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**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**DATE: 2/25/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----SUBJECT: NICARAGUAN DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE AID REQUEST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	POINDEXTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MILLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	STEELMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ELLIOTT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Attached are a Message to Congress and legislative package requesting additional authority and assistance for the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance Forces, which the President will sign at 9:45 this morning.

**RESPONSE:**

**Request for Additional Authority and  
Assistance for the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance**

Pursuant to the provisions of section 722(p) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 (P.L. 99-83) and section 106(a) of chapter V of the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1985 (P.L. 99-88), I hereby request that the Congress approve additional authority and assistance for the Nicaraguan democratic resistance, as follows:

(1) That the sum of \$100,000,000 appropriated by the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1986, as contained in P.L. 99-190, shall also be available to the President for assistance to the Nicaraguan democratic resistance, subject to the terms and conditions of this request.

(2) That the funds made available under paragraph (1) will include funds that have been made available for obligation until September 30, 1987, as provided by law: Provided, That not more than 25 percent shall be available for obligation upon the enactment of a joint resolution approving this request, and an additional 15 percent shall become available upon submission of each report to the Congress required by paragraph (6)(E) of this request.

(3) That, of the funds made available under paragraph (1), \$30,000,000 shall be available for continuation of a program of humanitarian assistance to be administered by the Nicaraguan Humanitarian Assistance Office established by Executive Order 12530, of which at least \$3,000,000 will be used exclusively for strengthening programs and activities of the United Nicaraguan Opposition for the observance and advancement of human rights.

(4) That, notwithstanding the proviso contained in paragraph (2) of this request, in the event of a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Central America during the period that the funds under paragraph (1) are available for obligation, any remaining balance of such funds shall then also be available for purposes of relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in Central American countries, including Nicaragua, in accordance with the authority of chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

(5) That the approval by the Congress of this request be deemed to satisfy the requirements, terms, and conditions of section 105(a) of the Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1986 (P.L. 99-169) as well as statutory requirements for the authorization of appropriations (including section 10 of P.L. 91-672, section 502 of the National Security Act of 1947, and section 8109 of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1986), subject to --

(A) all applicable provisions of law and established procedures relating to the oversight by the Congress of operations of departments and agencies; and

(B) the further terms and conditions specified in this request.

(6) That the approval by the Congress of this request be deemed to constitute the acceptance of the following undertakings:

(A) United States policy toward Nicaragua shall be based upon Nicaragua's responsiveness to continuing concerns by the United States and Nicaragua's neighbors about --

(i) Nicaragua's close military and security ties to Cuba, the Soviet Union, and its Warsaw Pact allies, including the presence in Nicaragua of military and security personnel from those countries;

(ii) Nicaragua's buildup of military forces in numbers disproportionate to those of its neighbors and equipped with sophisticated weapons systems and facilities designed to accommodate even more advanced equipment;

(iii) Nicaragua's unlawful support for armed subversion and terrorism directed against the democratically elected governments of other countries;

(iv) Nicaragua's internal repression and lack of opportunity for the exercise of civil and political rights that would allow the people of Nicaragua to have a meaningful voice in determining the policies of their government; and

(v) Nicaragua's refusal to negotiate in good faith for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Central America based upon the comprehensive implementation of the September 1983 Contadora Document of Objectives and, in particular, its refusal to enter into a church-mediated national dialogue as proposed by the Nicaraguan democratic resistance on March 1, 1985.

(B) The United States will address these concerns through economic, political, and diplomatic measures, as well as through support for the Nicaraguan democratic resistance. In order to assure every opportunity for a peaceful resolution of the conflict, the United States --

(i) will engage in simultaneous bilateral discussions with the Government of Nicaragua with a view toward facilitating progress in achieving a peaceful resolution of the conflict if the Government of Nicaragua engages in a church-mediated national dialogue, as proposed by the United Nicaraguan Opposition; and

(ii) will take other positive actions in response to steps by the Government of Nicaragua toward meeting the concerns described in subparagraph (A).

(C) The duration of bilateral discussions with the Government of Nicaragua and the implementation of additional measures under subparagraph (B) shall be determined, after consultation with the Congress, by reference to Nicaragua's actions in response to the concerns described in subparagraph (A). Particular regard will be paid to whether --

(i) freedom of the press, religion, and assembly are being respected in Nicaragua;

(ii) additional arms and foreign military personnel are no longer being introduced into Nicaragua;

(iii) a cease-fire with the Nicaraguan democratic resistance is being respected; and

(iv) Nicaragua is withholding support for insurgency and terrorism in other countries.

