

NICARAGUA RESOLUTION

*Appendix
VII*

FOREIGN POLICY AND PEACE COMMITTEE: EMERGENCY RESOLUTION

On Sunday, April 8, the New York Times, quoting sources in the Reagan Administration, reported ominous news on Nicaragua:

o That the US Central Intelligence Agency has supervised the planting of mines in three Nicaraguan harbors: Puerto Corinto and Puerto Sandino on the Pacific and El Bluff on the Atlantic (six ships have reportedly struck mines);

o That the U.S. is now drawing contingency plans for use of combat troops in Central America.

These developments follow closely the U.S. Senate votes on April 4/5 in which the Senate (A) rejected by a vote of 61 to 30 a motion to delete funds for Nicaraguan subversion from its Central American aid package and (B) authorized (61-19) \$21 million in funds for the Nicaraguan rebel groups supported by the CIA.

Both New York senators voted to continue the CIA subversion program.

The legislation now goes before the House, and will be considered this month. The Foreign Policy and Peace Committee therefore proposes the following as an emergency resolution:

Whereas, a year ago the Village Independent Democrats urged an immediate end to Reagan Administration subversion in Nicaragua and urged the New York Congressional delegation to initiate action to eliminate funding for subversive operations directed at the Nicaraguan government;

And whereas, the Reagan Administration has instead accelerated these subversive efforts;

And whereas the mining of shipping lanes is of such a belligerent, warlike character as to disgrace the United States of America and bring the hemisphere to the brink of war;

And whereas, the mining and subversion reflects a pattern of irresponsible Reagan Administration opposition to the efforts of Central American nations to replace brutal dictatorships with popularly supported governments;

And whereas, both New York Senators in their votes on April 4/5, supported the Administration's repressive programs

Now therefore be it resolved that the Village Independent Democrats condemn in the strongest terms the Reagan program for subversion and war in Nicaragua;

And be it further resolved that the VID urges the New York Congressional delegation to lead the fight in the House of Representatives against the funding of the subversion of Nicaragua as well as the funding of the repressive government of El Salvador;

And be it further resolved that the VID denounces the decision of the Reagan Administration to refuse to cooperate in submitting the issue to the World Court;

And be it further resolved that the VID expresses its shock and strongest possible disagreement at the votes of Senator Moynihan in supporting the Reagan Administration program of subversion and war in Central America.

The Committee also proposes to send the following letter to Senator Moynihan:

Dear Senator Moynihan:

Enclosed is a copy of a resolution in which the Village Independent Democrats expresses its sharp disagreement with your position on the funding of the Reagan Administration program of war and subversion in Central America, as represented by your votes in the Senate on April 4 and 5.

Would you please be so good as to supply us with an explanation of your position. If you wish to send a representative to present your position to this club (or, of course, to appear yourself) we would certainly provide an opportunity for a full hearing.

Sincerely yours,

VID Foreign Policy and Peace Committee
Joe Catrambone and Keith Crandell
co-chairs

NICARAGUAN FORUM PLANNED

The committee is also planning a public forum on the Nicaraguan question, tentatively scheduled for Memorial Day, May 30. WE NEED ALL THE HELP WE CAN GET!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

A Reagan Victory In Senate on Central America

The Reagan Administration got its emergency aid package for Central America through the Senate last week after two weeks of debate, and a dozen Democratic attempts to reduce, delay or place conditions on it. The provision for \$61.75 million in military funds to El Salvador and \$21 million to rebels fighting the Nicaraguan Government may have an even rougher time in the Democratic-controlled House.

Unswayed by the Administration contention that the Salvadoran Army was dangerously low on supplies, House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. said he opposed further aid. In any case, he was in no hurry to schedule debate, putting it off until after the Easter recess ends April 23. There is a split among Democrats, some favoring aid to El Salvador, others seeking at least a delay until they see who wins El Salvador's presidential runoff, tentatively scheduled for May 6.

However short the Salvadoran Army may be of such things as bullets, it reported stepped-up activity and some success last week. In an offensive in northern Chalatenango province, the Defense Ministry said, 19 guerrillas were killed and 15 wounded. In the east, a guerrilla commander named Carmelo Garcia Guevara and eight of his men were reported killed in an ambush.

Much of the Senate debate reflected fear of direct United States military involvement in Central

America. The Administration was reported to have drawn up a contingency plan to send American troops into combat if the Salvadoran Army proves unable to defeat the rebels. Talk of direct intervention may be intended to elicit more cooperation on Salvadoran aid from Congress.

According to Congressional and Administration sources, the United States is already playing a direct role on another Central American front. The Central Intelligence Agency was said to be supervising and providing equipment for the laying of mines in Nicaraguan ports as part of a strategy of economic sabotage. This was believed to be a shift from the thus far vain attempts by Nicaraguan rebels to capture and hold on to territory.

