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(NSC/Elliott) *for*
January 13, 1984
12:30 p.m. *→ RR for delivery*

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON
CENTRAL AMERICA
SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1984

April 27, 1983
PD's - pg 608 -
bipartisan
p. 613
My fellow Americans, last April I addressed a Joint Session of the Congress, and asked for bipartisan cooperation on behalf of our policies to protect liberty and democracy in Central America.

Commission Report
Education pg
The North
NSC
X 3345
Shortly after that speech, the late Senator Henry Jackson encouraged ~~me~~ to appoint a blue ribbon commission to chart a course for democracy, economic improvement, and peace in Central America.

PD's - July 19, 1983
p. 1021
I appointed twelve distinguished Americans to the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, and asked former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to serve as its chairman.

an. 11 - Wed
This week, the members of that group delivered to me their report on the crisis confronting our Latin neighbors. I believe the Commission has rendered an important service to all Americans -- all of us, from pole to pole, living in this Western Hemisphere.

PD's - July 19, 1983
p. 1021
Report - p 5
The members of this Commission represented both political parties and a wide cross-section of our country. They reached agreement on some very key points.

p 7
Ch. 4
They agreed that the crisis is serious, and our response must include support for democratic development, improved living conditions, and security assistance.

Ch 6
p. 92, Report
They agreed that the United States has a vital interest in preventing a communist Central America. Because if our own borders are threatened, then our ability to meet our commitments

to protect peace elsewhere in the world -- in Europe, the Middle East and Asia -- would be significantly weakened.

p 30
The members also agreed that Nicaragua's regime has violated its promise to restore democracy. And they warned that Nicaragua's export of subversion would undermine the stability of neighboring countries, producing waves of refugees, perhaps millions of them, many of whom would seek entry into the United States. The Commission concluded, "the crisis is on our door step."

p. 93
The report of this distinguished body presents no quick fix to ease the pain and suffering of tomorrow. There is none. Nor can we alone bring peace to this or any other part of the world. As the report notes, solutions to Central American problems must primarily be the work of Central Americans. But we can and must help because it is in our interest to do so, and because it is morally the right thing to do.

p 5
p 4
p 5
The Commission did present us positive recommendations to support democratic development, improve human rights, and bring the long sought dream for peace to this troubled region so close to home. The recommendations reinforce the spirit of the Administration's policies that help to our neighbors should be primarily economic and humanitarian. And since this report does present a bipartisan consensus, I will send to the Congress, when it reconvenes, a comprehensive plan for achieving the objectives set forth by the Commission. I urge the Members of Congress to respond with the same bipartisan spirit that guided the Commission in its work.

the note
NSC
X 3345

This Central American Democracy, Peace, and Recovery Initiative -- which I call the Jackson Plan -- will be designed to bring democracy, peace, and prosperity to Central America. It won't be easy, but it can be done.

p/102

I believe peace is worth the price. ~~As the Commission's report said.~~ There may be an argument for doing much, and perhaps an argument for doing nothing. But there is no valid argument for doing too little. I opt for doing enough: enough to protect our own security; and enough to improve the lives of our neighbors, so that they can vote with ballots instead of bullets. The government of Nicaragua must also understand this. They cannot threaten their peaceful neighbors, export subversion, and deny basic human freedom to their own people as the Commission has so rightly observed. (X)

Now you may have heard that there is controversy between the Administration and the Congress over human rights and military aid to beleaguered El Salvador. Well, I agree completely with the objective of improving prospects for democracy and human rights in El Salvador. I am also committed to preventing Cuban and Nicaraguan supported guerrillas from violently overthrowing El Salvador's elected government and others in the region. So is the Bipartisan Commission. So, too, I believe, is our Congress. Our Administration will continue to work closely with the Congress in achieving these common goals.

As we move to implement the recommendations of the Bipartisan Commission, we will be offering the promise of a better tomorrow in Central America. But we can only oppose those

who do not abide by the norms of civilized behavior, whether they be of the extreme right or extreme left. Senator Henry Jackson would have had it so.

Until next week, thanks for listening and God bless you.

Reagan seen backing 'Jackson plan' funds

By Roger Fontaine
WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

The Reagan administration, rapidly shaping a "Jackson plan" for Central America, named after the late Sen. Henry Jackson, has signaled that it will go after more or less the entire \$8.4 billion recommended by the Kissinger Commission last week.

"The president doesn't believe that that (\$8.4 billion) is exorbitant," a senior White House official said yesterday.

The official briefed newsmen on President Reagan's weekly radio address Saturday, in which he promised a comprehensive program for Central America based on the report.

The administration decided to call the new program the Jackson plan because he was in the forefront of calls for a Marshall Plan for the troubled Western Hemisphere region as well as for the creation of a commission to achieve a national consensus. Officially the program will be known as the Central American Democracy, Peace and Recovery Initiative.

In his radio address, the president promised a swift response to the panel report's recommendations and urged the Congress "to respond with the same bipartisan spirit that guided the commission in its work."

Early indications from key Capitol Hill Democrats place this in doubt, however.

A senior official said the administration plans to have firm figures soon on what the anticipated programs will cost. He expected them to be ready within a week, confirming an earlier report in The Washington Times.

The president placed no distance between himself and the report on Saturday, and made only one oblique reference to a possible area of conflict, namely, the question of tying aid to progress on human rights, or conditionality, as the Kissinger Commission calls the linkage.

The president did not choose to quarrel with the report, but restated his difference with the Congress on how best to go about improving human rights in El Salvador. At the same time, he made clear his continued staunch opposition to Cuban- and Nicaraguan-backed insurgents seeking the overthrow of elected governments in the region.

The principal aim of the new program, the senior official said, was to implement the report in the same bipartisan fashion that it was written. Furthermore, the "Jackson plan" would embrace all of the panel's recommendations.

"We fully accept the key judgment of the commission that Central America is both vital and vulnerable," he stated. The official added: "We fully agree that the roots of the problem are both local and foreign and that local revolutions may not represent a threat to the United States; but we likewise concur that we

are threatened, directly and indirectly, by aggressive outside powers."

Under questioning from reporters, the senior official indicated that the sums asked for in the panel report are "justifiable," and that the "proportions stated in the report . . . are sensible proportions as between economic, social and security." Later, he underlined the administration's own thinking on spending totals by adding, "the president doesn't believe that that (\$8.4 billion) is exorbitant. So I would not lead you away from that."

The senior official also expressed his hope that it would be a multi-year program, but expects a year-by-year congressional authorization and appropriation. "I anticipate that the endorsement will be generally of the figures in the report as essential for the

tral America. He accused the administration of seeking a military solution to the region's problems by asking for substantially more in security assistance.

Yesterday, Kissinger Commission member Robert Strauss charged the Reagan administration has been negligent in allowing death squads in El Salvador to be bankrolled from the United States.

The former national Democratic chairman, one of the dozen members of the special panel which reviewed U.S. policy toward Central America, also pressed for adoption of the commission's call for a legal link between U.S. aid to El Salvador and progress on human rights.

"In my judgment, if President Reagan walks away or tries to compromise on that issue very much, there will be really nothing to come out of this report," Mr. Strauss said on NBC's "Meet the Press."

Former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, speaking on ABC-TV's "This

The principal aim of the new program, the senior official said, was to implement the report in the same bipartisan fashion that it was written.

long term, and then, more discreetly broken down into year-by-year program lines."

The official stressed that such sums were justifiable, especially in the economic and social area, only if the climate of violence in the region were reduced through establishing a "certain threshold of security."

On the sensitive issue of human rights in El Salvador, a report on the situation in El Salvador is expected to say that deaths from right-wing death squads are declining even though kidnappings and murders of prominent Salvadoran citizens in recent months has been on the increase.

The same senior official seemed to open the door for a compromise on conditionality in his backgrounder to the press at the White House. He emphasized the quarrel between Congress and the administration is over means not ends, and criticized the certification process as triggering, not lessening, violence. The same argument was advanced by spokesman Larry Speakes last week.

The senior official stated the president believes, however, there should be a way of "requiring performance without providing incentives for violence." He added finally, "We want to work with the Congress to come up with a vehicle, a process, that will get results."

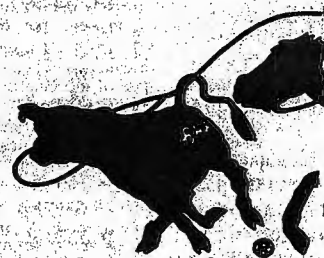
The prospects for the administration achieving a bipartisan consensus on its aid requests was placed in some doubt, debate during the weekend indicated.

Rep. Michael Barnes, D-Md., in the official Democratic reply to the president, said the Democrats wanted a peace plan and not a war plan for Cen-

Week With David Brinkley" said, "The military emphasis (in the region) is not given by the United States.

"There are 15,000 tons of supplies from Cuba and the Soviet Union that enter Nicaragua each year. That's about five times as much military assistance than the United States is sending into the entire area."