(D) The actions by the United States in response to the concerns described in subparagraph (A), authorized by the approval of this request, are consistent with the right of the United States to defend itself and to assist its allies in accordance with international law and treaties in force. Such actions are directed to

achieving a comprehensive and verifiable agreement among the countries of Central America, based upon the 1983 Contadora Document of Objectives, and internal reconciliation within Nicaragua, based upon democratic principles, without the use of force by the United States. The approval of this request shall not be construed as authorizing any member or unit of the armed forces of the United States to engage in combat against the Government of Nicaragua.

(E) The President will transmit a report to the Congress within 90 days after the date of approval of this request, and every 90 days thereafter, on actions taken to achieve a resolution of the conflict in Central America in a manner that meets the concerns described in subparagraph (A). Each such report shall include --

(i) a detailed statement of any progress made in reaching a negotiated settlement, including the willingness of the Nicaraguan democratic resistance and the Government of Nicaragua to negotiate a settlement;

(ii) a detailed accounting of the disbursements made to provide assistance with the funds made available pursuant to paragraph (1); and



(iii) a discussion of alleged human rights violations by the Nicaraguan democratic resistance and the Government of Nicaragua, including a statement of the steps taken by the Nicaraguan democratic resistance to remove from their ranks any individuals who have engaged in human rights abuses.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 4, 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 Taping: Contra Aid Message

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

cc: David L. Chew

ID #

CU

# WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence  
Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1Name of Correspondent: Walt Chav☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Presidential Signing Center Aid Message

## ROUTE TO:

## ACTION

## DISPOSITION

Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CUHOLL</u>		ORIGINATOR	<u>86 103 104</u>			<u>1 1</u>
		Referral Note:				
<u>CUH 18</u>		<u>R</u>	<u>86 103 104</u>		<u>S</u>	<u>86 103 104</u>
		Referral Note:				<u>12 N</u>
			<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
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			<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
		Referral Note:				
			<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
		Referral Note:				

## ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action  
C - Comment/Recommendation  
D - Draft Response  
F - Furnish Fact Sheet  
to be used as Enclosure

I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary  
R - Direct Reply w/Copy  
S - For Signature  
X - Interim Reply

## DISPOSITION CODES:

A - Answered  
B - Non-Special Referral  
C - Completed  
S - Suspended

## FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

Type of Response = Initials of Signer  
Code = "A"  
Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**DATE: 3/3/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON, Tues., 3/4/86SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: CONTRA AID MESSAGE  
(March 3 - 6:00 pm draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	POINDEXTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ELLIOTT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please submit your comments on the attached directly to Ben Elliott with an info copy to my office by noon tomorrow. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

100-4-17-15

(Noonan/BE)  
March 3, 1986  
6:00 p.m.

RECEIVED  
PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: 762  
CONTRA AID MESSAGE  
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1986

My fellow Americans, I appreciate this opportunity to speak to you about the major foreign policy question of our time -- a question that also has a lot to do with our national security. I am referring to what has been happening in Nicaragua -- and what, together, our Nation can do to help that country and its people.

As you probably know, Nicaragua is ruled -- and has been for some time -- by a small group of Communist dictators. They -- the Sandinistas -- are intent on spreading their so-called revolution throughout Central America. They've been candid about their intentions; they've made it clear they're going to destabilize their neighbors and assist in the creation of more Communist satellites on this hemisphere. What the Sandinistas are trying to do will cause untold hardship and grief for the people of many countries. It will also create what communism always creates -- a refugee machine of truly mammoth proportions. And most of those refugees will be heading North, looking for safety and shelter in the United States.

It may be useful right here to take a sort of refresher course in who the Sandinistas are. They're the ones who, when they fought for power, said they were for free elections. And who, once they'd seized control, said elections weren't really that important. They're the ones who heckled Pope John Paul II and tried to stop him from speaking 3 years ago when he visited Nicaragua. The Sandinistas have declared illegal most of the

freedoms we enjoy. They've closed down the Catholic Church's only radio station and only newspaper. Every day they censor Nicaragua's last big independent newspaper, La Prensa. It is the Sandinistas who hunted down and committed what amounts to genocide against the native Miskito Indians. But after all, genocide is nothing new in Communist regimes -- if you saw the movie "The Killing Fields" you know what Communist governments do to those ethnic and other groups they view as too independent.

Nicaragua, then, isn't just a Central American problem -- it's our problem too. The truth is, if the Sandinistas are allowed to proceed unchallenged and unopposed, they'll continue to pose a growing threat not only to Central America but to U.S. strategic interests. The Sandinistas get their weapons not only from the Communist countries, but from terrorist states as well. The Sandinistas are now using Soviet helicopter gunships -- the kind the Soviet army uses to mow down the peasants in the hills of Afghanistan. The Sandinistas are benefiting from the advice of Cuban troops. And they're not only getting help from Colonel Qadhafi of Libya and the P.L.O. -- but we have ample evidence that the Sandinistas are smuggling Libyan and P.L.O. terrorists across the border -- and headed North.

