

THURSDAY, MARCH 11, 1982

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As that document noted, and it was a voluminous document, the focus was "on the facilities and operations related to inter-city and inter-regional transportation, including rail, highway, air and water transportation."

Among the 11 high-priority construction items listed that included all these various modes of transportation, three dealt with airport reconstruction at Bluefields, Puerto Cabezas, and La Rosita. These air transportation recommendations were based upon the study's findings that there had been a growth in air transportation of 300 percent in 11 years. The study, which is incidentally available if you're interested in obtaining it at the AID office, never envisioned nor recommended the type of militarily-oriented modification of these and other facilities which this week's briefing in the State Department outlined.

*Handwritten: Fred*

Q Dean, I think that Mr. Wheelock also protested the overflight of Nicaragua by American spy planes. Do you have any response to that?

A I do. First, let me say that our Embassy in Nicaragua was told yesterday that a formal protest would be delivered, but so far we have not yet received any; and in terms of what our response will be if we do receive one, I simply cannot get into the specifics of diplomatic exchanges.

Q Are there any --

Q Well, wait a minute. I'm not asking for any details of diplomatic exchanges. We did, according to Admiral Inman, overfly. I guess we have to ask the question: Is that considered legal by the United States then?

A Let me put it this way, Bob: The briefing that Admiral Inman gave made clear that the photographs were obtained by manned overhead reconnaissance.

I'm not going to get into any specifics as to methodology.

Q That's fairly specific, isn't it? Anyway, that's not an answer to my question. My question is: Are overflights by U.S. spy planes considered legal by this country?

A As I said, we have yet to receive any kind of protest; and so it would be premature, as well as counterproductive, to get into any of the specifics of any response we might make, and I've told you everything I can with respect to your question.

Q Dean, are there still any plans for another briefing this week on Nicaraguan involvement in Salvador?

A I can't swear that there will be one this week. It's possible that it might be postponed until early next week.

Q But there still will be?

A Oh, yes. We anticipate that there definitely will be a briefing.

Q Is the Department attempting or trying in connection with that briefing to bring Nicaraguan pilots who have defected to Honduras to Washington?

A John, I've seen some speculation along those lines, but the fact of the matter is that both the timing and the content of the briefing remain to be determined.

Q Dean, of the candidates who are running in the elections in El Salvador, are there any that the U.S. feels it could not work with and would not wish to help in a military way if elected?

A The Secretary addressed this, perhaps indirectly, yesterday. I forgot precisely the question he was responding to.

I think the best way for me to try to paraphrase my understanding of what he said is that if we are satisfied that these are free and fair elections, we are prepared to live with whatever result determined by the people of El Salvador.

Q Dean, do you have any response to what Jaime Wheelock said at his news conference yesterday? He talked about the lengthening of the runways having been started under President Somoza in 1977, and he also denied that there were any Nicaraguan pilots being trained in Bulgaria.

A All right, yes; I will be glad to give you a response to that.

The study he referred to by AID is a fact. In 1975 the Agency for International Development funded an extensive national transportation study for Nicaragua by the consulting engineering and planning firm of Wilbur Smith and Associates.

Q Dean, there was a protest made public at the UN today.

A Perhaps there was, Bernie. We've not --

Q. Are you making a distinction between satellite reconnaissance and flights?

A I referred to manned overhead reconnaissance.

Q O.K.

Q Dean, the Russians are using heavy transport planes to ship raw material into Nicaragua. In fact, they are using Halifax and Goose Bay as refueling stops. Otherwise they couldn't reach Nicaragua directly.

Are we considering asking the Canadians to stop these refueling privileges, at least for transport planes which carry war material?

A I don't have any information today to enable me to respond to your question.

Q With respect to Admiral Inman's briefing in this, he said that they had no evidence or confirming evidence of any cross-border incursions; but in the statement, an Embassy report that you released here last week, there is a statement citing a "well-informed source" suggesting that anti-Sandinista forces are planning a major attack on Sandy Bay in the next few weeks to free an estimated 14,000 Indians being held in confinement.

Can you tell me whether he considered that in his statement and whether that is evidence that would require greater inquiry? What do the U.S. Embassy and the intelligence community do with evidence that's put out by the State Department that states that right up front?

A I don't recall the specific statement you're referring to.

Q I'm referring to a statement that was issued in the Press Office here entitled, "Indian Exodus Continues -- 12,000 Seek Refuge in Honduras." On page 5, the first full paragraph is the relevant citation.

A And I'm sorry. Your question then specifically is what?

Q Well, I'm baffled, because on the one hand Admiral Inman said that there was no confirming evidence of any such cross-border incursions and on the other hand here's the report upon which he clearly relied in describing the plight of the Miskito Indians -- the plight of the Indians there -- which makes reference specifically to such an incursion to free 14,000 people. And I'm confused; I'd like to be straightened out on that.

A On what?

Q Well, it just appears to be a contradiction, and maybe others -- you know, maybe I'm crazy (laughter); but, on the one hand, Admiral Inman said that there was no confirming evidence that incursions take place from Honduras into Nicaragua.

A Yes.

Q But, on the other hand, the State Department put out a copy of an Embassy report which refers to anti-Sandinista forces planning a "major attack" on Sandy Bay in the next few weeks, citing a well-informed source.

A Jim, I'd have to go back and see the precise document that you're referring to. It sounds to me like one is a report, and Admiral Inman said there's no confirming evidence.

So I don't see that they're contradictory.

Q So that's the distinction. C.K.

Q Bob asked you about Wheelock's statement about denying that there were Nicaraguan pilots flying MiGs in Bulgaria -- training on Migs in Bulgaria?

A Yes. I'm sorry I didn't get to that part of the response.

We were talking in the context not of his question but of someone else's questions earlier about the AID study; and let me just pick up there, if I may, in trying to respond because I think the two are connected with the overall topic that we're discussing.

This study recommended that runways at Puerto Cabezas and Bluefields should be expanded, both to 6,000 feet, as part of its overall recommendations for highways, inland navigation, seaports and rail transportation. As the study indicated, the central government at the time was "pursuing a policy of passive support of competitive efforts by Nicaragua transporters. . . (which had) resulted in unfavorable inequities for the local transport industry." But it should be clear that the study did not recommend or envision the military modification of these air facilities, which has taken place, or the additional steps in the area of the Nicaraguan military buildup -- such as the extension of runways beyond the recommendation, as in the case of Puerto Cabezas and Sandino to approximately 8,000 feet, the construction of revetments, the placement of anti-aircraft guns, the training of Nicaraguan pilots in Bulgaria, or the additional airfield facilities expansion which has taken place.

I think it's important to note that this study did not recommend any extension beyond 6,000 feet -- that is to say, runway extension. According to John Hughes -- who participated in the briefing, as you know, the other day -- a fully bomb-loaded MiG would require approximately 6,600 feet for takeoff. Sandino and Puerto Cabezas airstrips have been extended to some 8,000 feet; as I said, Bluefields to 6,670 feet.

Another airfield, which was not mentioned -- or, at least, not recommended for expansion in the study -- has also been extended to 6,700 feet.

Q Well, I just want to come back.

A Yes.

Q Wheelock denied that there were Nicaraguan pilots being trained on MiGs in Bulgaria.

A Yes. This question was addressed the other day.

Q So you are saying that you have evidence that they are being trained on MiGs in Bulgaria.

A I certainly stand by what was said the other day.

Q Do you have any comment on the report in the Times today that the United States is providing funds to support the moderates inside Nicaragua?

A I of course saw the report. We do not comment on subjects such as this.

Q Dean, in that vein, Presidential Counselor Edwin Meese last night addressed the subject of The Washington Post report on the covert operations to destabilize Nicaragua. Do you subscribe to what he said, and could you expand on it?

A I'm sorry, I'm not familiar with what he said.

Q It was good. You ought to read it.  
(Laughter.)

Q Dean, back on the overflights, are those overflights continuing?

A I just don't have any further comment to give you.

Q Do those flights have to be approved -- will they take Presidential approval? Does he consult with Congress before a series of flights or in any way before they're conducted?

A Bob, I'm sorry. I just don't have any further comment on that subject.

Q Do you know anything about a possible visit to either Washington or New York of the Nicaraguan Foreign Minister?

A No. I heard rumors about this yesterday, but I don't have any confirmation at all on this.

Q Would the Secretary be willing to meet with the Foreign Minister if he came to New York?

A I don't know. There are no plans for any such meeting.

Q Is there any reason for him not to meet with him?

A I just can't respond to a hypothetical. I just don't know.

## U.S. Reportedly Sending Millions To Foster Moderates in Nicaragua

By PHILIP TAUBMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10 — The Reagan Administration is providing millions of dollars in covert financial aid to individuals and private organizations in Nicaragua in hopes of bolstering moderate elements there, according to senior Administration officials.

The effort, which is being managed by the Central Intelligence Agency, began late last year after it was approved by President Reagan, the officials said.

They said Mr. Reagan and his top national security advisers rejected a proposal to finance and support the creation of a paramilitary force in Central America. Several South American nations, however, including Argentina and Venezuela, are working together to assemble paramilitary units that they plan to infiltrate into Nicaragua for hit-

and-run attacks against Government troops and installations, the officials said.

The Reagan Administration is aware of the formation of the units, according to the officials, but has declined to provide financial or military support.

The President and the National Security Council looked over proposals to create our own paramilitary force, but, once the idea of using former Nicaraguan National Guard commanders was rejected, there didn't seem to be a feasible way to do it," recalled a senior Administration official familiar with the deliberations, which took place last November.

### Less Risky Choice Approved

Mr. Reagan decided, officials said, to approve the less risky course of secretly financing individuals and private organizations in Nicaragua that the United States believes could help preserve moderate economic and political institutions.

In a briefing for reporters on Tuesday, Adm. Bobby R. Inman, Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, was asked about reports that the United States had approved a budget of \$19 million to support covert action projects in Nicaragua. One such report was published Feb. 14 in The Washington Post. A report in The Post today quoted Administration officials as saying that the President had approved a \$19 million plan to create a Latin American paramilitary force to operate against Nicaragua.

Admiral Inman replied to the question at the briefing. "I would suggest to you

that \$19 million to buy you mi and certainly military force Nicaragua 1979 by a national Directr ers of the rev Government

Debayle. A late-lead junta administers the country.

The Reagan Administration has accused Nicaragua of promoting Soviet and Cuban interests in Central America, including providing military and financial help to guerrillas in El Salvador. Sandinist leaders, who describe themselves as Marxist reformers, have denied the charges.

On Tuesday, the Reagan Administration made public aerial photographs that intelligence officials said proved Nicaragua, with Soviet and Cuban assistance, was creating the largest military force in Central America.

Nicaragua protested today against the reconnaissance flights, calling them "a flagrant violation of international law" and said its military organization was strictly for defense.

The Administration's review last fall of alternatives for covert action was prompted partly by the reconnaissance photos and by a growing belief within the Administration that Nicaragua was becoming a surrogate for Cuba and the Soviet Union, senior American officials said.