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(b) The Commission shall, unless other-
wise extended, terminate 60 days after sub-
mitting its final report.

Ronald Reagan

The White House,
July 19, 1983.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Regis-
ter, 11:16 a.m., July 20, 1983]

National Bipartisan Commission on Central America

*Appointment of the Chairman and
Members. July 19, 1983*

The President today announced his inten-
tion to appoint the following individuals to
be members of the National Bipartisan
Commission on Central America:

1 Dr. Henry Kissinger, Chairman of the Commis-
sion, New York, N.Y.

2 Nicholas F. Brady, managing director, Dillon
Read & Co., Inc., Far Hills, N.J.

3 Henry G. Cisneros, mayor, San Antonio, Tex.

William P. Clements, Jr., former Governor of
Texas, Dallas, Tex.

4 Dr. Carlos F. Diaz-Alejandro, professor of eco-
nomics, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

5 Wilson S. Johnson, president, National Federa-
tion of Independent Business, San Mateo,
Calif.

6 Lane Kirkland, president, AFL-CIO, Washing-
ton, D.C.

7 Dr. Richard M. Scammon, political scientist,
Chevy Chase, Md.

8 Dr. John Silber, president, Boston University,
Brookline, Mass.

9 Potter Stewart, Associate Justice, Supreme Court
of the United States (Retired), Washington,
D.C.

10 Ambassador Robert S. Strauss, attorney at law,
Washington, D.C.

11 William B. Walsh, president, Project Hope, Be-
thesda, Md.

12 The President's Representative to the
Commission will be:

Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, United States
Representative to the United Nations.

The Commission is bipartisan, with no
more than 7 of its 12 members from the
same political party. In addition to the
above, there will be Senior Counselors des-
ignated by the President. They will include
two Democrats recommended by the
Speaker and two Republicans recommend-
ed by the minority leader from the House
of Representatives, and two Republicans
recommended by the majority leader and
two Democrats recommended by the mi-
nority leader from the United States Senate.

Bicentennial Year of the Birth of Simon Bolivar

Proclamation 5073. July 19, 1983

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

July 24, 1983, marks the bicentennial of
the birth of Simon Bolivar, the great Liber-
ator who laid the foundation for the Inter-
American System. The Government and
people of the United States take pride in
joining with the other countries of the
Americas in celebrating this historic event.
A great soldier and patriot, Simon Bolivar
serves as an inspiration to all the peoples of
the western hemisphere. Through turbulent
and frustrating times, he had the vision to
see that the unity of the Americas could be
achieved.

Bolivar's military prowess made
independence possible for Venezuela, Co-
lombia, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Panama
in a struggle similar to that which had
brought the United States its liberty forty
years earlier. Although shaken by personal
tragedy and disappointed by two unsuccess-
ful attempts to establish an independent re-
public in his homeland, Bolivar persevered.
His burning desire for freedom could not
be extinguished, and his subsequent bril-
liant military victories inspired an entire
continent. Likewise, his vision of a united
Americas continues to inspire new genera-
tions of citizens in every country of this
hemisphere.

professionalism and courage we so much admire: Jim Brady.

Note: The President spoke at 1:04 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. He was introduced by William Marcil, chairman of the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

Prior to his appearance before the luncheon, the President attended separate receptions at the hotel for New York Republican Party members and headtable guests at the association's luncheon.

Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, D.C.

Department of Education

Nomination of Madeleine C. Will To Be Assistant Secretary for Special Education and Rehabilitative Services. April 27, 1983

The President today announced his intention to nominate Madeleine C. Will to be Assistant Secretary for Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, Department of Education. She would succeed Jean Tufts.

Mrs. Will currently serves as chairman of the government affairs committee for the Maryland Association for Retarded Citizens; member, government affairs committee, National Association of Retarded Citizens; member, expansions committee, Maryland Department of Disabilities Administration; assistant coordinator for the Seminar on Community-Living Alternatives for Severely Handicapped Children and Adults, Maryland Department of Health and Human Services; and, consultant to the Rock Creek Foundation. She was chairman of the government affairs committee of the Montgomery County Association for Retarded Citizens in 1979 and a panelist for the White House Conference on Aging in 1977.

She graduated from Hartford College for Women (A.A., 1965), Smith College (B.A., 1967) and the University of Toronto (M.A., 1969). She is married, has three children, and resides in Chevy Chase, Md. She was born August 9, 1945, in Hartford, Conn.

Central America

Address Delivered Before a Joint Session of the Congress. April 27, 1983

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, distinguished Members of the Congress, honored guests, and my fellow Americans:

A number of times in past years, Members of Congress and a President have come together in meetings like this to resolve a crisis. I have asked for this meeting in the hope that we can prevent one.

It would be hard to find many Americans who aren't aware of our stake in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, or the NATO line dividing the free world from the Communist bloc. And the same could be said for Asia.

But in spite of, or maybe because of, a flurry of stories about places like Nicaragua and El Salvador and, yes, some concerted propaganda, many of us find it hard to believe we have a stake in problems involving those countries. Too many have thought of Central America as just that place way down below Mexico that can't possibly constitute a threat to our well-being. And that's why I've asked for this session. Central America's problems do directly affect the security and the well-being of our own people. And Central America is much closer to the United States than many of the world trouble spots that concern us. So, we work to restore our own economy; we cannot afford to lose sight of our neighbors to the south.

El Salvador is nearer to Texas than Texas is to Massachusetts. Nicaragua is just as close to Miami, San Antonio, San Diego, and Tucson as those cities are to Washington, where we're gathered tonight.

But nearness on the map doesn't even begin to tell the strategic importance of Central America, bordering as it does on the Caribbean—our lifeline to the outside world. Two-thirds of all our foreign trade and petroleum pass through the Panama Canal and the Caribbean. In a European crisis, at least half of our supplies for NATO would go through these areas by sea. It's well to remember that in early 1942, a handful of Hitler's submarines sank more tonnage there than in all of the Atlantic

Ocean. And they did this without a single naval base anywhere in the area. And today, the situation is different. Cuba is host to a Soviet combat brigade, a submarine base capable of servicing Soviet submarines, and military air bases visited regularly by Soviet military aircraft.

Because of its importance, the Caribbean Basin is a magnet for adventurism. We're all aware of the Libyan cargo planes refueling in Brazil a few days ago on their way to deliver "medical supplies" to Nicaragua. Brazilian authorities discovered the so-called medical supplies were actually munitions and prevented their delivery.

You may remember that last month, speaking on national television, I showed an aerial photo of an airfield being built on the island of Grenada. Well, if that airfield had been completed, those planes could have refueled there and completed their journey.

If the Nazis during World War II and the Soviets today could recognize the Caribbean and Central America as vital to our interests, shouldn't we, also? For several years now, under two administrations, the United States has been increasing its defense of freedom in the Caribbean Basin. And I can tell you tonight, democracy is beginning to take root in El Salvador which, until a short time ago, knew only dictatorship.

The new Government is now delivering on its promises of democracy, reforms, and free elections. It wasn't easy, and there was resistance to many of the attempted reforms, with assassinations of some of the reformers. Guerrilla bands and urban terrorists were portrayed in a worldwide propaganda campaign as freedom fighters, representative of the people. Ten days before I came into office, the guerrillas launched what they called "a final offensive" to overthrow the government. And their radio boasted that our new administration would be too late to prevent their victory.

Well, they learned that democracy cannot be so easily defeated. President Carter did not hesitate. He authorized arms and munitions to El Salvador. The guerrilla offensive failed, but not America's will. Every President since this country assumed global responsibilities has known that those responsibilities could only be met if we pursued a bipartisan foreign policy.

As I said a moment ago, the Government of El Salvador has been keeping its promises, like the land reform program which is making thousands of farm tenants, farm owners. In a little over 3 years, 20 percent of the arable land in El Salvador has been redistributed to more than 450,000 people. That's one in ten Salvadorans who have benefited directly from this program.

El Salvador has continued to strive toward an orderly and democratic society. The government promised free elections. On March 28th, a little more than a year ago, after months of campaigning by a variety of candidates, the suffering people of El Salvador were offered a chance to vote, to choose the kind of government they wanted. And suddenly, the so-called freedom fighters in the hills were exposed for what they really are—a small minority who want power for themselves and their backers, not democracy for the people. The guerrillas threatened death to anyone who voted. They destroyed hundreds of buses and trucks to keep the people from getting to the polling places. Their slogan was brutal: "Vote today, die tonight." But on election day, an unprecedented 80 percent of the electorate braved ambush and gunfire and trudged for miles, many of them, to vote for freedom. Now, that's truly fighting for freedom. We can never turn our backs on that.

Members of this Congress who went there as observers told me of a woman who was wounded by rifle fire on the way to the polls, who refused to leave the line to have her wound treated until after she had voted. Another woman had been told by the guerrillas that she would be killed when she returned from the polls, and she told the guerrillas, "You can kill me, you can kill my family, you can kill my neighbors. You can't kill us all." The real freedom fighters of El Salvador turned out to be the people of that country—the young, the old, the in-between—more than a million of them out of a population of less than 5 million. The world should respect this courage and not allow it to be belittled or forgotten. And again I say, in good conscience, we can never turn our backs on that.

