

# Ronald Reagan Presidential Library

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**Collection:**

Executive Secretariat, National Security Council: Country File: Records

**Folder Title:**

Central American Commission- Kissinger Bipartisan Commission  
(08/24/1983-08/30/1983)

**Box:** RAC Box 27

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

**Withdrawer**

KDB 3/29/2016

**File Folder** CENTRAL AMERICAN COMMISSION - KISSINGER  
BIPARTISAN COMMISSION (8/24/1983-8/30/1983)

**FOIA**

F03-002/5

**Box Number** 027

SKINNER

484

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
174325	MEMO	OLIVER NORTH, A. SAPIA-BOSCH, AND R. FONTAINE TO W. CLARK RE BRIEFINGS FOR FORMER PRESIDENTS FORD AND CARTER	1	8/24/1983	B1
174326	MEMO	F. WETTERING TO CLARK RE SOUTH AFRICA: ISSUE	1	8/30/1983	B1
174327	MEMO	OLIVER NORTH, A. SAPIA-BOSCH, AND R. FONTAINE TO W. CLARK RE PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA (INCL. 2 COPIES OF PAGE 2, W/DIFFERENT NOTATIONS) <b>R 12/11/2024 DOS/NSC WAIVERS</b>	3	8/24/1983	B1
174328	LIST	QUESTIONS RE CENTRAL AMERICA <b>R 12/11/2024 OPEN</b>	2	ND	B1
174329	LIST	EXPERTS TO BE CONSULTED	11	ND	B3

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

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B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

NSC/S PROFILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ID 8391017

UNCLASSIFIED  
OF CLASS

UPON REMOVAL  
ENCLOSURE(S)

3/29/16 (C)

RECEIVED 25 AUG 83 15

TO

CLARK

FROM NORTH

DOCDATE 24 AUG 83

SAPIA-BOSCH

24 AUG 83

FONTAINE

24 AUG 83

KEYWORDS CENTRAL AMERICA

KISSINGER, HENRY A

SUBJECT: PRES COMMIS ON CENTRAL AMERICA

ACTION: FOR DECISION

DUE:

STATUS X

FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CLARK

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

( B B )

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

AUG 30 1983

Clark approved

on, SB, FO

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH

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NSC/S PROFILE

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I ID 8391018

UNCLASSIFIED / FOR DECLASSIFICATION  
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

RECEIVED 25 AUG 83 10 2

TO CLARK

FROM NORTH

3/29/16 CDB

DOC DATE 24 AUG 83

SAPIA-BOSCH

24 AUG 83

FONTAINE

24 AUG 83

KEYWORDS: CENTRAL AMERICA

FORD, GERALD R

CARTER, JIMMY

SUBJECT: BRIEFINGS FOR FORMER PRES CARTER & FORD RE BIPARTISAN COMMIS

ACTION: FOR SIGNATURE

DUE:

STATUS M

FILES SII

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CLARK

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSC/FID

( K / B )

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

AUG 2 6 1983 Clark sgd

Baker M AUG 2 6 1983 for decision

8/29 Baker approved

Poundexter X AUG 2 9 1983 a/o for decision

C AUG 3 0 1983 Kennett approved

Admin, SB, ON

DISPATCH al mm AUG 2 6 1983

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

**National Security Council  
The White House**

790

RECEIVED

83 AUG 29 8:02

System #

II

Package#

91018

Follow-on  
EA

SEQUENCE TO

HAS SEEN

DISPOSITION

Executive Secretary

1

mmh

John Poindexter

Bud McFarlane

Jacque Hill

Judge Clark

John Poindexter

Executive Secretary

NSC Secretariat

3

R

Situation Room

Blauth

2

Done  
A

I-Information

A-Action

R-Retain

D-Dispatch

N-No further Action

1983

## DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by:

(Date/Time)

MEMORANDUM

SYSTEM II  
91018 Follow-On

4

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

August 29, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: OLIVER L. NORTH  
ALFONSO SAPIA-BOSCH

SUBJECT: Briefing for Former President Ford

ON Sunday you approved a Special Air Mission (SAM) for Former President Ford. Your authorization is now needed for Alfonso Sapia-Bosch and North to accompany VADM Moreau for the briefing. We will depart August 30 and return to Washington at noon August 31. We will RON in Denver on the night of August 30.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve orders to be cut for Alfonso Sapia-Bosch and North for travel as indicated above.

