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KISSINGER COMMISSION (3 OF 4)

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ID Doc Type Document Description No of Doc Date Restrictions **Pages**

243348 PAPER

RE. NATIONAL BIPARTISAN

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COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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IMPLEMENTATION OF BIPARTISAN COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

OVERVIEW

- -- The Bipartisan Commission recommendations come at a critical time in the development of democracy, the restoration of peace, and the improvement of living conditions in Central America.
- -- The twelve commissioners -- Democrats, independents and Republicans -- concluded that "Central America is both vital and vulnerable, and that whatever other crisis may arise to claim the nation's attention the United States cannot afford to turn away from that threatened region."
- -- The Commission and the Administration agree that the acute crisis in Central America endangers fundamental strategic and moral interests of the U.S.
- -- Accordingly, the President, through legislation and appropriate executive actions, will seek to implement all the Commission's recommendations.
- -- As the Commission recommends, our policy must be guided by the principles of democratic self-determination, economic and social development that fairly benefits all, and cooperation in meeting threats to the security of the region.
- -- We need bipartisan support in Congress for an increased commitment of resources to be provided <u>predictably</u>, beginning immediately and extending over the next five years, to support a balanced and mutually reinforcing mix of economic, political, diplomatic and security activities to be pursued simultaneously.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE LEGISLATION

Economic Assistance

- -- Commission recommended \$400 million in supplementary economic assistance in FY 1984.
 - -- Our request is for \$416 million.
 - -- Additional emergency transfers are needed to reverse sharp declines in GDP, per capita income, and employment. -- During last several years, per capita GDP has fallen by 35% in El Salvador, 23% in Costa Rica, 14% in Guatemala, and 12% in Honduras.
 - -- Economic deterioration is a source of social and political unrest.
 - -- Supplemental request is primarily for emergency stabilization needed to set the base for a long-term comprehensive development plan.

- -- Commission recommended \$8 billion economic aid for next five years, FY 1985-89.
 - -- Our implementation plan calls for \$6 billion in appropriated funds and \$2 billion in insurance and guarantees.
 - -- For FY 1985, our request is \$1,120.0 million in appropriated funds and \$600 million in insurance and quarantees.
 - -- Major beneficiaries of direct, bilateral aid in FY 1985 will be El Salvador (\$346 m.), Costa Rica (\$237 m.), Honduras (\$154 m.), and Guatemala (\$122 m.).
- -- Commission recommended a comprehensive approach to promote democratization, economic growth, human development and security. We will implement NBCCA recommendations in part by:
 - -- Providing approximately \$520 million in FY 1985 as balance of payments support to finance critical imports by the private sector.
 - -- Undertaking a \$125 million program in labor intensive infrastructure and housing projects.
 - -- Spending more than \$100 million in FY 1985 for education (including literacy and teacher corps), training and scholarships.
 - -- Devoting \$170 million to development of agriculture, the backbone of Central American economies.
 - -- Including special funding for the National Endowment for Democracy, earmarked for Central America.

Military Assistance

- -- The restoration of peace in Central America is essential to economic and humanitarian progress. Without enhanced security, economic assistance and diplomatic efforts would be undermined.
- -- The Commission specifically recommends significantly increased levels of military aid to El Salvador and warns against providing "too little to wage the war successfuly."
- -- The proposed assistance will be as follows:
 - -- For El Salvador: \$178.7 million in FY 1984 supplementary and \$133.5 million for 1985. Added to the \$64.8 million made available by the FY 1984 CR, the total FY 1984-85 program for El Salvador is \$377 million.
 - -- For the rest of Central America, we will propose \$80 million in FY 84 supplementary military assistance and \$123.4 million for FY 1985.
- -- The bill recognizes that an early restoration of peace could release amounts of military assistance for reprogramming as economic aid.

