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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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REMARKS:

Please give your comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott, with an info copy to my office by 5:00 p.m. tomorrow. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 11, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND

DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Presidential Address: Nicaragua

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft address. In lines 3-4 on page 3, we recommend deleting "the State of Florida" and substituting "us" or "this country" or something similar. There is an on-going dispute between Federal and Florida officials over who should bear certain of the costs associated with the influx of Marielitos, and a Presidential statement that the boat lift cost the State of Florida one billion dollars would be seized upon by Florida officials as a significant concession.

cc: David L. Chew

(Elliott/Noonan/Gilder)
March 10, 1986
1:30 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NICARAGUA SUNDAY, MARCH 16, 1986

My fellow Americans, I must speak to you tonight about a mounting danger in Central America that threatens the security of the United States. This danger will not go away; it will grow worse, much worse, if we fail to take action now.

I am speaking of Nicaragua, a Soviet ally on the American mainland only 2 hours flying or 2 days driving distance from our own borders. With billions in Soviet aid, the Communist government of Nicaragua has launched a campaign to subvert and topple its democratic neighbors. Will the Members of Congress sit back and permit this disaster to happen? Or will they work with me to stop it. That is the question Congress must answer.

I believe we can and must stop the Communists of Nicaragua, and I want to make one thing plain -- I am not talking about using American troops. American soldiers have not been asked for and are not needed. I am talking about using diplomatic and military pressure by supporting those who are fighting for their own freedom.

The Nicaraguan dictatorship is now being challenged by a democratic resistance movement -- the freedom fighters. These brave men and women have already put enormous pressure on that dictatorship and slowed Communist subversion in Latin America. But ever since Congress cut off our military aid to the freedom fighters 2 years ago, they have been out-gunned by the most advanced Soviet weaponry -- often manned by Cuban advisors.

If we abandon the freedom fighters, the Communists will be unleashed to infiltrate and bring down the governments of Central America, confronting the United States with a strategic nightmare and bringing to this hemisphere a tragedy of unparalleled dimension.

How can such a small country pose such a great threat? It is not Nicaragua that threatens us, but those using Nicaragua as a privileged sanctuary for their war against the United States.

Let's first consider the strategic danger. Over half of U.S. seabound trade passes through the Caribbean Basin -- more than half of our crude oil imports. In a crisis, more than half of U.S. supplies for NATO would have to pass through the Caribbean.

In World War II, only a few German U-boats, operating from bases 4,000 miles away, inflicted crippling losses on U.S. shipping. What the Germans knew then, the Soviets know now -- the Caribbean is America's commercial and strategic lifeline. Documents captured in Grenada spelled out the Soviet Union's strategic plan to dominate the Caribbean.

Then there is the human toll. You remember the boat people. Well, one consequence of permitting Communist subversion in Central America to spread is the threat that 100 million people, from Panama to the open border on our south, would be victimized by Communist aggression, unleashing a tidal wave of refugees flooding across our borders.

Communism's most reliable product is the refugee machine.

The day the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan there were

14 million people in that country. Soon there were 4 million refugees. Closer to home there was the Marielle boat lift of 1980, when 120,000 Cubans came to the U.S. It took the State of Florida 2 years and a billion dollars to absorb them. That was 120,000. Imagine the impact of millions fleeing here in terror.

What are the facts about this regime and its allies that make this threat so real? Fact number one is that the Sandinistas in Nicaragua are just what they say they are -- Communists who follow the doctrine of Lenin and Marx. The first thing they did after taking power in 1979 was to impose Communist doctrine across Nicaraguan society.

They moved against freedom of speech in a campaign that has included arrests, interrogations and murder. They turned Nicaragua's television stations into a propaganda network and shut down the newspapers. Today only one heavily censored independent newspaper survives.

Then they went after the Catholic Church -- directing mob violence against church members and arresting clergymen. They attacked the Jews of Nicaragua, firebombing Managua's main synagogue, spreading graffiti that said, "Death to Jewish Pigs." They went after Protestant churches, burning 50 Moravian churches, seizing Mormon churches, and arresting and torturing Protestant leaders.

