

DATE 1/24/89  
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( ) CLASSIFIED TO: Confidential (12/17/85, Rev. 5)  
 ( ) DOWNGRADE TO: ( ) S or ( ) C, OADR

POLITICAL OBJECTIVES:

1. To continue humanitarian support to Nicaraguan armed resistance.
2. To obtain legislative support for providing arms to the Nicaraguan armed resistance.
3. To remove legislative restrictions on CIA advisory support to the Nicaraguan armed resistance.
4. To build international support for U.S. policies in Central America.

PSYCHOLOGICAL CLIMATE

Daniel Ortega insulted the U.S. Congress in April 1985 when he flew to Moscow immediately after Congressional rejection of aid to the Nicaraguan resistance. In June 1985, Congress approved humanitarian assistance to the Nicaraguan resistance. It did so in part because of a changed view of the Sandinista regime.

Awareness of Central America among the U.S. people remains low. Informed Americans, however, have become disenchanted with the Sandinistas. They are beginning to realize that the hard core Sandinistas have betrayed the expectations of those who allied themselves with the FSLN against Somoza. The Sandinistas themselves have contributed to this disenchantment through their military buildup; through their open alliance with the Soviets and Cubans; through severe, unreasonable, and unjustifiable restrictions of civil liberties; through arrogant and disdainful treatment of visiting Congressional delegations from the United States; and harassment of Nicaraguan employees of the United States embassy in Managua. Unless the Sandinistas suddenly reverse their policies (accept Contadora with verification), American disenchantment will probably increase.

The Sandinistas will probably mount a campaign beginning in early January to persuade Congress to withdraw support from the Nicaraguan armed resistance. The campaign will be run from the grass-roots level and directed at religious groups, the media, and special interest groups. Among likely themes they

CONFIDENTIAL

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 1/24/89  
 255 HCL

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

will probably stress the immorality of violence; Somoza background of "contra" leaders; new allegations of atrocities by "contra mercenaries; the probability of an American invasion and consequent loss of American lives; parallels with Vietnam; the Sandinista military buildup is a consequence of American support to the "contras". The Sandinistas will picture themselves as David against an American Goliath.

IMPEDIMENTS:

Organized propaganda campaign by Sandinistas and FMLN, front groups, and their supporters, including Soviet Bloc and Cubans.

International Support Groups

ADVANTAGES:

Most informed Americans are now concerned about the Sandinistas.

THEMES:

1. The FSLN is bad and getting worse. Sandinista actions portray a regime intent on installing a totalitarian communist system in Nicaragua and ignoring its commitments to the OAS.
2. The democratic opposition continues to call for a democratic alternative, for participation in the political system, and for free elections. We support this alternative.
3. The FSLN is intent on destroying the Nicaraguan opposition and is receiving massive outside help to do so.
4. Adequately supported, the democratic opposition can contribute to a democratic outcome in Nicaragua, to the national reconciliation called for in the Bishops' Pastoral letter, and to fulfillment of the commitments to the OAS and the Contadora Document of Twenty-one Objectives.

Supplementary and supporting themes:

Sandinista ties with USSR/Cuba

- Sandinista Military Buildup
- Sandinistas blocking Contadora - they oppose provisions affecting the size of their military, democratization, and national reconciliation.
- Nicaragua, a renegade nation, is clearly distinct from the other Central American countries, which are

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

-3-

democratic or moving toward democracy.

- Sandinista chic - Comandantes living a high life style while speaking of the poverty of their people.
- Corruption and drugs

Ties with PLO, Libya, and terrorists

Sandinista repression of civil rights of:

- Church groups - Catholic, Protestants (Evangelicals, Moravians), Jews
- Lawyers who defend persons charged with violating law for maintenance of public order and security.
- Nicaraguan employees of American embassy in Managua.
- Press, radio, TV
- Unions
- Private enterprise

Sandinista use of "special action" units controlled by ministries of Interior and Defense to infiltrate and assassinate opposition leaders and perpetrate atrocities against civilians to cast blame on the armed opposition.

The Opposition (stress former support for Sandinistas)

Unarmed opposition in Nicaragua

The Democratic Credentials of the Armed Opposition

Refugees and Defectors

MEDIA AND TOOLS

Op-ed pieces.

Letters to the editors

S/LPD Publications.

Speakers: Official, surrogate, defectors.

Press:

Chains such as Copley and Hearst.

Friendly organizations

Television

Morning and Sunday talk shows, evening news shows, CNN news and talk shows, CBN, including 700 Club

Radio

National: Syndicated talk shows, local/regional talk shows, direct line interviews

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

-4-

RESEARCH:

Public Opinion Polls  
Buzz words

AUDIENCES

In the United States this plan will be directed to audiences in the major media centers identified by S/LPD. Overseas it will be directed to government and political leaders, labor leaders, and the media in Europe and Latin America as selected by embassy country teams, including USIS. Domestically we will direct our efforts toward:

News Media

Editorial boards, columnists, political writers, security writers, religious writers, writers on international affairs, and radio and TV news, political, and economic commentators

Special Interest Groups

Labor organizations interested in Central America, business organizations (chambers of commerce, etc.) interested in Central America, religious organizations with interests in Central America, and think tanks, foundations, world affairs councils, etc. with interest in Central America

In addition, S/LPD, cooperating with H, will keep the Congress informed of Administration policies and events in Central America.