The democratic political parties and factions in El Salvador are coming together

around the common goal of seeking a political solution to their country's problems. New national elections will be held this year, and they will be open to all political parties. The government has invited the guerrillas to participate in the election and is preparing an amnesty law. The people of El Salvador are earning their freedom, and they deserve our moral and material support to protect it.

Yes, there are still major problems regarding human rights, the criminal justice system, and violence against non-combatants. And, like the rest of Central America, El Salvador also faces severe economic problems. But in addition to recession-depressed prices for major agricultural exports, El Salvador's economy is being deliberately sabotaged.

Tonight in El Salvador—because of ruthless guerrilla attacks—much of the fertile land cannot be cultivated; less than half the rolling stock of the railways remains operational; bridges, water facilities, telephone and electric systems have been destroyed and damaged. In one 22-month period, there were 5,000 interruptions of electrical power. One region was without electricity for a third of the year.

I think Secretary of State Shultz put it very well the other day: "Unable to win the free loyalty of El Salvador's people, the guerrillas," he said, "are deliberately and systematically depriving them of food, water, transportation, light, sanitation, and jobs. And these are the people who claim they want to help the common people." They don't want elections because they know they'd be defeated. But, as the previous election showed, the Salvadoran people's desire for democracy will not be defeated.

The guerrillas are not embattled peasants, armed with muskets. They're professionals, sometimes with better training and weaponry than the government's soldiers. The Salvadoran battalions that have received U.S. training have been conducting themselves well on the battlefield and with the civilian population. But so far, we've only provided enough money to train one Salvadoran soldier out of ten, fewer than the number of guerrillas that are trained by Nicaragua and Cuba.

And let me set the record straight on Nicaragua, a country next to El Salvador. In 1979 when the new government took over in Nicaragua, after a revolution which overthrew the authoritarian rule of Somoza, everyone hoped for the growth of democracy. We in the United States did, too. By January of 1981, our emergency relief and recovery aid to Nicaragua totalled \$118 million—more than provided by any other developed country. In fact, in the first 2 years of Sandinista rule, the United States directly or indirectly sent five times more aid to Nicaragua than it had in the 2 years prior to the revolution. Can anyone doubt the generosity and the good faith of the American people?

These were hardly the actions of a nation implacably hostile to Nicaragua. Yet, the Government of Nicaragua has treated us as an enemy. It has rejected our repeated peace efforts. It has broken its promises to us, to the Organization of American States and, most important of all, to the people of Nicaragua.

No sooner was victory achieved than a small clique ousted others who had been part of the revolution from having any voice in the government. Humberto Ortega, the Minister of Defense, declared Marxism-Leninism would be their guide, and so it is.

The Government of Nicaragua has imposed a new dictatorship. It has refused to hold the elections it promised. It has seized control of most media and subjects all media to heavy prior censorship. It denied the bishops and priests of the Roman Catholic Church the right to say Mass on radio during Holy Week. It insulted and mocked the Pope. It has driven the Miskito Indians from their homelands, burning their villages, destroying their crops, and forcing them into involuntary internment camps far from home. It has moved against the private sector and free labor unions. It condoned mob action against Nicaragua's independent human rights commission and drove the director of that commission into exile.

In short, after all these acts of repression by the government, is it any wonder that opposition has formed? Contrary to propaganda, the opponents of the Sandinistas are

not diehard Somoza regime. Somoza heroines and heroines to bring the new government. Now the new government wanted democracy still do. Other for their home.

The Sandinistas turned out to be of autocratic people still have rights, and its predecessor Soviets to destroy.

Meanwhile, Somoza, making a democracy, free region, and a few guerrillas dedicated that prevails in the Soviet Union. Somoza's most important is the ultimate of Nicaraguan we seek their doing everything the elected [Applause] They are directed from Somoza, the capital.

But let us have an attitude towards Somoza. We do not interest is to see its neighbors through violence and violence with America to prevent the Honduras, Guatemala have attempted Government of its efforts to spirit.

We should not the Nicaragua anger of its through diplomacy. And as Nicaragua can and will—diplomacy—protect America from the.

Even Costa Rica and strongest peaceful it does.

not diehard supporters of the previous Somoza regime. In fact, many are anti-Somoza heroes and fought beside the Sandinistas to bring down the Somoza government. Now they've been denied any part in the new government because they truly wanted democracy for Nicaragua and they still do. Others are Miskito Indians fighting for their homes, their lands, and their lives.

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

Meanwhile, the Government of El Salvador, making every effort to guarantee democracy, free labor unions, freedom of religion, and a free press, is under attack by guerrillas dedicated to the same philosophy that prevails in Nicaragua, Cuba, and, yes, the Soviet Union. Violence has been Nicaragua's most important export to the world. It is the ultimate in hypocrisy for the unelected Nicaraguan Government to charge that we seek their overthrow, when they're doing everything they can to bring down the elected Government of El Salvador. *[Applause]* Thank You. The guerrilla attacks are directed from a headquarters in Managua, the capital of Nicaragua.

But let us be clear as to the American attitude toward the Government of Nicaragua. We do not seek its overthrow. Our interest is to ensure that it does not infect its neighbors through the export of subversion and violence. Our purpose, in conformity with American and international law, is to prevent the flow of arms to El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica. We have attempted to have a dialog with the Government of Nicaragua, but it persists in its efforts to spread violence.

We should not, and we will not, protect the Nicaraguan Government from the anger of its own people. But we should, through diplomacy, offer an alternative. And as Nicaragua ponders its options, we can and will—with all the resources of diplomacy—protect each country of Central America from the danger of war.

Even Costa Rica, Central America's oldest and strongest democracy—a government so peaceful it doesn't even have an army—is

the object of bullying and threats from Nicaragua's dictators.

Nicaragua's neighbors know that Sandinista promises of peace, nonalliance, and nonintervention have not been kept. Some 36 new military bases have been built. There were only 13 during the Somoza years. Nicaragua's new army numbers 25,000 men, supported by a militia of 50,000. It is the largest army in Central America, supplemented by 2,000 Cuban military and security advisers. It is equipped with the most modern weapons—dozens of Soviet-made tanks, 800 Soviet-bloc trucks, Soviet 152-millimeter howitzers, 100 anti-aircraft guns, plus planes and helicopters. There are additional thousands of civilian advisers from Cuba, the Soviet Union, East Germany, Libya, and the PLO. And we're attacked because we have 55 military trainers in El Salvador.

The goal of the professional guerrilla movements in Central America is as simple as it is sinister: to destabilize the entire region from the Panama Canal to Mexico. And if you doubt beyond this point, just consider what Cayetano Cárpio, the now-deceased Salvadoran guerrilla leader, said earlier this month. Cárpio said that after El Salvador falls, El Salvador and Nicaragua would be "arm-in-arm and struggling for the total liberation of Central America."

Nicaragua's dictatorial junta, who themselves made war and won power operating from bases in Honduras and Costa Rica, like to pretend that they are today being attacked by forces based in Honduras. The fact is, it is Nicaragua's government that threatens Honduras, not the reverse. It is Nicaragua who has moved heavy tanks close to the border, and Nicaragua who speaks of war. It was Nicaraguan radio that announced on April 8th the creation of a new, unified, revolutionary coordinating board to push forward the Marxist struggle in Honduras.

Nicaragua, supported by weapons and military resources provided by the Communist bloc, represses its own people, refuses to make peace, and sponsors a guerrilla war against El Salvador.

President Truman's words are as apt today as they were in 1947 when he, too, spoke before a joint session of the Congress:

"At the present moment in world history, nearly every nation must choose between alternate ways of life. The choice is not too often a free one. One way of life is based upon the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

"I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

"Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence."

The countries of Central America are smaller than the nations that prompted President Truman's message. But the political and strategic stakes are the same. Will our response—economic, social, military—be as appropriate and successful as Mr. Truman's bold solutions to the problems of postwar Europe?

Some people have forgotten the successes of those years and the decades of peace, prosperity, and freedom they secured. Some people talk as though the United States were incapable of acting effectively in international affairs without risking war or damaging those we seek to help.

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've sought refuge out of Afghanistan, or the 1½ million who have fled Indochina, or the more than a million Cubans who have fled Castro's Caribbean utopia? Must we, by default, leave the people of El Salvador no choice but to flee their homes, creating another tragic human exodus?

I don't believe there's a majority in the Congress or the country that counsels passivity, resignation, defeatism, in the face of this challenge to freedom and security in our own hemisphere. [Applause] Thank you. Thank you.

I do not believe that a majority of the Congress or the country is prepared to stand by passively while the people of Central America are delivered to totalitarianism and we ourselves are left vulnerable to new dangers.

