

MEMORANDUM FOR:

SIG Book

Date

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THE DIRECTOR OF
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

National Intelligence Council

4 January 1984

NOTE FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: John Horton
NIO/LA

SUBJECT: SIG/NSPG on Central America

Here are two more papers for the SIG/NSPG
on Central America which came from ARA this
morning, the fourth.

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[Redacted Signature Box]

John Horton / *m*

Attachments:
as stated

cc: C/LAD

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[Redacted Box]

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 30, 1983

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(With SECRET Attachment)

MEMORANDUM

TO: ARA - Ambassador Motley

FROM: S/LPD - Otto J. Reich *OR*

SUBJECT: Central America Public Diplomacy

Attached please find the Central America Public Diplomacy strategy paper to be distributed to the RIG principals. I have added action offices and some additional detail but, in view of the concerns raised at the RIG about the length of this paper, I have kept the level of specificity to a minimum. This office is prepared to expand the tasks to include detailed steps and timetable once the concept is approved at the SIG and NSPG level. Thank you for distributing this paper.

Attachment: a/s

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Central America: Next Steps

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTION PLAN

SCOPE:

To accelerate and expand the Central America Public Diplomacy strategy to explain and garner support for United States policy. An additional objective of the strategy is to lay the groundwork for the expected supplemental requests for economic and security assistance related to or independent from the National Bipartisan Commission (NBCAA) on Central America as well as any other aspects of the accepted recommendations of the NBCCA's report.

BACKGROUND:

From the communist's perspective, their attack on the friendly governments of Central America involves simultaneous action in three arenas: the Central American region; the international--where the purpose is to isolate and fragment the target governments through propaganda and political action to keep them from receiving any outside economic or military support; and, the US domestic arena where the purpose is to delegitimize the target governments and bring about a cutoff of all US assistance. As an example of the Soviet bloc/Cuban/Nicaraguan/guerrilla activities in the international arena, note that the Salvadoran guerrilla command has its own well-financed propaganda network which includes over seventy solidarity committees in approximately 36 non-communist countries with permanent offices in Mexico City, Toronto, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, Rome and Washington, D.C. among others.

OVERALL OBJECTIVES:

The President has directed the US Government to undertake a major effort to present the facts about events in Central America especially in the critical international arena. Since June 1983, progress has been made, but more effort and resources are needed to prevent the massive international communist propaganda and/political action effort from continuing to misinform the governments and opinion-shaping

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leaders of many non-communist countries and political movements in Europe and Latin America. Our objectives both internationally and domestically are to bring about a clear understanding that: (1) the US is supporting genuinely democratic groups against both violent extremes; (2) the US has consistently opposed the violent right in El Salvador and endorsed the major land reform there which the violent right seeks to reverse; (3) the marxist-leninist guerrillas, if victorious, will bring poverty and repression to all the people in Central America and could pose an enormous problem for the entire West through the increased likelihood of destabilization in neighboring countries. Internationally, we should seek to have non-communist governments and groups condemn the violent left equally with the violent right and suspend all economic transactions with Nicaragua until the Sandinistas implement their democratic commitments of 1979.

COORDINATION:

The Office of the Coordinator for Public Diplomacy for Latin American and the Caribbean (S/LPD) in the Department of State, exercising its inter-agency charter, shall be responsible for overall coordination and supervision of the actions contained in this plan.

KEY AUDIENCES/THEMESI. InternationalA. Governments and Institutions Which have Opposed the Violent Left and Right

- Encourage continued support for the democratic center by such organizations and governments as Costa Rica, the Christian Democratic International, and the regional labor organizations which have supported the establishment of democracy.
- Provide on a systematic basis information updates to key foreign leaders.

ACTION: NSC, P, State Regional Bureaus, IO, DOD (ISA)

Additional Resources Required: See "Tasks" below.

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B. Non-Communist Governments and Political Parties
and Institutions Which Have Opposed U.S. Policy

--Expand systematic but discreet campaign to persuade key government and other political leaders that the violent left must also be condemned. Suggest concrete steps that they can take to strengthen the political center.

ACTION: S/LPD, ARA, EUR, EA, S/SE, P, IO, USIA, CIA

Additional Resources Required: See "Tasks" below.

--For Mexico--major public diplomacy and diplomatic effort to bring an end to its public and clandestine support of the violent left before the next Reagan/De la Madrid meeting.