The choices presented to the National Security Council on Nov. 19 were wide ranging, according to the officials, and included the creation of an American-sponsored paramilitary force.

That and several other alternatives were sent back to intelligence agencies for further study, they said. When the ideas were submitted again for discussion at a National Security Council meeting later that month, the paramilitary option was rejected because formation of such a group appeared to require the use of former Nicaraguan National Guard officers who had supported General Somoza.

"We realized that the surest way to have this kind of project backfire would be if Somoza's military men were involved," one official recalled.

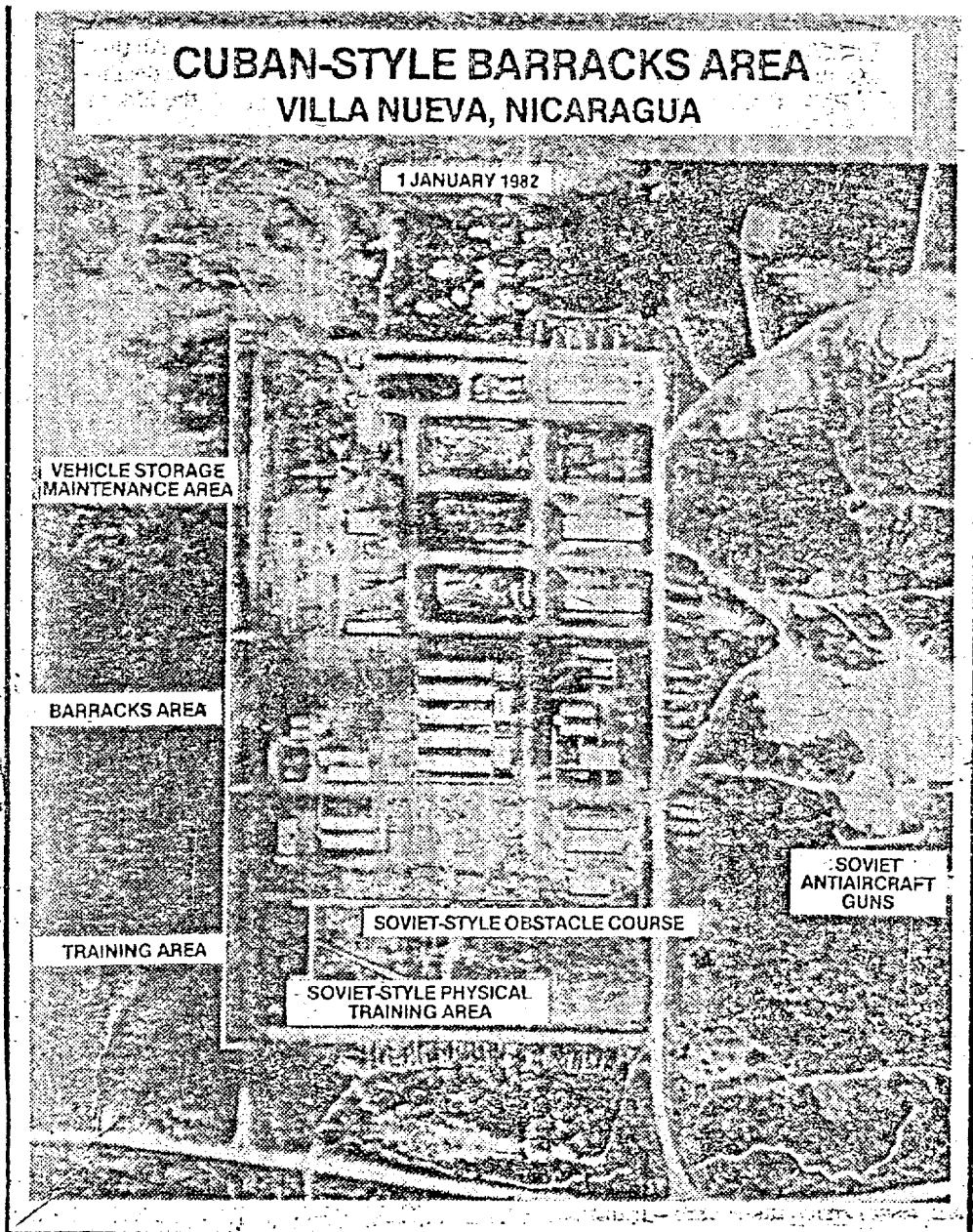


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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
11 March 1982

# SPECIAL REPORT-NICARAGUA

## Why a small Central American country ignites heated debate within the United States



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ON PAGE A24

THE WASHINGTON POST  
11 March 1982

# Nicaraguan Says U.S. U Airfield Work

By Don Oberdorfer  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A senior Nicaraguan official said yesterday that the lengthening of airport runways disclosed by a U.S. intelligence briefing Tuesday was originally proposed by a U.S. government-financed study during the administration of ousted president Anastasio Somoza.

Jaime Wheelock, Nicaraguan minister of agriculture and one of the nine-member directorate of senior commanders with greatest authority in the country, also charged that the United States has "flagrantly violated" its international obligations by conducting overflights and taking photographs of military installations in that country.

Wheelock, in a meeting with Washington Post editors and reporters, disputed the interpretation and details of Nicaraguan military activity described in the intelligence briefing. "The 'evidence' which was produced is not proof of anything," he said.

According to Wheelock, lengthening of runways, one of the activities covered in detail by the briefing, was recommended by a U.S. study during the Somoza administration.

A spokesman for the Agency for International Development later confirmed that the 1975-76 study of Nicaraguan transportation needs, financed by about \$1 million in U.S. funds, was conducted by Wilbur Smith & Associates, a U.S. consulting firm.

AID spokesman Rich Miller said the study recommended extension of runways in several airports to improve Nicaragua's transportation system.

However, he added that the study did not recommend construction of revetments for military aircraft, deployment of anti-aircraft weaponry or training of Nicaraguan pilots on Soviet Mig warplanes, all of which were reported in the briefing.

No mention was made of revetments by Wheelock or in the documentary evidence of the U.S. study

assertions in the U.S. briefing that 50 Nicaraguan pilots are being trained in Bulgaria and Cuba to fly Soviet Migs.

"No Nicaraguans... not a single Nicaraguan, is being trained to fly Migs," Wheelock said.

The public briefings Tuesday, presented by Bobby R. Inman, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and John T. Hughes, deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, did not address evidence in U.S. hands of external control of guerrilla forces in El Salvador.

Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. said last week that "overwhelming and irrefutable evidence" of such control by non-Salvadorans has been presented to the intelligence oversight committees of Congress in highly classified briefings.

A "dry run" of Tuesday's briefing was presented last Friday to Haig, who said it needed improvement before being made public. Because of "a terrible problem of sources and methods," according to an administration official, little of the briefing as formulated dealt with outside intervention in El Salvador, the central issue being debated in Congress and the press.

It was decided, therefore, to delete all mention of this issue from Tuesday's revelations and to concentrate on Nicaraguan internal developments.

Officials are still promising a public session, perhaps tomorrow, to disclose information about outside direction of the Salvadoran guerrillas.

The growing expectation is that defectors or agents claiming to have firsthand knowledge will be produced at that time. Such testimony, according to official sources, is less sensitive than the communications intelligence that evidently is the basis for statements by Haig and some other officials.

Wheelock, who left here yesterday without success in his effort to meet Haig, depicted military activities in his country as defensive. He said the U.S. briefings had been deceptive in substance and prone to "excessive hysteria" in tone.

Nicaragua is being threatened by the United States verbally and in a reported plan of U.S. undercover actions, rather than the other way around, according to Wheelock.

He appeared to be as concerned about the indignity of having U.S. intelligence photos taken and displayed as by their substance. The briefings, as reported by the press, showed "a lack of respect and a great deal of exaggeration" on the part of U.S. officials, he charged.

The weapons shown by the aerial photographs, Wheelock said, "are far from sophisticated; in fact, they are obsolete."

Wheelock disputed the U.S. statement that Nicaragua is assembling the largest military force in Central America and is a threat to its neighbors.

Hughes, in the Tuesday briefing, did not repeat Haig's statement of last Thursday that Nicaragua has a 25,000-man army and a goal of doubling that. Instead, the DIA official said the Sandinistas' regular military force has grown "from a small initial force of 5,000 to a large active-duty army supplemented by even larger militia and reserve elements."

Hughes did not disclose a U.S. estimate for the regular army but put this force plus militia and reserves at "up to 70,000 men" and "the largest in Central America."

Wheelock said Guatemala has "a regular army of 35,000" which he said is "twice the size that Nicaragua has." In an interview last Saturday, Wheelock put Nicaragua's regular army at "not larger than Somoza had," about 14,000.

Wheelock denied that there is a plan for expansion of the army but said, "If we did not build up our defenses after what is happening now, we would be very irresponsible."

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BALTIMORE SUN  
11 March 1982

# U.S. said to send millions to Nicaraguan opposition

From Wire Services

Washington—The Reagan administration is providing millions of dollars in covert aid to individuals and private organizations in Nicaragua in hopes of bolstering moderate forces in that nation, according to senior administration officials.

The effort, which is being managed by the Central Intelligence Agency, began late last year after it was approved by President Reagan, these officials said.

They said that Mr. Reagan and his national security advisers rejected a proposal to fund the creation of a paramilitary force in Central America.

Several South American nations, however, including Argentina and Venezuela, are working together to assemble paramilitary units that would infiltrate Nicaragua for hit-and-run attacks against government troops and installations, these officials said.

The Reagan administration is aware of the formation of these units, according to the officials, but has declined to provide financial or military support.

"The president and the National Security Council looked over proposals to create our own paramilitary force, but once the idea of using former Nicaraguan national guard commanders was rejected, there didn't seem to be a feasible way to do it," recalled a senior administration official familiar with the deliberations that took place last November.

Mr. Reagan decided, officials said, to approve the less risky option of secretly financing individuals and private organizations that oppose Nicaragua's government.

The country has been governed since 1979 by a nine-member Sandinist National Directorate made up of the leaders of the revolution that

overthrew the government of Gen. Anastasio Somoza Debayle. A three-man junta administers the country.

The Reagan administration has accused the Sandinist government of promoting Soviet and Cuban interests in Central America, including providing military and financial assistance to guerrillas in El Salvador. Sandinist leaders, who describe themselves as Marxist reformers, have denied the charges.

On Tuesday, the Reagan administration made public aerial photographs which intelligence officials said proved that Nicaragua, with Soviet and Cuban assistance, was creating the largest military force in Central America.

The Nicaraguan government yesterday protested against American flights over Nicaragua, calling the

reconnaissance a flagrant violation of international law. It also accused the United States of trying to convert Nicaragua into "another Chile" by ousting the junta.

Nicaraguan Ambassador Francisco Fiallos Navarro, in an ABC-TV appearance, called the U.S. allegations of a major military buildup by his country "totally false."