The Sandinistas pursued a scorched earth policy toward the deeply religious Miskito Indians, burning their churches and homes and crops, murdering many, putting the rest in

concentration camps. What they did is a disgrace. Yet the world barely noticed.

Union leaders and their members were subjected to beatings and harassment. AFL-CIO leader Lane Kirkland said, "Nicaragua's headlong rush into the totalitarian camp cannot be denied by any who has eyes to see."

The Communists have systematically eliminated all political opposition, jailing thousands. "Neighborhood block committees" -- local Communists who spy on their neighbors -- control the ration cards for food and medicine -- and deny these cards to those who refuse to attend Communist meetings.

All this has been happening, as one Sandinista leader boasted, while the regime deliberately deceived the West with promises of democracy, free enterprise and peaceful intent. The truth is, Sandinistas have made a prison and called it peace.

As they moved toward iron control of this prison, they moved to export their so-called revolution. This required a military build-up. It began as soon as the Sandinistas took power.

In 1979, barely 2 months after the revolution, the Sandinista leadership met in secret to outline their principles and objectives. In what came to be known as the "72-Hour Document," the Sandinista Communists described themselves as the "vanguard" of a revolution that would sweep "Central America, Latin America," and finally, the "world." Their main enemy, they declared: the United States.

But they didn't make this document public. They followed Fidel Castro's advice, who told them to put up a facade of

democracy. While Castro considered the democratic elements, in his words, "bourgeois garbage," he told the Sandinistas: keep them in your coalition -- in minor posts -- as window dressing to deceive the West. That way, Castro said, you can have your revolution and America will pay for it.

Unfortunately, their trickery worked. We extended our hand in friendship to the new Nicaraguan government. But while Daniel Ortega was up here in the White House visiting my predecessor in this office, while we were sending millions in economic assistance, the Soviets had already begun their huge military build-up on Nicaraguan soil.

From an army of only a few thousand men in 1979, the Sandinistas today boast the largest and most powerful army Central America has ever seen. Since 1981, the Soviets and their cohorts have provided the Sandinistas with ___ in weapons. (Begin Bar Chart) As a matter of fact, they have provided __ times as much military aid for Nicaragua as the United States spends on economic aid for all of Central America. (End Bar Chart)

Warsaw Pact countries and Cuba supply the Sandinistas with tanks, artillery pieces, attack helicopters, and patrol boats. They are also building at Punta Huete the largest military air base in the Western Hemisphere south of the Rio Grande, nearly 10,000 feet long -- long enough to handle any Soviet transport plane or strategic bomber.

The Sandinistas didn't embark on this huge build-up to counter some foreign threat. Their "72-Hour Document" plainly states that they knew there was no threat. The Sandinistas are

self-avowed revolutionary Communists who have put their nation at the service of Soviet expansionism. And when they're not up here in Washington lobbying Congress, they are quite open about their true intentions. The Minister of Secret Police Tomas Borge has stated publically: "This revolution goes beyond our borders.

Our revolution was always internationalist...." Foreign Minister D'Escoto says that their purpose is the, quote, "reunification" of Central America under Communist domination.

But despite their record, despite what the Sandinistas themselves proclaim, some in this country still believe their propaganda. The Sandinistas have something to say about that. They call their supporters, and I'm quoting here, "useful fools." But they're counting on those "useful fools," because as Tomas Borge said, quote, "The battle for Nicaragua is not being waged in Nicaragua. It is being fought in the United States." The Sandinistas know that the future of their world revolution depends on tomorrow's vote in the United States Congress.

Meanwhile, the Sandinistas rolled out the welcome mat for the global terror network. Libya's Qadhafi has shipped them hundreds of millions of dollars in weapons and aid.

Not long ago, Brazilian authorities seized four planeloads of arms from Libya, on their way to Nicaragua. The cargo — labeled "medical supplies" — included 2 dismantled fighter planes, guided missiles, machine guns, 90 millimeter cannons, rocket launchers, anti-aircraft guns, 600 light artillery rockets and 5 tons of bombs. Those kinds of medicines give headaches and heartburn, they don't cure them.

Armed to the teeth, the Nicaraguans and their allies have begun the next phase of the Soviet grand strategy to destabilize Latin America.

