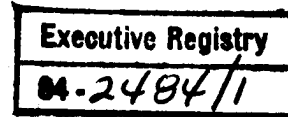


Central Intelligence Agency

Washington, D. C. 20505



5 JUN 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary  
National Security Council

SUBJECT: ARDE Chronology

Attached is the ARDE Chronology as requested on 1 June.



Executive Secretary

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Attachment:  
As stated

DISTRIBUTION:

- Original - Addressee
- 1 - DDI (with attachment & basic)
- 1 - DDO " "
- 1 - D/ALA/DDI " "
- 1 - ER " "
- 1 - C/MCD " "
- 1 - C/CA " "
- 1 - MCD Files " "
- 1 - CA Files " "

DDI/ALA/MCD/[Redacted] (5 June 84)



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ATTACHMENT

**ARDE CHRONOLOGY**Significant Events Through 1983

- 15 APR 82      Eden Pastora announces opposition to Sandinista government at San Jose press conference.
- 22 MAY 82      Costa Rica expells Pastora after he publicly welcomes 11 Sandinista deserters at the border.
- 28 MAY 82      Following arrests by Costa Rican security forces of 13 of his followers at their Sarapiquí camp, Pastora flies to Honduras to seek aid from General Alvarez but later says Alvarez only invited him to join the Nicaraguan Democratic Force.
- 3 JUN 82        In Lisbon, Pastora announces creation of a Revolutionary Government of Popular Unity (GRUP), and is received by key Socialist International leaders during European tour in Portugal, Spain, Germany, and Italy.
- JUN 82         Clandestine Voice of Sandino begins operation.
- 16 JUN 82      Alfonso Robelo, former junta member and leader of the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), announces alliance with Pastora at Panama press conference.
- 10 JUL 82      Pastora meets with an FDN representative in Honduras, according to source of undetermined reliability, and expresses his desire for an eventual alliance.
- 15 AUG         Pastora visits the Dominican Republic at time of Socialist International meeting in Santo Domingo, and asks Costa Rican President Monge for a residency permit. Pastora returns to Panama.
- 8 SEP 82       Costa Rican Council of Government authorizes Pastora's return but limits him to political activities.
- 10-12 SEP 82   Membership in the FDN of former Somoza National Guardsmen is a divisive issue at an anti-Sandinista unity meeting in Caracas. The delegates planned to send a delegation to meet with Pastora and Robelo, who did not attend.

[REDACTED]

25 SEP 82 Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) is officially formed by representatives of Sandino Revolutionary Front (FRS), Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), Nicaraguan Democratic Union/Nicaraguan Revolutionary Armed Forces (UDN/FARN), and Miskito, Suma, Rama, Sandinista Unity (MISURASATA).

Late OCT 82 Four ARDE leaders meet with General Alvarez in Honduras in a renewed attempt to persuade him to switch his support from the FDN to ARDE.

15 NOV 82 Pastora criticizes US support of the FDN in a New York Times interview.

NOV 82 Pastora reportedly sends word to the Sandinistas through intermediaries that he is willing to open discussions on how his group could participate in elections. According to a source of undetermined reliability, the Sandinistas reject the offer. Another report from the same source indicates Pastora hopes to induce Daniel Ortega to purge hard-line Directorate members.

9 DEC 82 Pastora and Robelo are rebuffed in a hurried meeting with a Socialist International delegation visiting San Jose.

16 DEC 82 ARDE leaders outline a formula for democracy in Nicaragua which they describe as a "last chance" for the regime at a San Jose press conference.

17 DEC 82 ARDE leaders reportedly plan to move men into Nicaragua for reconnaissance, making contact with the population, and establishing infrastructure for internal opposition.

7 JAN 83 Francisco Fiallos, former Sandinista Ambassador to the US, joins ARDE.

14 JAN 83 Pastora travels to Panama as Costa Rican security forces uncover insurgent camps.

JAN 83 Fernando Chamorro quietly breaks off from ARDE and in March joins the FDN.

31 JAN 83 Pastora and Miskito leader Rivera visit Colombia, Peru, and the Dominican Republic. A planned trip to Europe is cancelled. [REDACTED] reports that the aim of these trips was to gather Socialist International support for an ARDE peace plan and to initiate armed actions if the Sandinistas reject the call for an election.

