Within the Caribbean itself, many refineries (the major ones located in Aruba, Curacao, and St. Croix) process approximately five million barrels of crude oil a day. Thus, in peacetime, the oil passing through the area from the South Atlantic and Venezuela, and the volume of general cargo entering US Gulf ports renders the Caribbean SLOCs extremely important from an economic perspective. In addition, Alaskan oil and Pacific trade which transit the Panama Canal and pipeline are also critical to the US economy; in FY82 alone, 180.5 Million long tons moved through the canal bound for US ports. During wartime, rapid transit through the Panama Canal would be vital to the US Navy. The spread of Soviet/Cuban satellites into Central America provide a military capability to interdict traffic through the Canal, restrict the rapid deployment of US forces and cut off vital raw materials from reaching Gulf and East Coast ports.

- 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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 3, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Faith Ryan Whittlesey
THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
SUBJECT: Third White House Digest Paper

Attached is my suggested third White House Digest paper. It was prepared in the office of Nestor Sanchez and outlines the Soviet/Cuban Threat to the Caribbean. I suggest that you forward it to Dick Darman for clearances so that it can be our third "White House Digest" paper.

MCB:jet

1 Attachment a/s

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:

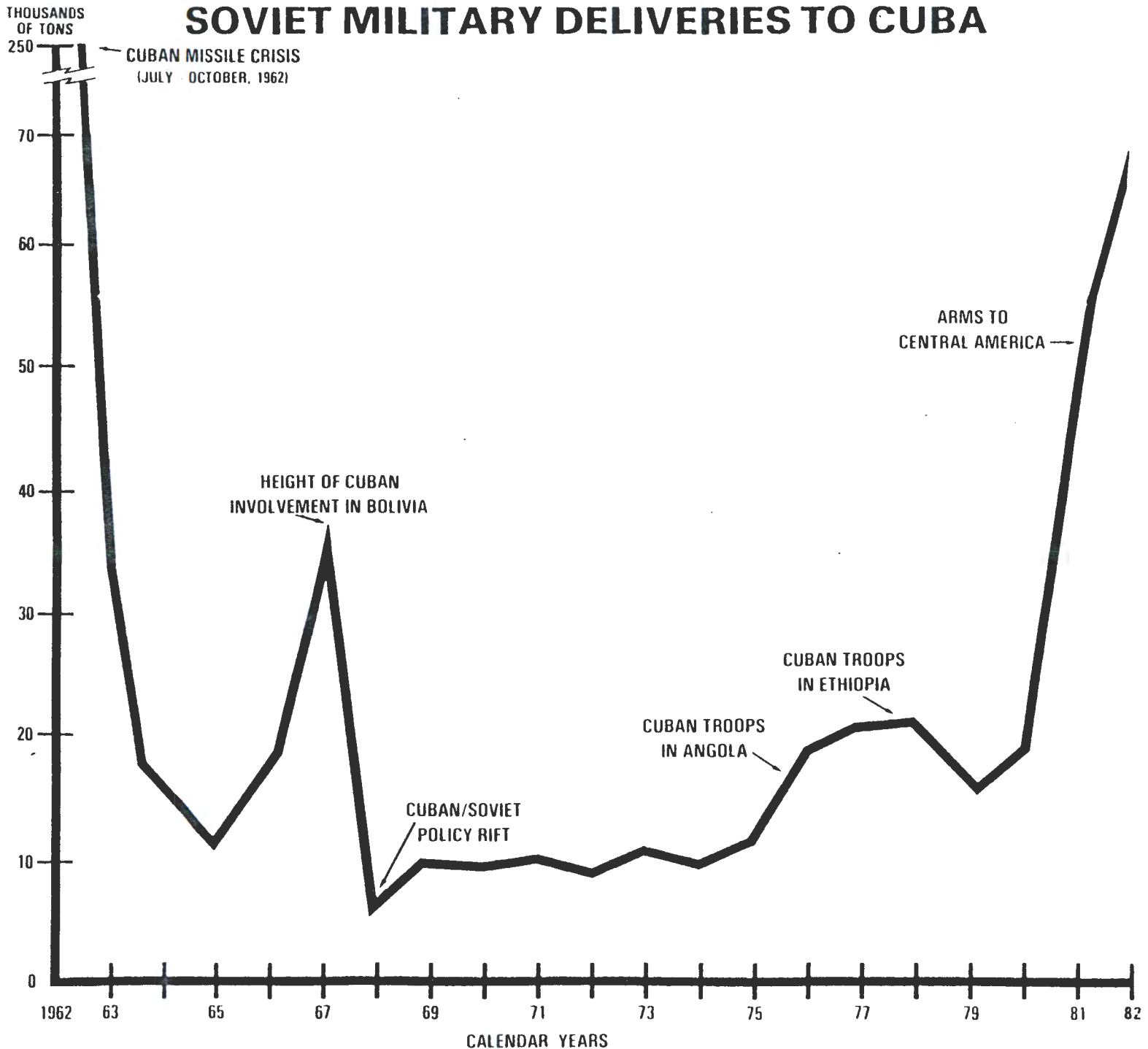
- Cuba possesses an Army of over 225,000; a Navy of 11,000 and air and air defense forces of 16,000 not including hundreds of thousands of paramilitary.
- Cubans have well over 200 MIG fighter aircraft.
- Castro has about 65,000 Cubans serving overseas, 40,000 military (25,000 troops in Angola, about 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



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.