For 6 years now we've tried negotiating with the Sandinistas, and we're not going to stop trying. But so far we've gotten nowhere. We can't force them to be sincere, but we can force them to pay attention to the growing pro-democracy, anti-Sandinista movement in Nicaragua.



I know you've heard about the freedom fighters of Nicaragua -- men (and women too) who are risking their lives to bring democracy to their country. It's liberty that they want, not communism. It's freedom, not Marxism, that they'll institute -- if they get a chance.

But they won't get that chance unless we help them. Right now there are 20,000 freedom fighters. That's more than ever before. Morale is good, and prospects of real military progress are better than ever. But the freedom fighters need two things -- time and assistance. They need medical supplies, clothing and food -- and, yes, they need real weapons -- real guns and real ammunition to make a real fight. They're asking us for help. It will be to our shame -- frankly, it will be a disgrace -- if we turn away.

We have asked for \$100 million to help the freedom fighters -- not a lot, when you consider that, last year, the Soviet Union poured in \$350 million in tanks, armored vehicles, and helicopter gunships. That's how serious the Soviets are about destroying freedom and spreading communism. There are those who say, "We can't afford it." But the irony is that the path they endorse -- depending on good will alone -- will prove to be much more expensive down the line, both financially and politically, than this strategic investment is today.

And I want to stress, again, what will happen if we do nothing: the Sandinistas will continue to spread their Communist revolution, attempting to take Honduras, El Salvador, and

Guatemala, working steadily North. Then, as one Sandinista minister put it, unarmed "Costa Rica will be the dessert."

Well, this is our chance to show the Sandinistas that their own country isn't the appetizer -- and the rest of Central America isn't the main dish.

I need your help. I need your voice in the halls of Congress here in Washington. Please contact your Members of Congress and tell them to give democracy a chance in Central America -- tell them that means giving the freedom fighters of Nicaragua a chance. And please tell them that they will be held accountable -- not only by you, but by history as well.

This has been an especially rewarding time to help democracy. The past few weeks have moved us all.

And in this month of Haiti and the Philippines,

-- in this time when freedom has flashed out like a great astonishing light in the most surprising places;

-- in this time when democracy is new again, and communism is more and more revealed as an old idea that's as tired as tyranny;

-- in this time it is nothing less than a sin to see Central America fall to darkness.

Let's not let it happen. It won't if we work together, as we have in the past. We can save Central America, with the help of your Senators and Representatives. Please let them know how you feel.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear on this program. And God bless you all.

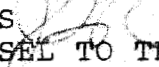


THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 5, 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 Tapings: Three Additional  
Contra Aid Messages

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced Presidential tapings and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective.

cc: David L. Chew

# **WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

Name of Correspondent: Dave Chew☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Presidential Tapings: Three additional  
Contra aid Messages**ROUTE TO:****ACTION****DISPOSITION**

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CUHALL</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>86.03.05</u>			<u>  /  /  </u>
	Referral Note:				
<u>CUAT 18</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>86.03.05</u>		<u>S</u>	<u>86.03.05</u>
	Referral Note:				<u>9am</u>
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	Referral Note:				

**ACTION CODES:**

A - Appropriate Action  
 C - Comment/Recommendation  
 D - Draft Response  
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     to be used as Enclosure

I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary  
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 S - Suspended

**FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:**

Type of Response = Initials of Signer  
 Code = "A"  
 Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

**Comments:** \_\_\_\_\_

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**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**DATE: 3/4/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 9:00 am, 3/5/86, Wed.SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL TAPINGS: THREE ADDITIONAL CONTRA AID MESSAGES

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	POINDEXTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DANIELS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please submit your comments/recommendations on the attached directly to Ben Elliott's office with an info copy to me by 9:00 a.m. tomorrow. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

(Rohrabacher/BE)

March 4, 1986

5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: 3 MINUTE MESSAGE ON CONTRA AID FOR  
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS  
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1986

My fellow Americans, Congress will soon vote on a question vital to the security of our country -- whether we should provide help for the democratic resistance forces who are battling the Communist regime of Nicaragua. They are pleading with us to provide them with the weapons and supplies they need so they themselves can restore democracy to their country.