Conditionality

- -- The Commission recommends that military aid to El Salvador should be made "contingent" through legislation requiring periodic reports upon demonstrated progress in reaching certain enumerated objectives such as free elections and reduction of death squad activities.
- -- There is agreement within the Executive, the Congress and the Commission that human rights progress is essential in El Salvador to ensure a successful outcome of the war and the protection of U.S. security interests, and that U.S. assistance should be conditioned on this progress as well as other priority objectives.
- -- The proposed legislation, therefore, requires semi-annual reports to Congress which assess the policies which the GOES adopts for achieving political and economic development and conditions of security including an assessment of how the policies are meeting the objectives which U.S. policy is designed to support; among these objectives are the specific goals enumerated in the Commission's report. Moreover, the legislation calls upon the President to ensure that military assistance fosters progress toward reaching our overall objectives, including human rights, and toward this end directs him to impose conditions on military assistance in every appropriate instance.
- -- We want to work closely with the Congress to ensure human rights progress while preserving the President's ability to pursue an effective foreign policy.

CADO

- -- In line with the Commission's recommendation, the legislation provides guidance and funds for the President to work with the Central American countries and other donors in establishing a Central American Development Organization (CADO).
- -- CADO would provide an effective forum for an open dialogue on and continuous review of Central American political, economic and social development.
- -- The legislation would require that the President take CADO's recommendations into account in determining the nature and levels of all bilateral economic assistance to countries in the region, though CADO would not have control over specific funds.

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO CENTRAL AMERICA: FY 1983-85

Belize	FY83 Actual	FY84 Cont. Resol.	FY84 Suppl. Request	FY84 I	FY85 Budget	FY85 Budget Amend.	FY85 Rev. Total
DA	6.7	4.0	_	4.0	4.0	4.0	8.0
ESF PL480	10.0		10.0	10.0	_	5.0	5.0
Total	16.7	4.0	10.0	14.0	4.0	9.0	13.0
Costa Rica DA	27.2	15.1	14.0	29.1	15.0	17.0	32.0
ESF	157.0	70.0	58.0	128.0	70.0	110.0	180.0
PL480 Total	$\frac{27.7}{211.9}$	$\frac{20.0}{105.1}$	72.0	$\frac{20.0}{177.1}$	$\frac{20.0}{105.0}$	$\frac{5.0}{132.0}$	$\frac{25.0}{237.0}$
El Salvador		43. 5	24.0	75 0	20.0		05.0
DA ESF	58.8 140.0	41.3 120.0	34.0 105.0	75.3 225.0	38.0 12 0. 0	57.0 91.0	95.0 211.0
PL480	46.7	37.3	15.0	52.3	39.1	0.9	40.0
Total	245.5	198.6	154.0	352.6	197.1	148.9	346.0
Guatemala DA	12.2	1.6	19.0	20.6	10.0	36.8	46.8
ESF	10.0	-	-	-	40.0	4.6	44.6
PL480 Total	$\frac{5.3}{27.5}$	$\frac{12.0}{13.6}$	19.0	$\frac{12.0}{32.6}$	$\frac{12.3}{62.3}$	$\frac{18.7}{60.1}$	$\frac{31.0}{122.4}$
Honduras							
DĄ	31.2	31.8	10.0	41.8	32.0	18.0	50.0
ESF PL480	56.0 15.5	40.0 12.6	66.5	106.5	40.0 11.9	40.0 12.1	80.0 24.0
Total	102.7	84.4	86.5	170.9	83.9	70.1	154.0
Panama			4.0	3.5.0	17.0	3.0.0	24.0
DA ESF	6.2	11.0	4.2 30.0	15.2 30.0	11.0	13.0 25.0	24.0 25.0
PL480	$\frac{1.0}{7.2}$	$\frac{1.3}{12.3}$	34.2	$\frac{1.3}{46.5}$		38.0	49.0
Total	7.2	12.3	34.2	46.5	11.0	38.0	49.0
Regional Pro	grams 19.4	12.1	2.8	14.9	6.0	11.0	17.0
DA ESF	_	_	25.0	25.0	_	105.0	105.0
Total	19.4	12.1	27.8	39.9	6.0	116.0	122.0
Supplementar Operating	У			•			
Expenses	N/A	N/A	2.5	2.5	-	6.0	6.0
Other Agencies	-	_	10.0	10.0	_	70.6	70.6
Grand Total	630.9	430.1	416.0	846.1	469.3	650.7	1120.0

MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO CENTRAL AMERICA: FY 1983-85 (Millions of Dollars)

	FY83 Actual	FY84 Cont. Resol.	FY84 Suppl. Request		FY85 Budget	FY85 Budget Amend.	Rev.
Belize MAP		.5		.5	.5	_	•5
IMET	.075		-	.1	.1	-	.1
Total	.075	.6	-	. 6	.6		.6
Costa Rica			5 05		i	. .	
MAP	2.5		7.85 -	9.85 .15	2.0	7.8	9.8
IMET Total	2.625	.15 2.15			2.2	7.8	10.0
El Salvado		45.0	178.7	223.7	55 C	61.0	116.0
MAP FMSCR-T		18.5	-	18.5	30.0	-30.0	-
FMSCR-C			-			15.0	15.0
IMET		1.3	-	1.3		-	1.5
Total	81.3	64.8	178.7	243.5	86.5	46.0	132.5
Guatemala					10.0	-10.0	
FMSCR-T		_	_	_	-	10.0	10.0
IMET	_	_	-	_	.3	-	.3
Total	-	-	-	-	10.3	-	10.3
Honduras			25.5	22 5	40.0	23. 2	63.0
MAP	27.5	40.0	37.5	77.5	40.0	21.3	61.3
FMSCR-T	.8	1.0	_	1.0	1.2	_	1.2
Total	37.3		37.5	78.5	41.2	21.3	62.5
Panama							
MAP			10.0	10.0	5.0		14.4
FMSCR-	r 5.0	5.0	Ξ	-	-	5.0	5.0
	.45	.5	-	.5	.6		.6
Total	5.45	5.5	10.0	15.5	5.6	14.4	20.0
RMTC				05.0		20: 0	20.0
MAP	-		25.0	25.0	-	20.0	20.0
Grand Tot	al 63.5	07.5	SEO 05	246 55	97 F	124 5	222.0
MAP	63.5 T 60.5	23 5	259.05	23.5	45.0	-45.0	-
FMSCR-		23.5	-	-	-	30.0	
TMFT	2.75	3.05	-	3.05	3.9	-	3.9
Total	126.75	114.05	259.05	373.1	146.4	109.5	255.9

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

January 23, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE DEAVER

FROM:

M. B. OGLESBY, JR.

Mike, it has been suggested that the President host a private dinner with Henry Kissinger, Lane Kirkland and Bob Strauss. The purpose of the dinner would be to thank them for their help on the Central America Commission and to encourage their support throughout the legislative process. This would be a good stroke and, in the case of Kirkland, hopefully help on other matters.

Recognizing that scheduling is very difficult, these "stag" dinners have been very useful in the past. Let's discuss at your convenience.

SME INS Quite word hove it

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S/S 8401485/8401530



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SYSTEM II 90040 add-or

Washington, D.C. 20520

SECRET

January 17, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT F. MCFARLANE THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Implementation of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America

Attached are the preliminary analysis and implementing action plans covering the recommendations of the National Bipartisan Commission Central America.

Proposed program budgets will be provided by COB January 17.

Charles Hill

Charles Hill Executive Secretary

Attachments:

as stated

DECL: OADR

Dept of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997 NARA, DATE 9/21, 19

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KISSINGER COMMISSION (3 OF 4) F14-024

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ID	Document Type	No of Doc Date	Restric-
	Document Description	pages	tions
243348	PAPER	62 ND	B1

RE. NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA

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