ACTIONS (A separate press plan is attached as annex A)

1. Identify current American attitudes toward Sandinistas, including key words, phrases, or images (such as, perhaps, Soviet-Cuban connection, Marxists, religious repression) that affect those attitudes. Action: WH Research; due Jan. 23, 1986.
2. Major speech by Assistant Secretary Abrams spelling out policy toward Nicaragua. Action: ARA; due Feb. 15, or about two weeks before vote on democratic opposition aid bill.
3. Media blitz: ARA and S/LPD staffers call editorial boards in key media centers to update them on U.S. policy toward Nicaragua. Action: ARA; day of and day following Abrams speech.
4. Congressional testimony by Miguel Castellanos detailing forms of Sandinista support to Salvadoran guerrillas and Salvadoran guerrillas terrorist activities. Action: S/LPD and private sector groups; due: end January.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

-5-

5. Release series of one pagers on Nicaragua. Subjects: The Nicaraguan Armed Resistance, Its Leadership; The Sandinista Leadership; The Nicaraguan Armed Resistance and Human Rights; The Nicaraguan Armed Resistance, Who Are They?; Press Censorship in Nicaragua; Religious Repression in Nicaragua; Sandinista Repression of the Catholic Church; Sandinista Repression of Protestant Groups; Sandinista Repression of Civil Rights; The Sandinista Economy; The Sandinista Military Buildup; Humanitarian Assistance to the Nicaraguan Armed Resistance; Failure of the Sandinista Health and Literacy Programs, Nicaraguan Refugees in Costa Rica and Honduras; Life Styles of the Sandinista Comandantes; Democracy and Dictatorship in Central America; ICJ: Nicaragua vs. United States; Sandinistas and Terrorism. Action: S/LPD; due one per week beginning first week in January.

6. Preparation of resource packets for Congressional debate on aid to the Nicaraguan Resistance. Packet themes: The Nicaraguan Resistance; Sandinista Repression of Civil Rights; Sandinistas Repression of Religious Groups in Nicaragua; Minority Groups (Miskitos, Sumos, Ramas, Creoles) under the Sandinistas; Sandinista Military Buildup; the Soviet-Cuban Connection; the Sandinista Economy; Failure of the Sandinista Literacy and Public Health Programs; Sandinistas and Education; Nicaraguan Refugees in Costa Rica and Honduras; Life Styles of the Sandinista Comandantes; Democracy and Dictatorship in Central America. Action: S/LPD; due one week before debate.

7. Release of From Revolution to Repression. Will be distributed with cover letters tailored to specific audiences: church groups, human rights organizations, lawyers, political scientists, journalists, etc. Action: S/LPD; due January 8.

8. One Day Conference on Central America in Department of State. Opening statement by Secretary Shultz. Guests: Leaders of special interest and public policy groups (think tanks, foundations, church groups, labor organizations, Indian and black organizations, academics) with special interest in Latin America. Action: S/LPD; due February 14.

9. Private sector groups sponsor speaking tour of Alvaro Baldizon, Mateo Guerrero, Jimmy Hassan (Campus Crusade for Christ) to talk about persecution of non-Sandinista organizations in Nicaragua. Will attempt to speak in churches in key media centers. Action: S/LPD with private sector groups; tour begins February 17.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

-6-

10. Speaker programs. ARA, PA, and S/LPD will continue their ongoing programs of supplying speakers on Central America upon request. Because of shortage of qualified speakers, preference will be given to requests from key media centers and to requests for speakers on Nicaragua. Action: Coordination by PA; ongoing.

11. Op-ed Pieces and Letters to the Editors  
S/LPD will designate a coordinator to review the Media Roundup daily and to identify materials requiring a response. Coordinator will encourage private sector groups to draft and send responses. When necessary, S/LPD will draft the response and request private sector individuals or key government officials to sign the piece, as appropriate. Action: S/LPD designate Coordinator by Jan. 2, 1986.

12. Talk Shows  
On the weekend immediately prior to Congressional debate on humanitarian assistance to the Nicaraguan Resistance, S/LPD, working with PA and WH Press Office, will arrange to get key administration officials on talk shows.  
Action: S/LPD; due two weeks before debate.

13. Expand distribution of earlier S/LPD publications. New additions to S/LPD distribution list will be sent publications not previously sent to them. Action: S/LPD; due February 1.

14. President calls selected congressman beginning two days prior to vote on assistance to the Nicaraguan Resistance.  
Action: WH Congressional Liaison, with support from H and S/LPD.