Many of those standing up to this current regime actively fought against the former dictator, only to see their revolution stolen by Soviet-backed Communists. Basic freedoms have been trampled, democratic labor leaders jailed and beaten. The Miskito Indians have suffered genocidal blows. Religious institutions are under siege. The Jewish community, small to begin with, has been all but obliterated, driven into exile, their synagogue burned. Christians have been viciously attacked, priests humiliated. Pope John Paul II, on a Papal visit, was mocked and jeered.

As soon as power had been seized in Nicaragua, a campaign of subversion and terrorism was launched against neighboring countries. Nicaragua has been turned into a staging area for some of the world's worst international cutthroats. Cadres from Colonel Qadhafi of Libya, P.L.O. terrorists, and the like, are all there -- along with thousands of Cubans and Soviet-bloc personnel. This gang has not been brought together for a tennis tournament.

The Soviet Union has poured hundreds of millions of dollars worth of military equipment into Nicaragua. Once their internal opposition is smashed, the Nicaraguan Communists will move to expand their efforts to bring neighboring countries under Communist control -- right up to our very doorstep. Hundreds of thousands of boat people fled Vietnam. If something similar happens in Central America, we could expect a tidal wave of refugees, millions of feet people, to wash across our border.

We cannot afford to let this disaster take place. And if Congress acts responsibly now, a crisis can be averted. Given the support they need, the freedom fighters could well pressure the Nicaraguan regime to fulfill the promise of genuine democracy made to the O.A.S. in 1979. The freedom fighters provide the only incentive for the dictators to negotiate real political solutions and stop aggression. Those in Congress who oppose aid would leave us with one of two options: Accepting an aggressive Communist dictatorship, another Cuba, this time on the mainland of the Americas, or committing our own military troops.

I hope you agree with me that, with so much at stake, we must act before the situation gets out of hand. Please, help me keep our country safe and avert a crisis. Call your Representatives and let them know that you support assistance to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters, democracy's security shield in Central America. Let's help those who are fighting for their freedom today, so Americans won't have to fight tomorrow. Thank you and God bless you.

(Rohrabacher/BE)  
March 4, 1986  
3:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: 55 SECOND MESSAGE ON CONTRA AID FOR  
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS  
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1986

My fellow Americans, Congress will soon vote on a question of great importance to the security of our country -- whether we should help the democratic resistance forces battling the Communist regime of Nicaragua. They are pleading with us to provide them with the weapons and supplies they need to restore democracy to their country.

If Congress fails to help, a new Communist beachhead only a short distance away will consolidate its power. The Nicaraguan regime -- armed by the Soviet Union and Cuba -- will escalate terrorism and subversion against our Southern neighbors and spread chaos Northward. Millions of refugees, feet people, would soon be heading for our Southern border.

Please call your Representatives and ask them to support our security shield, the Nicaraguan freedom fighters. We can prevent a crisis before it happens. But we must help those fighting for their freedom today so Americans won't have to fight tomorrow.



(Gilder/BE)  
March 4, 1986  
5:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL TAPING: MESSAGE ON CONTRA AID FOR  
EASTERN EUROPEANS IN THE UNITED STATES  
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1986

I'm pleased to have this opportunity to address you on an urgent matter of foreign policy for the national security of the United States and the cause of world freedom. The world-wide advance of Communist tyranny is about to take a quantum leap forward. The Soviet grand strategy is on the verge of realizing one of its most cherished dreams -- an entrenched beachhead on the American mainland from which to launch terror and subversion throughout the Western Hemisphere.

I'm speaking, of course, about the Soviet puppet regime in Nicaragua. The Soviet-bloc countries have spent over a billion dollars turning that country into a fortified bunker, bristling with tanks, planes and the deadly Soviet attack helicopters that have been ravaging Afghanistan. Nicaragua today is overrun with Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian, Cuban and North Korean "advisors" -- and believe me, they're not picking bananas.

Along with the Soviet-bloc personnel have come terrorists of every stripe -- Libyans, Iranians, PLO, the Basque ETA, the Italian Red Brigades, and the German Baader Meinhof gang. If anyone still doubts the Soviet connection to international terrorism, they should take a look at the rat's nest of murderers and rabid fanatics assembled today in Nicaragua.

They're there for one reason -- to spread terror and subversion, to undermine the fragile democracies of Latin America and throw the whole region into turmoil. That's an age old

Soviet tactic -- to make it impossible for decent, democratically minded people to govern and collect their bounty as country after country falls like rotten fruit into the Communist's lap.

The Soviet terror strategy has already begun. Hundreds of Nicaraguan-trained terrorists are presently at work in Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil and Argentina. And the Peruvians themselves recently uncovered a weapons cache which included weapons and uniforms provided by Nicaragua. Some misguided liberals in this country insist that the Sandinistas are simply nationalists who don't threaten their neighbors. The Sandinistas themselves laugh at the idea. They are old-style international Communists who have eagerly put themselves at the disposal of the Soviets. The Sandinistas openly boast that they are going to carry their revolution to the very borders of the United States.