Only last week, an official of the Soviet Union reiterated Brezhnev's threat to station nuclear missiles in this hemisphere, 5 minutes from the United States. Like an echo, Nicaragua's Commandante Daniel Ortega confirmed that, if asked, his country would consider accepting those missiles. I understand that today they may be having second thoughts.

Now, before I go any further, let me say to those who invoke the memory of Vietnam, there is no thought of sending American combat troops to Central America. They are not needed—[applause]

Thank you. And, as I say, they are not needed and, indeed, they have not been requested there. All our neighbors ask of us is assistance in training and arms to protect themselves while they build a better, freer life.

We must continue to encourage peace among the nations of Central America. We must support the regional efforts now underway to promote solutions to regional problems.

We cannot be certain that the Marxist-Leninist bands who believe war is an instrument of politics will be readily discouraged. It's crucial that we not become discouraged before they do. Otherwise, the region's freedom will be lost and our security damaged in ways that can hardly be calculated.

If Central America would the consequences in Asia, Europe, NATO? If the United States to a threat near should European we're seriously concerned about them? If the Soviet Union is short of an ally, the United States will prove which ally, which

The Congress the responsibility tonight, I ask you, a bold, generous of peace and partnership in the region that prevents Central America in the short run, but gives the deprived people of present progress to come.

Let us lay the approach to sustain freedom of the Central America. We in the United States you in this spirit.

We will pursue America:

First, in response and indifference, reform, and means using our persuasion, and bolster humane they already exist their way to the as quickly as it changed. Election in Nicaragua must be safe. The international help. We will walk, not walk a

Second, in response to world recession, to the economic sabotage support economic margin of 2 to 3 percent not military. So every dollar we year goes for essentials for economic development. And our beyond tradition

If Central America were to fall, what would the consequences be for our position in Asia, Europe, and for alliances such as NATO? If the United States cannot respond to a threat near our own borders, why should Europeans or Asians believe that we're seriously concerned about threats to them? If the Soviets can assume that nothing short of an actual attack on the United States will provoke an American response, which ally, which friend will trust us then?

The Congress shares both the power and the responsibility for our foreign policy. Tonight, I ask you, the Congress, to join me in a bold, generous approach to the problems of peace and poverty, democracy and dictatorship in the region. Join me in a program that prevents Communist victory in the short run, but goes beyond, to produce for the deprived people of the area the reality of present progress and the promise of more to come.

Let us lay the foundation for a bipartisan approach to sustain the independence and freedom of the countries of Central America. We in the administration reach out to you in this spirit.

We will pursue four basic goals in Central America:

First, in response to decades of inequity and indifference, we will support democracy, reform, and human freedom. This means using our assistance, our powers of persuasion, and our legitimate leverage to bolster humane democratic systems where they already exist and to help countries on their way to that goal complete the process as quickly as human institutions can be changed. Elections in El Salvador and also in Nicaragua must be open to all, fair and safe. The international community must help. We will work at human rights problems, not walk away from them.

Second, in response to the challenge of world recession and, in the case of El Salvador, to the unrelenting campaign of economic sabotage by the guerrillas, we will support economic development. And by a margin of 2 to 1 our aid is economic now, not military. Seventy-seven cents out of every dollar we will spend in the area this year goes for food, fertilizers, and other essentials for economic growth and development. And our economic program goes beyond traditional aid. The Caribbean Initiative

introduced in the House earlier today will provide powerful trade and investment incentives to help these countries achieve self-sustaining economic growth without exporting U.S. jobs. Our goal must be to focus our immense and growing technology to enhance health care, agriculture, industry, and to ensure that we who inhabit this interdependent region come to know and understand each other better, retaining our diverse identities, respecting our diverse traditions and institutions.

And, *third*, in response to the military challenge from Cuba and Nicaragua—to their deliberate use of force to spread tyranny—we will support the security of the region's threatened nations. We do not view security assistance as an end in itself, but as a shield for democratization, economic development, and diplomacy. No amount of reform will bring peace so long as guerrillas believe they will win by force. No amount of economic help will suffice if guerrilla units can destroy roads and bridges and power stations and crops, again and again, with impunity. But with better training and material help, our neighbors can hold off the guerrillas and give democratic reform time to take root.

And, *fourth*, we will support dialog and negotiations both among the countries of the region and within each country. The terms and conditions of participation in elections are negotiable. Costa Rica is a shining example of democracy. Honduras has made the move from military rule to democratic government. Guatemala is pledged to the same course. The United States will work toward a political solution in Central America which will serve the interests of the democratic process.

To support these diplomatic goals, I offer these assurances: The United States will support any agreement among Central American countries for the withdrawal, under fully verifiable and reciprocal conditions, of all foreign military and security advisers and troops. We want to help opposition groups join the political process in all countries and compete by ballots instead of bullets. We will support any verifiable, reciprocal agreement among Central American countries on the renunciation of support for insurgencies on neighbors' terri-

tory. And, finally, we desire to help Central America end its costly arms race and will support any verifiable, reciprocal agreements on the nonimportation of offensive weapons.

To move us toward these goals more rapidly, I am tonight announcing my intention to name an Ambassador at Large as my special envoy to Central America. He or she will report to me through the Secretary of State. The Ambassador's responsibilities will be to lend U.S. support to the efforts of regional governments to bring peace to this troubled area and to work closely with the Congress to assure the fullest possible, bipartisan coordination of our policies toward the region.

What I'm asking for is prompt congressional approval for the full reprogramming of funds for key current economic and security programs so that the people of Central America can hold the line against externally supported aggression. In addition, I am asking for prompt action on the supplemental request in these same areas to carry us through the current fiscal year and for early and favorable congressional action on my requests for fiscal year 1984.

And finally, I am asking that the bipartisan consensus, which last year acted on the trade and tax provisions of the Caribbean Basin Initiative in the House, again take the lead to move this vital proposal to the floor of both Chambers. And, as I said before, the greatest share of these requests is targeted toward economic and humanitarian aid, not military.

What the administration is asking for on behalf of freedom in Central America is so small, so minimal, considering what is at stake. The total amount requested for aid to all of Central America in 1984 is about \$600 million. That's less than one-tenth of what Americans will spend this year on coin-operated video games.

In summation, I say to you that tonight there can be no question: The national security of all the Americas 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. This is not a partisan issue. It is a question of our meeting our moral responsibility to ourselves, our friends, and our posterity. It is a duty that falls on all of us—the President, the Congress, and the people. We must perform it together. Who among us would wish to bear responsibility for failing to meet our shared obligation?

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

Note: The President spoke at 8:04 p.m. in the House Chamber of the Capitol. He was introduced by Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Report on Radiation Control for Health and Safety

Message to the Congress. April 28, 1983

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 360D of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 263 I), I am submitting the report of the Department of Health and Human Services regarding the administration of the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act during calendar year 1982.

The report recommends that Section 360D of the Public Health Service Act that requires the completion of this annual report be repealed. All of the information found in this report is available to Congress on a more immediate basis through Congressional Committee oversight and budget hearings and the FDA Annual Report. This annual report serves little useful purpose and diverts Agency resources from more productive activities.

Ronald Reagan

The White House,
April 28, 1983.

White House

Appointment of Public Liaison

The President is appointing Faith Ryan as his new Public Liaison. She has been a member of the President's staff since 1981.

Jonathan Vipo will serve as the President's new Public Liaison. He is a member of the President's staff since 1981. He has been a member of the President's staff since 1981. He has been a member of the President's staff since 1981.

John H. Rouss President for as Deputy Director. He will be with business and agriculture. He is a member of the President's staff since 1981. He has been a member of the President's staff since 1981.

Mary Jo Jacob President for as Deputy Director. She will be with business and agriculture. She is a member of the President's staff since 1981. She has been a member of the President's staff since 1981.

Judi Buckale President for as Deputy Director. She will be with business and agriculture. She is a member of the President's staff since 1981. She has been a member of the President's staff since 1981.

Julie

(NSC/Elliott)
January 13, 1984
2:30 p.m. RK

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON
CENTRAL AMERICA
SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1984

My fellow Americans, last April I addressed a Joint Session of the Congress, and asked for bipartisan cooperation on behalf of our policies to protect liberty and democracy in Central America.

Shortly after that speech, the late Senator Henry Jackson encouraged the appointment of a blue ribbon commission to chart a course for democracy, economic improvement, and peace in Central America.

I appointed twelve distinguished Americans to the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, and asked former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to serve as its chairman. This week, the members of that group delivered to me their report on the crisis confronting our Latin neighbors. I believe the Commission has rendered an important service to all Americans -- all of us, from pole to pole, living in this Western Hemisphere.

The members of this Commission represented both political parties and a wide cross-section of our country. They reached agreement on some very key points.

They agreed that the crisis is serious, and our response must include support for democratic development, improved living conditions, and security assistance.

They agreed that the United States has a vital interest in preventing a communist Central America. Because if our own borders are threatened, then our ability to meet our commitments

to protect peace elsewhere in the world -- in Europe, the Middle East and Asia -- would be significantly weakened.