Then Directorate member Jaime Wheelock, speaking at a news conference, denied allegations that Nicaraguan pilots are being trained in Bulgaria, but was vague on whether Nicaragua plans to acquire MiG fighters from the Soviet Union.

Mr. Wheelock said the military buildup was mainly defensive, and also called for development of "a normal constructive relationship with the government of the United States."

The Reagan administration's review last fall of covert action options in Central America was prompted partly by the reconnaissance photos and a growing belief within the administration that the Sandinist government was becoming a surrogate of Cuba and the Soviet Union, senior American officials said.

The options presented to the National Security Council November 19 covered many proposals, according to these officials, including the one for creating an American-sponsored paramilitary force.

This and several other options were sent back to intelligence agencies for further study, they said. When the ideas were submitted again for discussion at a National Security Council meeting later that month, the paramilitary option was rejected because it seemed to require the use of former Nicaraguan national guard officers who had supported General Somoza.

"We realized that the surest way to have this kind of project backfire would be if Somoza's military men were involved," one official recalled.

The administration was aware, these officials added, that Argentina, Venezuela and other South American nations were trying to assemble a force for deployment in Central America.

The U.S. plan approved by Mr.

than the nearly \$20 million projected as the price of forming and supporting a paramilitary force, administration officials said.

In a press briefing Tuesday, Adm. Bobby R. Inman, the deputy director of central intelligence, was asked about reports in *The Washington Post* that the United States had approved \$19 million to support covert action in Nicaragua.

He replied, "I would suggest to you that \$19 or \$29 million isn't going to buy you much of any kind these days, and certainly not against that kind of military force."

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ON PAGE A-18NEW YORK TIMES  
11 MARCH 1982

### Soviet Assails U.S. Charges On Nicaragua as 'Fantastic'

MOSCOW, March 10 (AP) — The Soviet Union said today that United States allegations that Nicaragua had engaged in a major military buildup threatening Central America were "dirty insinuations" and "fantastic charges."

"There is no question as to where these dirty insinuations come from: the 'proofs' were supplied by deputy director of the C.I.A. Robert Inman and deputy director of the intelligence department of the Pentagon John Hughes," Tass, the official press agency, said in a dispatch from Washington.

## Clashing over Nicaragua

By Daniel Southerland

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor  
Washington

The Reagan administration is now engaged in a war of nerves, a war of propaganda — and apparently a mini-war of secret action — against the small Central American country of Nicaragua.

Through briefings, congressional testimony, and public appearances by high-level officials, the administration seems to be trying to build a case for even more forceful action against Nicaragua.

Indeed, the administration has raised the level of rhetoric on the subject of alleged Nicaraguan support for the El Salvador guerrillas to such a level that it may feel compelled to act more forcefully or suffer a loss of credibility and prestige. Some close observers say the time when some kind of accommodation between the US and Nicaragua can be achieved may be rapidly passing.

In its essentials, the verbal battle over Nicaragua boils down to this: The Reagan administration contends that it has irrefutable intelligence evidence, as yet undisclosed, that Nicaraguans and Cubans are both controlling and supplying the guerrillas now fighting the US-backed regime in El Salvador. The Nicaraguans deny this. So do the Salvadoran guerrillas.

The administration further argues that Nicaragua is engaged in a major military buildup which goes beyond Nicaragua's legitimate needs for defense. While not denying that they are building up their forces, the Nicaraguans contend that they feel threatened by the United States and by three US-supported regimes in the region — El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras — and, therefore, must take precautions.

One aim of the administration's current, high-level information and propaganda campaign is to convince members of the US Congress that its argument is the correct one. Sizable numbers of senators and congressmen have been reluctant to approve administration requests for increased aid to El Salvador. Some of them say they fear a step-by-step involvement in El Salvador which would be analogous to the Vietnam involvement.

The latest burst of administration briefings and statements appears to have done little to change congressional opinion: Those who are predisposed to be hostile to Nicaragua have been reinforced in their view. But critics have yet to be converted. Some, such as Congressman Michael Barnes, a Democrat from Maryland who heads the House subcommittee on inter-American affairs, voice alarm at the rising tide of administration rhetoric.

"The level of rhetoric is far beyond anything that is reasonable, given what has been shown to the press. I think it would be useful for both sides at this point to cool down," Barnes told the Monitor.

According to Barnes, the administration may be "working its way into a position in which only some kind of dramatic military or covert action would be commensurate with the level of its concern."

One problem for the administration is that it has yet to present evidence that Nicaragua is intervening directly in El Salvador. That subject is supposed to be touched upon in a press briefing to be held on March 12. In a briefing on March 9, Bobby Inman, deputy director of the US Central Intelligence Agency, charged that Nicaragua is building a military force larger than all its neighbors combined and that this could not possibly be required for purely defensive purposes.

Admiral Inman drew parallels with the buildup of Cuban forces many years earlier and speculated that Nicaragua might be building the basis for projecting its forces — and revolution — beyond its borders.

The Washington Post, on March 10, reported that the administration is already moving to take secret action against Nicaragua. It said that President Reagan, under a \$19 million plan, has directed the CIA to build a paramilitary force of up to 500 Latin Americans to launch attacks from Honduras into Nicaragua. Such attacks, the Post said, would aim at destroying vital economic targets in order to disrupt the Nicaragua economy.

One critic of the administration's policies, Joseph Eldridge, director of the church-supported Washington Office on Latin America, says the size of Nicaragua's armed forces could probably be negotiated downward, but the current tough line of the administration only serves to make the Nicaraguans increase their defenses.

At a press conference held in Washington, D.C., on March 10, Jaime Wheelock Román, Nicaragua's agriculture minister, said US "distortions" of the Nicaraguan military situation amounted to "verbal terrorism." He added that airfield extensions and improvements in Nicaragua reported by US intelligence officials had earlier been recommended by an American construction firm and had been approved by the Central American Bank of Economic Integration based in Honduras. He said that Nicaraguan pilots were not being trained in Bulgaria as alleged by the US and that despite American allegations, Nicaragua had no plans to bring in Soviet-built MIG aircraft.

# Aid to Salvador is 'crucial': Haig

By BARBARA REHM

Washington (News Bureau)—Secretary of State Haig, insisting the United States must send more military aid to Central America, warned yesterday the war in El Salvador could not be won in that country alone because it is part of a massive Soviet effort to subvert freedom around the world.

"This situation is global in character," Haig told a Senate subcommittee in pushing for the administration's \$13.3 billion foreign aid program. "These are local manifestations of a global problem."

But he stressed that U.S. arms and military aid was "crucial" to El Salvador, and a cutoff would be "a fatal blow" to the U.S.-backed junta in its fight against the Marxist rebels.

Haig's appearance on Capitol Hill came after a published report that President Reagan had authorized the

CIA to launch a \$19 million covert action plan to "destabilize" Nicaragua's Sandinista regime.

ADMINISTRATION spokesmen refused comment on the report in The Washington Post. The newspaper said the CIA would recruit 500 Latin Americans to serve as commandos, based in Honduras, and to cross secretly into Nicaragua to destroy such targets as power plants and bridges. The aim would be to disrupt the Nicaraguan economy and divert the Sandinista government's attention and resources.

According to the Post, CIA strategists think such operations inside Nicaragua would slow the flow of arms to El Salvador.

Only hours before the Post article appeared, Adm. Bobby R. Inman, deputy director of the CIA, claimed that Nicaragua was building the most powerful military force in Central America with Russian and Cuban help.

INMAN DISMISSED Nicaraguan claims that the nation's defenses were being upgraded to combat possible intervention against the Sandinista re-

gime by the U.S. or U.S.-backed groups. He told reporters he knew of "no large destabilization action" under way against the Nicaraguan government.

In an angry reply to U.S. charges, Nicaraguan Agriculture Minister Jaime Wheelock, one of the nine members of the powerful Sandinista Directorate, said the Reagan administration "is talking about Nicaragua to become another Cuba...but what they really want is Nicaragua to become another Chile." This was a reference to the 1973 coup that toppled Marxist President Salvador Allende of Chile, which had been the target of a \$7 million CIA destabilization effort.

In crowded press conference, Wheelock defended his government's arms buildup, denouncing U.S. spy plane overflights as "a violation of Nicaraguan air space" and ridiculing CIA charges that the 36 new military bases in the country were being built along Cuban lines. "I didn't know that even architecture had ideological lines," he said.

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PROGRAM First Line Report STATION WTOP Radio  
CBS Network

DATE March 10, 1982 6:40 AM CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT Communists in Central America

ROBERT PIERPOINT: The Reagan Administration has begun a major drive to convince the public that the Communists are coming in Central America. More on that after this.

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PIERPOINT: The first of what is scheduled to be a series of briefings was held yesterday on Soviet-Cuban penetration of Central America. It was an impressive affair, with the central Intelligence Agency's articulate Deputy Director, Admiral Bobby Inman, in charge of the show. The several experts gave evidence of a strong Soviet-Cuban military buildup in Nicaragua. The evidence included a number of pictures of military bases under construction and military equipment in and around the bases, pictures taken by U.S. reconnaissance aircraft. They seemed to prove fairly conclusively that the Nicaraguans, with the help of hundreds of Cubans and a few Soviet advisers, are building a lot of military bases for a small country. They also seem to prove the Reagan Administration's point that Cuba and the Soviet Union are supplying the Nicaraguans with much more military equipment than they might need for normal defensive purposes, including scores of heavy Soviet tanks, hundreds of trucks, and dozens of big howitzers and antiaircraft guns. The Soviets are also helping build or improve some airfields in Nicaragua that the U.S. officials believe will be used by Soviet-supplied MIG jet fighters and flown by some 50 Nicaraguan pilots now being trained in Communist countries.

The intelligence experts admit they don't know for sure just why the Nicaraguans and their Communist allies are doing all this, but they strongly imply that it is to turn the left-leaning Sandinista government in Managua into a totalitarian regime similar

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to Cuba, and then to spread Communist influence throughout Central America. The Nicaraguans claim they are simply building up their defenses against the United States, which has invaded and occupied them twice in this century, and against neighboring Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador, all of which have governments that are certainly anti-Sandinista.

Briefings later this week, and perhaps the next, are to take up charges by Secretary Haig and others that Nicaragua is not only building itself a strong pro-Communist military machine, but that it is also the main channel of military supplies moving into the hands of the guerrillas in El Salvador. Haig has also said the revolution in El Salvador is under the command and control of foreigners. He has not said exactly who outside the country. He has not said exactly where. But the thrust of yesterday's briefing and others to come later clearly imply that Nicaragua, Cuba and the Soviet Union are the guilty parties.

If that is the case, the real question is what the Reagan Administration intends to do about it. And so far, no briefings are scheduled to answer that.



