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United States Department of State

Negotiations in Central America

(Revised Edition)

CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS 1981-1987

THE WRIGHT/REAGAN PEACE PLAN

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE AGREEMENT

CONTADORA DOCUMENT OF OBJECTIVES

1981-1987

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 9551
Office of Public Diplomacy
for Latin America and
the Caribbean

Revised October 1987

Negotiations in Central America

A Chronology 1981-1987

SUMMARY

The United States has continuously supported the search for peace in Central America. Since 1981, the U.S. has sought to resolve the regional conflict through bilateral negotiations with the Sandinista regime as well as by backing the Contadora process and other regional efforts.

U.S. efforts to reach agreement with the ruling *comandantes* predate those of the other countries of Latin America, including Contadora. Initial diplomatic overtures offered U.S. nonaggression toward Nicaragua and renewed economic assistance in exchange for an end to Sandinista support to the Communist guerrillas of El Salvador and a halt to Nicaragua's military buildup. The Sandinistas now say that they would accept these conditions in a regional peace process.

Even though the Sandinistas were not receptive to U.S. initiatives in 1981, the U.S. continued bilateral diplomatic efforts to resolve the regional impasse. Those initiatives were:

- On October 4, 1982, the U.S. joined six Latin American and Caribbean countries in the "Declaration of San Jose" setting out principles for a regional peace settlement.
- On June 1, 1984, Secretary of State Shultz visited Managua to consult with Sandinista President Daniel Ortega and Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto, setting the stage for bilateral discussions between the U.S. and Nicaragua.
- On June 25-26, 1984, the first of the bilateral talks were held in the Mexican city of Manzanillo. They were ended in December 1984 because of Sandinista intransigence.
- On October 29-31, 1985, Special Envoy Harry W. Shlaudeman met with Nicaraguan Ambassador Carlos Tunnermann in Washington, D.C., and proposed that the U.S. would renew bilateral talks with Nicaragua if the Sandinistas would accept the Nicaraguan Resistance's call for a Church-mediated dialogue. The Sandinista government refused to accept this proposal.
- On February 10, 1986, Secretary Shultz met with the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora countries and offered to renew bilateral talks with the Sandinistas if they began a dialogue with the democratic resistance.
- Between June 1985 and April 1987, Special Envoys Shlaudeman and Philip C. Habib traveled to the region on at least 15 occasions to consult with Central American and South American officials in an effort to support the peace process.

In a new bipartisan effort to support the peace process, President Reagan and Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Jim Wright announced on August 5, 1987, a set of "basic elements that need to be included" in any agreement that might bring a "peaceful solution to the problems in Central America." Two days later, at a summit held in the capital of Guatemala, the five Central American presidents agreed to a regional framework for peace that emphasizes democratization in Nicaragua and the restoration of civil liberties for the Nicaraguan people.

The following is a chronology of the history of Central American negotiations, the texts of the Wright/Reagan Peace Plan, the Central American Peace Agreement, and the Contadora Document of Objectives.

CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS 1981-1987

1981

August-October

United States initiates diplomatic exchanges with Nicaragua. U.S. offers bilateral nonaggression agreement and renewed economic assistance if Nicaragua stops aid to Salvadoran guerrillas and limits its military buildup. Nicaragua labels U.S. offer "sterile."

Comment: Writing in the summer 1983 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Arturo Cruz, then Nicaragua's Ambassador to the United States, revealed that "In August of 1981...[Enders] met with my superiors in Managua, at the highest level. His message was clear: in exchange for non-exportation of insurrection and a reduction in Nicaragua's armed forces, the United States pledged to support Nicaragua through mutual regional security arrangements as well as continuing economic aid. His government did not intend to interfere in our internal affairs. When the conversations concluded, I had the feeling that the U.S. proposal had not been received by the Sandinistas as an imperialist diktat [dictate]." In October, the Sandinistas rejected this proposal as "sterile."

1982

March 15

Honduras proposes Central American peace plan at the Organization of American States to reduce arms and foreign military advisers, to respect nonintervention, and to provide for international verification of commitments.

April 9

U.S. offers eight-point proposal to Nicaragua. Nicaragua demands high-level meeting in Mexico.

October 4

At San Jose conference, the U.S., Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Belize, and Jamaica issue Declaration of San Jose outlining principles for a regional peace settlement that calls for democracy, pluralism, arms reduction, respect for human rights, and national reconciliation. Nicaragua subsequently refuses to receive Costa Rican Foreign Minister Volio as emissary of group.

