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LETTER DATED 5 NOVEMBER 1982 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF NICARAGUA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have pleasure in transmitting the text of the message addressed to you as President of the Security Council by His Excellency Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua:

"Once again our Government finds it necessary to appeal to the Council through you in its concern about the grave situation prevailing in Central America, which is increasingly tending to endanger international peace and security.

"We have repeatedly reported to you the constant violations of our territorial integrity and sovereignty, all caused by the intransigence of the present United States administration, which refuses to recognize the right of every State to exercise self-determination and choose its own destiny.

"In March of this year our Head of State, Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega Saavedra, reported to the Council on the threats then confronting Nicaragua. Our intention in so doing was not only to warn the international community of the aggression to which we were being subjected but also to seek, with the participation and active involvement of the Security Council, to open the way to serious and constructive dialogue. On that occasion, unfortunately, a draft resolution submitted by Panama and Guyana, whose sole purpose was, without mentioning anyone, to secure full respect for the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter was vetoed, and on that same occasion one of the permanent members of the Council, the very one that vetoed the draft resolution, the United States, would not or could not provide an official assurance of its willingness not to participate in covert operations against Nicaragua.

"In the months that followed we have made a number of complaints to the Security Council and also within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, since the military aggression, instead of ceasing, had intensified both quantitatively and qualitatively. The aggression was no longer a matter of isolated and sporadic actions by small groups but became, with the backing of

the present United States administration and training from the Central Intelligence Agency, activities that form part of a gradual, silent invasion in which actions by former members of the Somoza régime's guard are combined with harassment by the Honduran army, aimed at protecting them, and with the joint military manoeuvres which have repeatedly been organized by the army of that country and the strategic forces of the United States army.

"It must be pointed out here that these manoeuvres have been used, inter alia, to move thousands of tons of weapons and munitions which are intended to become a logistic resource of the counter-revolutionary military units, made up of former guard troops and mercenaries and trained by the Central Intelligence Agency. They have also been used to mobilize troops and establish Honduran army camps at various points on the frontier, and these movements and the places involved coincide, significantly, with those of the counter-revolutionary military units which are also located in Honduran territory.

"Moreover, since mid-1982, we may say from July 1982 onwards, the counter-revolutionary units were concentrated in Honduran territory, including those that had been within our territory, with a view to converting them, through special intensive training and through more efficient military equipment - FAL rifles, M-79 grenade-launchers, LAW rocket-launchers, foul-weather clothing manufactured in the United States, concentrated foods, etc. - into genuine counter-revolutionary military units that could act as regular troops and be used for various forms of conventional warfare. At present all of them have been transferred to camps right on the frontier and others have been infiltrated into Nicaragua.

"In this connection, attention must be drawn to the expansion and development of the Honduran armed forces since 1982, this being made possible by the economic support and military advice of the United States, which at present has over 120 military advisers who are imparting to the senior and middle-level military staff of Honduras the offensive doctrine which characterizes the United States army.

"My Government has recently published a book entitled Nicaragua Denuncia which gives an account of all the acts of aggression and violations of its sovereignty to which it has been subjected from 1980 to 1982, and in due course we shall make it available to members of the Council. In it they will be able to find detailed evidence that we have been subjected to 429 acts of aggression from Honduras the effect of which on our people has been the loss of 324 of its best citizens, killed, missing and wounded, and to 127 violations of air space by unidentified aircraft, 81 attacks against manned frontier posts in Nicaraguan territory, 9 cattle-stealing operations and 36 ambushes against troops of the Sandinista People's Army and the Sandinista People's Militias. Those activities were supported by the Honduran army with 65 acts of aggression and nine incidents between vessels of the two countries, resulting in the capture of 11 Honduran guards and vessels of that country, both vessels and soldiers being released almost immediately. None of this could have happened if it had not been for the intransigence of the current United States administration with regard to a dialogue and the covert operations of the Central Intelligence Agency.

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"Today we wish to draw your attention and that of the other members of the Council to recent articles published in the United States press, especially Newsweek and The New York Times, which prove the existence of a plan to destabilize a legally constituted Government, in clear violation of the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States, non-use of force to settle disputes and other norms of peaceful co-existence enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

"These articles confirm our accusations with regard to the training and supply operations which the United States is carrying out with its allies in the region, and explain the systematic refusal of both the United States and Honduras to negotiate and their de facto rejection of the latest joint initiative of the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela. They likewise offer clear evidence of the level of involvement of the Government of the United States in the Central American region, in complicity with important sectors of the Honduran Government and army, inevitably giving rise to a climate of war and terror which they are trying to exploit against my country.