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NEW YORK TIMES  
10 MARCH 1982

STATINTL

# U.S. OFFERS PHOTOS OF BASES TO PROVE NICARAGUA THREAT

## HUGE BUILDUP IS CHARGED

## Intelligence Agencies Declare Forces Are 'Vastly Beyond Any Defensive Need'

By PHILIP TAUBMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 9 — The Reagan Administration made public today aerial reconnaissance photographs that intelligence officials said proved Nicaragua, with Cuban and Soviet assistance, was assembling the largest military force in Central America.

The Administration asserted that the military buildup posed a threat to Nicaragua's neighbors and has upset the military balance in the region.

Charging that Nicaraguan leaders had lied about the extent of the military growth, Adm. Bobby R. Inman, the Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, said: "It's time to get some concern in this country about their military buildup. It's vastly beyond any defensive need."

### Pilots Reported Under Training

At a press briefing at the State Department, Admiral Inman said the United States believed Nicaragua's Sandinist Government was building a standing army of 25,000 to 30,000 men, equipped with Soviet tanks and helicopters. The nation's total military force, including militia, is nearly 70,000, easily the largest in Central America, Administration officials said.

In addition, they said, Nicaragua is soon to receive advanced jet fighter planes from the Soviet Union and has 50 pilots training in Bulgaria to fly them.

"Based on the pace of new airfield construction, and the development of new ground force installations, it is evident to us that the Sandinistas are achieving military force levels in excess of those normally required purely for defensive purposes," said John T. Hughes, Deputy Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency.

### Soviet Influence Charged

Nicaragua is governed by a nine-member Sandinist National Directorate made up of the leaders of the revolution that overthrew the Government of Gen. Anastasio Somoza Debayle in 1979. A three-man junta administers the country. According to the Reagan Administration, the Sandinists, who describe themselves as Marxist reformers, have moved increasingly into the orbit of the Soviet Union and Cuba since seizing power.

The Administration has accused Nicaragua of serving as a staging area and command center for the guerrilla movement in El Salvador. Nicaraguan leaders have denied the charges.

Today's presentation, Admiral Inman said, was the first of a series of intelligence briefings scheduled for this week by the Reagan Administration to inform Congress and the public about Soviet and Cuban involvement in Central America. External support for the guerrilla movement in El Salvador will be the focus of one of these briefings, Admiral Inman said.

### Public Doubts Are Noted

According to senior Administration officials, the decision to declassify some intelligence information about Central America was made this morning by Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. and William J. Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence. It ended several weeks of internal debate about whether to disclose the information, they said.

The Administration, the officials said, hopes the release of the raw intelligence data will help dispel public doubts about Administration assertions of outside interference in Central America.

The aerial photographs made public today were taken in recent months during manned reconnaissance flights over Nicaragua and show evidence of major military construction, according to Mr. Hughes, who was described by Admiral Inman as the Government's "premier photo interpreter."

Mr. Hughes, who conducted a similar briefing in 1982 about the introduction of Soviet missiles in Cuba, said today that the Nicaraguan Army had 49 garrisons, 26 of them constructed since the Sandinists gained power.

He also said that improvements were being made at Nicaraguan air bases, including the extension of runways, to accommodate advanced MIG aircraft built in the Soviet Union.

### Photographs Are Displayed

To support those assertions, Mr. Hughes displayed a series of enlarged photographs showing military installations in operation or under construction in Nicaragua. "Most of these garrison areas are built along Cuban design," he said.

For example, Mr. Hughes presented a photograph of a recently completed garrison at Villa Nueva. He said that the

configuration of the garrison, including the style and placement of the barracks, vehicle storage areas and training fields and obstacle course, closely resembled garrisons in Cuba and the Soviet Union.

"This is the pattern we see time and time again in Nicaragua," he said. "It's the pattern we've seen time and time again in Cuba."

At one point, to underscore the comparison, Mr. Hughes juxtaposed a black and white photograph of a Nicaraguan garrison with a photo of a military compound he said was in Cuba. He noted the similar design and construction features.

One of the bases shown was designed for the training of special army forces, he said. The base, on the shore of Lake Managua, contains a sawdust pit that he said was used for training in hand-to-hand combat, as well as a miniature airfield used to rehearse sabotage attacks against airfields.

### Tank Placement Noted

At several garrisons, Mr. Hughes noted the placement of what he said were Soviet T-54 and T-55 tanks and Soviet anti-aircraft guns. He said that Nicaragua at present has 25 Soviet tanks armed with 100-millimeter guns.

In addition, he said, the United States has evidence of the presence of two Soviet Hip helicopters, 12 BTR armored personnel carriers and several heavy amphibious ferries capable of transporting the Soviet tanks across rivers.

The construction of new garrisons has been accompanied by the improvement and expansion of at least four air bases, according to Mr. Hughes. He said that at Bluefields air base, for example, on the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua, aerial photographs taken in January showed construction of a new 6,600-foot runway. The old runway, he said, was 3,100 feet long, far too short, he added, to handle a fully armed MIG fighter.

"This is the kind of airfield expansion for an air force that claims to have only a few old airplanes?" he asked.

The overall Cuban presence in Nicaragua, Mr. Hughes said, totals more than 6,000 advisers: 2,000 military and security advisers, 500 medical advisers, 600 government advisers, 2,200 teachers and 750 construction workers.

Admiral Inman said that there were 50 to 75 Soviet advisers in Nicaragua, involved primarily in advising the Nicaraguans about military organization and tactics.

Today's presentation also included a series of photographs showing Miskito Indian villages in northeast Nicaragua on Jan. 4, 1982 and again on Feb. 23. The first photographs, Mr. Hughes said, showed populated, functioning villages. The second photos showed the same villages with all buildings destroyed, he said, the result of a systematic effort by the Sandinist Government to displace the Indians.

the briefing, said that in a visit to Washington last week, Nicaragua's Minister of Agriculture, Jaime Wheelock Román, lied

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NEW YORK TIMES  
10 MARCH 1982

# Transcript of Statements at on the Military Buildup in Nicaragua

Following is a transcript of the statements on the military buildup in Nicaragua given yesterday at the State Department by Adm. Bobby R. Inman, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, and John T. Hughes, Deputy Director for Intelligence and External Affairs for the Defense Intelligence Agency, as recorded by The New York Times through the facilities of the Cable News Network:

Mr. Inman: I'm Bob Inman. I'm here this afternoon because I'm concerned and because I'm angry. I'm concerned about insuring that you, and through you the public, has a clear understanding of what's been worrying those of us in the intelligence community for months now. That's the military buildup in Nicaragua and what it portends for this country.

I'm angry because I've watched, over the past couple of weeks, public servants trying to grapple with the difficulty of conveying information while protecting critical intelligence sources and methods and finding that they're standardly greeted with, "How can we believe you, unless you show us all the detailed evidence."

And over the weekend, we were treated to the occasion of the visit of Minister Jaime Wheelock from Nicaragua, who used the platform given him to talk at substantial length about what wasn't happening in Nicaragua.

And as you will see from what we have to say, he lied directly, and no one seemed to challenge that process, at least not in the stories that I read.

And today we're not going to deal with El Salvador and the events there. That will be coming, a series of events later in the week. But we are going to respond today with some declassified intelligence on the nature of the buildup that we've been watching for some time.

Director Casey has responded to our request that he exercise his authority to declassify some manned reconnaissance imagery, or photography, which I believe you will find makes a very substantial, different case from that which you heard from Mr. Wheelock over the past weekend.

We're privileged to have with us today, to present the evidence to you, John Hughes. John has been in the intelligence business now for slightly over 30 years. He is the premier photo interpreter in the U.S. intelligence community. And those of you with a historical interest may recall in 1962,

when John Hughes briefed the evidence, from photography, of the introduction of missiles into Cuba.

I will field your questions after John has finished within the degree that I can. And I'll be assisted by Jim Williams, the director of D.I.A. John, over to you.

Mr. Hughes: Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, our purpose this afternoon is to review some of the sensitive intelligence available to us on the continuing Nicaraguan military buildup. In this review, we will exhibit reconnaissance photography of Nicaraguan military installations and military equipment.

We will also show comparative coverage — that is, before and after — of Indian villages along the northeast border, which have been systematically destroyed by the Sandinistas.

This presentation has two basic objectives, with respect to the Nicaraguan military buildup: first, to describe the nature and growth of Nicaraguan military facilities over the past two years, and the inherent Cuban design they represent; and second, to review efforts on the part of Cuba and other Communist nations to provide modern and upgraded military equipment to the Sandinistan ground — armed forces.

Could we put the lights down please?

Prior to the overthrow of Somoza by the Sandinistas, Nicaragua maintained a National Guard with the strength of about 10,000 men. This force was widely dispersed throughout the country in an internal security role and had very little heavy military equipment.

## Size of Military Force

When the Sandinistas came to power, they immediately began organizing regular military forces and a strong internal security police force.

The Sandinista police, similar in purpose to Somoza's National Guard, gradually have been built to a force of five to six thousand men.

The regular military forces have grown even more quickly from a small initial force of 5,000 to a large, active-duty army supplemented by even larger militia and reserve elements.

This combined military force is now

the largest in Central America and totals up to 70,000 men.

Based on the pace of new airfield construction and the development of new ground-force installations, it is evident to us that the Sandinistas are achieving military force levels and capabilities that are in excess of those normally required purely for defensive purposes.

We believe that they have already upset the military balance in Central America. This is especially true since their neighbor to the south, Costa Rica, maintains no standing army.

Let me now share with you the evidence that is available to us.

First graphic please. In any discussion on the Sandinista military buildup, one has to talk about Nicaraguan military facilities. At the present time, we have confirmed from aerial photography and other sources 49 active military garrisons. The amazing thing about that figure is that 36 of them are new military garrisons since the Sandinistas have taken power. Thirteen of the garrisons to make up the total of 49 are old Somoza garrisons that have been refurbished to accommodate the Sandinistan military units.

Most of these garrison areas are built along Cuban design. In fact, we have evidence of facilities in Cuba that we'll exhibit today that are seen in Nicaragua.

## 14 Installations

The installations we're going to talk about are shown, or highlighted, here. Fourteen are the ground-force installations. They are not all of them there, some of the main ones, here marked by the military symbol a standing soldier. Fourteen of them, plus four new airfield activities, we're watching very carefully at Puerto Cabezas, Bluefields, Montelimar and near Managua itself. And, by the way, this inset of Lake Managua is enlarged in the upper left, where you can see the town of Managua and the newly established ground-force garrison that we're going to be discussing in the context of today's presentation.

This is Sandino Airfield, the main international field.

As I mentioned a moment ago, all of these take on a Cuban design and character. Let me show you what we are saying on the reconnaissance photography. Next graphic.

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NEW YORK DAILY NEWS  
10 March 1982

STATINTL

# Red bases in pix of Nicaragua

—By LARS-ERIK NELSON

Washington (News Bureau)—The Reagan administration yesterday published highly detailed spy-plane photographs to document what it described as a Soviet and Cuban-aided military buildup in Nicaragua.