Approve RMK

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

5  
SYSTEM II  
91018

DECLA  
White House G. 8 August 28, 1997  
By QDR NARA, Date 3/27/16

Aug. 25, 1983

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: Special Air Mission for Former President Ford

President Ford is scheduled to meet with the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America on August 31, 1983. President Ford has asked for a detailed policy/intelligence briefing prior to his appearance and has suggested that such a briefing could best be given enroute to Washington aboard a military aircraft. His schedule does not permit the briefing to be given prior to his departure from Colorado, or in Washington before his meeting with the commission.

If you agree, we will detail appropriate briefers to fly from Colorado to Washington with President Ford. Due to the sensitive nature of the subject matter, we should ensure that the plane provided is one of our Special Air Mission aircraft.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve a Special Air Mission aircraft for former President Ford's travel from Vail Colorado to Washington, D.C. on August 31, 1983.

Approve

*WPC*

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

*Passed to Washington*

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6  
TAB A



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

SYSTEM II  
91018

August 25, 1983

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ACTION

White House  
By COB

DEC 10 1987  
3/29/86

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK *wpc*

SUBJECT: Special Air Mission for Former President Ford

President Ford is scheduled to meet with the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America on August 31, 1983. President Ford has asked for a detailed policy/intelligence briefing prior to his appearance and has suggested that such a briefing could best be given enroute to Washington aboard a military aircraft. His schedule does not permit the briefing to be given prior to his departure from Colorado, or in Washington before his meeting with the commission.

If you agree, we will detail appropriate briefers to fly from Colorado to Washington with President Ford. Due to the sensitive nature of the subject matter, we should ensure that the plane provided is one of our Special Air Mission aircraft.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve a Special Air Mission aircraft for former President Ford's travel from Vail Colorado to Washington, D.C. on August 31, 1983.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

National Security Council  
The White House

746

RECEIVED

System #

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91018

83 AUG 24 P 6: 36

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Executive Secretary	1	mm	
John Poindexter	4	✓	
Bud McFarlane			
Jacque Hill	2	✓	I
Judge Clark			
John Poindexter			
Executive Secretary			
NSC Secretariat	5		
Situation Room	3	✓	DACOM

AUG 24 1983

I-Information    A-Action    R-Retain    D-Dispatch    N-No further Action

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP    Meese    Baker    Deaver    Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

8/25- WC approved recommendation. JH to  
sign. *Tab I*  
"Give to Darman for Baker"

9

National Bipartisan Commission on Central America  
Planned Agenda for Second Session

August 31 - September 1

August 31:

- 10:00 - Cyrus Vance
- 12:00 - 1:00 - Administrative and organizational matters
- 1:00 - 2:30 - Alexander Haig (light lunch will be served  
during this segment)
- 3:00 - President Ford
- 4:30 - General Discussion
- 6:00 - Adjournment

September 1:

- 9:30 - Sol Linowitz
- 11:00 - William P. Rogers
- 12:30 - 2:00 - Dean Rusk (light lunch will be served  
during this segment)
- 2:30 - President Carter
- 4:00 - General Discussion
- 5:00 - Adjournment

W0111B  
8/17/83 1725

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BIPARTISAN COMMISSION (8/24/83-8/30/83)

### FOIA

F03-002/5  
SKINNER

### Box Number

27

484

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
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174325 MEMO