Some of us have lived long enough to witness the long, ugly history of Soviet imperialism. I remember how the world stood by as the Soviet Union picked off one country after another in Eastern Europe. First, Stalin starved the Ukraine into submission and sent millions of Volga Germans to freeze to death in the Soviet gulags. In league with Hitler, the Soviets carved up Poland, swallowed Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and attacked Finland. Then, in violation of signed treaties and all human decency, they constructed a prison wall down the center of middle Europe -- bringing Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and East Germany into the Soviet orbit.

Liberals in this country always think of some excuse for inaction as the Communist death toll mounts: 60 million killed



in Stalin's genocide; 40 million in the Great Leap Forward; a third of Cambodia's population murdered by the fanatical Pol Pot regime -- and then the millions of boat people from Vietnam and Cuba.

The liberals scoffed at the domino theory in Southeast Asia -- but it was proved right. Soviet-backed armies have overrun Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and now fight the Thais on their border. The predictions about the horrors of communism that the liberals ridiculed have come to pass -- the prison camps, the refugees, the bloodbaths beyond anything that could have been imagined. What will the liberals say when all of Central America is turned into a gulag state, when millions of refugees come streaming across our borders?

We can't let that happen. We failed in the past -- we failed the heroic anti-Communist freedom fighters in Lithuania and the Ukraine from 1945 through 1952. We stood and watched in 1956 as the brave Hungarian freedom fighters were ruthlessly crushed under the Soviet war machine. And we did nothing in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Yes, we failed in the past, but we will not fail today in Nicaragua.

The same Soviet equipment used to oppress the people of the Baltic States, the Ukraine and Eastern Europe, is being used today in Central America. East European communism is the Sandinista model for the persecution of the Church, oppression of labor unions and Marxist-Leninist indoctrination of children.

If we don't send aid now, make no mistake, we'll be sending the Marines later -- and it will be the responsibility of those

who refused to act, who didn't take limited measures while there was still time.

The Soviet Politburo must be gloating today. They are on the doorstep of America, and the United States Congress is having trouble deciding whether it even wants to spend \$100 million to push them off. You know, the Sandinistas contemptuously call their American supporters, quote, "useful fools." I guess the question today is, how many of America's elected Representatives will be willing to vote exactly as the Soviet Politburo would want them to?

Now is the time to speak up and make yourself heard. Let your Congressmen and Senators know what you think about Soviet expansionism on the American mainland. Let them know what you think about do-nothingism, about betraying once again a brave people's hopes for freedom. Don't give them any rest until they see the light. We thank God that we live in a democracy. But it's still our responsibility to make that democracy work. Please, let's make sure that this time America does the right thing.

Thank you and God bless you all.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 10, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN  
DENNIS THOMAS  
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN  
LARRY SPEAKES  
MITCH DANIELS

FROM: ANTHONY R. DOLAN *W*

RE: Contras

American parents would be outraged to discover the deep involvement of the Sandinista leadership in the drug trade. The former chief investigator of the Human Rights Commission in Nicaragua, who later fled the country, developed information substantiating these allegations; he claimed the involvement of Tomas Borge, the Interior Minister, was sanctioned and threatened as a "state secret." The President's Organized Crime Commission in its recent drug report has several extensive pages on Sandinista involvement in the drug trade; and the attached picture was taken when a DEA plane in an undercover operation landed in Nicaragua where illegal drugs were loaded onto the aircraft by Sandinistas and by a top aide to Borge.

The American public has a right to know this. The Attorney General or the Secretary of State might want to comment on this point in the next few days.

Avequeira, a Chilean living in Nicaragua, heard at a party at his house, from David Miranda, another Chilean who is a Second Lieutenant in the Nicaraguan police, that Tomas Borge was involved in smuggling cocaine from Colombia to the United States via Nicaragua. Borge's office instructed Baldizon to investigate this as a compromise of a state secret. Baldizon thought that this was a mistake, since he could not believe that the government would be involved in narcotics trafficking, so he asked the chief of his office, Captain Charlotte Baltodano Egner, if it should not be investigated as a slander against the Minister. Baltodano was taken aback and said that the office should not have received the report since the fact that Borge had involved the government in narcotics trafficking was known in the Ministry only to Borge, his assistant, the chiefs of police and state security and to herself. Outside the Ministry it was known only to members of the ESLN's National Directorate. Baltodano reported the exchange she had with Baldizon to Borge who then ordered that Baldizon be given an official explanation of why the ministry was involved in trafficking.

