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TO PRESIDENT REAGAN THE WHITE HOUSE  
INFO MR MCFARLANE NSC THE WHITE HOUSE  
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SINCE THE NICARAGUANS STATED THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE CONTADORA DRAFT TREATY, OUR EFFORTS WITH OUR CENTRAL AMERICAN FRIENDS TO IMPROVE THAT DRAFT HAVE BECOME ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT. AS YOU KNOW, GEORGE SCHULTZ, AS WELL AS A FOLLOW-ON WORKING LEVEL TEAM, HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING US-PROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS OF THE DRAFT WITH SALVADOR AND OTHER CENTRAL AMERICANS.

EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS, COSTA RICA, AND GUATEMALA DO NOT YET HAVE A UNITED POSITION ON THE IMPORTANT IMPROVEMENTS THAT, IN OUR VIEW, WOULD BE NEEDED FOR THE CONTADORA AGREEMENT. IN ADDITION, WE HAVE SOME IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES STILL IN WASHINGTON AS TO WHAT CHANGES WE SHOULD URGE OUR FRIENDS TO INSIST ON.

THE CONTADORA AGREEMENT CAN CREATE GREAT RISKS FOR OUR SECURITY INTEREST IN CENTRAL AMERICA, EVEN IF THE CURRENTLY PROPOSED US REVISIONS WERE ACCEPTED BY OUR CENTRAL AMERICAN FRIENDS AND BY NICARAGUA. IT WILL SEVERELY LIMIT OUR MILITARY PRESENCE, REQUIRE US TO CLOSE THE REGIONAL MILITARY TRAINING CENTER IN HONDURAS, CUT OFF ANY AND ALL AID THROUGH HONDURAS AND COSTA RICA FOR THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, AND BEGIN TO FREE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR NICARAGUA. IN EXCHANGE, NICARAGUA IS SUPPOSED TO HOLD GENUINE ELECTIONS, STOP ITS AID TO THE INSURGENTS IN EL SALVADOR, GET RID OF MOST OF THE CUBANS, AND CUT BACK IT'S ARMED FORCES.

FORTY YEARS OF EXPERIENCE WITH SUCH AGREEMENTS WITH COMMUNIST REGIMES--IN EASTERN EUROPE, KOREA, INDOCHINA--TELLS US THAT THE COMMUNIST SIDE WILL BEYOND EVERY EFFORT TO MAINTAIN, OR IF POSSIBLE EXPAND, THEIR POWER BASE, AND FILE INGENUOUSLY CONCEALING THEIR VIOLATIONS. THIS PUTS AN ENORMOUS BURDEN ON THE VERIFICATION ORGANIZATION TO BE ESTABLISHED BY CONTADORA. FOR EXAMPLE, NICARAGUA MIGHT RE-INVITE THE CUBANS, IMPORT MORE SOVIET ARMS, AND AID THE EL SALVADOR INSURGENTS--ALL CAREFULLY CONCEALED--WHILE THE VERIFICATION COMMISSION WOULD BLAME COSTA RICA FOR HARBORING SOME REMNANTS OF PASTORA'S FREEDOM FIGHTERS. MEANWHILE, OUR HANDS WOULD BE TIED BY THE AGREEMENT. UNLESS THE VERIFICATION ORGANIZATION IS RUN BY COURAGEOUS PEOPLE WHO WILL VIGOROUSLY SEEK OUT AND INTERDICT SANDINISTA VIOLATIONS WITHOUT OVERLOOKING SOME INADVERTENT TRANSGRESSIONS THAT MAY HAVE OCCURRED IN COSTA RICA OR HONDURAS, THE PUBLIC AND CONGRESS WILL HAVE A CONFUSED PICTURE, MAKING IT HARD FOR YOU TO GET CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR US TO ACT.

IN LIGHT OF THESE RISKS AND THE RATHER UNPROBABLE GAINS FROM A HASTILY SIGNED CONTADORA AGREEMENT, I RECOMMEND THAT WE USE OUR INFLUENCE WITH OUR CENTRAL AMERICAN FRIENDS CAREFULLY TO STRENGTHEN THE TREATY FURTHER AND TO DELAY THE SIGNING TILL WE ARE SURE WHERE WE WILL STAND.

RESPECTFULLY,

CLY VEINBERGER

#8801

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