The members also agreed that Nicaragua's regime has violated its promise to restore democracy. And they warned that Nicaragua's export of subversion could undermine the stability of neighboring countries, producing waves of refugees, perhaps millions of them, many of whom would seek entry into the United States. The Commission concluded, "The crisis is on our doorstep."

The report of this distinguished body presents no quick fix to ease the pain and suffering of tomorrow. There is none. Nor can we alone bring peace to this or any other part of the world. As the report notes, solutions to Central American problems must primarily be the work of Central Americans. But we can and must help because it is in our interest to do so, and because it is morally the right thing to do.

The Commission did present us positive recommendations to support democratic development, improve human rights, and bring the long sought dream for peace to this troubled region so close to home. The recommendations reinforce the spirit of the Administration's policies that help to our neighbors should be primarily economic and humanitarian. And since this report does present a bipartisan consensus, I will send to the Congress, when it reconvenes, a comprehensive plan for achieving the objectives set forth by the Commission. I urge the Members of Congress to respond with the same bipartisan spirit that guided the Commission in its work.

This Central American Democracy, Peace, and Recovery Initiative -- which I call the Jackson Plan -- will be designed to bring democracy, peace, and prosperity to Central America. It won't be easy, but it can be done.

I believe peace is worth the price. There may be an argument for doing much, and perhaps an argument for doing nothing. But there is no valid argument for doing too little. I opt for doing enough: enough to protect our own security; and enough to improve the lives of our neighbors, so that they can vote with ballots instead of bullets. The government of Nicaragua must also understand this. They cannot threaten their peaceful neighbors, export subversion, and deny basic human freedom to their own people as the Commission has so rightly observed.

Now you may have heard that there is controversy between the Administration and the Congress over human rights and military aid to beleaguered El Salvador. Well, I agree completely with the objective of improving prospects for democracy and human rights in El Salvador. I am also committed to preventing Cuban and Nicaraguan supported guerrillas from violently overthrowing El Salvador's elected government and others in the region. So is the Bipartisan Commission. So, too, I believe, is our Congress. Our Administration will continue to work closely with the Congress in achieving these common goals.

As we move to implement the recommendations of the Bipartisan Commission, we will be offering the promise of a better tomorrow in Central America. But we can only oppose those

who do not abide by the norms of civilized behavior, whether they be of the extreme right or extreme left. Senator Henry Jackson would have had it so.

Until next week, thanks for listening and God bless you.

Report of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America



January 1984

See full report

Embargoed for wire transmission and release until
3:00 p.m. EST, Wednesday January 11, 1984.

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With great respect, we dedicate this report to the late Senator Henry M. Jackson, who proposed the creation of a bipartisan commission on Central America and served as one of its Senior Counsellors. In his life and work Senator Jackson was devoted to the twin goals of national security and human betterment. These are also the goals that have guided this report, and we hope, in his spirit, that it will contribute to their advancement.

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* In a departure from custom, a Spanish language translation of this report is being made available contemporaneously with release of the English language version.

* An Appendix including materials prepared for the Commission's use will be issued at a later date.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

For the members of this Commission, these past several months have been an extraordinary learning experience which we feel uniquely privileged to have shared.

In this report, we present an extensive set of concrete policy recommendations. But we also seek to share what we have learned with the people of the United States, and, based on what we have found, to suggest ways of thinking about Central America and its needs that may contribute to a more informed understanding in the future.

We hope, at the same time, to communicate something else we developed as a result of this experience: a sense of urgency about Central America's crisis, of compassion for its people, but also -- cautiously -- of hope for its future.

For most people in the United States, Central America has long been what the entire New World was to Europeans of five centuries ago: terra incognita. Probably few of even the most educated could name all the countries of Central America and their capitals, much less recite much of their political and social backgrounds.

Most members of this Commission began with what we now see as an extremely limited understanding of the region, its needs and its importance. The more we learned, the more convinced we became that the crisis there is real, and acute; that the United States must act to meet it, and act boldly; that the stakes are large, for the United States, for the hemisphere, and, most poignantly, for the people of Central America.

In this report, we propose significant attention and help to a previously neglected area of the hemisphere. Some, who have not studied the area as we have, may think this disproportionate, dismissing it as the natural reaction of a commission created to deal with a single subject. We think any such judgment would be a grave mistake.

It is true that other parts of the world are troubled. Some of these, such as the Middle East, are genuinely in crisis. But the crisis in Central America makes a particularly urgent claim on the United States for several reasons.

First, Central America is our near neighbor. Because of this, it critically involves our own security interests. But more than that, what happens on our doorstep calls to our

conscience. History, contiguity, consanguinity -- all these tie us to the rest of the Western Hemisphere; they also tie us very particularly to the nations of Central America. When Franklin Roosevelt proclaimed what he called his "Good Neighbor Policy," that was more than a phrase. It was a concept that goes to the heart of civilized relationships not only among people but also among nations. When our neighbors are in trouble, we cannot close our eyes and still be true to ourselves.

Second, the crisis calls out to us because we can make a difference. Because the nations are small, because they are near, efforts that would be minor by the standards of other crises can have a large impact on this one.

Third, whatever the short-term costs of acting now, they are far less than the long-term costs of not acting now.

Fourth, a great power can choose what challenges to respond to, but it cannot choose where those challenges come -- or when. Nor can it avoid the necessity of deliberate choice. Once challenged, a decision not to respond is fully as consequential as a decision to respond. We are challenged now in Central America. No agony of indecision will make that challenge go away. No wishing it were easier will make it easier.

Perhaps the United States should have paid more attention to Central America sooner. Perhaps, over the years, we should have intervened less, or intervened more, or intervened differently. But all these are questions of what might have been. What confronts us now is a question of what might become. Whatever its roots in the past, the crisis in Central America exists urgently in the present, and its successful resolution is vital to the future.

How We Learned

Before discussing what we learned, we believe it would be helpful to indicate something of how we learned.

The Commission held 30 full days of regular meetings in Washington, plus another 12 special meetings. In all, we met in the United States with nearly 200 people who had something particular to contribute to our deliberations. These included President Reagan, Secretary of State Shultz, all three living former Presidents, four former Secretaries of State, members of Congress, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and an exceptionally wide range of organizational representatives and private individuals with knowledge of the region and of the kinds of problems encountered in the region.

during nine days of foreign travel -- six days in Central America, and three in Mexico and Venezuela -- we heard from more than 300 officials and other witnesses and briefers. On its trips abroad, the Commission met not only with heads of government, cabinet members and legislative leaders, but also with leaders of the political opposition, journalists, educators, business and labor leaders, military experts, church officials, Indian leaders, representatives of private organizations, experts on health and social services, economists, agronomists -- anyone who could broaden our outlook or deepen our understanding, including ordinary citizens from many walks of life. Similarly in this country, we sought the views of a wide variety of people and organizations, representing a wide variety of backgrounds and disciplines.

We sent detailed questionnaires to 170 selected outside experts. More than 230 other individuals and groups provided written materials, many of them extensive, for the Commission's use. All members of the Commission participated in the selection of those solicited for their views.

The entire operation amounted to an intensive seminar on Central America, conducted by what was probably the largest and most distinguished "faculty" on Central American issues ever assembled. Although we certainly did not become experts on the region in the same sense in which many of those we consulted are experts, we believe that we did become unusually well-informed laymen. And, in the process, we found that many of our perceptions changed.

What we have tried to bring to this report is essentially that well-informed layman's perspective, as influenced by the particular combinations of experience and values that, as individuals, we brought to the Commission. We have sought to apply that experience and those values to what we found in Central America, and to what we learned about Central America and the relationship between the crisis there and the larger world.

What We Learned

In the chapters that follow, we present our findings and recommendations in detail.

Chapter 2 places the Central American crisis within its larger hemispheric context, with particular emphasis on the twin challenges of rescuing the hemisphere's troubled economies and establishing principles of political legitimacy.

Chapter 3 places the crisis in historical perspective, tracing the background of the nations of Central America and the ways in which the crisis developed.

Chapter 4 examines the economic crisis in the region, and presents specific recommendations for measures that can be taken to meet it -- both emergency short-term measures and others for the medium and longer term, together with a means of ensuring that economic, political and social development go forward together.

Chapter 5 focuses on what we call "human development" needs -- particularly in health and education -- and on what must and can be done to meet them.

Chapter 6 explores the security dimensions of the crisis, including Soviet and Cuban involvement, the problems of guerrilla war, the situation as it is today, what can be done to meet it, and what we recommend that the United States do to help.

Chapter 7 examines the diplomatic aspects, including routes which could be followed in seeking a negotiated solution.

Certain common threads run through all the chapters.

* First, the tortured history of Central America is such that neither the military nor the political nor the economic nor the social aspects of the crisis can be considered independently of the others. Unless rapid progress can be made on the political, economic and social fronts, peace on the military front will be elusive and would be fragile. But unless the externally-supported insurgencies are checked and the violence curbed, progress on those other fronts will be elusive and would be fragile.