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15 FEB 83 Robelo publicly praises representatives of the recently reorganized FDN Directorate after meeting with them in San Jose.

MAR 83 Clandestine Radio Free Nicaragua is noted using the same transmitter as The Voice of Sandino.

28 MAR 83 Costa Rica privately requests that Pastora leave the country after he implies that hostilities will begin on 15 April.

15 APR 83 ARDE announces the start of the armed campaign. The Mexican government refuses to allow Robelo to make the announcement from Mexico City.

13 JUN 83 Robelo rules out unity with the FDN in a San Jose news conference because former Guardsmen dominate its military leadership. MDN leaders were reportedly upset with Pastora's criticisms of Robelo on this issue.

23 JUN 83 Pastora, claiming that ARDE lacks money and supplies and that the US was blocking donations from other countries, tells his troops to stop fighting. Fighting resumes by 28 June, with Pastora announcing that he has received new supplies.

29 JUN 83 A former Sandinista official and his driver are killed by the bomb they are carrying to a San Jose meeting with Pastora and Robelo.

3 JUL 83 ARDE hands over 37 Sandinista prisoners to Costa Rican authorities.

11 JUL 83 Pastora, complying with a promise to the MDN, says there are "a few" Somocistas in the FDN and that ARDE is not against the organization as a whole.

11-14 JUL 83 Pastora adviser Carlos Coronel meets with Cuban officials in Havana at Cuban request. The Cubans suggest another meeting with Pastora and Robelo for "exploratory talks."

28 JUL 83 ARDE communique sets conditions for unity with the FDN, including purging its general staff and agreeing to ARDE's political plan to rescue the Sandinista revolution.

23 AUG 83 Pastora claims his forces captured and executed in July 25 Cubans who were fighting with the Sandinistas.

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- 1 SEP 83 ARDE Directorate expanded to include the Christian Democratic Solidarity Front (FSDC) led by former Social Christian Party Vice-President Jose Davila.
- 8 SEP 83 Two ARDE aircraft attack Sandino Airfield, damaging the terminal building. An unsuccessful attack also is attempted on a Cuban-supervised communications intercept site near Foreign Minister D'Escoto's home. One aircraft is downed in the attack, killing the pilot.
- 9 SEP 83 The petroleum storage area at the main port of Corinto is attacked by two small ARDE aircraft, causing minor damage to several chemical tanks.
- 10-12 SEP 83 Carlos Coronel meets with Cuban Americas Department officials in Panama City. Havana proposes more talks but is unable to respond to Coronel's request for a specific offer.
- 13 SEP 83 Costa Rican authorities detain Basque ETA terrorist member suspected of plotting to assassinate Pastora.
- SEP 83 According to an informant, Sandinista leader Jaime Wheelock sends a message to Pastora on behalf of the National Directorate requesting a dialogue. Another source of undetermined reliability reports a series of exchanges with Wheelock in September.
- SEP 83 Costa Rican authorities take more actions against ARDE including seizure of a helicopter.
- 28 OCT 83 Pastora announces his resignation from ARDE and accuses Robelo of betraying the movement by forming an MDN military staff and secretly training his men in Argentina.
- Early NOV 83 Pastora reconciles with ARDE. As part of the settlement, the Democratic Assembly will be established as a new decision-making body.

Political and Military Developments this Year

- 10 JAN 84 Exiled workers join ARDE, calling themselves the Nicaraguan Democratic Workers Solidarity. (STDN).
- 10 JAN 84 An ARDE communique states unity objectives. The following day, Robelo meets with FDN representatives to discuss ARDE unity offer.

