

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR F00-072 #4182

BY CN NARA DATE 9/5/06

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

7100
CHRON FILE
~~SECRET~~

SY II 90832

~~SECRET~~

July 28, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
THE CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

SUBJECT: Next Steps in Central America

My policies for the achievement of our goals in Central America are thoroughly elaborated in previous NSDDs. Recently, as an adjunct of these policies, I authorized efforts to renew a high-level dialogue with the Government of Nicaragua. My purposes were to determine whether such a dialogue might facilitate progress toward our four basic goals for the relationship and also to explore whether Nicaragua might agree, over time, to a regional accommodation as contained in the Contadora 21 points. I continue to believe that these exchanges can be of value. (S)

As we move from procedural to substantive issues, our negotiator, Ambassador Shlaudeman, should seek over time to develop a calendar of reciprocal steps which if agreed in toto by the Core Four countries and Nicaragua could form the basis of a multi-lateral treaty. As Ambassador Shlaudeman works toward this end, he is to be guided by certain principles. (S)

A. Globality: No commitments should be made to implement any step in the sequence of reciprocal steps until negotiations have been completed and agreement reached on all steps. (S)

B. Links to Contadora: It is essential that our efforts be, and be seen to be, directly related to the Contadora process. Specifically, in advancing positions we must have the support of the Contadora countries and in particular the Core Four. (S)

C. Verification: Given the "unilateral enforcing nature" of any agreement for us, but not for Nicaragua, we must assure verification provisions which are effective and which the Core Four countries indicate are completely acceptable to them. (S)

D. Protecting the U.S. Position in Central America: We must use the talks to safeguard our strategic political and military position in Central America. Specifically, we should (1) take no action which would interfere with the ability of the U.S. military to operate, exercise, or respond to the

~~SECRET~~

Declassify: OADR

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

threats in the region from or through Nicaragua and threats from the Soviets or Cuba not involving Nicaragua; (2) keep Cuba, Soviets, and the U.N. out of the negotiating process; (3) assure that interim stages are time-limited to maintain our flexibility and are contingent upon satisfactory compliance by Nicaragua; and (4) ensure that the talks are limited to Central America and in no way impinge on U.S. treaty obligations with, or presence in, Panama. (S)

Ambassador Shlaudeman is further directed to make a special effort to increase the real and perceived involvement of the Core Four countries, such as by seeking to establish regular visible meetings of the four foreign ministers together at which the status of the talks would be assessed and next steps agreed. As a variant, perhaps Contadora "perm reps" could be designated to meet routinely as a standing advisory body. These are only ideas. The objective is to establish a visible functioning regional process of multilateral diplomacy. (S)

At the next meeting with Nicaraguan representatives, July 31-August 1, Ambassador Shlaudeman should proceed as follows:

1) Raise and seek Nicaraguan comment on and agreement to the end-situation objectives described previously in the June 25-26 talks in Manzanillo. (S)

2) Seek Nicaraguan agreement to pursuit and joint development of a calendar of reciprocal steps to be taken by the Central American and Contadora nations and the United States that would create the environment for a successful outcome of the Contadora process. (S)

3) Discuss the methodology behind development of a calendar of reciprocal steps. Do not provide details of specific steps beyond the description of categories previously provided. Do not state or imply that implementation of first steps can be begun before negotiations are completed on all steps. (S)

Ronald Reagan

cc: The Vice President

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~