"Naturally, we are not reassured by statements made in reply to the Newsweek article by United States officials in which, with the utmost cynicism, they admit to involvement in destabilization plans but say that they are only supporting small-scale military operations against Nicaragua, nor are we reassured by statements of Mr. John Hughes, spokesman for the Department of State, affirming that it is not the role of the United States to subvert any legitimate Government, for in reality they are promoting, encouraging and carrying out military actions against us, a contradiction which it is difficult to explain.

"My Government is concerned that aggression on a larger scale could quickly be prepared, leading to open warfare between Honduras and Nicaragua, especially considering that the forthcoming joint military manoeuvres of the United States and Honduras, which are to be held in December of this year and which were reported by the Washington Post on 17 October 1982, constitute a serious threat and a blatant provocation against my country. The fact that they were recently postponed we regard not as an indication that the United States is seeking peace but as a tactical manoeuvre to demonstrate, especially after the Newsweek article, that that country is not involved in broad-scale activities against Nicaragua, particularly now that preparations are being made for President Reagan's trip to various Latin American countries.

"Before concluding, I must mention in this context of aggression threatening Nicaragua, again reported by the United States press, the statements of Ambassador Edelman, Deputy Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, who in exercising his right of reply to the statement of Minister Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann before the General Assembly said, inter alia, that the United States constitutes no threat to the sovereignty and independence of any nation in the region and that our allegations and accusations against it are unfounded. We are accustomed to hearing such statements from various officials of the Department of State, including Assistant Secretary Enders, but unfortunately their words are contradicted by deeds, and instead of seeking dialogue they call for meetings at which they supposedly search for peace but which exclude Nicaragua. /...

"In conclusion, I wish only to stress again the dedication to peace of my Government and my people, which have made the utmost efforts to eliminate tensions in the region and thus to preclude the possibility of a regional conflagration. We hope that the others, the ones who are encouraging and promoting the adoption of warlike positions, will allow themselves to be guided by prudence and will spare our afflicted region greater sacrifices. We also hope that the United States will agree to the dialogue first proposed nearly two years ago and will declare, and at the same time carry out categorically, its intention not to undertake or oversee, directly or indirectly, destabilizing operations against Nicaragua. We likewise hope that our Honduran brothers and neighbours will reflect on the matter and decide not to continue serving foreign interests, and that we may sit down to a dialogue, at the highest level, concerning the bilateral problems existing between our two countries.

"We demand respect for the right of our people to self-determination, just as we for our part respect the right to self-determination of other peoples, especially our neighbours. We are fighting and will continue to fight for peace, and it is our hope that peace will prevail in Central America."

(Signed) Miguel D'ESCOYO BROCKMANN

We should be grateful if you would have this note and its annexes circulated as a document of the Security Council because we consider it of the greatest importance that both you and the members of the Council and the international community should be aware of the serious situation which exists and its possible consequences.

(Signed) Javier CHAMORRO MORA
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of Nicaragua
to the United Nations

ANNEX I

ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1982

U.S. BACKING RAIDS AGAINST NICARAGUA

BUT OFFICIALS INSIST THEIR SCOPE
IS LIMITED AND NOT AIMED
AT TOPPLING SANDINISTS

BY PHILIP TAUBMAN
SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1-- The United States is supporting small-scale clandestine military operations against Nicaragua intended to harass but not to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government, senior Reagan Administration officials said today.

The officials denied a report in Newsweek magazine that the Central Intelligence Agency was trying by covert means to topple the leftist Government in Managua.

A senior national security official insisted that the scope of clandestine operations was limited to hit-and-run raids into Nicaragua by small paramilitary units based in Honduras, skirmishes with Nicaraguan troops along the Honduran border, and financial support for political opponents of the Sandinist Government.

The official said that no Americans were directly involved in the paramilitary operations, but acknowledge that the C.I.A. was providing money and military equipment to the units. He added that Americans were also helping to train the anti-Sandinist forces, which are made up primarily of Nicaraguan refugees.

Within Limits of Plan

The official contended that the military and financial aid fell within the limits of an overall plan for covert operations in Central America approved by President Reagan almost a year ago.