Adm. Bobby Inman, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, said the leftist Sandinista government in Managua was trying to build up a regular army of up to 50,000 men and was laying the foundation for a sophisticated air force that would be the most powerful in Central America.

The Nicaraguans have justified their military buildup by citing continued resistance from exiles who supported dictator Anastasio Somoza.

Nicaragua, Inman said, "is achieving force levels far in excess of what is required for its self-defense." What United States intelligence witnessed, he added, was "believe me, exactly the same pattern" as what had occurred in Cuba in the early 1960s, when the Soviets began to arm Fidel Castro.

A SERIES OF SLIDES, shown to journalists in a Vietnam war-style briefing, depicted the lengthening of Nicaraguan airfields and the construction of "standard Soviet-style" military camps, with obstacle courses, running tracks and parade grounds.

The photographs, taken by manned reconnaissance planes over Nicaragua, were so detailed that briefer John Hughes, described by Inman as the "premier photo interpreter in the U.S. intelligence community," said he could detect the chinning bars on the exercise fields. Hughes was the briefer who had explained the arrival of Soviet missiles in Cuba 20 years ago.

The slides showed three types of military activity in Nicaragua:

- The construction of military garrisons at 36 sites. Hughes said the construction followed the standard Soviet and Cuban pattern of a rectangular enclosure divided into three equal sections for garages, barracks and training fields. At one site, on Lake Managua, the photo showed a mockup of an airport that could be used to train guerrillas in how to attack aircraft on the ground.

- The lengthening of runways at four Nicaraguan airfields. Hughes said the construction appeared to be intended to allow Mig-21 fighters with full bomb loads to use the fields. Nicaragua currently does not have any Mig-21s, but 50 pilots are undergoing extended flight training in Cuba and Bulgaria.

- The destruction of Indian villages near the border with Honduras. The photographs showed that even churches had been burned to the ground. Nicaragua has said that it relocated 8,500 Indians away from the border but has blamed the destruction of the villages on raiders from Honduras. Inman said the destruction was too complete to have been the work of isolated raiders.

The photographs also showed the deployment of Soviet T-55 tanks and armored personnel carriers. Hughes said the Nicaraguan armed forces were provided with heavy-duty military ferries that would allow the tanks to cross rivers.

He said Cuba currently has 2,000 military and security advisers in Nicaragua and 4,000 other teachers and advisers. Inman said 50 to 70 Soviet officers were providing high-level military guidance to the Nicaraguan army.

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ON PAGE 2.CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
10 March 1982

# The news—briefly

## CIA charges Nicaraguan buildup

Washington

US intelligence officials have accused Nicaragua of building a military force larger than that of all its neighbors combined, Monitor correspondent Daniel Southerland reports.

Such a force, they say, could not possibly be required for purely defensive purposes. They speculate that the buildup will be used much as Cuba used its own buildup: to export revolution to other countries.

In a State Department briefing March 9, Bobby Inman, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, said the buildup was "vastly beyond any defensive need for Nicaragua."

Mr. Inman and other officials presented aerial photos of Nicaraguan garrisons, airfields, and military equipment, and said Nicaragua appeared to be training a regular army which could total up to 30,000 troops, as well as an additional military force of between 100,000 and 150,000 men.

Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. had promised last week to release detailed evidence of Nicaraguan support for the guerrillas in El Salvador. But the intelligence briefing March 9 failed inexplicably to provide such evidence. State Department officials had earlier explained that much of that material was of a sensitive nature and that its release might endanger intelligence sources.

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BOSTON GLOBE  
10 MARCH 1982

## Nicaragua:

# US says arms balance in area 'upset'

By William Beecher  
Globe Staff

WASHINGTON - Top American intelligence officials charged yesterday that the military buildup in Nicaragua has already "upset the military balance" in Central America and appears aimed at supporting revolutionary movements or threatening direct intervention in the future.

One of the officials, Adm. Bobby Inman, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), said it appears to be following "exactly the same pattern" as occurred in Cuba after the rise of Fidel Castro.

In a briefing at the State Department, complete with aerial reconnaissance photos taken as recently as two weeks ago, officials from the CIA and Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) attempted to document publicly for the first time evidence of the military buildup in Nicaragua as well as of alleged Nicaraguan destruction of Miskito Indian villages on the Nicaragua-Honduras border.

Administration officials are expected to follow later this week, possibly Friday, with their long-promised evidence of outside military supplies to the guerrillas in El Salvador and of command and control of their activities from Nicaragua.

The public briefings, which supplement classified sessions on Capitol Hill this week, are aimed at the rising tide of skepticism that the Administration may be overstating the case for Cuban and Soviet interference in Central America.

"I've watched over the past couple of weeks public servants trying to grapple with the difficulty of conveying information while protecting critical intelligence sources and methods," Inman said, "find-

ing that they're standardly greeted with 'How can we believe you unless you show all the detailed evidence?'"

CIA Director William Casey exercised his authority to declassify some of the intelligence in order to make a public case, Inman said.

A series of reconnaissance photos were flashed on a screen in a State Department auditorium and analyzed by John Hughes, a deputy director of DIA who first came to public attention in 1962 when he briefed on photos of Soviet missiles in Cuba.

The photos were detailed enough to show what Hughes described as troops in the field in Nicaragua training with Soviet anti-aircraft and antitank guns.

Since the rise of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, Hughes said, regular army garrisons have been expanded from 13 to 49, and 14 new airfields have been built, including four with runways long enough to accommodate MIG21 fighter-bombers.

Inman said the intelligence community believes that Nicaraguan pilots now undergoing "advanced" flight training in Bulgaria and Cuba will return home later this year and that MIG21s probably will be delivered shortly thereafter.

The scope of facilities being constructed, Inman added, probably means that another 50 to 75 Soviet T55 tanks will be added soon to the 25 T55 tanks now in Nicaragua. By way of comparison, he said, Guatemala has only five World War II tanks.

Besides infantry and armored battalion garrisons, which he said were built on the Soviet-Cuban model, Hughes showed photos of a training facility near Managua where he said troops were getting commando-type training in how to attack airfields and destroy planes with small explosive-satchel charges. He noted an effective attack of that sort occurred recently in El Salvador, but he stopped short of tying Nicaraguans to that raid.

In answer to questions, Inman said the scope of facilities under construction suggest plans for a Nicaragua standing military force

of from 25,000 to 30,000 militia of 100,000 to 150,000. Such a force, he said, was much larger than Nicaragua would need for de-

ense against any combination of its neighbors. The intelligence officials said there are more than 6000 Cubans in Nicaragua, including about 2000 military and security advisers. Another 50 to 75 Soviet officers, they said, were on hand to advise senior Nicaraguan military officers on force planning and tactics.

Inman said after a marked difference in tactics during the 1960s when Cuba actively supported guerrilla movements in Latin America while the Soviet Union concentrated on established Communist Party political organizations in the region, the two countries now appear to be coordinating efforts to actively support, supply and advise guerrilla movements.

Asked what was behind the buildup in Nicaragua, Inman said he could recall a time when the United States regarded Castro as merely an "agrarian reformer" and withdrew support from Fulgencio Batista, the Cuban dictator. But when Castro assumed power, Inman said, he built Cuba into a military bastion for the export of revolution in the Western hemisphere.

"I believe we're seeing exactly the same pattern in Nicaragua," he declared.

Hughes showed before-and-after photos of several Miskito Indian villages on the Nicaraguan side of the border with Honduras, which he said showed the systematic burning down of all homes, churches and other structures in January and February. Some 10,000 Indians have been forcibly relocated in Nicaragua, he said, and another 12,000 have fled to Honduras.

Asked why this was going on, Inman said he could only speculate that the Nicaraguans might want to clear the area preparatory to moving a Cuban military unit into a nearby facility under construction.

Other sources suggested the Miskitos had opposed some of the Sandinista programs and the latter may have feared they would make common cause with Nicaraguan exiles in Honduras.

Jaime Wheelock Roman, a member of the nine-man Sandinista Directorate, which rules Nicaragua, claimed in a news conference last week in Washington that the forced removal was

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WALL STREET JOURNAL  
10 March 1982

# Nicaragua Photos Shown to Prove Military Buildup

## U.S. Intelligence Officials Offer Spy Plane Pictures To Win Over Skeptics

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
WASHINGTON — U.S. intelligence officials, in a rare release of secret information, yesterday displayed dozens of reconnaissance photographs to support charges that Nicaragua is engaged in a dangerous military buildup.

The pictures were taken from U.S. spy planes flying over Nicaragua during the past year, Bobby Ray Inman, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, said. The pictures, which were shown to reporters at the State Department, seem to show the construction of Cuban-style military bases, the construction and extension of four airfields to handle large jets and the placement of Soviet tanks, trucks and antiaircraft guns.

The unusual news briefing was just the first in a series of presentations of intelligence information planned this week to support the administration's tough Central American policies.

The CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency have prepared a second briefing that reportedly shows evidence of Nicaraguan support for guerrillas in El Salvador. That presentation is to be made privately today and tomorrow to some former top government officials of both parties and to congressional committees. Reporters will see the presentation Friday, Reagan administration officials said.

The briefings are designed to win over skeptics who contend the administration is exaggerating the military danger from Nicaragua and the extent of Cuban and Nicaraguan support for the guerrilla movement in El Salvador. Intelligence officials, who are reluctant to release such sensitive information, declassified the materials at the urging of the administration.

### Large Military Buildup

"I'm here this afternoon because I'm concerned and because I'm angry," Mr. Inman said as he opened the briefing. He explained that he was concerned because of Nicaragua's military buildup and angry because some Congressmen have demanded to see sensitive intelligence material before believing the administration's claims.

John Hughes, deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, said that Nicaragua's military forces have grown to about 70,000 troops. By contrast, he said, Nicaragua had a national guard of about 10,000 troops before Sandinista rebels overthrew a military government there in 1979.

Those forces are organized into 49 active garrisons, 36 more than before the Sandinista takeover, he added.

Moreover, the officials charged that the rapid construction of military facilities shows that Nicaragua plans to continue expanding its armed forces. Mr. Inman predicted that Nicaragua eventually will build a standing army of 25,000 to 30,000 troops and a militia of an additional 100,000 to 150,000 members.

The officials charged that the army is becoming so large and well-equipped that it doesn't appear intended for defensive purposes alone. U.S. analysts fear that Nicaragua may use the army to forcibly spread revolution in Central America or to intimidate its neighbors into accepting leftist governments.

To house its army, Mr. Hughes charged, Nicaragua is building a series of military installations and refurbishing existing ones. The new facilities are being built with precisely the same layout as Cuban bases, Mr. Hughes charged, showing photographs of Cuban bases that appeared similar to support his contention.

### Soviet Guns Shown

The photos also show that the Nicaraguan facilities, like Cuba's, are guarded by Soviet antiaircraft guns, Mr. Hughes said. He added that Nicaragua's troops also have received other Soviet-made equipment in the past few months, including 25 tanks, 12 large howitzers, two helicopters, 12 armored personnel carriers and amphibious vehicles to carry the heavy equipment.