1 8/24/1983 B1

OLIVER NORTH, A. SAPIA-BOSCH, AND R.  
FONTAINE TO W. CLARK RE BRIEFINGS FOR  
FORMER PRESIDENTS FORD AND CARTER

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CLASSIFICATION

NOVAL  
ENCLOSURE(S)  
3/29/16 1603

CIRCLE ONE BELOW 85 AUG 25 P 1: 28

MODE

PAGES

7

IMMEDIATE

DACOM 240

RELEASER

294

PRIORITY

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

DEX # \_\_\_\_\_

DTG

251549Z AUG 83

ROUTINE

TTY # \_\_\_\_\_

FAX # \_\_\_\_\_

FROM/LOCATION/

1. THE SITUATION ROOM

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. ADM POINDEXTER FOR JUDGE CLARK/LOS ANGELES/JOR: 251651 Z AUG 83

INFORMATION ADDRESSEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFICATION

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

August 9, 1983

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: OLIVER L. NORTH

SUBJECT: Briefing for Former President Carter

Per guidance from ADM Poindexter and Bob Kimmitt, Mr. Carter's Atlanta office was contacted today to arrange a briefing on Central America in concert with delivery of Mr. Carter's normal intelligence material. State Department has agreed to have Mr. Michael Skoal (ARA) accompany me on this venture.

We are making informal arrangements for the use of a military aircraft and plan to make the trip on Friday, August 11. It is understood that there is some urgency to making this trip in that the briefing is to take place before President Carter meets with Dr. Kissinger. A briefing prior to President Reagan's meeting with President de la Madrid may also serve to ensure that any comments made by President Carter regarding the meeting would be helpful to our goals.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the course of action outlined above.

Approve *J*Disapprove       *Ollie,**8/16*

*Keep me advised on arrangements  
for this.*

*J*

13

National Bipartisan Commission on Central America  
Planned Agenda for Second Session

August 31 - September 1

August 31:

- 10:00 - Cyrus Vance
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- 9:30 - Sol Linowitz
- 11:00 - William P. Rogers
- 12:30 - 2:00 - Dean Rusk (light lunch will be served during this segment)
- 2:30 - President Carter
- 4:00 - General Discussion
- 5:00 - Adjournment

W0111B  
8/17/83 1725

National Security Council  
The White House

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791

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*Handwritten initials*

System #

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91020

Add-on RA

83 AUG 30 2:31 PM

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Executive Secretary	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter			
Bud McFarlane			
Jacque Hill			
Judge Clark			
John Poindexter			
Executive Secretary			
NSC Secretariat	<u>2</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>N</u>
Situation Room			

I-Information    A-Action    R-Retain    D-Dispatch    N-No further Action

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP    Meese    Baker    Deaver    Other    \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS                      Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)



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SKINNER

### Box Number

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484

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174326 MEMO

1 8/30/1983 B1

F. WETTERING TO CLARK RE SOUTH AFRICA:  
ISSUE

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OF CLASSIFICATION ENCLOSURE(S)  
3/29/16 C08

16

SH

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CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

IMMEDIATE

PRIORITY

ROUTINE

MODE

DACOM #

262

DEX #

TTY #

FAX #

PAGES

27

RELEASER

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DTG

252042Z AUG 83

FROM/LOCATION/

THE SITUATION ROOM

1.

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1.

ADM POINDEXTER FOR JUDGE CLARK/LOS ANGELES/

TOR 252142Z

AUG 83

2.

3.

4.

INFORMATION ADDRESSEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1.

2.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

Judge

INFO

Passed to Kathy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFICATION

National Security Council  
The White House

786

RECEIVED

83 AUG 25 12:42

System #

II

Package#

91017

RA

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Executive Secretary	1	✓	
John Poindexter	4		
Bud McFarlane			
Jacque Hill	2	✓	
Judge Clark	5		
John Poindexter			
Executive Secretary			
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room	3	✓	DACOM

I-Information    A-Action    R-Retain    D-Dispatch    N-No further Action

DISTRIBUTION

cc: VP    Meese    Baker    Deaver    Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SYSTEM II  
91017

18

MEMORANDUM

ACTION

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

174327

August 24, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: OLIVER L. NORTH  
ALFONSO SAPIA-BOSCH  
ROGER W. FONTAINE

SUBJECT: Presidential Commission on Central America

Attached are various documents provided by the commission staff regarding forthcoming events. Items are numbered in the upper right corner for ease in identification:

- Item #1. A copy of the letter Dr. Kissinger sent to all commissioners and counselors which encloses:
- Item #2. Schedule of future commission meetings and travel.
- Item #3. A letter to various experts asking their views.
- Item #4. Partial list of experts who will be receiving the letter.
- Item #5. The agenda for the second session of the commission.