The plan, parts of which were disclosed in press accounts earlier this year, called for formation of a small paramilitary unit in Honduras to interdict Cuban supply lines to guerrillas in neighboring El Salvador and financial support for moderate political and business institutions and leaders in Nicaragua, according to Administration officials.

"We are not waging a secret war, or anything approaching that," a senior intelligence official said. "What we are doing is trying to keep Managua off balance and apply pressure to stop providing military aid to the insurgents in El Salvador."

Administration officials reacted strongly to assertions in Newsweek that the covert operations were "out of control" and that an expansion of the activities had been "improvised" by the American Ambassador in Honduras, John D. Negroponte.

Cleared With Washington

"Negroponte, as the chief of mission, oversees the operations, but nothing is done without clearing it in Washington first," a senior intelligence official said.

Some Administration officials have advocated a more ambitious effort against the Sandinist Government, which seized power in 1979 after overthrowing the Government of Gen. Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

But Mr. Reagan and other top officials reportedly rejected the use of greater force partly because they considered it potentially counterproductive to overall American policy, and partly because intelligence officials said that the C.I.A. did not have adequate resources to undertake a major paramilitary operation.

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The result, some Administration officials said, was a limited covert operation, designed to sting but not incapacitate the Sandinists.

According to national security officials, the clandestine military activities were to have been supervised primarily by Argentina, which had organized anti-Sandinist paramilitary forces in Honduras 18 months ago, before the American involvement.

Initially, Argentina did take the lead in supplying and directing the units, which number 2,000 to 4,000 men, dispersed in several camps along the Honduras-Nicaragua border, according to American officials. But Argentine assistance waned after disputes developed between American and Argentine advisers and after the United States supported Britain in its war with Argentina over the Falkland Islands, Administration officials said.

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ANNEX II

The Washington Post

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SUNDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1982

Higher in Areas Approximately 75 Miles
From District of Columbia (See Box on A2)

105th Year

No. 316

U.S. Presses Honduran War Game

Massive Exercise Meant to Intimidate Nearby Nicaragua

By Christopher Dickey
Washington Post Foreign Service

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras—A joint U.S.-Honduran military exercise of unprecedented scale is being planned here with the aim of intimidating Nicaragua's revolutionary government, according to government and diplomatic sources. But there is growing concern that it could accidentally touch off a real war between the Central American countries.

"It's certainly going to rattle their cages," said one man familiar with the operation, tentatively scheduled for December.

The U.S. Army, Air Force and Navy will participate in what are described as support functions that could involve several hundred American soldiers. U.S. initiatives in the planning have drawn some criticism from Hondurans involved.

Honduran troop movements are supposed to take place throughout the country, but these sources said the main action is to be around Mororon—the site of a new military base as well as a camp of more than 9,000 Nicaraguan Miskito Indian refugees—in isolated eastern Honduras close to the Nicaraguan border.

The section of Nicaragua to the immediate south of the operation site is wracked by periodic fighting between Managua's troops and anti-Sandinista rebels, including Miskito Indians, allegedly supported out of Honduran base camps.

Usually reliable sources involved with the planning of the maneuver, which has tentatively been given the Miskito name of Ahuas Tara, meaning Big Pine, say a propaganda "smoke screen" will be an important part of the operation.

The Hondurans normally conduct military exercises twice a year, and a program of joint exercises with the United States known as "Falcon View" has been going on for years. But military spokesmen say that Ahuas Tara is new, and much bigger than those operations.

According to sources familiar with Ahuas Tara, planning for the operation began as a relatively modest variation on the regular summer maneuvers for August, which were postponed because of floods.

In the interim, the scope of the operation increased dramatically. The maneuver is expected to last about five days and consist of the simulated rescue of a large garrison

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surrounded by an enemy incursion. Nicaragua has expressed concern that the purpose is to prepare for an invasion or to provide cover for stepped-up operations by anti-Sandinista rebels.

A source who works closely with both the U.S. Embassy and the government suggested that there is growing resentment on the part of some Honduran military officers because of what they see as the increasing interference of American "civilians" or intelligence agents in the planning of the maneuvers.

"Hondurans wanted to improve its armed forces. The civilians want to use the operation for other purposes. They want to make it a big thing, to send a signal to Nicaragua," said one Honduran official.