This map shows every country in Central America where the Nicaraguan Communists have been caught trying to subvert existing, democratic governments (countries light up red one-by-one, as President names them): Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala. (Frame expands to include all of Latin America) And as we can see, their war on freedom has reached South America, too: Colombia, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic.

That's not the end of it: Minister Borge has boasted they will carry their revolution to the borders of the United States. There is an old and honored Communist slogan: "The road to victory...goes through Mexico."

If we don't put a stop to this now, we will be sitting atop a Communist volcano of revolution and unrest. The recent attack on the Palace of Justice in Bogota, Colombia, in which five supreme court justices were killed (Begin film) was carried out with arms supplied by the Sandinistas. The murder of five U.S. Marines in that cafe in El Salvador was carried out by Communists who have long received their weapons and training from Nicaragua. (Back to President)

This is the reality of the terror offensive in Latin America. This is the reality our Congress must confront.

A totalitarian Nicaragua preying on its neighbors threatens all of the progress, all of the hopeful trends we've seen

reawaken in Central America. It comes at a moment when the people of Latin America are showing they have the heart and courage and ability to build better lives. For the first time since the early days of John Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, we have a policy that embraces the aspirations for dignity and democracy that are the special heritage of our Western Hemisphere.

And our policy is working. Supporting democracy, providing economic assistance -- 75 percent of all our aid to Central America is economic aid -- and giving our friends the means to defend their own freedom and security has brought peaceful, far-reaching change: In El Salvador, where President Duarte is building a democracy despite Communist violence; in Honduras, which completed a peaceful transition from military government and held elections in 1985; in Costa Rica, where the region's one traditional democracy has been strengthened; and in Guatemala, where democratic civilian leaders control the government for the first time in a generation.

It's important here to make a point for the record. Many in Congress who opposed our policy of providing military assistance to President Duarte in El Salvador -- who said the Communists couldn't be driven into retreat, before the Communists were driven into retreat; who said democracy could not take root, before Duarte and his people proved democracy could take root -- many of those same critics are now digging in their heels against any help for freedom fighters in Nicaragua.

Well, I'm sorry but they are wrong again. We all agree that we do not want or need American boys fighting in Central America. But neither can we afford to close our eyes to danger.

To those who still doubt our Nation's security is at issue,
I urge you, ask yourselves these basic questions.

Ask yourselves, what is a force of Soviets, East Germans, Bulgarians, North Koreans and Cubans, not to mention terrorist groups from the PLO to the Red Brigades, doing in <u>our</u> hemisphere camped on our own doorstep? Is it for peace?

Why have the Soviets spent over \$500 million to build Nicaragua into an armed force, twice the size of Mexico's, even though Nicaragua's population is only one-thirtieth as large? Is it for peace?

Why did Marshall Ogarkov, Chief of Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces say in 1983: "Over two decades ago, [we had] only Cuba in Latin America, today there are Nicaragua, Grenada and a serious battle is going on in El Salvador." Was it for peace?

Why did Nicaragua's dictator, Daniel Ortega, recently go to the Third Cuban Communist Party Congress in Havana and endorse Castro's resolution calling for defeat of the United States and victory of communism worldwide. Was it for peace?

And finally, Mummar Qadhafi, the world's leading terrorist, why did he say, we are helping the Nicaraguans because,
"...Nicaragua means a great thing. It means fighting America on its own borders." Was it for peace?

We sometimes forget that peace does not depend solely on America's good intentions. Peace also depends on understanding that we live in a dangerous world with people who despise America and mean to do us harm. Qadhafi was candid and Qadhafi was right: The enemies of democracy are gathering in Nicaragua to take the fight to America on its own ground.

This is why supporting the freedom fighters is in our vital national interest. As they struggle for freedom and democracy in their own country, in Nicaragua, they have become a security shield for every democracy in the region, including our own.

The freedom fighters make it harder for the Nicaraguan Communists to carry out their plan to subvert their neighbors and infiltrate thousands of guerrillas into neighboring countries. Yet a constant drumbeat tells us why we cannot, why we <u>must</u> not, support them. The critics say the Contras are made up of the corrupt national guardsmen of the late dictator Anastasio Somoza.