According to the Deputy Director of the Commission Staff (Jerry Sutton) the entire commission, plus counselors, plus special advisors, plus staff plan to make trips to the region in October and November as indicated at Item 2. An official party of such size dealing in substance is unprecedented. In North's discussion with our missions in the region, none of them have anticipated that such a large horde would be descending upon them. Within our embassies in the area we do not have sufficient space to accommodate meetings of this size. Furthermore, security and logistics for such a large group will be most difficult to manage. For a terrorist, the target would be almost too lucrative to pass up.

In discussing the matter with Dr. Kissinger, he indicates that he has been pursuing the large group rather than just the commission itself because of a sense that the congressional and presidential counselors were offered "White House assurances" that they would be "treated the same as principal members of the commission." Dr. Kissinger agrees that a larger group will be difficult to support and he further notes that it will limit opportunities for substantive dialogue.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

Authority: NSC/DOS WAIVERS  
BY: LM NARA DATE: 12/11/24

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

19

CONFIDENTIAL

2

In our discussions, we have developed two basic alternatives to the large group travel:

- Have Secretary Shultz specify that the security/support situation mandates that only members plus essential staff travel.
- Conduct the regional/Contadora visits in two iterations (thus four trips instead of two).

We need to provide some guidance to the commission so that they can develop a detailed itinerary and provide ARA with planning data. We agree that option #2 (two smaller trips) is the preferred alternative given that it is less likely to create problems with the members. Dr. Kissinger agrees.

RECOMMENDATION

That you support the idea of two smaller groups travelling, if you are queried on the issue of commission trips to the region.

Approve

Disapprove

*f*

*yes, but this is Sol's call  
I don't think should be out front -  
- no seeds "W.H. Gossard"  
were given - W.H.*

Attachments

- Tab A - Kissinger ltr to Commissioners and Counselors
- Tab B - Schedule of Meetings and Travel
- Tab C - Letter and Questions sent to Experts
- Tab D - Partial List of Experts to be consulted
- Tab E - Agenda for Second Session of the Commission

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

20

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

In our discussions, we have developed two basic alternatives to the large group travel:

- Have Secretary Shultz specify that the security/support situation mandates that only members plus essential staff travel.
- Conduct the regional/Contadora visits in two iterations (thus four trips instead of two).

We need to provide some guidance to the commission so that they can develop a detailed itinerary and provide ARA with planning data. We agree that option #2 (two smaller trips) is the preferred alternative given that it is less likely to create problems with the members. Dr. Kissinger agrees.

RECOMMENDATION

That you support the idea of two smaller groups travelling, if you are queried on the issue of commission trips to the region.

Approve ✓ 8/30/83 Disapprove       

WPC:

*Yes, but this is State's call and they should be out front. No such "White House assurances" were given.*

Attachments

- Tab A - Kissinger ltr to Commissioners and Counselors
- Tab B - Schedule of Meetings and Travel
- Tab C - Letter and Questions sent to Experts
- Tab D - Partial List of Experts to be consulted
- Tab E - Agenda for Second Session of the Commission

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

21

TAB A

TAB A

August 16, 1983

Dear :

I am pleased you were able to attend our meetings last week on such short notice. I believe it was a good opening session.

During the course of our briefings, social and humanitarian issues in Central America came up repeatedly. A number of the Commissioners expressed interest in looking at problems associated with human rights, refugees, malnutrition, infant mortality, and other topics in this general field.