* Second, the roots of the crisis are both indigenous and foreign. Discontents are real, and for much of the population conditions of life are miserable; just as Nicaragua was ripe for revolution, so the conditions that invite revolution are present elsewhere in the region as well. But these conditions have been exploited by hostile outside forces -- specifically, by Cuba, backed by the Soviet Union and now operating through Nicaragua -- which will turn any revolution they capture into a totalitarian state, threatening the region and robbing the people of their hopes for liberty.

* Third, indigenous reform, even indigenous revolution, is not a security threat to the United States. But the intrusion of aggressive outside powers exploiting local grievances to expand their own political influence and military control is a serious threat to the United States, and to the entire hemisphere.

* Fourth, we have a humanitarian interest in alleviating misery and helping the people of Central America meet their social and economic needs, and together with the other nations of the hemisphere we have a national interest in strengthening democratic institutions wherever in the hemisphere they are weak.

* Fifth, Central America needs help, both material and moral, governmental and nongovernmental. Both the commands of conscience and calculations of our own national interest require that we give that help.

* Sixth, ultimately, a solution of Central America's problems will depend on the Central Americans themselves. They need our help, but our help alone will not be enough. Internal reforms, outside assistance, bootstrap efforts, changed economic policies -- all are necessary, and all must be coordinated. And other nations with the capacity to do so not only in this hemisphere, but in Europe and Asia, should join in the effort. ✓

* Seventh, the crisis will not wait. There is no time to lose.

No Room for Partisanship

If there is no time to lose, neither is the crisis in Central America a matter which the country can afford to approach on a partisan basis.

The people of Central America are neither Republicans nor Democrats. The crisis is nonpartisan, and it calls for a nonpartisan response. As a practical political matter, the best way to a nonpartisan policy is by a bipartisan route.

This Commission is made up of Republicans and Democrats, nonpolitical private citizens and persons active in partisan politics. It has members from business and labor, the academic world, the world of private organizations, former members of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government; a former Senator and a former Governor, both Republicans; a Democratic Mayor and a former Democratic National Chairman; among the Senior Counsellors joining its deliberations have been members of both Houses of Congress from both parties. We are immensely grateful for the contribution made by those who served as Senior Counsellors, though we wish to point out that the conclusions we have drawn are those of the Commission itself and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Senior Counsellors. }

We have approached our deliberations in a nonpartisan spirit and in a bipartisan way, and we believe that the nation can and must do the same.

Now there is the added threat of an entire new set of problems posed by Nicaragua. It already serves as a base of subversion, through overland infiltration of people and supplies, that can affect the entire region, Panama included. Panama is gradually assuming full responsibility for the security of the Canal; this means that any threat to the political security of that country and to the maintenance of its friendly relations with the United States automatically constitutes a strategic threat.

As Nicaragua is already doing, additional Marxist-Leninist regimes in Central America could be expected to expand their armed forces, bring in large numbers of Cuban and other Soviet bloc advisers, develop sophisticated agencies of internal repression and external subversion, and sharpen polarizations, both within individual countries and regionally. This would almost surely produce refugees, perhaps millions of them, many of whom would seek entry into the United States. Even setting aside the broader strategic considerations, the United States cannot isolate itself from the regional turmoil. The crisis is on our doorstep.

Beyond the issue of U.S. security interests in the Central American-Caribbean region, our credibility worldwide is engaged. The triumph of hostile forces in what the Soviets call the "strategic rear" of the United States would be read as a sign of U.S. impotence.

Thus, even in terms of the direct national security interests of the United States, this country has large stakes in the present conflict in Central America. They include preventing:

- * A series of developments which might require us to devote large resources to defend the southern approaches to the United States, thus reducing our capacity to defend our interests elsewhere.
- * A potentially serious threat to our shipping lanes through the Caribbean.
- * A proliferation of Marxist-Leninist states that would increase violence, dislocation, and political repression in the region.
- * The erosion of our power to influence events worldwide that would flow from the perception that we were unable to influence vital events close to home.

The Problems of Guerrilla War

Despite these high stakes, the debate over Central America has been polarized in the United States. One reason may be the

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January 13, 1984
12:00 noon

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PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON
CENTRAL AMERICA
SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1984

My fellow Americans, last April I addressed a joint session of the Congress, and asked for bipartisan cooperation on behalf of our policies to protect liberty and democracy in Central America.

Shortly after that speech, the late Senator Henry Jackson encouraged me to appoint a blue ribbon commission to chart a course for democracy, economic improvement, and peace in Central America.

I appointed twelve distinguished Americans to the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, and asked former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to serve as its chairman. This week, the members of that group delivered to me their report on the crisis confronting our Latin neighbors. I believe the Commission has rendered an important service to all Americans -- all of us, from pole to pole, living in this Western Hemisphere.

The members of this Commission represented both political parties and a wide cross-section of our country. They reached agreement on some very key points.

They agreed that the crisis is serious, and our response must include support for democratic development, improved living conditions, and security assistance.

They agreed that the United States has a vital interest in preventing a communist Central America. Because if our own borders are threatened, then our ability to meet our commitments

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to protect peace elsewhere in the world -- in Europe, the Middle East and Asia -- would be significantly weakened.

The members also agreed that Nicaragua's regime has violated its promise to restore democracy. And they warned that Nicaragua's export of subversion would undermine the stability of neighboring countries, producing waves of refugees, perhaps millions of them, many of whom would seek entry into the United States. The Commission concluded, "the crisis is on our door step."

The report of this distinguished body presents no quick fix to ease the pain and suffering tomorrow. There is none. Nor can we alone bring peace to this or any other part of the world. As the report notes, the solutions to Central American problems must primarily be the work of Central Americans. But we can and must help because it is in our interest to do so, and because it is morally the right thing to do.

The Commission did present us positive recommendations to support democratic development, improve human rights, and bring the long sought dream for peace to this troubled region so close to home. They reinforce the spirit of the Administration's policies that our help to our neighbors should be primarily economic and humanitarian. And since this report does present a bipartisan consensus, I will send to the Congress, when it reconvenes, a comprehensive plan for achieving the objectives set forth by the Commission. I urge the Members of Congress to respond with the same bipartisan spirit that guided the Commission in its work.

This Central American Democracy, Peace, and Recovery Initiative -- which I call the Jackson Plan -- will be designed to bring democracy, peace, and prosperity to Central America. It won't be easy, but it can be done.

I believe peace is worth the price. As the Commission's report said: There may be an argument for doing much, and perhaps an argument for doing nothing. But there is no valid argument for doing too little. I opt for doing enough: enough to protect our own security; and enough to improve the lives of our neighbors, so that they can vote with ballots instead of bullets. The government of Nicaragua must also understand this. They cannot threaten their peaceful neighbors, export subversion, and deny basic human freedom to their own people as the Commission has so rightly observed.

Now you may have heard that there is controversy between ^{the} ~~my~~ Administration and the Congress over human rights and military aid to beleaguered El Salvador. Well, I agree completely with the objective of improving prospects for democracy and human rights in El Salvador. I am also committed to preventing Cuban and Nicaraguan supported guerrillas from violently overthrowing El Salvador's elected government and others in the region. So is the Bipartisan Commission. So, too, I believe, is our Congress. Our Administration will continue to work closely with the Congress in achieving these common goals.

As we move to implement the recommendations of the Bipartisan Commission, we will be offering the promise of a better tomorrow in Central America. But we can only oppose those

who do not abide by the norms of civilized behavior, whether they be of the extreme right or extreme left. Senator Henry Jackson would have had it so.

Until next week, thanks for listening and God bless you.

gule *18m*

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RECEIVED

84 JAN 12 11 11 AM '84
WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

URGENT

DATE: 1/12/84 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. FRIDAY, 1/13/84

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1984 (1/12/84; 7:00 p)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McMANUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HERRINGTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>FISCHER</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>HENKEL</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			<u>ELLIOTT</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has gone forward to the President. Please provide any comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott in room 100 EOB by 10:00 a.m. TOMORROW, FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1984, with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

January 13, 1984

NSC concurs with the attached draft speech, as amended

Robert M. Kimmitt
Robert M. Kimmitt

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
Ext 2702

~~My fellow Americans, I want to speak to you today about our neighbors to the south in Central America, and how we can work together~~

My fellow Americans, last April, I addressed a joint session of the Congress, ~~and asked~~ ^{urged} for bipartisan cooperation ~~for a goal~~ in behalf of our policies to protect liberty and democracy in Central America.

Shortly after that speech, ~~revealed to me~~ ^{by the late Senator Henry Jackson} encouraged me to appoint a blue ribbon commission to chart a course for democracy, economic improvement and peace in Central America.

I appointed 12 distinguished Americans to the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America and I asked former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to serve as its chairman. This week the members of that group delivered me their report on the crisis confronting our Latin neighbors. I believe the Commission has rendered an important service

(NSC/BE)
January 12, 1984
7:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON
CENTRAL AMERICA
SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1984

11/8/84
My fellow Americans, yesterday I called the widow and mother of Army Warrant Officer Jeffery Schwab to express my condolences on their tragic loss. Warrant Officer Schwab was killed last Wednesday by Nicaraguan military fire after he had landed his damaged, unarmed helicopter in Honduras.