- JAN 84 Pastora has long complained of supply problems, but they seem to worsen early this year. On 17 January he orders a cease fire. ARDE claims to have 5,700 members, including 1,000 unarmed volunteers who had joined since December 1983.
- 29 JAN 84 Pastora creates a problem for the Costa Rican government by sending 192 refugees to Costa Rica claiming he could not feed or clothe them.
- 18 FEB 84 ARDE attacks the Sandinistas at Penas Blancas border crossing, drawing return fire by the Sandinistas across the border.
- 20 FEB 84 ARDE issues six points which state conditions for a cease-fire with the Nicaraguan government.
- 22 FEB 84 ARDE attacks Conventillos, near Penas Blancas. The Sandinistas respond by firing at Costa Rican border guards. The incidents provoke Costa Rican protests and a sharp downturn in relations.
- FEB 84 Fernando Chamorro reaffiliates with ARDE.
- 11-13 MAR 84 Managua protests to Costa Rica border attacks by ARDE against El Papaturro, Los Chiles, and Penas Blancas.
- 24 MAR 84 A DC-3 on an ARDE resupply flight crashes near San Carlos, Costa Rica. The incident is exposed in the press in early April, leading to new charges of CIA involvement.
- 15 APR 84 ARDE captures the southeastern port of San Juan del Norte, its most important victory in a year of fighting. Clearly embarrassed by their defeat, the Sandinistas retaliate with an air and ground attack, driving the insurgents out after a week of fighting.
- 19 APR 84 Costa Rica claims that a Nicaraguan aircraft fired rockets at Delta del Colorado guard post near battle of San Juan del Norte.
- 24 APR 84 Costa Rican security forces raid ARDE offices and residences in San Jose, probably in response to recent insurgent activity and to allegations in US newspapers of CIA bribery of Costa Rican officials.
- 29 APR 84 Costa Rica claims two more Sandinista air attacks on northern border towns in retaliation for nearby ARDE attacks. In telephone calls with President Monge, Sandinista officials say that Costa Rica must close down ARDE or "face the consequences."



- 5 MAY 84 An ARDE delegation--including Pastora representatives--agrees to a unity agreement at a meeting of insurgent groups hosted by the Honduran military. [redacted] reports that Pastora later accused ARDE leaders of exceeding their instructions and threatened to publish a communique denouncing the agreement. 25X1
- 8 MAY 84 Sandinistas claim ARDE attacks on Palo de Arco originated in Costa Rica. Press claims 45 killed in the battle.
- 14 MAY 84 Pastora makes unauthorized trip to Honduras to seek military aid.
- 17-18 MAY 84 ARDE leaders vote for convergence of insurgent groups at meetings which Pastora's group boycotts. The draft document provides for a unified directorate and military staff, both of which would exclude former Guardsmen.
- 21 MAY 84 Pastora again halts military activities and issues a communique criticizing internal and external pressure for unity.
- 20-21 MAY 84 Six ARDE members arrested in Costa Rica.
- 24 MAY 84 Pastora travels to Panama to seek military aid. Pastora boasts to General Noriega that he now has more than 8,000 combatants, but we estimate that ARDE's armed strength is currently closer to 4,000.
- 28-30 MAY 84 The ARDE Assembly meets again on unity and votes to replace a Pastora supporter. The FRS withdraws from the Assembly and press reports indicate both sides issue ultimatums.
- 30 MAY 84 Pastora is wounded in an assassination attempt at a press conference in southern Nicaragua where he was probably going to announce a break with other ARDE leaders.



BASIC

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
ROUTING SLIP**

TO:		ACTION	INFO	DATE	INITIAL
1	DCI				
2	DDCI				
3	EXDIR				
4	D/ICS				
5	DDI	X			
6	DDA				
7	DDO				
8	DDS&T				
9	Chm/NIC				
10	GC				
11	IG				
12	Compt	DDJ FOR ES		6/6/84	
13	D/Pers				
14	D/OLL				
15	D/PAO				
16	SA/IA				
17	AO/DCI				
18	C/IPD/OIS				
19	NIO/LA		X		
20	C/LA/DDO		X		
21	D/ALA/DDI		X		
22					
	SUSPENSE			1200 5 June Date	

Remarks  
Please provide response for my signature NLT 1200 hours, 5 June.

Executive Secretary  
4 June 1984  
Date

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**SECRET**

4317

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

**Executive Registry**  
84- 2484

June 1, 1984

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MEMORANDUM FOR

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Executive Secretary  
Central Intelligence Agency

SUBJECT:

ARDE Chronology

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The NSC would like a chronology of significant milestones in the development of the anti-Sandinista group, ARDE.

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The NSC would also like a detailed chronology of ARDE actions since 1984, including military and diplomatic relations with other anti-Sandinista groups and relations with Costa Rica.

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Please provide chronologies by COB Tuesday, June 5.

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*Paul B. Thompson for*  
Robert M. Kimmitt  
Executive Secretary

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DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

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