Israel Fights Terrorism

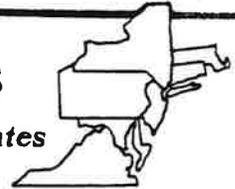
Israel attacked last week heightened tensions between Israel and Jerusalem when a grenade was thrown on a downtown West Bank shopping area, killing several people and wounding others. The other day, a truck was attacked in Jerusalem.

NY TIMES
4/8/84

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, APRIL 8, 1984

Votes in Congress

Last Week's Tally in Key Eastern States



Senate

1. A proposal to delete from the Central America aid package \$21 million for aid to the insurgents in Nicaragua. Defeated, 30-61, April 4.
2. A bill authorizing \$61.75 million in new military aid for El Salvador and \$21 million in funds for Nicaraguan rebels. Approved, 76-19, April 5.

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CONNECTICUT

Dodd (D) Y N
Weicker (R) A N

NEW JERSEY

Bradley (D) Y Y
Lautenberg (D) Y Y

DELAWARE

Roth (R) N Y
Biden (D) Y N

NEW YORK

D'Amato (R) N Y
Moynihan (D) N Y

MARYLAND

Mathias (R) N Y
Sarbanes (D) Y N

PENNSYLVANIA

Heinz (R) N Y
Specter (R) Y Y

RHODE ISLAND

Pell (D) Y N
Chafee (R) N Y

MASSACHUSETTS

Kennedy (D) Y N
Tsongas (D) Y A

VIRGINIA

Trible (R) N Y
Warner (R) N Y

NY Times 4/8/84

AMERICANS ON SHIP AID TO SUPERVISE NICARAGUA MINING

INVOLVEMENT IS ASSAILED

Actual Placement of Devices Is Reportedly Carried Out by Latin Commandos

By PHILIP TAUBMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 7 — Americans working for the Central Intelligence Agency on a ship off Nicaragua's Pacific coast have been supervising the mining of Nicaraguan harbors in recent months, according to Reagan Administration officials and members of Congress.

The sources say the mining operation marks the first time since the United States began supporting Nicaraguan rebels three years ago that Americans have become directly involved in military operations against Nicaragua.

The actual placement of the mines inside Nicaraguan territorial waters, they said, is handled by an elite group of Latin American commandos who use small, high-speed boats to penetrate shipping lanes close to shore.

'Closer to Direct Confrontation'

The officials said that unlike ground operations inside Nicaragua conducted by rebel forces, which American advisers monitor from Honduras but do not control, the planting of the mines in Nicaraguan waters directly involves Americans and is under their immediate control.

Members of the Senate and House intelligence committees said the role of the Americans constituted a significant change in C.I.A. operations against Nicaragua and, as one Democratic Senator said, "crosses a threshold that brings us closer to a direct confrontation with Nicaragua."

A spokesman for the C.I.A., Dale Petersen, said today that the agency would not comment on the mining operation or the involvement of Americans. Intelligence officials said privately that Americans involved in the mining activity do not enter Nicaraguan territorial waters.

Territorial Limits Are Disputed

Nicaragua claims territorial waters up to 200 miles off shore, but the United States respects only a 12-mile limit. The intelligence ship that carries Americans operates outside the 12-mile limit but well within the 200-mile boundary, Administration officials said. The high-speed boats travel within a mile or two of the Nicaraguan coast.

Based on the 12-mile limit respected by the United States, intelligence officials contended that Americans are not directly involved in military operations against Nicaragua but instead serve in an advisory capacity in international waters similar to the role of Americans based in Honduras who train and continue to help supervise rebel ground forces inside Nicaragua.

Members of Congress, including Democrats and Republicans, said the

fact that Americans remain outside the 12-mile limit does not lessen their responsibility for the operation.

"We have carefully monitored these activities to insure that, whatever else happened, Americans didn't get into combat-type operations against Nicaragua," a Republican member of the Senate intelligence committee said.

The Senator, who asked to remain anonymous, added: "That distinction has now been lost. When an American is on the mother ship in a mining operation, he's involved directly in military activities. It's irrelevant whether the ship is in international waters."

Neither the Senate nor House committees were informed about the mining or the participation of Americans until recent weeks. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York and vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, said in an interview Friday, "The mining must be stopped and it will be stopped." He said the Senate committee has scheduled a meeting next week with senior C.I.A. officials to discuss the mining operation.

Mr. Moynihan, who earlier this week voted in favor of giving the C.I.A. an additional \$21 million to support Nicaraguan rebel activities this year, said he opposed the mining on the grounds that it violates freedom of the seas and places the United States in "the absurd position of laying mines that Western European nations may come and remove."