Well, that's slander. The freedom fighters are putting their lives on the line for freedom. All three of their leaders -- Adolfo Calero, Alfonso Robelo and Arturo Cruz -- were opponents of Somoza. Calero and Cruz were jailed by Somoza. Robelo and Cruz served under the Sandinistas until they showed their true Communist colors. Beyond that, most of the fighting men are 20 years old or younger, which means that if they were soldiers of the corrupt national guards, it was at the tender age of 12. The allegation is absurd.

Well, our critics say, the freedom fighters can't win. Talk about self-fulfilling prophecies. The freedom fighters won't win if we continue to limit our help to boots and Band-Aids, while the Soviets provide helicopter gunships and Russian tanks.

(Begin film) These are the Soviet tanks that killed the Hungarian freedom fighters in Budapest in 1956. These are the Soviet tanks that are killing Nicaraguan freedom fighters in their own country on the mainland of America.

These are the Soviet helicopter gunships that have helped murder over half a million Afghans, turning that nation into a slaughterhouse. These are the same Soviet helicopter gunships, the same human death machines, that are killing our neighbors on the mainland of America. (Back to President)

Finally, our critics say, rather than help the resistance, we must pursue negotiations. I am struck that this demand is always directed at the United States Government, and rarely at the Nicaraguan regime. It is we who have pursued negotiations for many years. It is the Nicaraguan Communists who have dismissed all our efforts to promote a dialogue within Nicaragua; who suspended peace negotiations with their neighbors; who just denounced the mission of our Special Ambassador Phil Habib, to try again for a genuine democratic reconciliation.

When in history have Communists ever agreed to negotiate away their own authority? Why should the Nicaraguan regime negotiate as long as they believe they can outlast, even finish off the resistance. We know from intelligence that the Sandinistas' strategy is to block any aid to the freedom fighters for several months in the belief that they will be able to deal them a mortal blow. That's why the time for help is now -- not later. That's why what we do this week is crucial.

The real question of this debate is not who is committed to peace in Central America and who will keep American troops out of Central America. We're all united on that. The real question is whether Congress will give me the bipartisan support to meet a danger already disrupting the peace of Central America, so that together, we can keep America secure.

One thing is sure -- there will be an outcome, no matter what we do, and peace will be the casualty if we do nothing. The Soviet Union and its satellites understand the great stakes, the great strategic importance of Nicaragua. The Soviets have already made their decision -- to support the Communists. Cuba's Castro has already made his decision -- to support the Communists. Arafat, Qadhafi, and the Ayatollah have already made their decision -- to support the Communists. Only Congress has yet to make a decision. Only Congress can now prevent an outcome deeply injurious to the security of the United States.

If the Members of Congress refuse, history will hold them accountable. They will have permitted the Soviet Union and the enemies of democracy to have made an audacious gamble and to have won an enormous victory. Finally, but too late, we will learn what Soviet Chairman Andrei Gromyko meant when he said, America's greatest weakness is its inability to understand the Soviet Union's final goals.

We will have given a green light to turn Nicaragua into a Communist beachhead, from which they can destabilize all of Central America, sending wave after wave of refugees and terrorists streaming north. We will have a Beirut on our border;

ultimately, we could have to pull back troops and ships and planes from other vital strategic corners of the world to protect our own frontiers.

My fellow Americans, I have only 3 years left to serve in this office; 3 years to carry out the responsibilities you entrusted in me; 3 years to work for a peaceful future for this continent, from the north slope of Alaska to the tip of South America. Could there be any greater tragedy than to sit back and permit this cancer to spread, leaving my successor, and all our children, to face far greater problems and more agonizing decisions in the years ahead?