ACTION: S/LPD, ARA, S/SE, CIA, USIA

Additional Resources Required: See "Tasks" below.

--For Social Democrats and the Socialist International--identify moderate leaders and parties; give them up-to-date briefings and information materials so they can present the case within parties; undertake a major persuasion and diplomatic effort some weeks before each of the next Socialist International meetings. Pay particular attention to the two newly-elected Social Democratic governments - Venezuela and Argentina.

ACTION: ARA, EUR, P, HA, S/SE, USIA

Additional Resources Required: See "Tasks" below.

TASKS

Foreign Audiences

1. Enhance the regular flow of information from Washington to the field, particularly to Latin American and European capitals. Work to improve timely responses to Embassy requests and to fast-changing events in Central America and the Caribbean.

ACTION: S/LPD, S/SE, ARA, EUR, USIA, CIA

Additional Resources Required: See below.

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2. Expand flow of information from State, AID, and DOD to the USIA Central America Working Group for further distribution.

ACTION: S/LPD, ARA, EUR, HA, PM, AID, DOD

Additional Resources Required: None

3. Offer basic briefing and information packets to all relevant foreign visitors, private and public.

ACTION: ARA, PA

Additional Resources Required: This requires a marked expansion of the present set of documents and information: research, translation, printing and distribution in much larger quantities than presently available. \$400,000.00

4. Provide backgrounders and information packets to Washington embassies.

ACTION: State Regional Bureaus, S/LPD, USIA, PA

5. Encourage and work with Central American governments to improve their public information programs.

ACTION: S/LPD, AID, ARA, PA, DOD, USIA

Additional Resources Required: Consultants \$80,000.00

6. Expand monitoring of propaganda activities and other disinformation efforts related to Central America by Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Soviet Bloc.

ACTION: ARA, EUR, CIA, USIA

Additional Resources Required: Consultants \$40,000.00

7. Make more use of USIA's expanded electronic dialogue, VOA interviews, etc.

ACTION: USIA, STATE, DOD, AID

Additional Resources Required: None

8. Expand the number of consultations with allies both in Washington and overseas.

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ACTION: S/LPD, ARA, EUR, IO, DOD, CIA

Additional Resources Required: Travel \$150,000.00

9. Continue briefings of foreign correspondents at USIA's Foreign Press Center.

ACTION: S/LPD, USIA, P, ARA, IO, DOD

Additional Resources Required: None

10. Expand and renew efforts to persuade friendly governments and political parties to press for democracy, pluralism and respect for human rights in Central America.

ACTION: S/LPD, ARA, HA, EUR, USIA

Additional Resources Required: None

11. Expand efforts to bring international funding into the region to support democratic trade unions, elections and other political activities designed to strengthen the institution of democracy.

ACTION: S/LPD, IO, ARA, Department of Labor, USIA

Additional Resources Required: Consultants \$60,000.00

12. Encourage trips to European capitals by political centrists, labor, church and other leaders from the region.

ACTION: S/LPD, ARA, EUR, HA, IO, USIA, NSC

Additional Resources Required: None

13. Encourage further dissemination of certain news reports to overseas audiences via U.S. Embassies.

ACTION: S/LPD, USIA

Additional Resources Required: One full-time position to monitor U.S. press and coordinate with USIA

14. Continue with public diplomacy plan on themes related to Castro government in Cuba: foreign involvement and domestic failures.

ACTION: S/LPD, ARA, USIA, NSC

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Additional Resources Required: Consultants \$50,000.00

15. Establish public diplomacy plan for Salvadoran elections.

ACTION: S/LPD, ARA, PA, H, HA, USIA, AID, DOD, CIA

Additional Resources Required: To be determined

KEY AUDIENCES/THEMES

II. Domestic

- A. The Congress. Objective: To gain sufficient support in Congress to permit approval of increased economic and military assistance to Central America and preclude crippling restrictions on actions in support of U.S. policy objectives in the region.
- B. The Public. Objective: To foster a climate of opinion supportive of United States policy.

TASKS

1. The Congress

- o Expand regular briefings for members and staff, to commence with key committees and members, to be expanded to others as resources permit. These include: Leadership (both parties and houses); Key Committees: HFAC, SFRC, HAC, SAC, HASC, SASC, HSCI, SSCI

ACTION: W.H., S/LPD, H, ARA

Additional Resources Required: One full-time coordinator

- o Preparation of briefings with visual aids (charts, slides).