The U.S. officials said they also expect Nicaragua to receive Soviet-made MIG17 or MIG21 fighter jets in the next few months. They charged that 50 Nicaraguan pilots are in Eastern Europe learning to fly the planes and that four airfields are being expanded so their runways will be long enough to accommodate large MIGs loaded with bombs.

All told, Mr. Hughes said, Nicaragua already has "upset the military balance in Central America." Armies in the region are

that Nicaragua's government has launched a campaign to drive out the Indians, who have frequently criticized the leftist Sandinista government.

Some administration officials said that the next briefing, on Nicaraguan support for guerrillas in El Salvador, doesn't contain as much hard evidence as yesterday's. They explained that it is impossible to get aerial photos of the covert arms shipments the U.S. claims are coming from Nicaragua. Instead, the U.S. has gathered such evidence as small arms caches that have been uncovered and intercepted radio messages that show the cooperation between Nicaraguan groups and the Salvadoran rebels.

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THE WASHINGTON POST  
10 March 1982

# U.S. Shows Photos To Back Charge of Nicaragua Buildup

By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Reagan administration, seeking to swing public opinion behind its Central America policies, yesterday staged a display of blowups of aerial photographs to bolster its charges that Nicaragua is engaged in a massive military buildup that poses a threat to its neighbors.

The photographs, projected onto a giant screen in the darkened large auditorium of the State Department, were the highlights of a lengthy press briefing given by Adm. Bobby R. Inman, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and John Hughes, deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency.

As described by Hughes, the photographs purported to show Nicaraguan military installations built according to an alleged Cuban model, airfields with runways lengthened to handle Soviet Mig jets that the United States claims are earmarked for Nicaragua, and Soviet tanks and artillery in place at some of these installations.

The two officials also showed a series of before-and-after photographs showing Indian villages near Nicaragua's border with Honduras that allegedly were burned by Nicaraguan authorities. The administration has charged Nicaragua with repression and forced relocation of the Miskito Indians and other tribes that lived in the area.

Except for the photographs, collected by unspecified aerial reconnaissance methods, the briefing was largely a reiteration of information that the administration previously made public.

Its main point, which Inman and Hughes tried to drive home with a drumbeat of tough rhetoric, was the allegation that Nicaragua's revolutionary, Sandinista-controlled government, with Cuban and Soviet help, is building an army whose size

needs for legitimate self-defense. Inman said the intelligence community believes Nicaragua's goal is to create a standing army of 25,000 to 30,000 and a ready-reserve militia of between 100,000 and 150,000.

He added that while the purpose wasn't clear, he believes the "pattern of Cuba" is being repeated in Nicaragua and that "the military infrastructure is there to turn the country into a Soviet bastion" from which campaigns of political intimidation or outright warfare can be waged against the rest of the Central American isthmus.

"This time, the ocean barriers aren't there," Inman said. "They can move much more easily into Central American countries."

What set yesterday's briefing apart from previous administration attempts to make its case about communist penetration of Central America was the almost theatrical flair with which it was staged. Administration officials also made clear it was only the opening salvo in a major effort to influence public opinion and counter the mounting opposition in Congress and elsewhere to President Reagan's backing of the military-civilian government in El Salvador and his hostility to Nicaragua.

The session yesterday was limited to presenting evidence about the Nicaraguan arms buildup and did not deal with the charge made by Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. that the leftist guerrillas in the Salvadoran civil war are controlled and supplied by such outside forces as Cuba and Nicaragua. Haig's accusation caused several members of Congress who advocate negotiating with the Salvadoran guerrillas and Nicaragua to ask him for proof.

Inman said evidence about the so-called "Salvador-Nicaragua connection" is being presented to Congress in closed briefings that will continue through Thursday. He also said a similar briefing will be given today at the State Department for a bipartisan group of distinguished former government officials, and he added that another press briefing on the subject is likely Friday.

The tone of the administration's approach was set by Inman, who opened the briefing by saying he was "concerned" and "angry" because the public has not been getting "a clear idea of what is concerning us in the intelligence community" and because government officials have been inhibited in responding to congressional interrogation by the need to protect intelligence sources.

For that reason, he continued, CIA Director William J. Casey had declassified the aerial photographs made public yesterday. To explain them, Inman then called on Hughes, whom he described as "the premier photo interpreter in the intelligence community." He also noted pointedly that Hughes had conducted the briefings during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis dealing with aerial reconnaissance of Soviet missile sites there.

Hughes said there are 49 active military garrisons in Nicaragua, 36 of them built since the Sandinistas won power in 1979. He then showed aerial photos of several that he said were built on the Cuban pattern of a rectangle divided into three parts: a motor pool, a barracks area and a training area containing what he contended were "Soviet-model" obstacle and physical training courses.

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CONTINUED

# U.S.: Photos show Nicaragua buildup

By James McCartney  
*Inquirer Washington Bureau*

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration declassified a set of aircraft reconnaissance photographs yesterday in an effort to document its contention that Nicaragua is involved in a massive military buildup supported by Cuba.

The photographs, taken from manned aircraft, showed barracks, airfields and training facilities that the administration said were of Cuban and Soviet design.

Included were pictures of Soviet-built tanks in training areas, construction on airport runways apparently being extended to handle sophisticated Soviet MiG jet fighters and elaborate training grounds.

An intelligence analyst, John Hughes, described by officials as the "premier photo interpreter in the U.S. intelligence community," said the photographs had been taken in the last two years, since the Marxist-oriented Sandinista government took power.

Adm. Bobby Inman, deputy director of the CIA, said the photographs were being made public in response to denials by a high-level Nicaraguan official that his country was engaged in a military buildup. U.S. officials repeatedly have made that assertion.

Inman declined to answer questions about how the photographs were taken or how often Nicaraguan airspace has been violated by U.S. reconnaissance planes.

He said he was "angry" because the Nicaraguan official, Jaime Wheelock, minister of agriculture and a member of Nicaragua's ruling directorate, had gone unchallenged after asserting over the weekend in New York that U.S. accusations about the Nicaraguan buildup were "completely false."

Said Inman: "He lied directly."

Wheelock, sent by his government to the United States to tell Nicaragua's story, said Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. had been telling "scandalous lies" about Nicaraguan military capabilities in order to create U.S. public support for military intervention in Central America.

The case that officials were trying to make yesterday was a repetition, with photographic support, of the one originally made by Haig in November:

Hughes said Nicaragua was becoming the strongest military power in Central America and was creating "capabilities far in excess of anything required for defensive purposes."

Until the Sandinistas took power, he said, Nicaraguan military forces numbered no more than 10,000, but now — counting both national police and regular military forces — the number may run "up to 70,000 men." About 25,000 to 30,000 of those, he said, would be regular military personnel.

Wheelock had disputed such figures, saying over the weekend that the Nicaraguan army was about 14,000, "not larger" than the force inherited from the previous regime of President Anastasio Somoza.

Hughes said 6,050 Cubans were in Nicaragua helping the government, but a chart listing them by function indicated that more than half were teachers or medical personnel. He also said that at least 50 to 70 Soviet advisers are in Nicaragua.

Inman said that Nicaragua has become a threat to neighboring Central American countries and will become even more of a threat soon if it obtains Soviet-built MiG fighters.

He repeated a Haig assertion that 50 Nicaraguans were being trained in Bulgaria to fly MiGs; and he said all indications were that at least four airfields in Nicaragua were being prepared to handle such aircraft.

"When those MiGs arrive," he said, "the Sandinistas will have the biggest Air Force in Central America."

Inman said that the briefing would be the "first in a series," indicating an administration campaign to increase public support for its hard-line posture in Central America.

The administration apparently plans, in the next few days, to provide evidence of Nicaraguan support of guerrillas in El Salvador.

*The Associated Press contributed to this article.*



NEW YORK TIMES  
10 MARCH 1982ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE A-18

# U.S. Is Trying to Get Out the Facts

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 9 — The Reagan Administration has launched an information campaign to persuade Congress, the press and the public that it has been telling the truth when it says vital American interests are threatened by a military buildup in Nicaragua sponsored by Cuba and the Soviet Union.

**News Analysis** Senior State Department officials said this afternoon that they had no illusions

that the vigorous campaign would automatically end domestic opposition to the Administration's policy on Central America. That policy is aimed at stemming leftist insurgencies in El Salvador and elsewhere in the region through a combination of economic and military assistance as well as warnings of possible direct military intervention.

"We have to get out the facts we have so that people at least will agree on what is happening down there," said an aide to Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. "Then, we can worry about getting them to accept the policy."

Adm. Bobby R. Inman, the Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, was in charge of a briefing for the press today on the Nicaraguan military buildup.

## Missile Crisis Atmosphere

Admiral Inman did not go so far as to say that the danger to the United States was similar to the threat posed by the Cuban missile crisis, when Soviet missile sites were being built in Cuba apparently to intimidate the United States. But there clearly was an effort to recreate some of the same atmosphere that existed in the tense days of October 1962.

The briefing officer was John T. Hughes, described by Admiral Inman as the best photo reconnaissance analyst in the United States.

Mr. Hughes, who did the major internal Government briefings during the Cuban crisis, spoke today in the same State Department auditorium that he used in 1962 to tell the American public of the military buildup in Cuba and the withdrawal of Soviet forces under the threat of an American invasion of the island.

On Wednesday, a briefing will be given to former secretaries of state and defense, and other national security figures of the past, such as Dean Rusk, George W. Ball, Maxwell D. Taylor and Henry A. Kissinger, in an effort to get their endorsement of the Administration's position.

## A Briefing on Capitol Hill

On Thursday, briefings will be given on Capitol Hill to members of Congress who want to see evidence supporting the Administration's assertions.

On Friday, there is to be another briefing for the press, perhaps with Nicaraguan military defectors rebutting the Sandinist Government's denial that it has embarked on a major military buildup and is aiding the Salvadoran insurgents.

There were no striking revelations at the briefing today.

Mr. Haig, appearing on Capitol Hill last week, said that there were 2,000 Cuban military advisers and 70 Soviet advisers in Nicaragua.

And officials had already spoken with concern about the lengthening of Nicaraguan airfields and the building of new bases. The officials viewed these developments as preparations for the introduction of Soviet MIG fighters, to be flown by Nicaraguan pilots undergoing training in Cuba and Bulgaria.

## Photos Support U.S. on Buildup

But the use of photos taken by American planes flying directly over and around Nicaragua seemed to provide credible support for the Administration's concern. What was missing from the briefing was any of the "overwhelming and irrefutable" evidence that Mr. Haig says the Administration has accumulated to prove that the Salvadoran insurgency is being directed from Nicaragua and Cuba by non-Salvadorans.

A State Department official said this evidence might not be supplied to the press because it was much more "sensitive" than photo reconnaissance.