15. Distribution of Human Costs of Communism. Action: S/LPD; due March 10.

16. Distribution of 72 Hour Document With Introduction.  
Action: S/LPD; due Jan. 15.

17. Distribution of Nicaragua Economic Paper. Action: S/LPD; due Feb. 15.

18. 35 mm. Slide presentation on Central America. Action: S/LPD; due Jan. 15.

19. Distribution of Nicaragua and Cuba -- Drugs. Action: S/LPD; due Mar. 1.

20. Distribution of In Their Own Words--Former Sandinistas Tell Their Story. Action: S/LPD; due Feb. 1.

CONFIDENTIAL

21. Distribution of Nicaragua in Quotes. Action: S/LPD; due Jan. 15.
22. Distribution of Free Fire Zones in Nicaragua. Action: S/LPD; due March 1.
23. Distribution of Cuba's Terrorist Network: How Cuba Supports Subversion. Action: S/LPD; due Jan. 20.
24. Distribution of revised Soviet-Cuban Connection. Action: S/LPD, due January 31.
25. Distribution of Inside the Sandinista Regime: A Special Investigator's Perspective. Action: S/LPD; due February 1.
26. Update Democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean. Action: ARA due in February just after Costa Rican elections.
27. Secretary Shultz meet with presidents of Core Four to demonstrate solidarity and U.S. willingness not to impose its policies but to work jointly with those governments. Meeting to take place one month prior to Congressional debate on support to Nicaraguan rebels. Action: S; plan due Jan. 15.
28. Visits by Central American presidents-elect (or newly inaugurated presidents) from Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica. Purpose: demonstrate democratic progress in the democratic process and U.S. support to that process. Action: ARA; due as appropriate prior to vote on support to the Nicaraguan rebels.
29. White House Conference on Central America which would include remarks by the President, Secretaries Shultz and Weinberger, NSC Advisor Poindexter, and Assistant Secretary Abrams. Conference could conclude with a reception at which UNO leaders would appear informally. The reception could be hosted by a private organization. Action: WH; due at appropriate time prior to vote.
30. San Jose Declaration. On March 1, first anniversary of the declaration, have a key Administration figure make an address or statement on the need for a dialogue of national reconciliation in Nicaragua, as has been requested repeatedly by the opposition and the Catholic Church in Nicaragua. Statement will mention the willingness of UNO to lay down their arms, the Sandinista rejection of all dialogue and Sandinista rejection of Contadora. UNO leaders will be encouraged to meet somewhere and issue a new declaration. Action: ARA; plan due Feb. 1.

CONFIDENTIAL

-3-

31. Lay public relations groundwork for a reduction in the size of our embassy and possible rupture in relations with Nicaragua. Action: S/LPD; separate plan due January 15.
32. Encourage UNO to undertake a public affairs campaign to improve its image in the United States, Europe, and Latin America. Action: NSC as early as possible.
33. Congressional hearings on human rights in Nicaragua in February or early March, before aid vote. Action: H, HA.

CONFIDENTIAL



## TIME LINE: NINETY DAY PLAN

12/15/85 - 12/31/85

1. Identify current American attitudes toward Sandinistas, including key words, phrases, or images (such as, perhaps, Soviet-Cuban connection, Marxists, religious repression) that affect those attitudes. Action: WH Research; due Jan. 2, 1986.
2. Encourage UNO to undertake a public affairs campaign to improve its image in the United States, Europe, and Latin America. Action: NSC as early as possible.

1/1/86 -1/15/86

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4. Release series of one pagers on Nicaragua. Subjects: The Nicaraguan Armed Resistance, Its Leadership; The Sandinista Leadership; The Nicaraguan Armed Resistance and Human Rights; The Nicaraguan Armed Resistance, Who Are They?; Press Censorship in Nicaragua; Religious Repression in Nicaragua; Sandinista Repression of the Catholic Church; Sandinista Repression of Protestant Groups; Sandinista Repression of Civil Rights; The Sandinista Economy; The Sandinista Military Buildup; Humanitarian Assistance to the Nicaraguan Armed Resistance; Failure of the Sandinista Health and Literacy Programs, Nicaraguan Refugees in Costa Rica and Honduras; Life Styles of the Sandinista Comandantes; Democracy and Dictatorship in Central America; ICJ: Nicaragua vs. United States; Sandinistas and Terrorism. Action: S/LPD; due one per week beginning first week in January.
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CONFIDENTIAL

-10-

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to take place one month prior to Congressional debate on  
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1/16/86 - 1/31/86

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2/1/86 -2/14/86

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16. Distribution of In Their Own Words--Former Sandinistas  
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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

-11-

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2/15/86 - 2/28/86

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3/1/86 - 3/15/86

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27. Distribution of Nicaragua and Cuba -- Drugs. Action: S/LPD; due Mar. 1.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

-12-

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ONGOING:

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