ACTION: S/LPD, PA, INR, CIA, DOD

Additional Resources Required: Consultant/Writer, preparation, production \$40,000.00

- o Preparation of hand-outs for members of Congress - new background papers, talking points, etc

ACTION: S/LPD, ARA, H, PA

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Additional Resources Required: None

o Conduct informal survey of congressional concerns and prepare detailed response including suggestions for possible use in congressional responses to constituent mail.

ACTION: W.H., H, ARA, S/LPD, AID, DOD

Additional Resources Required: None

o Caucuses - Identify supporters (e.g. - Coalition for Peace through Strength) or potential supporters (e.g. Boll Weevils) or interested members (Border States, Hispanic).

ACTION: H, W.H., ARA, S/LPD

Additional Resources Required: None

o CODELS - Encourage visits to the area by MC's who have not yet travelled to the region. Provide appropriate briefings. Provide appropriate support in the field and upgrade Embassy capabilities to support where necessary.

ACTION: S/LPD, H, ARA, USIA

Additional Resources Required: None

2. State and Local Elected Officials

o Conduct briefings for governors, mayors, state legislators and other appropriate elected officials who have an impact on national debate, particularly, but not limited to, those in the Southwest U.S.

ACTION: W.H., H, PA, ARA, AID, DOD

Additional Resources Required: Regional Conferences,
speakers travel, briefing materials \$80,000.00

o Target regional and national meetings and conferences of state leaders for speakers, backgrounders, and briefers.

ACTION: W.H., S/LPD, H, ARA, PA

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Additional Resources Required: Speakers' travel, briefing materials \$25,000.00

3. Special Interest Groups

- o Expand list of interested groups to be briefed and to receive informational material.

ACTION: S/LPD, W.H., PA, ARA, DOD

Additional Resources Required: None

- o Expand list of USG briefers. Place in appropriate fora.

ACTION: S/LPD, ARA, DOD

Additional Resources Required: None

- o Provide new and updated informational material to "traditional" foreign policy groups.

ACTION: S/LPD, PA, ARA, AID, DOD

Additional Resources Required: \$20,000.00

- o Organize special effort for groups particularly interested in Central American issues, e.g. church, labor, hispanics, plus groups which may have been overlooked but should be contacted, e.g. trade and professional associations, chambers of commerce, veterans and related groups, etc.

ACTION: S/LPD, PA, ARA, IO, HA, AID, W.H.

Additional Resources Required: None

- o Match these groups with speakers (notably Latin Americans) that can address the specific concerns of U.S. and European interest groups.

ACTION: W.H., S/LPD, PA, ARA

Additional Resources Required: None

4. The Public

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o Expand speakers program; continue FSI course for USG speakers.

ACTION: W.H., S/LPD, PA, ARA, DOD

Additional Resources Required: None

o Attempt to obtain funding for travel of Latin American intellectuals, businessmen, newspaper reporters to U.S. and Europe.

ACTION: S/LPD, W.H., P

Additional Resources Required: None

o Periodic updating, printing and distribution of basic speakers packet.

ACTION: S/LPD, ARA, PA

Additional Resources Required: \$25,000.00

o Prepare various forms of visual aids--slides, videotapes, etc., from existing sources and commission new ones.

ACTION: S/LPD, DOD, AID

Additional Resources Required: \$160,000.00

o Expand program for providing particularly knowledgeable and articulate USG speakers on national TV, radio, and other fora.

ACTION: W.H., S/LPD, PA, ARA, DOD

Additional Resources Required: \$10,000.00

o Expand mailings of new and updated information.

ACTION: S/LPD, PA, ARA, W.H., DOD

Additional Resources Required: \$10,000.00

o Encourage scholarships to Central American youth from U.S. private sector groups.

ACTION: W.H., S/LPD, AID, USIA, P/PD

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Additional Resources Required: None

5. Media

o Increase periodic meetings and backgrounders for Washington-based correspondents.

ACTION: S/LPD, PA, ARA, W.H.

Additional Resources Required: None

o Expand number of face-to-face meetings with editorial boards of newspapers in several geographic locations in the U.S.

ACTION: S/LPD, PA, ARA, W.H.

Additional Resources Required: None

o Continue direct-line interviews from Washington with local radio shows, TV and editorial staffs.

ACTION: S/LPD, PA, ARA, W.H.

Additional Resources Required: None

o Expand preparation and placement of op-ed pieces in numerous media outlets.

ACTION: S/LPD, PA, ARA, W.H.

