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MIDDLE AMERICA-CARIBBEAN DIVISION

Directorate of Intelligence
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CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE PLAN
WEEKLY UPDATE

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Central Intelligence Agency



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DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE PLAN WEEKLY UPDATE 21 April 1988

This weekly Situation Report is prepared by the Central America and Nicaragua Branches, Office of African and Latin American Analysis. This paper was coordinated with the Directorate of Operations. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to the Chief, Middle America-Caribbean Division, ALA

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Perspective: Assessment of Cease-Fire Zones

While fundamental political and military differences remain in the ongoing negotiations between the Sandinistas and the rebels, the two sides have hammered out a 60-day truce and tentatively agreed to establish seven cease-fire zones. Nevertheless, talks in Managua this week failed to reach agreement on how to administer the zones and the enclaves' boundaries are still under discussion. The enclaves are large, representing more than one-sixth of Nicaragua's land mass. Overall, the zones would provide the rebels a respite from the conflict; but movement of the insurgents into the zones presents the rebels with some long term, serious military disadvantages. Talks are scheduled to resume in Managua on 28 April.

The cease-fire zones would afford the rebels some advantages over their present situation. In particular, assuming that modalities for the delivery of humanitarian aid are worked out, movements into the enclaves would give the insurgents much-needed access to food and medicine. The rebels probably also would be familiar with most of the areas and the zones apparently will be large--about one-sixth of Nicaragua's land mass. Three of the zones are contiguous with Honduras and could allow some military resupply, although the presence of international observers would complicate such shipments.

Generally, however, the zones would hinder a rebel attempt to resume fighting if the cease-fire collapses. Both sides have not agreed as to whether there will be land "bridges" connecting the enclaves. Without such communications and logistical corridors linking the zones, rebel groups could have less contact with each other and their strategic command, severely complicating any attempts to maintain a strong military command and control infrastructure. The paucity of indigenous people and food suggests the local economy could not sustain significant insurgent forces should humanitarian aid end for any reason. The lack of a population base, moreover, would make it more difficult for the rebels to build popular support for a political program. The Sandinistas have agreed to withdraw their forces from the zones. The proximity of Sandinista garrisons—many of which contain artillery fire support bases and helicopter landing zones—would probably give the regime a significant military advantage if the agreement collapses and fighting resumes.

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Developments This Week

Democratization

· _	Nicaraguan police in San Ramon, Matagalpa Department, denied an opposition party request to hold a rally on 17 April, Police said no outdoor
L	rallies could be held in a war zone.
	The opposition labor alliance in <u>Nicaragua</u> told antigovernment political parties they can participate in a march scheduled for 1 May in Managua only if they do not bring party banners, Union leaders fear that overt political activity would tend to deemphasize the focus on labor issues and also spark a harsh government response. The labor alliance is also planning marches in Matagalpa and Chinandega.
	Honduras lifted a limited state of emergency, imposed on 8 April, on 13 April.
	On 18 April, <u>Nicaraquan</u> President Ortega publicly warned that the Sandinistas would not permit US aid to any internal opposition party if President Reagan extends the trade embargo beyond 1 May.
Cease-F	lre/Amnesty
	Nicaraguan rebel and Sandinista directorate members failed to reach agreement on issues relating to administration of cease-fire zones in four days of negotiations in Managua last week. They agreed to continue negotiations in Managua on 28-30 April. Insurgent leaders rejected a Sandinista proposal outlining a timetable for rebel disarmament. The Sandinistas are insisting that all political issues be deferred to the national dialogue talks.
	Nicaraguan rebel leader Adolfo Calero announced on 18 April that the insurgents would soon free all their prisoners of war-estimated at about 50at the request of the Nicaragua's Catholic bishops.
	Two returning exiles affiliated with the <u>Guatemalan</u> guerrillas were arrested as they arrived in Guatemala City on 18 April, President Cerezo had previously announced that they would be arrested unless they accepted amnesty. The two were later released when a judge investigating the case found insufficient evidence to continue proceedings.
	Salvadoran leftist political leader Ruben Zamora told the press on 6 April that the guerrillas and their political

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allies were still waiting for a government response to their February dialogue proposal. Zamora indicated that the talks should focus on the rebels' 18-point plan to humanize the war. He believed a settlement in El Salvador possible in light of the Nicaraguan peace talks, but did not explicitly say that the Sapoa accord was a model for El Salvador. Meanwhile, President Duarte in a televised speech on 15 April rejected any new dialogue with the guerrillas since the insurgents have not changed their conditions or attitude toward seizing power through armed force.

National Reconciliation

- -- A faction of the <u>Nicaraguan</u> Conservative Party is urging other opposition groups to boycott the national dialogue until rebel leaders can join the talks.

 A Conservative party official said rebel directorate members Calero and Cesar support a boycott.

International Verification

- -- Central American representatives at the UN presented the Executive Commission communique to the Secretary General on 13 April

 Secretariat's cover letter to Canada, Spain, and West Germany noted that the Costa Rican spokesman had expressed hope of taking advantage of the Secretary General's expertise in setting up verification machinery, but Costa Rican officials told the US Embassy that San Jose did not want the UN involved. Canadian and West German diplomats told US officials that their governments would not make a formal response until the Central Americans define more precisely what they want.
- -- According to the State Department, <u>OAS</u> Secretary-General Baena Soares has prepared a budget for verifying the Nicaragua cease-fire agreement which he intended to discuss with Cardinal Obando y Bravo this week in Managua. The proposal would use most of the funds for monitoring cease-fire zones and very little to assess compliance with democratization.

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Aid to Insurgents

· 	The OAS Secretary General disagreed sharply with plans by US officials to deliver supplies to Honduras for the Nicaraguan insurgents Soares argued that such a move would be outside of the Sapoa accords and could threaten the peace process. He personally believed that the use of private companies to deliver supplies was less compatible with the agreement than using international agencies, but said it was a subject for the Sandinistas and insurgents to decide.
	Honduras announced on 19 April that it was allowing US humanitarian aid to be delivered to anti-Sandinista guerrillas on its soil, saying that the Sapoa accord between Nicaragua and the rebels provided the basis for its action. the first five truckloads of food were loaded under the supervision of an observer team of the Honduran Catholic Church. Nicaragua has already denounced the Honduran action as a violation of the regional peace agreement.
Refugee	· <u>s</u>
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	Honduran National Refugee Commission is considering concentrating all Salvadoran refugees from Colomoncagua and San Antonio camps in the Mesa Grande refugee complex.
	attractive to some military officers, it was not supported by General Regalado when discussed last December.
Other I	Developments
	- <u>Costa Rican</u> Foreign Ministry officials planned to send a small technical team to Managua on 20-21 April to discuss a regional treaty of friendship and cooperation
	Costa Rican President Arias told the press last week that he would consider a possible invitation to visit the Soviet Union. In making his decision, Arias said he would weigh the willingness of Gorbachev to contribute to Central American peace.

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months Arias has made increasingly clear his conviction that Moscow, through its support for the Sandinistas, is a key player in the regional peace initiative.