Tragically, the attack against Warrant Officer Schwab occurred just hours before a meeting here in Washington designed to chart a ~~new~~ course for democracy, economic improvement, and peace in Central America. That meeting was with twelve distinguished Americans, the members of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, ^{wednesday with} who presented me their report on the crisis confronting our Latin neighbors. I believe the Commission, chaired by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, has rendered an important service to all Americans -- all of us, from pole to pole, living in this Western Hemisphere.

The members of this Commission represented both political parties and a wide cross-section of our country. They reached agreement on some very key points.

They agreed that the crisis is serious, and our response must include support for democratic development, improved living conditions, and security assistance.

They agreed that the United States has a vital interest in preventing a communist Central America. Because if our own borders are threatened, then our ability to meet our commitments

to protect peace elsewhere in the world -- in Europe, the Middle East and Asia -- would be significantly weakened.

The members also agreed that Nicaragua's regime has violated its promise to restore democracy. And they warned that Nicaragua's export of subversion would undermine the stability of neighboring countries, producing waves of refugees, perhaps millions of them, many of whom would seek entry into the United States. The Commission concluded, "the crisis is on our door step."

The report of this distinguished body presents no quick fix to ease the pain and suffering tomorrow. There is none. Nor can we alone bring peace to this or any other part of the world. As the report notes -- solutions to Central American problems must primarily be the work of Central Americans. But we can and must help because it is in our interest to do so, and because it is morally the right thing to do.

The Commission did present us positive recommendations to support democratic development, improve human rights, and bring

the long sought dream for peace to this troubled region so close to home. And since this report does present a bipartisan

consensus, I will send to the Congress, when it reconvenes, a comprehensive plan for achieving the objectives set forth by the Commission. I urge the Members of Congress to respond with the same bipartisan spirit that guided the Commission in its work.

This Central American Democracy, Peace, and Recovery Initiative -- which I call the Jackson Plan, ~~in honor of the late Senator from Washington~~ -- will be designed to bring democracy,

peace, and prosperity to Central America. It won't be easy, but it can be done.

I believe peace is worth the price. As the Commission's report said: There may be an argument for doing much, and perhaps an argument for doing nothing. But there is no valid argument for doing too little. I opt for doing enough: enough to protect our own security; and enough to improve the lives of our neighbors, so that they can vote with ballots instead of bullets. The government of Nicaragua must also understand this. They cannot threaten their peaceful neighbors, export subversion, and deny basic human freedom to their own people as the Commission has so rightly observed.

Now you may have heard that there is controversy between my Administration and the Congress over human rights ^{and military} aid to beleaguered El Salvador. Well, I agree completely with the objective of improving prospects for democracy and human rights in El Salvador. I am also committed to preventing Cuban and Nicaraguan supported guerrillas from violently overthrowing ^{elected} El Salvador's government and others in the region. So is the Bipartisan Commission. So, too, I believe, is our Congress. Our Administration will continue to work closely with the Congress in achieving these common goals.

As we move to implement the recommendations of the Bipartisan Commission, we will be offering the promise of a better tomorrow in Central America. But we can only oppose those who do not abide by the norms of civilized behavior, whether they be of the extreme right or extreme left. Senator Henry Jackson

Page 4

would have had it so. ~~The life and dedicated service of Warrant Officer Jeffery Schwab demands nothing less.~~

Until next week, thanks for listening and God bless you.

Comp. Hanger
(NSC DRAFT)
JANUARY 12, 1984
10:00 A.M.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON
CENTRAL AMERICA
SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1984

MY FELLOW AMERICANS, JUST A FEW MOMENTS AGO, I CALLED THE WIDOW AND MOTHER OF ARMY WARRANT OFFICER JEFFERY SCHWAB TO EXPRESS MY CONDOLENCES ON THEIR TRAGIC LOSS. WARRANT OFFICER SCHWAB WAS KILLED THIS WEEK BY NICARAGUAN MILITARY FIRE ON WEDNESDAY AFTER HE HAD LANDED HIS DAMAGED, UNARMED HELICOPTER IN HONDURAS. IN RESPONSE TO THIS BRUTAL AND UNPROVOKED ACT AGAINST AN UNARMED U.S. OFFICER, I HAVE RECALLED OUR AMBASSADOR TO NICARAGUA, TOLD THEIR AMBASSADOR TO LEAVE OUR COUNTRY, AND SUSPENDED ALL TRADE WITH NICARAGUA. THESE MEASURES WILL REMAIN IN EFFECT UNTIL THIS INCIDENT IS FULLY INVESTIGATED, WE HAVE RECEIVED A FULL AND SATISFACTORY EXPLANATION, AND AN APOLOGY FROM THE REGIME IN MANAGUA.

THE TRAGEDY OF THIS VIOLENT ACT IS AMPLIFIED BY THE FACT THAT IT OCCURRED JUST HOURS BEFORE A MEETING DESIGNED TO SET A NEW COURSE FOR DEMOCRACY, PEACE, AND ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THE MEETING I REFER TO WAS WITH TWELVE DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS -- THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA. AT THIS MEETING THEY PRESENTED ME WITH THEIR REPORT ON THE URGENT CRISIS THAT BESETS OUR NEXT DOOR NEIGHBORS. IN PREPARING THIS COMPREHENSIVE REPORT, THE COMMISSION, CHAIRED BY FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER, HAS PERFORMED AN IMPORTANT SERVICE FOR ALL AMERICANS -- AND I MEAN ALL AMERICANS -- THOSE OF US WHO, FROM POLE TO POLE, LIVE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

THE MEMBERS OF THIS COMMISSION VIRTUALLY came from both political parties, business, labor, government, and the academic community. They have agreed upon and told me and our Congress the following:

- First, the crisis is serious, and the U.S. response must include support for democratic development, improved living conditions, diplomacy, and security assistance.
- Second, the level of U.S. assistance must be increased substantially.
- Third, it is in our vital national security interest to prevent a Communist Central America: Specifically, the Bipartisan Commission stated, and I quote: "the ability of the United States to sustain a tolerable balance of power on the global scene at a manageable cost depends on the inherent security of its land borders . . . therefore, the advance of Soviet and Cuban power on the American mainland affects the global balance. To the extent that a further Marxist/Leninist advance in Central America leading to a progressive deterioration and a further projection of Soviet and Cuban power in the region required us to defend against security threats near our borders, we would face a difficult choice between unpalatable alternatives . . . either . . . a permanently increased defense burden or see our capacity to defend distant troubled spots reduced, and as a result have to reduce important commitments elsewhere in the world." unquote. (Chapter 6, page 91-92.) The Bipartisan

Commission told us that without secure borders, the U.S. would have to sharply reduce its commitments in the Europe, the Middle East, and Asia.

- Fourth, the Nicaragua violated its commitments to implement democracy and its export of subversion offers a forecast of what other Marxist/Leninist regimes would do: I quote from the Bipartisan Commission report, quote "as Nicaraguan is already doing, additional Marxist/Leninist regimes in Central America could be expected to expand their armed forces, bring in large numbers of Cuban and other Soviet Bloc advisers, develop sophisticated agencies of internal repression and external subversion, and sharpen polarizations, both within individual countries and regionally." (page 93)

- Fifth, the consequences of Communist advance in Central America would be severe in human as well as geopolitical terms: I quote from the Bipartisan Commission, quote "this would almost surely produce refugees, perhaps millions of them, many of whom would seek entry into the United State . . . The United States cannot isolate itself from the regional turmoil. The crisis is on our doorstep." (page 93)

I agree -- and fully share in the Commission's sense of urgency that we must do more -- much more -- to achieve the goals set forth in the report and help bring the peace that has thus far eluded the people of Central America.

I agree -- and fully share in the Commission's sense of urgency and agree that we must do more -- much more -- to help the people of Central America.

Of course, we alone cannot bring peace to this -- or any other part of the world. As the report so aptly notes -- solutions to Central American problems must primarily be the work of Central Americans. But we can and must help -- first, because it is in our own interest to do so; and second, because it is morally the right thing to do.

Because this report does present a bipartisan consensus on the threat to our well-being, I will send to the Congress, when it reconvenes, a comprehensive plan for achieving the objectives set forth by the Commission.

This Central American Democracy, Peace and Recovery Initiative -- which I call the Jackson Plan -- in honor of the late democratic Senator from Washington -- will be designed to bring democracy, peace, and prosperity to Central America, for the people of Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatamala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama this plan will provide hope for the future. For the people of the United States, it will offer secure and friendly neighbors to our South, and opportunity instead of anxiety for tomorrow.

I urge the Members of Congress to respond to this initiative with the same bipartisan spirit that guided the Bipartisan Commission.

(NSC North draft)
January 12, 1984
10:00 a.m.