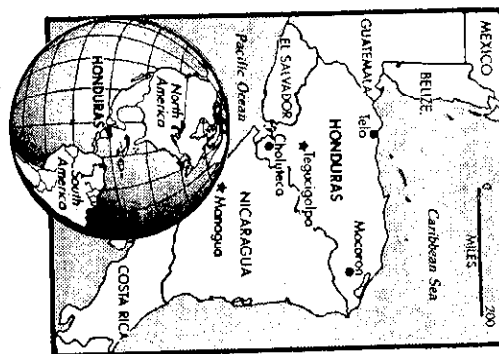
Sources here insist that the operation is not meant to be an incursion, but a substantial feint near the border to convince the Sandinistas—as one official put it—"that they will be finished" if they do not bend to the general line adopted by Washington and Honduras.

The Hondurans, even some who would like nothing more than to march on Managua, appear to have much less confidence than the Nicaraguans in Washington's support for such a war.

"We have studied your history," one Honduran officer told an American reporter, alluding to Washington's reluctance when it comes to committing money or men that would be needed to wage a war. "We have to wonder if the United States is serious here or just fooling around. We tend to think now that it is just fooling around."

Military sources here say that any invasion of Nicaragua would have to be massive and quick. "It can't be a pinprick," said a senior U.S. military officer. "If they [the Hondurans] do something they'll have to go all out. Nicaragua is going to be very strong in two years."

Despite an almost 10-fold increase in military aid to Honduras since 1980, Washington has not given this country the kinds of military resources that the Honduran Army



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U.S.-Honduran War Game Designed to Intimidate Nicaraguans

feels it would need to mount a full-scale invasion.

This realization, according to military sources, has tended to diminish the ardor for "cutting out the cancer" of Nicaragua that many Honduran officers have talked about almost since the leftist Sandinista government took over there in 1979.

What has been created, in terms of conventional warfare, is a balance of power in which neither side has a clearcut advantage.

Nicaragua's regular Army is the biggest in Central America. By most estimates its size has remained at about 23,000 men and women for more than a year. The Honduran Army has about 16,000.

The relative strengths or weaknesses inherent in armored vehicles, in naval patrol boats and other factors are argued inconclusively, but the essential pattern has been for Nicaragua's strength to be in numbers of infantry and Honduras' in its Air Force.

The advantage Honduras held in air power with 15 French-design Super-Mystere jet fighters acquired from Israel several years ago has been largely neutralized by the Nicaraguans' acquisition of highly mobile ground-to-air rocket systems, diplomatic sources report.

As the war of nerves has escalated, both Managua and Tegucigalpa appear to have encouraged irregular forces and rebels to step up their activity. Anti-Sandinista rebel groups work out of base camps in Honduras. Cinchonero leftist guerrillas and other terrorist organizations in Honduras have connections to Managua.

The "counterrevolutionary" forces operating into Nicaragua, said one Honduran officer, also serve the purpose of prodding Sandinista defenses. Each side officially denies that it helps subversives working against the other.

It's against this background that

Washington has stepped up concrete military demonstrations of support for the Tegucigalpa government.

In July, the U.S. Air Force moved more than 900 Honduran troops to the new military base at Mocoron in a highly publicized operation. At the same time, four U.S. minesweepers paid courtesy calls on Honduran ports. In late August, the landing-ship dock USS Portland stopped at the port of Tela.

A senior U.S. officer here said the visit was "routine" and "there's no political reason for it," but added, "I guess the Nicaraguans had reason to holler, with 608 sailors and marines only 300 miles away."

The officer said that until recently there was at most one U.S. Navy courtesy call a year in Honduras.

The Sandinistas have said repeatedly they will not be provoked into an armed conflict with Honduras. Nevertheless, they prepare for such a contingency and reportedly have moved up large troop concentrations.

The balance is delicate and dangerous, raising calls for a negotiated solution from Mexico, Venezuela and other countries before a miscalculation or provocation leads to a war that could engulf the region.

According to sources familiar with awaited maneuvers, when Washington argued that the operation should be conducted in the western region around Choluteca—where an invasion would move right into the economic heart of Nicaragua—the Hondurans refused, reportedly because of the high population density there.

On a recent afternoon, things were quiet at the garrison of the Mocoron Task Force in the midst of remote pine barrens surrounded by marsh. A guard at the gate stood idly scribbling verse in a battered notebook: "Oh forgotten corner of Honduras, now filled with valiant soldiers . . ."