In the circumstances it seems to me that we might usefully devote our September 7-8 sessions to social and humanitarian issues. This will enable us to focus the September 12-13 meeting on the economic development of Central America. Several of you have already suggested individuals and organizations to be consulted in this area. I would welcome any additional suggestions you might have. The staff is identifying candidates for lead consultant to help set up the September 7-8 meeting. They will get those names to you for your consideration within the next few days.

We also have the problem of setting aside time to look at long-term political and diplomatic options. It seems to me we could fit that in most efficiently by extending the September 28-29 meeting to the early afternoon of September 30. That would give us time to consider both security and the political-diplomatic options as an integral whole. An alternative would be to add a new session on the latter subject October 3-4. The disadvantage there would be the necessity of returning to Washington so soon after the September 28-29 meeting. Please let me know your preference as soon as you can.

I am enclosing the schedule of meetings as it now stands. I am also enclosing an updated list of experts, which includes those recommended by Commission members, along with the letter



-2-

we are sending the experts, posing the questions we formulated during our meeting. Please do let me have any further thoughts you might have on the schedule or on additions to our list of experts.

I look forward to seeing you August 31 for our next meeting. I will get the agenda to you just as soon as we can nail down the times for the appearances of our prominent guests. Presidents Ford and Carter, and former Secretaries Vance, Haig, Rogers, and Rusk have agreed to meet with us.

Sincerely,

Henry A. Kissinger

Enclosures: Schedule of Meetings  
List of Experts  
Letter and Questions Sent to Experts

24

TAB B



SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

August 10-12	Work plan and initial briefings.
August 31 - September 1	Consultations with former U.S. Government leaders.
September 7-8	Social and humanitarian issues in the region.
September 12-13	Economic development in the region.
September 21-22	Political development in the region.
September 28-30	Security issues. Commission discussion of long-term political and diplomatic options.
October 10-15	Travel to Central America (tentative - subject to invitation).
October 21-22	Commission discussion of U.S. interests in the area.
November 2-3	Incompleted matters.
November 16-21	Travel to Contadora countries. (tentative - subject to invitation).
December 2-3	Commission discussion of elements of an integrated long-term strategy.
December 9-10	Drafting session.
December 16-17	Drafting session.

26

TAB C



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 16, 1983

#3A

27

Dear :

The National Bipartisan Commission on Central America has just completed its first series of meetings. We are going to make a diligent effort to finish the work of the Commission on Central America by the end of the year. This implies a heavy work schedule. The Commission will be meeting in Washington and make one or more visits to the region. Following this, the Commission will have to buckle down to writing the report.

The Commission is emphatic that it will not insinuate itself into the diplomatic apparatus of the government. We will not attempt to manage the day-to-day activities of the United States in Central America. We are not in the business of negotiation. Our goals are to articulate policy guidelines for the longer term, based on a definition of this nation's interest in Central America and its future. We will seek to do so within the framework of partnership and cooperation and democratic evolution.

Can you give us a hand? We would very much like to have your insights as early in our tight schedule as possible. Attached is a list of issues we hope the Commission can address. Even a few brief written comments on one or all of them would be helpful -- or on any other aspect of the Commission's mandate.

These questions are not, of course, intended to preclude your giving us your thoughts on other aspects of the Commission's mandate, which we may have neglected to include.

We should add that we do not feel that we should focus narrowly on the five countries of what is technically called Central America. The United States has special historic relationships with both Mexico and Panama. They are important members of the Contadora group, thus influencing and being influenced by what happens in the Isthmus. Furthermore, there

-2-

are common dimensions -- as well, of course, as distinct differences -- between Panama and Mexico on the one hand, and the five on the other. For these reasons, do not limit your responses to the five nations of Central America itself, but consider, to the extent the issues are common, the larger framework.

We are deeply grateful for your help. Can we have your views by September 15? I apologize for the tight deadline but we are under time constraints not of our own making.