Baltodano told Baldizon that Borge had made contact with the Colombian cocaine dealers through Captain Paul Atha, the director of "H and M Investments," a MINT dependency controlled by Borge, which handles business activities in Nicaragua and abroad in order to obtain U.S. dollars. Baltodano told him that the GON supplies the cocaine traffickers with Aero Commander and Navajo planes and access to the Montelimar Airport as a refueling stop between Colombia and the United States. She said that the Ministry had become involved in drug trafficking in order to obtain money for mounting clandestine operations by the Intelligence and State Security Department outside of Nicaragua.

The office later received an order from the office of the Minister countermanding the instruction to investigate the leak of information, and a few days later Captain Franco Montealegre, Borge's personal assistant, went to Baldizon and said that if he received any further information about cocaine trafficking in the future, it should be passed to the Minister without investigation.

Several months later Baldizon saw a small plane being fired at by the anti-aircraft emplacements around Diriamba, Carazo. Baldizon then went to Borge's office to wait to report the results of the case he had been investigating. Borge, who was in a meeting in his office with MINT Department Chiefs, left immediately for the airport. Baltodano, who accompanied Borge, later told Baldizon that Borge had ordered everyone away from the plane, which had landed at Los Brasiles airport, and put it under custody until he arrived and personally removed several bags of cocaine.

Baldizon says that in 1982 a MINT directive was issued which stated that all cocaine, precious metals, and U.S.



**Federico Vaughn (front, left, with mustache), described as the "right-hand man" of Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomas Borge, loading cocaine on a U.S.-bound plane at Los Brasiles airport in Nicaragua. A Nicaraguan soldier can be seen in the background. Photo was released during U.S. Congressional Hearings in 1984.**

Human Events -- March 15, 1986

### **Crime Commission Says:**

## **Cuba and Nicaragua Involved in Drug Trade**

The report of the President's Commission on Organized Crime received a lot of attention because of its recommendation to crack down on drug users. But it also emphasized the continuation and expansion of the war against suppliers and distributors. The report said that drug trafficking represented a threat to U.S. national security, partly because hostile foreign governments such as Cuba, Nicaragua and Bulgaria are involved in the drug trade.

At a time when the issue of Nicaragua is in the news, it's curious that the news media failed to tell the American people what the Commission had to

say about the Sandinista role in narcotics trafficking.

The report states, "Since 1981, the United States has received a steady stream of intelligence indicating that Nicaragua is used by drug traffickers as a transshipment point between Colombia and the United States, and that officials of the Revolutionary government there, the Sandinista Directorate, are involved in the drug trade. Evidence further suggests that enforcement measures implemented by Colombian President Betancur have prompted Colombian traffickers, notably Jorge Ochoa and Pablo Escobar, to relocate their cocaine processing facilities to Nicaragua.

"The best evidence to date of the link between the Nicaraguan government and Colombian drug traffickers came to light in 1984. In that year, pilot Adler Barriman Seal, a former Ochoa cocaine trafficking pilot working then with the DEA in an undercover capacity, reported that Escobar and Ochoa had agreed in April 1984 to use Nicaragua as a cocaine smuggling base. At Ochoa's request, Seal flew 750 kilos of cocaine in June 1984 from Colombia to an airfield just northwest of Managua. The airfield was used generally as a joint facility by the Nicaraguan armed forces and the Ministry of the Interior.

"Seal's aircraft was damaged in the landing, and according to Seal, Frederico Vaughn, a personal assistant to Interior Minister Tomas Borge, arranged for him to return to the United States in another plane. Later that June, Seal returned to the airfield in a C-123 aircraft, equipped with a hidden camera, to retrieve the drugs. Both Vaughn and Escobar, escorted by Nicaraguans in uniform and recorded on videotape, personally helped Seal load the cocaine into the aircraft. Vaughn was paid \$1.5 million for providing the Colombian traffickers 'secure facilities.'

"In July 1984, Seal made another trip to Nicaragua from the United States to bring supplies for a new cocaine processing complex under construction there. In a subsequent taped conversation with Seal, Frederico Vaughn stated that the processing center was ready for use.


