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尼加拉瓜常驻联合国代表
给安全理事会主席的信

谨转递尼加拉瓜外交部长米格尔·德埃斯科托·布罗克曼阁下给安全理事会主席的信：

“我国政府担心中美洲当前局势严重，有迅速危及国际和平与安全的趋势，再次认为有必要通过你写信给这个崇高的机构。

“我们曾经多次通知阁下，我国的领土完整和主权不断遭受侵犯，而所有这些行为都是美国现任政府不妥协的态度所造成的，因为该国政府不承认每个国家有权实行自决并选择自己的前途。

“我国元首，革命指挥官，丹尼尔·奥尔特加·萨维德拉今年三月曾向你报告当时尼加拉瓜遭受的威胁。我们这样做，不但要让国际社会知道我们遭受的侵略，同时也要安全理事会参与并采取行动，寻找走向认真和建设性对话的道路。可惜当时巴拿马和圭亚那提出的一项决议草案被否决，该决议草案中没有提及任何一国，只要求充分尊重《联合国宪章》所规定的原则。当时安理会一个常任理事国，就是否决了决议草案的那个国家，亦即美国，既不愿意也不能够正式保证不参与对尼加拉瓜进行的秘密活动。

“在随后的几个月中，我们曾向安全理事会屡次提出报告，并求助于不结盟国家运动，因为军事侵略不但没有结束，反而在数量上和质量上都有增无减。这已不再是小队人马进行的零星分散的行动，在美国政府的支持和中央情报局的训练下，已变成一种默默逐步进行的侵略的一部份的活动，其中除了以前索摩查警卫队的活动之外，还加上洪都拉斯军队为保护他们而进行的骚扰活动，此外还有该国军队和美军战略部队屡次举行的联合军事演习。

“在此应该指出，这些演习的作用，除了别的以外，就是运输几千吨的武器和弹药，供给由前警卫队员和雇佣兵组成而由中央情报局训练的反革命军事部队，作为后勤资源使用。这些演习的另外一个作用就是动员洪都拉斯部队和在边界各个地点设立营地，值得注意的是，这些部队的调动和驻扎地点与反革命军事部队的营地恰恰相同，而反革命军事部队也在洪都拉斯领土内。

“自今年年中，可以说自1982年7月起，反革命集团包括以前在我国领土内的反革命集团，都集结在洪都拉斯领土内，目的就是经过一番特别和严格的训练，同时以更充足的军事装备（例如FAL步枪、M-79枪榴弹发射器、LAW火箭发射器、美国制造的适合恶劣天气使用的衣服、浓缩食品等），使他们变成真正反革命军事部队，可以从事正规部队的活动，利用他们进行各种形式的常规战争。目前，所有这些部队都被调到同一条边界上的许多营地，其他的部队则已渗入尼加拉瓜境内。

“在这种情况下，应指出重要的一点，即洪都拉斯武装部队从1982年开始扩大和发展，这是因为它得到美国的经济支持和军事顾问的指导，目前美国有120多名军事顾问向洪都拉斯的中级将领和参谋人员灌输美国军队独特的攻击理论。

“最近，我国政府出版了一本书，书名是《尼加拉瓜的指控》，书中简单地叙述了1980年至1982年期间种种侵犯和损害尼加拉瓜主权的事件。我们将在适当的时候，把这本书分送给安理会的成员。这本书里详细地证实我们遭受了429次来自洪都拉斯的侵略，造成324名最杰出的尼加拉瓜人的伤亡和失踪，此外还有国籍不明的飞机侵犯我们的领空达127次，尼加拉瓜境内的边防军哨所遭受攻击达81次，抢劫牲畜9次、伏击桑地诺人民军部队和桑地诺民兵部队达36次。洪都拉斯军队为支持这些行动，共发动65次侵略行为，两国船只发生9次冲突事件，结果俘获11名洪都拉斯警卫队员和该国的若干船只，但这些船只和士兵几乎立刻获释。如果不是因为美国现任政府采取顽固态度拒绝对话，如果不是因为中央情报局进行秘密活动，这一切是不会发生的。

“我们今天要请你及安理会其他成员注意美国报纸，特别是《新闻周刊》和《纽约时报》最近发表的一些文章，这些文章证实有一个企图颠覆合法政府的计划存在，这个计划是公然违反《联合国宪章》所载不干涉别国内政和不使用武力解决争端的原则以及和平共处的准则。