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Kissinger

Attachment: Questions on Central America

QUESTIONS ON CENTRAL AMERICA

1. What do you conceive U.S. interests to be in Central America? Is the area important to our national security? How? Is it important to our economic interests? How so?
2. How important is it for the United States to help countries in the region eliminate hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy? What concrete measures should we take?
3. How important is it for us to help countries in the region with economic growth and development? How significant is economic development to future peace in the region? What is the appropriate U.S. role? What practical concrete measures can we take? Assistance to land reform? Rural cooperatives? Assistance in developing economic infrastructures? Intermediate credit institutions?
4. How significant is the international financial crisis for Central America? Ought the United States make proposals for special institutional arrangements to manage the financial difficulties of the Central American countries? Should the IMF and/or the World Bank undertake emergency programs?
5. How important is it that democratic governments be established in the countries of Central America? Is democracy a precondition to peace and security in the region? If so, what can the U.S. do to help further the process?
6. What can the U.S. do to foster the establishment of free and democratic non-governmental institutions and organizations in the region?
7. Is it important for the U.S. to support more educational and cultural exchange with countries of the region. If so, how?
8. Should the United States consider the establishment in Central America of totalitarian governments tied to the Soviet Union as a security threat? Or doesn't it matter much? Should all Marxist-Leninist governments be considered tied to the Soviet Union? If not, where is the dividing line?
9. What can be done to prevent indigenous revolutionary movements in the region from coming under the control of Marxist-Leninists?
10. Do you believe the national independence and self determination of countries in Central America are threatened by Soviet/Cuban support for guerrilla wars?

-2-

QUESTIONS ON CENTRAL AMERICA (Continued)

11. What are the Soviet interests and designs in the region? How important do you think it is to the Soviets to prevent the defeat of the Salvadoran insurgents? And what means are appropriate?
12. Is it appropriate for the United States to provide military assistance to governments whose opponents are receiving military assistance from the Soviet bloc?
13. Are there any circumstances under which the U.S. should use military force in Central America? What are these circumstances?
14. Should arms aid to El Salvador be conditioned on progress on human rights? Do you accept the notion that in the event there was no progress on human rights we should terminate military assistance?
15. What role should our European allies play with regard to the region? Japan?
16. What of the Latin Americans? How useful a role can groups such as the Contadora Group play in the search for peace? For development? What about the OAS?
17. What multilateral institutional arrangements can promote economic advance and social and economic progress in Central America?
18. How effective do you find American policymaking machinery as it bears on Central America today? What is the appropriate role of the President? The Congress? The State Department? The National Security Council? The Defense Department? The Foreign Service? The Armed Services?
19. What are the possibilities for building a public consensus for policy in Central America?
20. What other practical, concrete efforts can and should the United States undertake to enhance an evolution of Central America compatible with democracy and the security of the hemisphere?



TAB D

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

### Collection Name

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### Withdrawer

KDB 3/29/2016

### File Folder

CENTRAL AMERICAN COMMISSION - KISSINGER  
BIPARTISAN COMMISSION (8/24/83-8/30/83)

### FOIA

F03-002/5  
SKINNER

### Box Number

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<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
174329 LIST	EXPERTS TO BE CONSULTED	11	ND	B3

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TAB E

Tab I

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44

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW 83 AUG 25 P 6: 18

MODE

PAGES

27

IMMEDIATE

DACOM #

262

RELEASER

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PRIORITY

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

DEX

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DTG

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ROUTINE

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CLASSIFICATION

National Bipartisan Commission on Central America  
Planned Agenda for Second Session

August 31 - September 1

August 31:

- 10:00 - Cyrus Vance
- 12:00 - 1:00 - Administrative and organizational matters
- 1:00 - 2:30 - Alexander Haig (light lunch will be served during this segment)
- 3:00 - President Ford
- 4:30 - General Discussion
- 6:00 - Adjournment

September 1:

- 9:30 - Sol Linowitz
- 11:00 - William P. Rogers
- 12:30 - 2:00 - Dean Rusk (light lunch will be served during this segment)
- 2:30 - President Carter
- 4:00 - General Discussion
- 5:00 - Adjournment

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