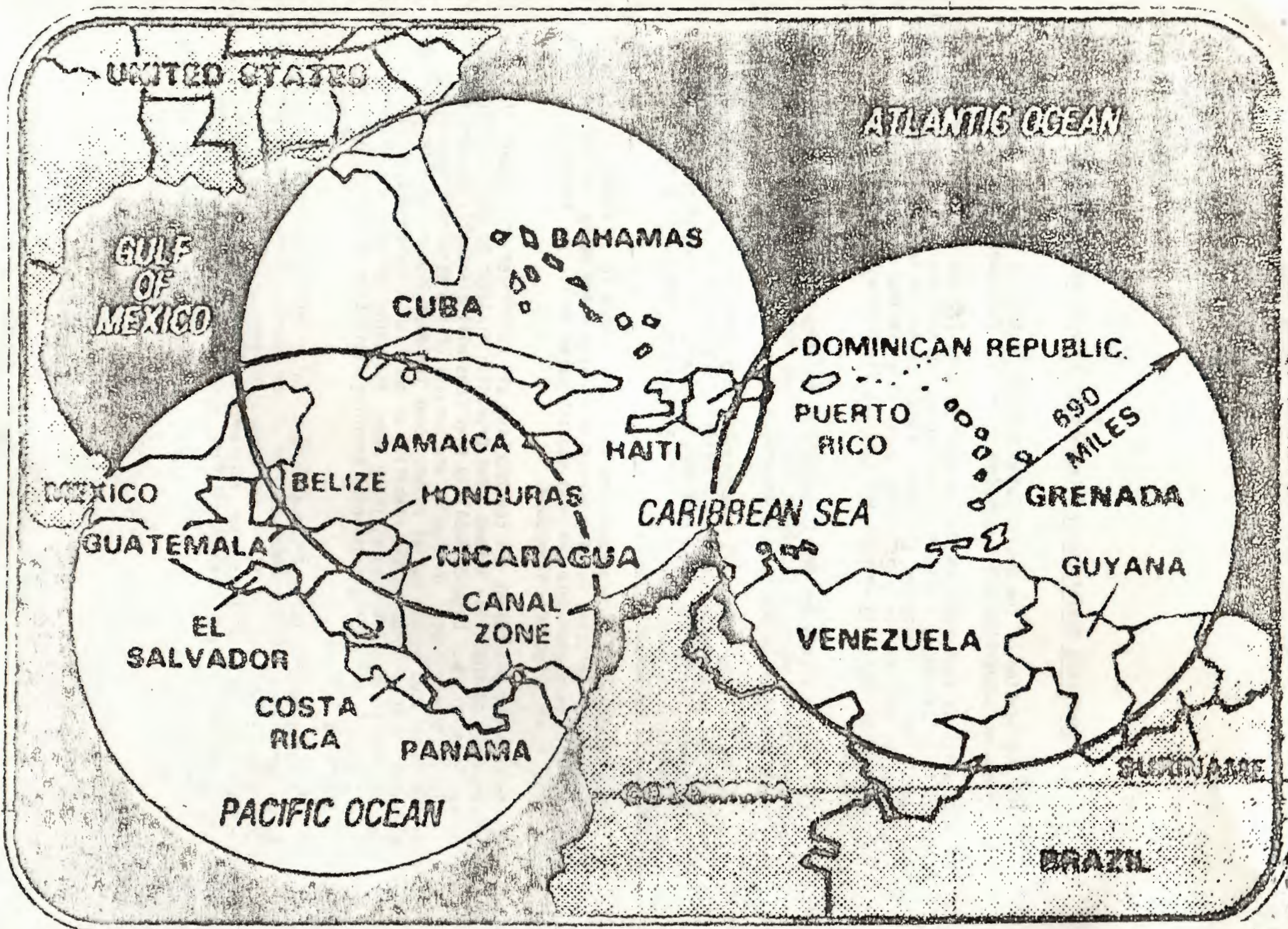
- The Sandinistas themselves have boasted they have 138,000 men under arms in their active armed forces, reserves, militia, police and security forces. At its present strength the Sandinista Army represents the largest military force in the history of Central America. The Sandinistas have built 36 new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