"Eleven persons, including Vaughn, were indicted by a federal grand jury on charges stemming from this trafficking arrangement. All remain at large. It is highly unlikely that these trafficking activities occurred without the knowledge and consent of the Sandinista government."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 10, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR SUSAN R. THAU  
LEGISLATIVE ANALYST  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS   
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: DOJ Testimony on Nicaraguan Government  
Participation in Drug Trafficking

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



ID # 394432 CU

**WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

*CO114*

☐ O - OUTGOING

☐ H - INTERNAL

☐ I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 / 1

*JR - direct*

Name of Correspondent: Thomas Byrne

☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: DOJ testimony on Nicaraguan Dist. participation in Drug Trafficking, Mar 11 86

**ROUTE TO:**

**ACTION**

**DISPOSITION**

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CUHOLL</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>86103104</u> <i>TR</i>			<u>1 / 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
<u>CUat 18</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>86103105</u> <i>TR</i>		<u>S</u>	<u>86103115</u> <i>TR</i>
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**ACTION CODES:**

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|----------------------------|--|
| A - Appropriate Action     | I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary |
| C - Comment/Recommendation | R - Direct Reply w/Copy                |
| D - Draft Response         | S - For Signature                      |
| F - Furnish Fact Sheet     | X - Interim Reply                      |
| to be used as Enclosure    |  |

**DISPOSITION CODES:**

- |                          |               |
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| A - Answered             | C - Completed |
| B - Non-Special Referral | S - Suspended |

**FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:**

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**DRAFT**

STATEMENT

OF

THOMAS G. BYRNE  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR  
FOR INTELLIGENCE  
DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION

ON

NICARAGUAN GOVERNMENT PARTICIPATION  
IN DRUG TRAFFICKING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS TASK FORCE  
ON INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

LAWRENCE J. SMITH, CHAIRMAN

MARCH 11, 1986

**DRAFT**

GOOD AFTERNOON, I AM PLEASED TO APPEAR BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE'S TASK FORCE ON INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL. AS THE COMMITTEE REQUESTED, I WILL HIGHLIGHT THE INFORMATION WHICH THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION (DEA) HAS CONCERNING DRUG-RELATED ACTIVITIES INVOLVING NICARAGUA OR NICARAGUAN NATIONALS.

DEA'S PRESENCE IN CENTRAL AMERICA IS LIMITED TO GUATEMALA, COSTA RICA AND PANAMA. THE DEA OFFICE IN COSTA RICA IS RESPONSIBLE FOR MONITORING, TO THE EXTENT THAT IT CAN, NICARAGUA. SINCE DEA DOES NOT HAVE AN OFFICE IN NICARAGUA NOR CONTACT WITH NICARAGUAN LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES, WE RECEIVE ONLY LIMITED DRUG-RELATED INTELLIGENCE CONCERNING ACTIVITIES IN THAT COUNTRY. I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WHAT INFORMATION WE DO HAVE WITH THIS TASK FORCE.

DEA HAS RECEIVED NO INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CULTIVATION OF OPIUM, COCA OR CANNABIS IN NICARAGUA. ALTHOUGH UNSUBSTANTIATED, DEA HAS RECEIVED SPORADIC ALLEGATIONS THAT SOME COLOMBIAN TRAFFICKERS HAVE ESTABLISHED COCAINE HYDROCHLORIDE CONVERSION

## LABORATORIES IN NICARAGUA.

WHILE WE DO NOT BELIEVE NICARAGUA IS A DRUG-SOURCE COUNTRY, WE KNOW THAT IN AT LEAST ONE CASE, TRAFFICKERS HAVE USED THAT COUNTRY AS A TRANSIT POINT FOR COCAINE SHIPMENTS DESTINED FOR THE UNITED STATES. NICARAGUA IS STRATEGICALLY LOCATED AS AN INTERNATIONAL CROSSROADS BETWEEN DRUG SOURCE COUNTRIES IN SOUTH AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES. THE PRINCIPAL BORDER CROSSING POINTS ARE PENAS BLANCAS ON THE COSTA RICAN AND EL ESPINO ON THE HONDURAS BORDER. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE TO MOVE DRUGS BY VESSEL USING THE PACIFIC OR ATLANTIC COASTS.

THE ONLY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT IN NICARAGUA IS THE SANDINO AIRPORT LOCATED IN MANAGUA. THE VOLUME OF INTERNATIONAL AIR TRAFFIC ENTERING OR LEAVING MANAGUA IS RELATIVELY SMALL. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, NUMEROUS SMALL AIRPORTS AND LANDING STRIPS WHICH HANDLE SMALL AIRCRAFT.

DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS, DEA HAS RECEIVED UNCONFIRMED REPORTS INDICATING THAT MAJOR COLOMBIAN COCAINE TRAFFICKERS WERE SEEKING MORE SECURE BASES FOR THEIR OPERATIONS. THESE REPORTS BEGAN SOON AFTER THE SEIZURE BY COLOMBIAN AUTHORITIES OF NEARLY 10 TONS OF COCAINE

AND COCAINE BASE AT TRANQUILANDIA IN MARCH 1984. DESPITE REPORTS THAT SOME TRAFFICKERS WERE SEEKING SAFEHAVEN IN NICARAGUA, DEA HAS CONDUCTED ONLY ONE INVESTIGATION WHICH HELPS SUPPORT THESE CLAIMS.