“这些文章证实我们指控美国与其在本地区的盟国进行训练和供应武器，是有根据的，同时也说明了为什么它和洪都拉斯一直不断采取反对谈判的态度，并且不接受墨西哥和委内瑞拉总统最近的一项共同倡议。这清楚表明美国政府同洪都拉斯政府和军队勾结，干预中美洲地区；这自然挑起一种战争恐怖气氛来破坏我国。

“美国官员非常讥诮地答复《新闻周刊》的文章，承认美国卷入颠覆行为，但只是支持小规模军事行动，对抗尼加拉瓜，这些话当然不能使我们安心；同样的，国务院发言人约翰·休斯先生说，美国不会颠覆任何合法政府，这些话当然也不能使我们安心，因为美国实际上是在具体地促进、鼓励和采取军事行动攻击我们，这种言行间的矛盾根本无以解释。

“我国政府担心的是，短期内会发生大规模的侵略，导致洪都拉斯和尼加拉瓜之间的公开战争，特别是美国和洪都拉斯预定在今年十二月举行联合军事演习——《华盛顿邮报》最近10月17日发表此一消息——这是对我国的严重威胁和公开挑衅。最近说延期举行此项演习，我们认为这并非表示美国希望寻求和平，而只是一种策略，特别是在《新闻周刊》的文章发表以后，要表示美国并没有大规模卷入反尼加拉瓜活动，尤其是在今天，里根总统正准备访问若干拉丁美洲国家。

“在阴谋侵略尼加拉瓜的问题上——美国报纸再度发表这方面的消息——我还要提到美国驻联合国副代表阿德尔曼大使所说的话，他在对米格尔·德埃斯科托·布罗克曼部长在大会的发言行使答辩权时说，美国对本地区任何国家的主权和

独立，不构成任何威胁，我们的说词和指控毫无根据。我们已听到过国务院许多官员说这类的话，包括副国务卿恩德斯在内；但不幸的是，这些话同事实完全两回事，美国不但没有寻求对话，反而提倡一些所谓寻求和平的会议，都不让尼加拉瓜参加。

“最后，主席先生，我必须重申一点，即我国政府和人民热爱和平，一直在努力消除本地区的紧张，避免爆发区域战争。我们希望那些鼓励和提倡好战立场的国家，采取谨慎态度，免使我们这个多难的地区要作重大牺牲。我们也希望美国政府接受两年来一直倡议的对话，同时明确宣布它无意直接或间接地进行或指挥颠覆尼加拉瓜的行动。我们还希望我们的兄弟邻国洪都拉斯好好考虑，不要再被外国利益集团利用，让我们坐下来，在最高一级进行对话，讨论我们两国间现存的各种双边问题。

“我们要求尊重我们人民的自决权利，同时我们也尊重别国人民、特别是我们邻国人民的自决权利。我们现在和将来都为和平进行斗争，我们希望中美洲实现和平。

米格尔·德埃斯科托·布罗克曼（签名）”

谨请将本信及其附件作为安全理事会的文件散发，因为极端重要的是，必须让阁下和安理会成员以及国际社会明了当前的严重局势及其可能后果。

尼加拉瓜常驻联合国代表

大使

哈维尔·查莫罗·莫拉（签名）

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.

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.

The Washington Post

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1982

Higher in Areas Approximately 75 Mils
From District of Columbia (See Box on

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 Mororan—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

See HONDURAS, A12; Col. 1, 2, 3

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.

"Honduras 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.

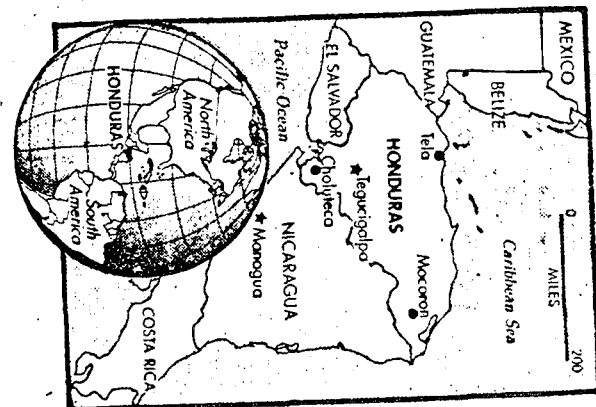
Sources here insist that the operation is not meant to be an incursion, but a substantial feint near the border to convince the Sandinistas— as one official put it—"that they will be finished" if they do not bend to the general line adopted by Washington and Honduras.

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



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 probing Sandinista defenses. Each side officially denies that it helps subversives working against the other.

It is 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 Mococon 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 inva-

sion 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 Mococon 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 . . ."