Mr. Moynihan was referring to an offer by France, made public on Thursday, to help Nicaragua clear the mines. Britain told the Reagan Administration earlier this week that it disapproved of the mining as an interference with international shipping.

The House Select Committee on Intelligence was briefed about the mining within the last two weeks, according to members. There is widespread opposition among House Democrats to the \$21 million increase in covert aid to the Nicaraguan rebels approved by the Senate this week, and the mining issue is expected to play a major role in House debate on the measure.

Mining Began 2 Months Ago

The mining of three Nicaraguan harbors, Puerto Corinto and Puerto Sandino on the Pacific coast and El Bluff on the Atlantic, began two months ago without notification of Congress, according to members of the Senate and House intelligence committees. The mines have damaged vessels from six nations, including a Soviet freighter, since March 1.

The C.I.A., under federal law, is required to keep Congress informed about the intelligence operations. Members of Congress, although irritated by the delay in this case, said the agency could reasonably have concluded that Congress implicitly approved an operation such as the mining when it authorized financing for the covert activities against Nicaragua.

Administration officials said American technicians were involved in supervising the mining because relatively advanced equipment was involved. They said three kinds of mines, ones that respond to direct contact, sound

waves and water pressure, have been planted in Nicaraguan waters.

The mines, according to the Administration officials, were assembled in Honduras and El Salvador with the help of Americans. For the mining of Puerto Corinto and Puerto Sandino, they said, the mines and small, high-speed boats used to place them in shipping lanes were transported to waters off Nicaragua aboard a larger vessel that serves as the nerve center for the operation.

The ship, which was modified by the C.I.A. to support mining operations, carried both Americans and a unit of Latin Americans who were trained to plant mines by the United States, according to the Administration officials.

The actual planting of the mines in harbor approaches was done by the Latin Americans, the Administration officials said, following plans prepared by Americans.

Administration officials said that if the mining operation was suspended because of Congressional opposition, the mines already planted would not pose an indefinite threat to shipping because they are programmed to become inoperable after several months.

U.S. SAID TO DRAW LATIN TROOPS PLAN

U.S. Said to Draw 'Combat' Plan for Latin Region

Continued From Page 1

United States forces to fight in Central America would require the consent of Congress under the War Powers Act of 1973. But they contended that few members of Congress would be willing to abandon Central America to Communist rule.

The officials emphasized that the Administration would prefer to see El Salvador's Army, with training and military assistance from the United States, overcome the leftist insurgents in that country.

They also expressed hope that internal political instability in Nicaragua, plus activities of the anti-Government insurgents backed by Honduras and the United States, would persuade the leftist Government in Managua to stop trying to subvert El Salvador, as they contend it is doing, or would lead to its overthrow.

The officials reaffirmed that the Administration intended to pursue recommendations by the commission headed by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, which called for a long-term program of economic assistance to Central America costing \$20 billion to \$24 billion in external financing from all sources.

They indicated that any Presidential decision to invoke the Rio Pact would not be taken until 1985 or 1986 or even later, after the current program in Central America has been given a chance to work. But if this program fails, one official said, "we may be faced with a protracted stalemate."

"The day may come when we will be asked to help a country under the Rio Pact and to come in with military force," he said.

Quick Response Is Aim

The officials said that military staff officers were preparing the new plans for operations in Central America so that the armed forces could be ready to respond quickly to a Presidential order.

They indicated that in discussing the possibility of United States combat intervention in Central America under terms of the Rio Pact, they wished to send at least two messages. One, directed at Congress, is the idea that support for Administration programs now, particularly for economic and military assistance, will reduce the likelihood that combat troops may be needed later.

The second message is directed to the Salvadoran insurgents, their Nicaraguan supporters, Cuba and ultimately the Soviet Union. That message says that those who support the Salvadoran insurgents should desist or be confronted with the possibility of United States military action.

The Rio Pact of 1947, known formally as the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, obligates signers "to provide effective reciprocal assistance to meet armed attacks against any American state." All Central American nations and the United States have ratified it.

Pact Authorizes Use of Force

The signers agree, the pact says, "that an armed attack by any state against an American state shall be considered as an attack against all American states." In response, the pact authorizes breaking of diplomatic relations, interruption of economic relations and use of armed force.

The treaty was invoked in the early 1960's, after Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba, in an effort to impose a trade embargo against Havana. It was invoked again in 1965 when the United States sent forces into the Dominican Republic to prevent a Marxist takeover.

Last fall, the Reagan Administration partly justified the United States-led invasion of Grenada as a response to a request from several nations in the Caribbean to eliminate the threat to the region that they said was posed by a hard-line leftist group in Grenada. The island nation's leftist Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, was overthrown by that group in October.

