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EO 12356: DECL: 8-18-89

TAGS: OVIP MOPS NU HU ES

SUBJECT: CODEL WILSON: BRIEFING ON THE MILITARY SITUATION

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL-ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY: SENATOR WILSON WAS BRIEFED BY COMANDANTE ANTENOR ROSALES ON THE MILITARY SITUATION CONFRONTING NICARAGUA. ACCORDING TO ROSALES, THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY FORCES DO NOT REPRESENT A THREAT TO THE REVOLUTION, AND THE GRN COULD CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH THEM, THOUGH AT HIGH COST. ROSALES SAID THAT THE GRN HAD THE ABILITY TO ARM 50,000 MEN, AND PLANNED TO BUILD ITS DEFENSIVE ARMY TO THAT NUMBER. HE STATED THAT THE MILITARY CONSCRIPTION ACT WAS FOR THE PURPOSE OF GETTING EVERYONE INTO THE MILITAL, AND THAT ONLY 200 CUBAN MILITARY ADVISORS WERE IN THE COUNTRY. THE INSURGENCY IN EL SALVADOR WAS IN NO WAY DIRECTED FROM NICARAGUA, HE ASSERTED, ALTHOUGH THE GRN ACKNOWLEDGED ITS SOLIDARITY WITH THE SALVADORAN REVOLUTIONARIES. END SUMMARY.
- 3. SENATOR PETE WILSON AND AMBASSADOR QUAINTON WERE BRIEFED AUGUST 11 BY NICARAGUAN ARMY CHIEF OF OPERATIONS, COMANDANTE ANTENOR ROSALES, ABOUT THE CURRENT MILITARY SITUATION IN NICARAGUA. ROSALES PROVIDED THE SENATOR WITH A MAP UPON WHICH HAD BEEN OUTLINED THE AREAS OF COMBAT OPERATIONS OF THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY FORCES. THE MAJOR REAS WERE ALONG THE NORTHERN BORDER, ALONG THE SOUTHERN BORDER, SCATTTERED ON THE EAST COAST, AND IN THE INTERIOR THROUH JINDTEGA TO THE MATAGALPA REGION. THE MAP ALSO SHOWED WHERE CONTRA BASES WERE SAID TO BE IN HONDURAS AND IN COSTA RICA.
- 4. ROSALES REPORTED THAT THE CONTRAS USED HIT AND RUN TACTICS AGAINST THE NICARAGUAN FORCES, BUT THAT THEY

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DID NOT REPRESENT A DANGER TO THE REVOLUTION NOTWITH-STANDING THEIR IMPORVED ARMAMENTS, FOREIGN AID, AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT. HE SAID THAT UNFORTUNATELY THE NICARAGUANS WERE FORCED TO DIVERT RESOURCES FROM HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND OTHER AREAS TO PROVIDE FOR DEFENSE.

- 5. ROSALES SPOKE BRIEFLY ON CONTRA CAPABILITIES. HE SAID THAT THE CONTRAS HAD MILITARY EXPERIENCE. THEY WERE WELL ARMED AND TRAINED, HAD A COHERENT IDEOLOGY (ANTI-COMMUNISM) AND A SANCTUARY IN HONDURAS FROM WHICH TO OPERATE. ALTHOUGH THEIR MORALE WAS GOOD THEY HAD SUFFERED MANY LOSSES AND WERE FATIGUED. HE CLAIMED THAT THEIR MAJOR PROBLEM WAS ONE OF LOGISTICS AS THE TERRAIN MADE IT DIFFICULT TO RESUPPLY THEIR AREAS OF OPERATION. ROSALES REITERATED THAT THE CONTRAS WERE NOT A THREAT, AS EVIDENCED BY THE FACT THAT THEY HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONTROL ONE BIT OF TERRAIN. OR TAKE AND HOLD A STRETCH OF ROAD FOR MORE THAN SIX HOURS. ON THE OTHER HAND, ROSALES SAID THAT BECAUSE OF THE ROUGH TERRAIN AND THEIR SANCTUARY IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT TO ANNIHILATE THOSE FORCES.
- 6. DISCUSSING FOREIGN MILITARY AID TO NICARAGUA AND THE GRN'S ABILITY TO DEAL WITH THE CONTRAS, ROSALES SAID THAT THE SANDINISTA MILITARY WAS IN NEED OF MORE HELICOPTERS, BECAUSE THE FEW MI-8'S AND ALLOUETTES THEY HAD WERE NOT ENOUGH TO FIGHT THAT TYPE OF BATTLE. ROSALES CLAIMED THAT THE ARMY HAD U.S., FRENCH, AND SOVIET HELICOPTERS AND SOME FOREIGN TECHNICIANS, AND WAS VERY FIRM IN STATING THAT THERE WERE ONLY 200 CUBAN MILITARY ADVISORS.
- 7 ROSALES CLAIMED THAT THERE WAS A GREAT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MILITARY SITUATION OF NICARAGUA AND EL SALVADOR, WHERE THE ARMY HAD A STRONG REAR ECHELON OF TROOPS, AND WHERE THE INSURGENTS OPERATED COMPLETELY WITHIN EL SALVADOR'S BORDERS. THERE, HE SAID, THE ARMY WAS CONDUCTING THE WAR, WHEREAS IN NICARAGUA THE GOVERNMENT USED MILITIAS AND RESERVES TO DO THE FIGHTING. THE COMANDANTE SAID THAT THOSE GROUPS HAD BEEN THE ONES TO CARRY MOST OF THE WEIGHT OF THE WAR, AND THAT THE RATIONALE FOR THIS WAS TWOFOLD: FIRST, BECAUSE MILITIAS AND RESERVES WERE ORGANIZED IN A TERRITORIAL MANNER, THUS THEY COULD OPERATE WHERE THEY LIVED; AND SECOND, THE REGULAR FORCES OF THE ARMY WERE BEING USED TO DEFEND MAJOR STRATEGIC AND POPULATED AREAS SUCH AS MANAGUA.