AS A RESULT OF THIS INVESTIGATION, 12 PERSONS, INCLUDING A NICARAGUAN NATIONAL, WERE INDICTED IN THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA. AMONG THOSE INDICTED WERE COLOMBIAN COCAINE TRAFFICKERS PABLO ESCOBAR, CARLOS LEHDER RIVAS, AND JORGE OCHOA VASQUEZ. THE NICARAGUAN INDICTED WAS FREDERICO VAUGHAN, AIDE TO THE NICARAGUAN MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR TOMAS BORGE.

ACCORDING TO THE INDICTMENT, DURING JUNE 1984, ESCOBAR, OCHOA, VAUGHAN AND OTHERS ARRANGED FOR A LARGE QUANTITY OF COLOMBIAN COCAINE TO BE TRANSSHIPPED THROUGH NICARAGUA TO THE UNITED STATES. IT WAS ALSO LEARNED THAT THE COLOMBIANS PLANNED TO ESTABLISH COCAINE LABORATORIES IN NICARAGUA AT A LATER DATE.

THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO FLY THE COCAINE OUT OF NICARAGUA REPORTEDLY FAILED WHEN NICARAGUAN MILITARY GROUND-FIRE DAMAGED THE AIRCRAFT FORCING IT TO LAND. VAUGHAN SECURED THE RELEASE OF THE PILOTS AND THE COCAINE.

LATER, ANOTHER AIRCRAFT WAS OBTAINED AND SEVERAL COLOMBIAN COCAINE TRAFFICKERS DELIVERED 1,450 POUNDS OF COCAINE TO THE AIRCRAFT. THIS WAS FLOWN TO FLORIDA WHERE IT WAS LATER SEIZED.

APPROXIMATELY TWO WEEKS AFTER THE SEIZURE, \$1.5 MILLION, ALONG WITH OTHER SUPPLIES WAS GIVEN TO THE PILOT BY COLOMBIAN ASSOCIATES IN MIAMI. THE PILOT DELIVERED THE MONEY AND SUPPLIES TO ESCOBAR AND VAUGHAN IN NICARAGUA ON JULY 7, 1984.

TO DATE, THREE OF THE DEFENDANTS HAVE PLEAD GUILTY; TWO MORE WERE TRIED AND FOUND GUILTY. SIX OF THE DEFENDANTS ARE NOW FUGITIVES. ONE OF THE KEY VIOLATORS, JORGE OCHOA-VASQUEZ, IS IN PRISON IN SPAIN AWAITING A DECISION ON A U.S. EXTRADITION REQUEST. WE BELIEVE THAT THE ARRESTS AND PROSECUTIONS RESULTING FROM THIS INVESTIGATION MAY HAVE DISCOURAGED ANY FURTHER ATTEMPTS BY COLOMBIAN TRAFFICKERS TO ESTABLISH TRANSSHIPMENT OR PROCESSING BASES IN NICARAGUA.

IN A RECENT DEVELOPMENT, THE DEA INFORMANT WHO FLEW THE AIRCRAFT WHICH WAS USED TO TRANSPORT THE COCAINE FROM COLOMBIA TO NICARAGUA WAS MURDERED IN BATON ROUGE,

LOUISIANA ON FEBRUARY 19, 1986. THE INFORMANT WAS AN IMPORTANT WITNESS IN THIS INVESTIGATION. IT IS TOO EARLY TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE MURDER WILL HAVE ANY IMPACT ON OCHOA'S EXTRADITION. U.S. PROSECUTORS FEEL THERE IS STILL ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO PROCEED WITH THE PROSECUTION OF OCHOA IN THE UNITED STATES IF AND WHEN HE IS EXTRADITED. THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION IS INVESTIGATING THIS MURDER.

THE FREDERICO VAUGHAN CASE IS THE ONLY DOCUMENTED INVESTIGATION DEA HAS CONDUCTED INVOLVING THE USE OF NICARAGUA AS A TRANSSHIPMENT POINT. DEA, HOWEVER, CONTINUES TO RECEIVE SPORADIC ALLEGATIONS CONCERNING DRUG-RELATED ACTIVITIES IN NICARAGUA AND WE HAVE PLACED A HIGH PRIORITY ON INVESTIGATING THESE ALLEGATIONS.

I WOULD BE HAPPY TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS THE TASK FORCE MAY HAVE.