The "sensitive" category would include information from undercover agents who could be compromised by release of the data. It would also include "signal and electronic intelligence," which involves sophisticated eavesdropping by ships, satellites, planes and land stations of voice, radar and radio signals. Traditionally, intelligence agencies have been very reluctant to allow the public access to such data.

Last week, the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency discussed the "declassification" of the intelligence information. The department sought — and failed — to persuade the agency to release some of the material that would back up Mr. Haig's contention that the Salvadoran insurgents are commanded from outside El Salvador.

## A Difficult Consensus

It is difficult to forge a consensus in Washington on what is happening in El Salvador.

It seems evident from the briefing today that the Nicaraguan forces are being expanded. But it has not yet been shown that there is a direct relationship between the expansion and the guerrilla war in El Salvador.

Admiral Inman said the briefing was the first in a series. He said El Salvador would be discussed later. He did not promise, however, to produce evidence said to link the two countries.

In 1962, President John F. Kennedy had no trouble winning Congressional and public support for his confrontational policy with the Soviet Union over Cuba. That confrontation produced a major loss of face for the Soviet Union when Nikita S. Khrushchev backed down and pulled Soviet missiles and bombers out of Cuba.

## A Two-Fold Problem

But, as Mr. Haig has found out on Capitol Hill, there is no such support today. The Administration's problems appear to be two-fold.

First, the danger posed to the United States from the Caribbean region does not seem so direct as it did in 1962.

The old Soviet T-55 tanks and out-of-date anti-aircraft guns in Nicaragua may seem a vast arsenal in Central American terms. But they are hardly the same threat to the United States as the Soviet medium-range missiles in Cuba.

To persuade people that Nicaragua is a threat, it is necessary for Administration officials — as Admiral Inman did today — to repeat a modern day "domino theory" in which El Salvador, then Honduras and Guatemala, and eventually Costa Rica might fall to Cuban-backed insurgents, endangering the Panama Canal, Mexico and American shipping lanes.

## Lack of Enthusiasm in Congress

Secondly, because of the Vietnam experience, many members of Congress have no enthusiasm, and indeed actively oppose, American involvement in guerrilla wars backing questionable governments.

Talk of a domino theory only links El Salvador to Vietnam more strongly in their minds, even though Mr. Haig and others say the analogy is wrong — that Central America is close at hand and should be decisively dealt with by the United States to prevent other Cubas from developing.

Admiral Inman, when asked today what he would suggest to eliminate the problem, said the C.I.A. does not make policy. Ask the State Department, he replied.

Before a Senate committee on Wednesday, is trying to assure members of Congress that there are no plans to send American

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BALTIMORE SUN  
10 March 1982

STATINTL

# U.S. decries buildup of Nicaraguan forces

By Henry Trehitt  
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—Intelligence authorities yesterday made public aerial photographs to support claims that Nicaragua is building the most powerful armed forces in Latin America and burning villages to clear Indians from the border with Honduras.

One sequence of photographs showed extensive construction of runways to accommodate jet fighters that Nicaragua does not yet have. Another showed a series of new garrisons, some still under construction, that are almost duplicates of Cuban bases—photos of which also were displayed for comparison.

Appearing throughout the photographs was an array of equipment—tanks, guns, trucks, helicopters, amphibious vehicles—which John Hughes, the premier American interpreter of intelligence photographs, identified as Soviet-made. It was Mr. Hughes who in 1962 discovered on photographs the Soviet missiles in Cuba that led to Soviet-American confrontation.

Adm. Bobby R. Inman, the deputy director of central intelligence, said the evidence supports the belief that Nicaragua already has "upset the military balance in Central America." When the expected Soviet jet fighters arrive, he added, it will have the most powerful air force in the region.

Admiral Inman conducted the unusual briefing, backed by Mr. Hughes and Lt. Gen. James Williams, director of the Defense Intelligence Agency. The intelligence community went

public, declassifying sensitive photographs, the admiral said, partly because he was "concerned and angry."

He was concerned over what the buildup "means for this country," he explained, and angry because of skepticism—presumably on the part of the media—toward previous administration claims. The photographs were taken from manned reconnaissance planes, he said, and he did not make public even more sensitive material, such as agent reports.

The administration plans a comparable report for Friday regarding the situation in El Salvador. U.S. officials say the leftist insurgency there receives at least part of its arms through Nicaragua.

Admiral Inman only rarely departed from presentation of the evidence yesterday. But he did speculate that the offensive potential in Nicaragua was evidence that Cuba and the Soviet Union had resolved four or five years ago a long debate about how to encourage revolution.

Other officials have argued that the Soviets earlier chose to operate only through established Communist parties, avoiding sponsorship of such groups as the Sandinista leaders of Nicaragua. Their indirect involvement in Nicaragua, and the even less direct one in El Salvador, would mean by that judgment that the more assertive approach of President Fidel Castro of Cuba has prevailed.

From the evidence now available, Admiral Inman said, Nicaragua projects regular forces of at least 25,000 to 30,000 men and a militia of 100,000 to 150,000. Some analysts

predict regular forces of 50,000, he added, but the intelligence community "is not ready to go that high."

With 70,000 men in combined forces, he reported, Nicaragua now has a more formidable military structure than it did under the late dictator Gen. Anastasio Somoza Debayle. It has no conceivable defensive use for such forces, he said, implying that they could only be used against Nicaragua's neighbors.

The bases and airfields now built or under construction, he said, amount to "clearly the infrastructure for a larger military force." He remarked that the training of 50 Nicaraguan pilots in Bulgaria has been extended, indicating that they will get the MiG-21 fighter, not the less potent MiG-17.

Admiral Inman reported 16 Miskito Indian villages destroyed along the Coco River, which marks the border with Honduras. Before and after photographs indicated complete destruction.

"There are 23,000 now homeless," the admiral said, 12,000 of whom have fled to Honduras. The Sandinista government has reported 8,500 in its own camps, saying they were relocated to reduce provocations.

But, again speculating, Admiral Inman judged that the northeast Miskito area is where any substantial contingent of Cubans probably would be assembled. A new airfield is under construction at Puerto Cabezas on the Caribbean in that region.

To illustrate the similarity of Nicaragua's new garrisons and those of Cuba, Mr. Hughes showed slides of one in Cuba, and a comparable one at Managua, Nicaragua. The latter base also includes a mockup of an airfield with derelict aircraft.

Admiral Inman said the field is used for training in guerrilla activity—such as the raid that destroyed much of El Salvador's air force in January.

Other slides showed details that Mr. Hughes identified as Soviet-model obstacle courses for training troops and even grease pits for trucks.

Admiral Inman observed that the Sandinista government has yet turned completely to the Cuban model, noting that it still tries to keep peace with private capital. But the stage is set for change, he said, "and I believe you can see some pattern developing here."

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LOS ANGELES TIMES  
10 MARCH 1982

STATINTL

# Photos on Nicaragua 'Buildup' Released

## U.S. Says Aerial Pictures Support Charge of Cuban, Soviet-Backed Arms Expansion

By OSWALD JOHNSTON, Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—The Reagan Administration on Tuesday released the largest array of secret U.S. reconnaissance photographs to be made public since the Cuban missile crisis to back up its charge that a Cuban-led, Soviet-supplied military buildup is under way in Nicaragua.

Adm. Bobby R. Inman, CIA deputy director and one of two top intelligence officials who presented the Administration's case, said he is "concerned and angry" that warnings about the military buildup have not been widely accepted in this country.

Adm. John Hughes, deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency—and the man who briefed the White House on the Cuban missile crisis nearly 20 years ago—presented the recently declassified aerial photographs.

### Photographic Evidence

The photographs, whose existence disclosed that U.S. reconnaissance planes have been flying over Nicaraguan territory, showed:

Four newly improved military airstrips, recently paved or lengthened to accept Soviet-built MiG-17 or MiG-21 fighter-bombers. The airstrips, two of them on the east coast of Nicaragua, are equipped with defensive embankments and Soviet-made anti-aircraft batteries. The airfields are at Puerto Cabezas and Bluefields on the Caribbean coast, at Monteclimar on the Pacific coast and at Sandino, near Managua. It was previously reported that 75 Nicaraguan pilots are being trained in Bulgaria and Cuba.

A commando training area on the shores of Lake Managua, near the capital, including a mock airfield, presumably for training in offensive guerrilla tactics such as the successful raid in January on the main military airfield in El Salvador.

tank guns nearby. These are older-model tanks, but Inman said the only other armor in all Central America is one World War II-vintage tank in Guatemala and another in Honduras.

—A permanent garrison for a 25-tank armored battalion under construction. Hughes described the installation as similar to such garrisons in Cuba—complete with barracks, an obstacle course, a training ground and covered bays for the tanks. Inman said he expects the eventual Nicaraguan armored buildup to reach 50 or even 75 tanks.

—Several examples of what Hughes described as Cuban-style military garrisons, with a truck garage, barracks, a training and exercise area, walled fortifications with watchtowers and Soviet-built anti-aircraft installations nearby. Hughes said 35 new garrisons of this type are in operation or are being constructed in addition to 13 older garrisons dating from the regime of President Anastasio Somoza, who was overthrown by the Sandinistas who control the present government.

### Nicaraguan Buildup

Inman and Hughes claimed that the photographs are clear proof that Nicaragua is building a military structure far more sophisticated and larger than anything that existed under Somoza, when Nicaragua's army numbered 14,000.

Inman expressed annoyance that Nicaragua's agriculture minister, Jaime Wheelock, won substantial press coverage with his claim to U.S. reporters last week that Nicaragua's army is no larger now than it was in the previous regime. "He lied directly, and no one seemed to challenge him," Inman said.

He said the facilities displayed in the reconnaissance photographs prove earlier estimates that Nicaragua has 25,000 to 30,000 men, with a militia that could be as large as 150,000 men.

STATINTL

ing 25 Soviet-made T-54 or T-55 tanks and a firing range. The photograph was detailed enough to show

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE  
10 March 1982

# U.S. documents Nicaragua arms

From Tribune Wire Services

WASHINGTON—Two high U.S. intelligence officials made public Tuesday reconnaissance photographs in support of Reagan administration allegations that Nicaragua has engaged in a major military build-up that threatens its Central American neighbors.

John Hughes, deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, said the Nicaraguan build-up, which has been assisted by the Soviet Union and Cuba, far exceeds anything Nicaragua needs for its defense.

"We believe this has already upset the military balance in Central America," Hughes said.

But the administration left for later in the week the long-awaited release of evidence it says will document accusations that the insurgency in El Salvador is being directed and controlled from Nicaragua and Cuba.

ADM. BOBBY INMAN, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, told reporters a Nicaraguan government official had lied in declaring in New York last week that the Nicaraguan army is no larger than it was two years ago under the ousted government of Anastasio Somoza.

"He lied directly, and no one seemed to challenge that process," Inman said during a briefing at the State Department.

Inman also said "I'm angry" because many people, including government officials, have been skeptical about information presented.