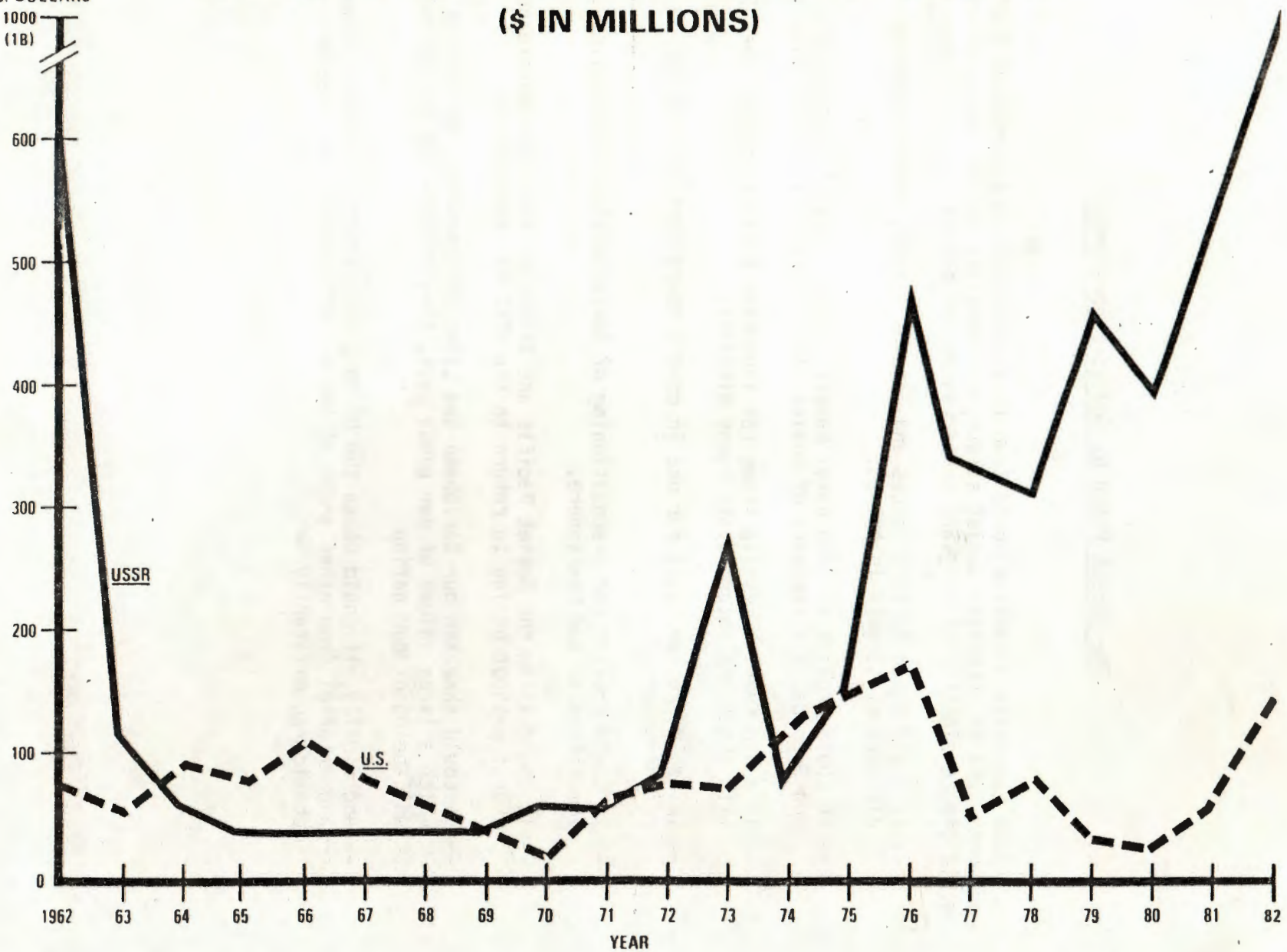
The Threat Posed by Soviet Expansionism

- 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)

MILLIONS OF
U.S. DOLLARS
1000
(1B)



May 20, 1983

NOTE:

TO: The Honorable Faith Ryan Whittlesey
The White House

FROM: Peter W. Askin, Office Director
Office for Latin American and the Caribbean
for Central America
Agency for International Development (A.I.D.)

SUBJECT: Democracy and Reform in El Salvador

The attached was developed at Otto Reich's request by my office. Due to his trip to Miami, Otto was not able to review it, but asked that I deliver a copy of it to you today.

If you have any comments or questions I can be reached at 632-0156.

cc: AA/LAC, Otto J. Reich

LAC/CEN:PAskin:kb:05/20/83:0695A

Democracy and Reform

In

El Salvador

On October 15, 1979, a bloodless coup by reform-minded military officers overturned 50 years of military-dominated government in El Salvador. The coup was prompted by growing political violence and social unrest, and it set the stage for developing a more open political process and more equitable economic and social systems in El Salvador.