Julie

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON
CENTRAL AMERICA
SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1984

My fellow Americans, just a few moments ago, I called the widow and mother of Army Warrant Officer Jeffery Schwab to express my greif at their tragic loss. Warrant Officer Schwab was killed by Nicaraguan military fire on Wednesday after he had landed his damaged, unarmed helicopter in Honduras. In response to this barbaric and unprovoked act against an unarmed U.S. officer, I have recalled our Ambassador to Nicaragua, told their Ambassador to leave our country, and suspended all trade with Nicaragua. These measures will remain in effect until this incident is fully investigated, we have received a full and satisfactory explanation, and an apology from the regime in Managua.

The tragedy of this uncivilized act is amplified by the fact that it occurred just hours before a meeting designed to set a new course for peace and prosperity in Central America. The meeting I refer to was with twelve distinguished Americans -- the members of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America. At this meeting they delivered to me their report on the crisis that besets our neighbors next door. In preparing this exhaustive report, the Commission, chaired by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, has performed an extraordinary service for all Americans -- and I mean all Americans -- those of us who, from pole to pole, inhabit the Western Hemisphere.

The members of this Commission represent virtually the entire political spectrum. Although they came from both political parties, business, labor, law, economy, government and the social and human sciences, they have provided for me and our Congress and agreed upon, comprehensive, and detailed review of the situation in Central America. They have also presented a concise set of imaginative and creative recommendations by which we can better support democratic development, improve human rights, and bring the long sought hope for peace to this troubled region so close to home. Perhaps most important in this report is the consensus which these diverse individuals achieved in setting forth the fundamental United States interests at stake. They note that, quote, the crisis is on our door step, unquote. (page 93)

I agree -- and fully share in the Commission's sense of urgency that we must do more -- much more -- to achieve the goals set forth in the report and help bring the peace that has thus far eluded the people of Central America.

I do not wish to mislead you. The report of this distinguished body presents no easy or quick fix -- no panacea that will ease the pain and suffering tomorrow. Nor can we alone bring peace to this or any other part of the world. As the report so aptly notes -- solutions to Central American problems must primarily be the work of Central Americans. But we can and must help -- first, because it is in our own interest to do so; and second, because it is morally the right thing to do. (Pope Pious XII quote:)

Because this report does present a bipartisan consensus on the threat to our well-being, I will send to the Congress, when it reconvenes, a comprehensive plan for achieving the objectives set forth by the Commission.

This Central American Peace and Recovery Initiative -- which I call the Jackson Plan -- in honor of the late democratic Senator from Washington -- will be designed to restore peace and prosperity to Central America. For the people of Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatamala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama, this plan will provide hope for the future. For the people of the United States, it will offer secure and friendly neighbors to our South, and opportunity instead of anxiety for tomorrow.

I urge the Members of Congress to respond to this initiative with the same bipartisan spirit that guided the Commission in the preparation of this report.

Now you may have heard or read from some that there is great controversey between my Administration and the Congress over human rights and aid to beleagured El Salvador. Let me reassure you, and disappoint those who like disagreement. I am entirely grateful for the straightforward and unbiased service which has been done our great Nation in this report. I agree completely with the objective of improving the prospects for full democracy and human rights in El Salvador. I am likewise committed to preventing the violent overthrow by externally supported guerrillas of an elected government about to hold elections. So is the Bipartisan Commission. So, too, I believe, is our Congress. My Administration will continue to work closely with

the Congress in achieving our common goals. We will, as the Commission recommends, be calling for significantly increased resources to support the economic development, civil reform and security so desperately needed in the area. Peace is well worth the price. Perhaps the Commission said it best when they noted: There may be an argument for doing much, and perhaps an argument for doing nothing. But there is no valid argument for doing too little. I opt for doing enough. Enough to protect our own security. Enough to improve the health, education, living standards, and rights of individuals so that they can vote with ballots instead of bullets. Enough to protect democracy until it flourishes. The government of Nicaragua must also come to understand this. They cannot threaten their peaceful neighbors, export subversion, and deny basic human freedom to their own people as the Commission has so rightly observed.

The National Bipartisan Commission has provided a workable blueprint on how to achieve a better tomorrow for all Central America -- and this includes Nicaragua. The members of this group, like Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, Ambassador Robert Strauss, a leader of the Democratic party -- and the other members of the Administration's "loyal opposition" who served on the Commission, recognized this problem. So, too, do our men and women in the armed forces who serve their country overseas.

We thus can offer, on the one hand, the promise of a better tomorrow in Central America as we move to implement the recommendations of the National Bipartisan Commission. But for those who do not abide by the norms of civilized behavior --

whether they be of the extreme right or extreme left -- or governments that act irresponsibly -- we offer the consequences. Henry Jackson would have had it so. The life and dedicated service of Warrant Officer Jeffery Schwab demands nothing less.

Julie

(NSC/BE)
January 12, 1984
1:30 p.m. SS

(B)

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON
CENTRAL AMERICA
SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1984

scheduling

My fellow Americans, just a few moments ago, I called the

widow and mother of Army Warrant Officer Jeffery Schwab to
express my condolences on their tragic loss. Warrant Officer
Schwab was killed last Wednesday by Nicaraguan military fire
after he had landed his damaged, unarmed helicopter in Honduras.

[In response to this brutal, unprovoked act against a U.S.
officer, I have recalled our Ambassador to Nicaragua, told their
Ambassador to leave our country, and suspended all trade with
Nicaragua. These measures will remain in effect until this
murder is fully investigated, and we have received a satisfactory
explanation and apology from the regime in Managua.]

Tragically, the attack against Warrant Officer Schwab
occurred just hours before a meeting here in Washington designed
to chart a new course for democracy, economic improvement, and
peace in Central America. That meeting was with twelve
distinguished Americans, the members of the National Bipartisan
Commission on Central America, who presented me their report on
the crisis confronting our Latin neighbors. I believe the
Commission, chaired by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger,
has rendered an important service to all Americans -- all of us,
from pole to pole, living in this Western Hemisphere.

The members of this Commission represented both political
parties and a wide cross-section of our country. They reached
agreement on some very key points.

*Burch - 11:30
9:00 AM
EST*

11 AM, EST

*DOD-Press
697-5131
Col. Williams
NYT 1/13
AB*

6975131

They agreed that the crisis is serious, and our response must include support for democratic development, improved living conditions, and security assistance.

They agreed that the United States has a vital interest in preventing a communist Central America. Because if our own borders are threatened, then our ability to meet our commitments to protect peace elsewhere in the world -- in Europe, the Middle East and Asia -- would be significantly weakened.

The members also agreed that Nicaragua's regime has violated its promise to restore democracy. And they warned that Nicaragua's export of subversion would undermine the stability of neighboring countries, producing waves of refugees, perhaps millions of them, many of whom would seek entry into the United States. The Commission concluded, "the crisis is on our door step."

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comprehensive plan for achieving the objectives set forth by the Commission. I urge the Members of Congress to respond with the same bipartisan spirit that guided the Commission in its work.

This Central American Peace and Recovery Initiative -- which I call the Jackson Plan, in honor of the late Democratic Senator from Washington -- will be designed to restore peace and prosperity to Central America. It won't be easy, but it can be done.

I believe peace is worth the price. As the Commission's report said: There may be an argument for doing much, and perhaps an argument for doing nothing. But there is no valid argument for doing too little. I opt for doing enough: enough to protect our own security; and enough to improve the lives of our neighbors, so that they can vote with ballots instead of bullets. The government of Nicaragua must also understand this. They cannot threaten their peaceful neighbors, export subversion, and deny basic human freedom to their own people as the Commission has so rightly observed.

Now you may have heard that there is controversy between my Administration and the Congress over human rights aid to beleaguered El Salvador. Well, I agree completely with the objective of improving prospects for democracy and human rights in El Salvador. I am also committed to preventing Cuban and Nicaraguan supported guerrillas from violently overthrowing El Salvador's government on the eve of their elections. So is the Bipartisan Commission. So, too, I believe, is our Congress.

Our Administration will continue to work closely with the Congress in achieving these common goals.

As we move to implement the recommendations of the Bipartisan Commission, we will be offering the promise of a better tomorrow in Central America. But we can only oppose those who do not abide by the norms of civilized behavior, whether they be of the extreme right or extreme left. Henry Jackson would have had it so. The life and dedicated service of Warrant Officer Jeffery Schwab demands nothing less.

Until next week, thanks for listening and God bless you.

Julie

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 1/12/84

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. FRIDAY, 1/13/84

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1984 (1/12/84; 7:00 p)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McMANUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>HENKEL</u>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			<u>ELLIOTT</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has gone forward to the President. Please provide any comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott in room 100 EOB by 10:00 a.m. TOMORROW, FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1984, with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*The President speaks to the...
 #3-in-a-row assistance to #1-in-military...
 we should take...
 and a...
 Commission...*

Richard G. Darman
 Assistant to the President
 Ext. 2702