The key officials who have devised the long-term plan are said to be the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Fred C. Iklé, and one of his principal aides, Nestor D. Sanchez; two senior staff officers in the National Security Council, Oliver North and Constantine Menges; and the Commander of the Southern Command, Gen. Paul F. Gorman, who has his headquarters in Panama.

Political Solutions Preferred

Mr. Iklé has become a spokesman for Administration policy on Central America before Congress and in public forums, while Mr. Sanchez has served in embassies throughout the region. The two National Security Council staff officers are specialists in military operations and Latin American affairs, respectively. General Gorman, an Army officer, was formerly a senior officer on the staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

In the Administration, those officials are considered among the most insistent that Marxist elements influenced by Cuba and the Soviet Union be eliminated from Central America. They are said to prefer political solutions but not to shy away from use of armed force.

Their proposals were said to have gained support among some military officers encouraged by the successful invasion of Grenada, which was carried out by a joint force of Army Rangers, paratroopers and marines, with Air Force and naval support.

Over the last two years, President Reagan has shown himself willing to apply military power as an instrument of foreign policy in Lebanon, North Africa and in Central America, where some officials would be willing to exercise more force than has been seen so far.

On Friday Mr. Reagan criticized Congress for what he said was its reluctance to support the use of military force in pursuit of foreign policy goals. He said that "military force, either direct or indirect, must remain an available part of America's foreign policy."

The President's remarks on the subject, which he touched on again today in his weekly radio address, were the latest in a recent series of Administration efforts to portray legislators, particularly Democrats, as bearing considerable responsibility for foreign policy problems.

In his speech Friday, Mr. Reagan said that Congressional wavering and second-guessing had undermining American diplomatic efforts in Lebanon and had encouraged "the enemies of democracy" in Central America.

Reservations in State Department

There have been reservations in the State Department about the use of force, with some officials reportedly arguing against planning for a military solution, and in the Joint Chiefs of Staff, where some officers are not eager to see American forces engaged in Central America.

Those officers argue that the situation in Grenada last October should not be equated with those in El Salvador and Nicaragua today and that, in any case, what was to have been a six-hour operation in Grenada took six days to complete.

Moreover, many military officers contend that the United States should not dispatch troops without clear public support, carefully defined political and military objectives and sufficient forces with freedom of action to apply tested military principles.

Present plans for American military forces in Central America, the officials said, call for maintaining a continuous presence in the region for the foreseeable future. The officials were careful to avoid the term "permanent."

Aims of Exercises Outlined

They said that military exercises, such as conducted in Honduras and Costa Rica, were designed to test the ability of the United States to respond to a crisis in Central America.

From them, they said, the exercises are intended to show the Salvadoran insurgents, Nicaragua, Cuba and the Soviet Union that the United States is able to

project military power into the region and thus that they should abate the military buildup in Nicaragua.

Second, the officials said, the dispatch of American ground and air forces to Honduras helps to train the Honduran Army, which they said was much less effective and less well armed than Nicaraguan forces that have been supplied and trained by Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Third, they said, repeated American deployments to the region will give the Southern Command, field commanders and the services in general a cadre of people who have been exposed to the terrain, climate and conditions under which they might have to fight one day.

Contingency Plans Tested

Exercises also test contingency plans, which include assessment of a threat, a list of friendly forces available and a plan for employing those forces to meet the threat. Since these elements change constantly, contingency plans have a short life.

The officials asserted that continuous exercises in the region were relatively inexpensive. In many cases, an exercise scheduled to take place in the United States was moved to Central America, which meant that only the cost of transport was added.

While the level of American forces in the Central American region will fluctuate, the officials said, a residual force of about 2,000 military people will remain in Honduras to maintain equipment, perform medical services and gather intelligence.

About 50 United States military advisers are on duty in El Salvador. The Administration has said it hopes to begin a program in which United States National Guard engineers would train with Costa Rican engineers there. The American military presence in Panama will also be maintained, they said.

Use of Forces in Central America Reported

By RICHARD HALLORAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 7 — Senior officials in the Reagan Administration say that contingency plans are being drawn for the possible use of United States combat troops in Central America if the current strategy for defeating leftist forces in the region fails.

They say that if troops are ever used, they will be employed under the terms of the Rio Pact of 1947, a mutual defense treaty that has been signed by the United States and all countries of Central America.

Planning Is Called Routine

Until now, senior officials of the Administration, both in public and in private, have asserted that there were no plans to send United States combat troops to fight in Central America. In fact, that policy still holds. But in response to inquiries, officials in private raised the possibility of intervention by United States combat forces.

The officials noted that such planning was routine because military forces must be prepared for all kinds of possible crises.

The planning has been divided into two levels, political policy and military contingency, the officials said.

They noted that the dispatch of

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