Additional Resources Required: None

o Upgrade monitoring of press coverage. Establish system for correcting erroneous press reports, expand daily press guidance to include "background" information which will enable media to provide more balanced coverage and news analysis.

ACTION: S/LPD, W.H., PA, ARA

Additional Resources Required: None

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o Expand and support increased coverage by U.S. press to Latin American stories, such as defectors, articulate private or governmental spokesmen.

ACTION: S/LPD, PA, ARA, W.H.

Additional Resources Required: Consultant to S/LPD
\$40,000.00

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

MEMORANDUM

January 4, 1984

Subject: Congressional Strategy

The experience of the last session clearly indicates the need for a comprehensive strategy to secure passage of the supplemental appropriations request for Central America. This memorandum provides an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of past efforts and outlines action items that are designed to achieve our goals in Congress during the early months of the next session.

We are well covered in the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees. The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations concentrates on these panels; the Deputy Assistant Secretaries in ARA are in frequent contact with the Members on these panels and enjoy a personal credibility with these Members. These are invaluable assets which should not be ignored. They should continue and, if possible, systemitize their contacts in this area.

By contrast, we do not have adequate information on a systematic, Congress-wide basis. We need more detailed information on the attitudes of members who are not on our committees, the identities and concerns of swing members for each vote. Therefore, a top priority must be to fill this gap by establishing and maintaining direct ties between the Interagency Group and the sources of this information: the Republican Whips and the Boll Weevils. With these efforts, we will have a better picture of the swing votes that we might target.

The second priority is to concentrate on key members of the House Rules Committee. Without the occasional help of Gillis Long, Butler Derrick, and Martin Frost, we are unlikely to even have the opportunity for a floor vote on key issues. ARA has good ties to Long; Frost is a protege of Jim Wright and can be a help if Wright is on board. Derrick is the most difficult but not impossible, particularly given the fact that his district is sensitive to trade issues originating in Latin America.

In the Senate, we do less well than we should given the fact that the Republicans control the body. One reason is the large number of moderate Republicans who have

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views on Central America which are independent of, and sometimes hostile to, those of the President. This group is offset by a group of "Scoop Jackson" Democrats who will help us but who require extra attention to ensure that they understand our position and that they know that we are sensitive to their concerns. Attached is a list of 24 Senators (see Attachment One) who, for one reason or another, need -- and, more importantly, are worth -- extra attention. Over the next month, we will provide additional analysis on those on this list.

An additional problem became evident in the appropriations conference in the final days of the last session. In part because of El Salvador's human rights image, no member of the conference was willing to hold up the continuing resolution to defend funding and a cap was placed on aid to that country. We must find and cultivate senior Members of both the House and Senate who will be on these conferences and who will be willing to be standard-bearers for our Central American policies.

As a related matter, because on foreign policy issues Members tend to listen to other Members, we should find an individual who could become a lead spokesman on Central America. This person should have an image as a senior statesman who is thoughtful and, ideally, even have been a critic of our policies to date. One highly visible and highly respected convert will be more valuable to us than dozens of already committed Members making a new round of speeches. Senator Bradley (D-NJ) fits this profile almost perfectly. We should explore the possibility that he -- or someone like him -- might become a convert.

Finally, we must make a concerted near-term effort to overcome the problems that resulted from the veto of the human rights certification bill in the last session. Because a pocket veto was used, institutional issues have been raised which will cause even our friends on the Hill to defend the legislative branch in a controversy with the executive. We must re-frame the issue in order to highlight the progress made on human rights in recent weeks. We should do this, first, by spending some time with our friends to ensure that they are in tune with us on the fundamental questions involved in the issue.

Second, we should make a particular effort to bring human rights progress to the attention of Republican women members and others potential supporters who have expressed

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particular concern on this issue. Incidentally, Republican women as a group did not support us on Boland-Zablocki. If a meeting is set up with them, we should take the opportunity to test on them the argument that pressure has resulted in changes in Sandinista policies and, if continued, will facilitate good-faith negotiations.

With this brief rationale a the context, Attachment Two contains the specific action items for this effort through January under the following headings:

- A Solidify Contacts with Supporters.
- B Solidify Ties to Information Sources.
- C Target Moderate Republicans and Democrats.
- D Target House Rules.
- E Brief Private Sector Representatives.
- F Identify Standard Bearers in House and Senate.
- G Develop Appropriate Materials
- H Institutionalize Congressional Reporting System.