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8. ACCORDING TO ROSALES, THE PATRIOTIC MILITARY SERVICE LAW CONSISTED OF TWO PHAES: REGISTRATION AND CONSCRIPTION. IT WOULD PROVIDE THE GRN WITH THE ABILITY TO ORGANIZE AND PREPARE THE PEOPLE FOR ENTRY INTO THE ARMY. THE MILITIA WOULD ALWAYS HAVE TO BE 10 TO 20 TIMES AS LARGE AS THE REGULARS IN ORDER TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY. THE PROPOSED LAW MEANT THAT ALL NICARAGUANS WOULD BE OBLIGED TO DEFEND THE FATHERLAND. IN ITS IMPLEMENTATION, ROSALES SAID THAT NICARAGUA WOULD THEN HAVE THE CAPACITY TO DEFEND AND RESIST ATTACK FROM ANY COUNTRY. ROSALES STATED THAT THERE WAS NO PLAN TO BUILD AN OFFENSIVE ARMY BECAUSE THERE WERE NOT ENOUGH RESOURCES TO CONSTRUCT IT, AND BECAUSE AN ARMY IN AND OF ITSELF WOULD NEVER BE ABLE TO DEFEND THE REVOLUTION.

10. THE SALVADORAN INSURGENTS, ROSALES STATED. HAD A

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JUST CAUSE, AND NICARAGUA WOULD NOT BREAK RELATIONS WITH THEM. HOWEVER, THERE SHOULD BE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO AVOID A DIRECT MILITARY CONFRONTATION. HE SAID THAT THE FMLN GUERRILLAS WERE NOT DIRECTED FROM NICARAGUA, AS COMMANDERS HAD TO BE CLOSE TO THE BATTLE FRONT. WHILE THE CHARGE HAD BEEN MADE, THERE HAD NEVER BEEN ANY PROOF OF IT OR OF THE ALLEGED ARMS TRAFFIC TO EL SALVADOR.

- 11. THE ARMY'S PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICER, SUB-COMMANDANTE SANCHEZ (WHO ALSO ATTENDED THE MEETING), ADDED THAT THE CONTRAS WERE A SPEARHEAD FOR A WAR WHICH NICARAGUA WAS EXPECTING AND PREPARING FOR. HE INSISTED THAT THE NICARAGUAN ARMY WAS ONLY CAPABLE OF RESISTING COMPARABLE FORCES IN THE AREA, AND THAT THE ARMY WAS CONVINCED THAT IT DID NOT NEED CUBAN ASSISTANCE TO CONFRONT ANY OTHER COUNTRY.
- 12. COMMENT: ROSALES WAS ANXIOUS TO CAST THE NICARAGUAN ARMY AS SOLELY DEFENSIVE IN NATURE, AND TO SHOW THAT THE CONTRAS WERE NOT A MILITARY THREAT TO THE GRN'S POWER. AS A SIGN OF HIS GOOD WILL TO THE SENATOR, ROSALES GAVE HIM THE MILITARY BRIEFING MAP ANNOTATED WHERE THE CONTRA OPERATIONS WERE SAID TO BE TAKING PLACE. OF SPECIAL NOTE WAS HIS COMMENT ON THE TOTAL PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE ARMY WHICH ONCE AGAIN DEMONSTRATED THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE FSLN SEES THE ARMY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POPULAR MOBILIZATION AND INDOCTRINATION. END COMMENT.

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