There was nothing essentially new in the information presented by Inman and Hughes, who Inman said was the "premier" interpreter of aerial reconnaissance photographs gathered by the U.S. intelligence community.

MEANWHILE, THE Salvadoran army pounded the rugged, guerrilla-infested hills of Morazan province with artillery, planes and 2,000 troops on the third day of an operation aimed at cleaning out leftist hideouts.

An army spokesman said 30 of 35 bodies found in the country had been identified as guerrillas. The others were not identified.

Judicial authorities reported finding nine bodies near the eastern city of San Miguel, six in San Vicente also to the east, 12 in the capital and eight near Santa Ana to the west. All had been shot to death, they said.

In other related developments:

- The State Department said Tuesday that an Amnesty International report criticizing El Salvador's human rights performance has limited value because it covers events 8 to 14 months old. The report issued Monday by the organization said Salvadoran security forces have been "carrying out a systematic and widespread program of torture, 'disappearances' and individual and mass killings of men, women and children."

- Sen. Mark Hatfield (R., Ore.) announced Tuesday he will ask the Senate to stop all military aid to El Salvador unless its U.S.-backed junta seeks "good faith" negotiations with the leftist guerrillas.

- Undersecretary of State Thomas Enders said Tuesday in Buenos Aires the Organization of American States might eventually create an inter-American peacekeeping force for El Salvador, but such an option was not being advocated by the United States or Argentina. Enders mentioned the possibility of invoking the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro—the basis for the 11,000-man inter-American force that intervened in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

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9 March 1982

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US-EL SALVADOR EVIDENCE (TOPS W045)

BY BARRY SCHNEID

WASHINGTON (AP) -- TWO HIGH U.S. INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS MADE RECONNAISSANCE PHOTOGRAPHS PUBLIC TODAY IN SUPPORT OF REAGAN ADMINISTRATION ALLEGATIONS THAT NICARAGUA HAS ENGAGED IN A MAJOR MILITARY BUILDUP THAT THREATENS ITS CENTRAL-AMERICAN NEIGHBORS. JOHN HUGHES, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, SAID THE NICARAGUAN BUILDUP, WHICH HAS BEEN ASSISTED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA, FAR EXCEEDS ANYTHING NICARAGUA NEEDS FOR ITS OWN DEFENSES.

"WE BELIEVE THIS HAS ALREADY UPSET THE MILITARY BALANCE IN CENTRAL AMERICA," HUGHES SAID.

BUT THE ADMINISTRATION LEFT FOR LATER IN THE WEEK THE LONG-AWAITED RELEASE OF EVIDENCE IT SAYS WILL DOCUMENT ITS ACCUSATIONS THAT THE INSURGENCY IN EL SALVADOR IS BEING DIRECTED AND CONTROLLED FROM NICARAGUA AND CUBA.

ADM. BOBBY INMAN, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, TOLD REPORTERS THAT A NICARAGUAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL HAD LIED IN DECLARING IN NEW YORK LAST WEEK THAT THE NICARAGUAN ARMY IS 10 LARGER NOW THAN IT WAS UNDER THE OUSTED REGIME OF ANASTASIO SOMOZA TWO YEARS AGO.

"HE LIED DIRECTLY AND NO ONE SEEMED TO CHALLENGE THAT PROCESS ..." INMAN SAID AT A BRIEFING AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

INMAN ALSO SAID "I'M ANGRY" BECAUSE MANY PEOPLE, INCLUDING GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, HAVE BEEN SKEPTICAL ABOUT INFORMATION PRESENTED SO FAR ON THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

THERE WAS NOTHING ESSENTIALLY NEW IN THE INFORMATION PRESENTED BY INMAN AND HUGHES, WHO INMAN SAID WAS THE "PREMIER" INTERPRETER OF AERIAL RECONNAISSANCE PHOTOGRAPHS GATHERED BY THE U.S. INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.

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## Soviet Exchange

# Technology: U.S. Secrets of the Trade

By BRYCE NELSON,  
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—The visitors seemed harmless enough, a group of Soviet aviation specialists amiably touring the non-secret sections of some U.S. aircraft factories as guests of the State Department.

Only later did a defector add a stunning postscript: The visitors had worn special shoes to pick up metal shavings—shavings that FBI Director William H. Webster says were probably used to help the Russians identify metal alloys needed "to produce their giant troop transportation planes."

Webster tells the story these days to illustrate what he and other high-ranking officials in the Reagan Administration see as a major threat to national security: the Soviet Union's no-holds-barred campaign to get American technology that can be used by its vast military machine.

### Crackdown Sought

The Administration's concern has led it to seek a crack down on what CIA Deputy Director Bobby R. Inman calls "the hemorrhage of the nation's technology." But the Administration's drive presents a dilemma: how to minimize the loss of militarily valuable technology without cutting this country off from valuable exchanges and stifling the free flow of information that many consider vital to continued progress.

The threat from the Russians is not new, of course. Transfers of technology with direct military application long have been banned by law. Elaborate machinery also exists to review proposed export sales of civilian technology that could have military uses.

The problem, however, has always been where to draw the line, no easy task in an era when computers built to write payroll checks can be adapted to help guide nuclear missiles. And inevitably, specific cases get entangled in economic, political and foreign-policy considerations that influence the decisions.

### Tendency to Underestimate

To the Reagan Administration and many others, the result has been a persistent tendency for the United States to underestimate the size of the threat and thus be too accommodating. Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger says: "The Soviets have organized a massive, systematic effort to get advanced technology from the West. The purpose of this is to support the Soviet military buildup."

To many scientists and American businessmen, on the other hand, the Administration's new push against technology transfers is heading toward a cure that they fear may be worse than the disease.

Not only has the United States itself gained valuable information from contacts with the Soviet Union, skeptics about the Administration's position say, but U.S. science and technology owe much of their excellence to the fact that this country has an open society in which new ideas and research findings spread quickly to stimulate further advances.

Moreover, says Thane Gustafson, a Rand Corp. specialist in Soviet affairs, "if we cut down on exchanges,

we return to the 1950s. It makes us vulnerable to the mistake we made after Sputnik of thinking the Soviets are technologically 10 feet tall."

Unconvinced, Administration officials point to a wide variety of openings through which sensitive technology can escape: export sales, both legal and illegal; espionage; exchange visits by Soviet scientists and others, and Soviet monitoring of the massive technological literature published here.

The flow of information between the Soviet Union and the United States is so vast that there is no way, experts say, to tote up a balance sheet and determine whether this country has lost more than it has gained.

But those worried about the Soviet side of the ledger point to evidence of debits:

—The installation in Soviet weapons of sophisticated printed circuit boards that are similar to U.S. products. In addition, the Russians are now building microprocessors using Western technology that make their anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles much "smarter."

—The 1972 sale of 168 Bryant precision machines for the manufacture of microballbearings, the bearings are indispensable in precision gyroscopes for missiles.

—The contribution of European and U.S. technology to the building of the Kama River truck plant; trucks manufactured there were used in the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

—Sales of civilian radar sets that, Weinberger said in an interview, could be used to spot incoming U.S. cruise missiles.

### Scientific Exchanges

—Acquisition of militarily important information through scientific exchanges such as one that, Pentagon officials say, enabled Russian scientist S. A. Gubin to work at an American university in the field of fuel-air explosives, a vital area for the design of small aerial bombs.

Opponents of a sharp crackdown, on the other hand, say the record shows that the United States also has derived substantial benefits from its contacts with the Soviet Union, as examples, they cite:

—Important, hard-to-obtain experience inside the Soviet Union for Americans who later use their knowledge in the U.S. government, in university research or in business corporations.

—Research ideas on deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) provided by visiting Soviet biologist A. D. Mirzabekov, ideas that Harvard molecular biologist Walter Gilbert credits with leading to the work for which Gilbert won the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1980.

—Research training in areas of particular Soviet strength, such as metallurgy, several branches of physics, mathematics, cancer research, drug testing and space exploration.

William D. Carey, executive officer of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, says the United States has received militarily significant information in metallurgy through its Soviet contacts.

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BIRMINGHAM NEWS (AL)  
2 March 1982

## The CIA And Science

It is fairly clear that the Soviet Union is tuned in to this country's great output of scientific, medical and technical data. Recently it was disclosed that Soviet intelligence had even penetrated the staff of the congressional watchdog agency, the General Accounting Office, and was obtaining data from the agency before it was even published in reports.

Few in government doubt that Soviet agents are gleaning valuable information on science and technology as they regularly examine government files such as those on patents, the Library of Congress and hundreds of scientific journals and reports available for pennies and at almost no effort.

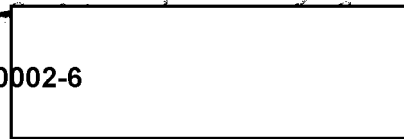
But what to do about this kind of exploitation is easier asked than answered. Some senior defense and intelligence people believe that scientists working in certain fields should curtain off themselves and their work to avoid the prying eyes of Soviet agents.

If American science does not voluntarily censor itself, Adm. Bobby R. Inman, deputy CIA director, said recently, its traditional resistance to "regulation of any kind" will be crushed by a wave of concern by the public and Congress. The admiral is probably overestimating both public and congressional concern.

University-based computer scientists have already agreed to voluntary pre-publication review by government agencies of research papers of possible value to the Soviet Union on making and breaking codes.

But the country should go slow on restricting — even voluntarily — the free flow of scientific information. While it may be difficult to prove, it is generally believed that the essential difference between the Soviets and the United States regarding progress in science and technology is the free flow of information about research. In other words, it is the free exchange of scientific information that makes the United States superior, and without that free flow, the situations in both countries would be relatively equal.

We do have advanced technologies in the form of both equipment and information that we want to keep secret as long as possible. But security techniques already exist for accomplishing that end without closing off our most productive scientists from new information. The greatest care should be exercised before we voluntarily surrender the essential practice that gives the United States its great advantage.



# Washington Roundup

STATINTL

## Coast Guard Shift

Another attempt to remove the Coast Guard from Dept. of Transportation and place it under military control was made last week in legislation proposed by Rep. George M. O'Brien (R.-Ill.), who would create a new Dept. of the Coast Guard within the Defense Dept. Under current budget proposals, the Coast Guard will have to store 25 of 41 of its new Dassault-Breguet HU-25As in the desert beginning early next year because of lack of operating funds.

Congressional concern over a White House executive order creating new security classification procedures could delay it. Although congressional approval is not required, National Security Adviser William Clark has told Rep. Glenn English (D.-Okla.) that a comment period will be extended. English, chairman of the House Government Operations subcommittee on government information and individual rights, has scheduled hearings Mar. 10-11. The House Science and Technology subcommittee on science, research and technology also plans a hearing.

Differences are growing between scientists and Adm. Bobby R. Inman, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, over controls on scientific papers. Scientists now refer to his ideas (AW&ST Feb. 8, p. 10) as "the Inman constraint."