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Attachment One

I. Senators requiring particular attention:

Heflin D-Al
Pryor D-Ar
Dixon D-Il
Ford D-Ky
Johnston D-La
Long D-La
Baucus D-Mt
Melcher D-Mt
Exon D-Ne
Zorinsky D-Ne
Boren D-Ok
Hollings D-SC

Cohen R-Me
Durenberger R-Mn
Rudman R-NH
Domenici R-NM
D'Amato R-NY
Andrews R-ND
Heinz R-Pa
Specter R-Pa
Chafee R-RI
Abdnor R-SD
Gorton R-Wa
Evans R-Wa

II. House list to be developed from contacts with Whip
and Boll Weevils.

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Attachment Two

I. ACTION ITEMS FOR JANUARY

A. -- Solidifying Contacts with Supporters.

1. Arrange briefings for LA's from:
 - a-- Senate Republican Steering Committee;
 - b-- House Republican Study Committee;
 - c-- Republican Foreign Policy Task Force; and,
 - d-- Conservative Democratic Forum.
2. Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Central America (DAS/P and DAS/Cen) CONDUCT BRIEFINGS BY JANUARY 13. BRIEFING GOALS: 1) To minimize institutional resentment caused by the pocket veto of the certification bill; 2) to inform our supporters of the successes we have had in recent days; 3) to alert them to pending issues; and, 4) to ask for their reading of the swing votes on an El Salvador supplemental.
3. Maintain contacts to ensure cooperation in the event we need to block onerous legislation.

B. -- Solidify ties to Information Sources.

1. High level calls to Senator Stevens and Representative Lott to arrange meetings and to stress our desire to work closely with them on these issues and to be helpful to on other subjects. BY JAN 13.
2. Meet with Senator Stevens, Congressman Lott, and Congressman Stenholm (D-Tx) to work out procedures for obtaining information during the remainder of the session. BY JAN 20.
3. Arrange high level meeting with new chairman of Arms Foreign Affairs Committee. BY JAN 13.

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C. -- Target Moderate Republicans and Democrats.

1. Arrange briefing for Broker Group (GOP Women) BY JAN 13.
2. Assistant Secretary/ARA or UN Ambassador BRIEF BY JAN 20.
BRIEFING GOALS: to inform group of human rights improvement in El Salvador, the changes in Sandinista posture which resulted from U.S. pressure, and disingenuous nature of Sandinista "peace moves."
2. Analyze list of moderate House Republicans; determine best possible approach to each. REPORT BY JAN 13.
4. Analyze Senate swing votes (see Attachment One) to determine best possible approach to each. REPORT BY JAN 13.

D. -- Target House Rules Committee

1. High level meeting with Gillis Long BY JAN 20.
2. Meet with South Carolina interests BY JAN 17.
3. High level meeting with Butler Derrick BY JAN 20.
4. Arrange for AS/ARA to meet with Jim Wright. ARRANGE BY JAN 13.
5. AS/ARA meet with and brief Wright BY JAN 20 stressing need for his help on El Salvador issue and for cooperation on Rules.
6. High level meeting with Martin Frost BY JAN 27.

E. -- Brief Private Sector Representatives

1. AS/ARA brief at Heritage Foundation ON FEBRUARY 14 at 10 AM.
BRIEFING GOALS: explain the need for a supplemental for El Salvador and the prospects for success in Central America.

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2. Arrange for other briefings as appropriate by using White House, DOD, and State networks. Draft list BY JAN 13
3. Identify and brief private voluntary organizations in effort to build coalition. IDENTIFY BY JAN 13. BRIEF BY JAN 26.

F. -- Identify Standard Bearers in House and Senate.

1. Analyze list of possible Standard Bearers. Report and suggest additional action BY JAN 13.
2. Analyze list of possible high visibility converts. Report and suggest additional action BY JAN 13.

G. -- Develop Appropriate Materials.

1. ARA develop talking points and written materials that explain the issues, the proposed solution, and the process of implementation.
2. Have Task Force set to work on Kissinger Commission report in order to develop that document into material appropriate for Congressional audience.
3. Write Draft Bill and analyze BY JAN 6.
 - a. Comments due from Interagency group BY JAN 13.
 - b. Bill to Hill by FEB 10.

H. -- Institutionalize Congressional Reporting System.

1. Legislative Management Officer reports daily at management meetings on Congressional activity, attitudes, and on other related information as deemed appropriate.