We still have time, precious few days, to do what must be done, so that history will say of us that we had the vision, the courage and the good sense to come together, when the price was not high and the risks were not great, and meet our highest responsibility for the future. We left America safe, we left America secure, we left America free.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND

DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Presidential Radio Talk: Nicaraguan Negotiations

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced radio talk and finds no objection to it from a legal perspective.

cc: David L. Chew

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David L. Chew Staff Secretary Ext. 2702

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: RADIO TALK: NICARAGUAN NEGOTIATIONS

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 P.M. TODAY

DATE: ____3/13/86

RESPONSE:

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(Robinson/BE) March 13, 1986 12:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: NICARAGUAN NEGOTIATIONS SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1986

My fellow Americans, I'd like to speak to you this afternoon about a grave threat to our country and continent -- the Communist regime in Nicaragua, a nation closer to our own southern border than Washington is to St. Louis.

When the pro-Soviet regime took power in Nicaragua in 1979, it claimed to embrace the highest ideals of individual liberty — and promised to hold free elections. What happened? Not democracy, but internal repression, imprisonment and torture, the buildup of an army and militia of more than 100,000, and subversion throughout Central America.

Today, Communist Nicaragua endangers our national security. It threatens our Caribbean sea lanes and, still worse, it is laboring to bring the nations of Central America under Communist domination one by one -- a grim achievement that would send millions of refugees flooding into our southern states.

Yet grave as it is, this threat can be averted. The Congress now has before it legislation that would send help to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters, 20,000 brave men who are struggling against the Communists for control of their own country. This aid could enable the freedom fighters to reclaim Nicaragua for liberty and the West.

Tomorrow evening, I'll discuss in full our proposal to aid the freedom fighters in an address from the Oval Office. For now, however, permit me to consider a single but central

question. Why, many have asked, must we send the freedom fighters weapons? Why not try to achieve our objectives by negotiating with the Nicaraguan Communists instead?

The answer is simple. We've tried again and again. Since 1983, I have appointed three special envoys to Central America. Between them, they have made 48 trips to the region, each time eager to engage in a serious give-and-take. Each time, they have been rebuffed. Since June 1984, Secretary of State George Shultz has held not 1, but 10 meetings with the Nicaraguan Communists or their representatives. Each time, they sent him away empty-handed.

As I speak to you today, my special envoy, Philip Habib, is on a 49th trip to Central America -- yet again in search of serious negotiations. When Phil Habib visited El Salvador just a few days ago, the president of that nation, Jose Napoleon Duarte, made a new and dramatic offer. If the Communists in Nicaragua agree to negotiate with their democratic opponents, President Duarte said, then he would agree to negotiate with the Soviet and Nicaraguan-backed guerillas in his country. Phil Habib made this offer known to the Nicaraguan Communists immediately. Yet they have only responded with their stock phrases and usual cant -- not surprising, given their record.

Other free nations, too, have attempted to engage the Sandinistas in good-faith negotiations. No substantive results have ever been achieved. Indeed, Nicaragua appears to have participated from time to time in the Contadora talks -- talks sponsored by Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela --

only to repudiate them afterwards. Just last month, President Ortega said of a document his own representatives had helped to shape, quote, "the peace document that the Contadora group submitted in September 1985 is unacceptable to Nicaragua."

Failed attempts by the Contadora group, rebuffed attempts on our part: By now the truth about negotiating with the Nicaraguan Communists is abundantly clear. Yes, the Communists might meet their opponents at the table -- but only when they fear meeting them in the field. In the meantime, as recent revelations make clear, the Communists are only tightening their grip on Nicaragua. Somoza, the dictator the Sandinistas overthrew, had one prison. The Sandinistas have nine concentration camps. And new intelligence shows that Tomas Borge, the Communist interior minister, is engaging in a brutal campaign to bring the freedom fighters into discredit. You see, Borge's Communist operatives dress in freedom fighters' uniforms, go into the countryside, then murder and mutilate ordinary Nicaraguans. This, then, is why I am asking the Congress to provide the Nicaraguan freedom fighters not only with much-needed humanitarian aid, but with military supplies. They must be given the means to fight back.

You see, the freedom fighters seek not to destroy their Communist opponents, but to liberate their country. Democracy — this is all the freedom fighters ask. For our part, all we ask is the continued security of our continent and Nation. Now that negotiations with the Nicaraguan Communists have failed again and again, the time has come for Congress to stop delaying and to

Page 4

give the freedom fighters what they need to win freedom on their own.

Until tomorrow evening from the Oval Office, thanks for listening, and God bless you.