Since that time, El Salvador, despite a growing insurgency and a falling economy, has managed to make considerable progress towards democratization and economic and social reforms.

Consider the following:

1. Within 18 months after a military/civilian junta took power following the 1979 revolution, elections for a Constituent Assembly were held and a provisional government based on elected representation was established.

*poor discussion
of
dramatic
effect on
plans of
AR quotes
available*

Needs
the wording

2. The Junta also initiated three major economic reforms aimed at breaking up economic power monopolies and increasing the Salvadoran peasants access to land. Of the three, the land reform program has had the most important and far reaching effects. Under this program, approximately 20% of El Salvador's farm land has been redistributed. This redistribution has directly benefited 500,000 low income rural people, and has been carried out with the backing and direct support of the military forces.

show
combined
point

3. The March 1982 elections were a triumph for democracy in El Salvador and the Salvadoran people and a resounding defeat for the guerrillas. Eighty percent of the voter population of El Salvador defied guerrilla threats in order to vote in what has been widely acclaimed as El Salvador's first free and open elections in several decades.

4. By May of 1982, the Constituent Assembly had been formed and it had approved a Government of National Unity in which the major parties that participated in the election were represented.

5. Despite deep political party differences, and grave national problems and crises, the Government of National Unity and the Constituent Assembly have acted responsibly and have carried out their respective functions within a democratic framework.

6. For example, by August of 1982, President Magana, had brought about a multi-party accord on basic principles and directions for the new Government of National Unity. Called the Pact of APANECA, all major political parties agreed to a basic platform of government and called for the establishment of special commissions for peace, political and human rights.

7. The peace and human rights commissions have been established and put into operation. An amnesty program has been approved by the Constituent Assembly and is in operation. In addition, the government recently has begun to release political prisoners. Forty have been released to date.

8. In the meantime, the Constituent Assembly has drafted and will soon vote on a new constitution.

9. After the new Constitution is approved, the Constituent Assembly will vote on a new electoral law. Approval of this law will establish the parameters for holding Presidential and other elections before the end of 1983. This will mark a major new phase in opening up the political process in El Salvador. In this context, a major function of the Peace Commission will be to try to persuade all factions across El Salvador's political spectrum to participate in these elections within the parameters of the electoral law.

10. The Constituent Assembly recently completed two other major actions that indicate that democratization is at work and is progressing in El Salvador:

- It recently voted to extend Phase III of the land reform program, which was due to expire, March 3, 1983. It was extended to December 31, 1983. The Assembly action was accompanied by peaceful demonstrations and old-fashioned lobbying by the peasants.

- The Assembly also enacted legislation to create a special commission to review reopening the National University Campus.

11. The human rights situation and the shortcomings of the judicial system are of deep concern to all responsible Salvadorans and non-Salvadorans alike. But even here there is progress and the beginning of reform. ^{Our best} ~~It is~~ ^{is} estimated that deaths due to violence in the county are one-third of what they ~~were~~ ^{were} ~~have been~~ in the recent past. Security forces, particularly those who have received U.S. training demonstrate more respect for human rights. Many arrests have been made although few have been brought to trial. Members of the Human Rights Commission have participated in investigation of alleged abuses.

It is now widely recognized that El Salvador's judicial system has broken down in several areas. President Magana has asked for U.S. help in assessing the problem and in designing reform measures. One general assessment has been made. President Magana is studying the assessment team's recommendations. His reaction is expected very soon.

The foregoing are the major but certainly not the only indicators that democratization and economic and social reform are taking place in El Salvador despite the political and economic crises. For example, President Magana has sent a fiscal reform package to the Assembly. For over a year, El Salvador has accepted and has tried to live up to the stiff economic and fiscal policy conditions of an IMF agreement. The Government has struggled to compensate landowners for land expropriated under the land reform. The land reform program itself is being moved in the direction of private enterprise and away from Government control. With the help of the U.S. and others, the Government has mounted programs to alleviate the suffering and hardship of people displaced and unemployed due to violence and a devastated economy. It has initiated programs to rehabilitate areas destroyed and damaged by the conflict, and is in the process, also with U.S. help, of mounting a major emergency improvement of the public health system's ability to respond to an increased need for health and medical services, particularly in the conflicted areas.

The Secretary of State indicated recently that our actions in El Salvador and in the rest of Central America are based on two perceptions. One is that democracy cannot flourish in the

presence of extreme inequalities in access to land, opportunity, or justice. The other is that the extreme left organizations are exploiting such inequities for anti-democratic ends.

~~We think~~ Democracy and reform are beginning to work in El Salvador. Its revolution is becoming broader democratically, while that of Nicaragua is becoming more narrow. El Salvador's efforts merit U.S. support.