1983

January 8-9

Foreign ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, and Panama meet on Contadora Island and issue Declaration commending dialogue and negotiation as instruments for peaceful settlement.

January-April

Nicaragua resists meeting in multilateral setting and opposes idea of comprehensive agreement dealing with all interrelated issues.

Nine foreign ministers of Central America and Contadora Group meet for first time in Panama.	April 20-21
Declaration of Cancun by the presidents of the Contadora Group calls for renewed efforts to continue peace process. Declaration sent to President Reagan, Central American Chiefs of State, and Fidel Castro.	July 17
Sandinistas issue six-point plan, calling for end of all outside assistance to "the two sides" in El Salvador, end of all external support to paramilitary forces in region, prohibition of foreign military bases and exercises, Nicaraguan/Honduran nonaggression pact, noninterference in internal affairs, and end to economic discrimination.	July 19
<i>Comment:</i> Proposal accepted multilateral talks but did not address such key issues as foreign advisers, arms limitations and reductions, or democratization and national reconciliation. Plan equated Salvadoran Government with guerrillas and, if implemented, would have cut off all U.S. military assistance to El Salvador.	
Foreign ministers of Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador propose eight-point peace plan drawing on Honduras plan of March 1982 and emphasizing contribution that democratization could make to restoring peace and stability to region.	July 21
President Reagan expresses support for Contadora objectives in letter to Contadora Group presidents.	July 23
Document of Objectives adopted by foreign ministers of the nine Contadora participating governments. Document includes strong formulation of objectives relating to democratization and national reconciliation.	September 9
Attempts to translate Document of Objectives directly into treaty falter.	October-December
<h1>1984</h1> <hr/>	
"Norms of Implementation" declaration that was adopted in Panama by nine Contadora foreign ministers establishes three working commissions in security, political, and socioeconomic matters to recommend by April 30 specific measures to implement Document of Objectives.	January 8
Five Central American foreign ministers request Contadora Group to integrate recommendations into single negotiating text.	April 30
Secretary of State Shultz visits Managua to launch bilateral talks in support of reaching a comprehensive Contadora agreement.	June 1
Contadora Group presents "Contadora Act for Peace and Cooperation in Central America" to Central American governments and requests comments by mid-July.	June 8-9
First of nine rounds of bilateral talks between U.S. and Nicaragua held at Manzanillo, Mexico. U.S. throughout seeks informal understandings to facilitate Contadora agreement. Nicaragua seeks formal bilateral accords in lieu of Contadora; excludes discussion of democratization and national reconciliation.	June 25-26
Technical Group (vice-ministerial level) of Contadora process meets in Panama to consider oral and written comments on the June 8 draft Act. Nicaragua refuses to accept any feature of the Contadora June draft to which it had not previously agreed.	August 25-27

- September 7** Contadora Group submits revised draft Contadora agreement for Central American leaders comment by mid-October.
- Comment:* The draft agreement achieved Nicaragua's two principal objectives (end of support to democratic resistance and prohibition of maneuvers) upon signature while leaving arms reductions and withdrawal of advisers for later negotiation. Verification provisions were weak.
- September 21** Nicaragua states it is willing to sign the September 7 draft provided that it is not changed; calls on U.S. to sign and ratify its Additional Protocol.
- Comment:* Portrayed as a step toward peace, Nicaragua's acceptance was, in the U.S. view, an attempt to freeze the negotiating process at a moment of advantage. Issues of concern to neighbors, such as the Nicaraguan arms and troop buildup and commitments relating to national reconciliation and democratization, were left to negotiations and implementation following entry into force of the commitments in which the Sandinistas were interested.
- September 25-26** At sixth round of Manzanillo talks, Nicaragua adopts Contadora draft agreement as its negotiating position. U.S. suggests the two sides focus on text of draft agreement, but Nicaragua rejects any discussion of possibly modifying the draft.
- September 29** European Community and Central American foreign ministers, meeting in Costa Rica, call draft agreement "fundamental stage in negotiating process" but refrain from endorsing any text not agreed upon by all participating governments.
- October 15** Comments submitted to the Contadora Group by Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Honduras identify verification and need for simultaneous implementation of commitments as areas for modification.
- October 19-20** Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Costa Rica (Nicaragua is invited but does not attend) meet in Tegucigalpa to consider the September 7 draft agreement and drafted proposed modifications. Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica endorse and forward modifications to the Contadora Group and Nicaragua.
- November 12-16** Extensive private consultations among the Contadora participants are held on the margins of the OAS General Assembly in Brasilia.
- December 10-11** Ninth round of Manzanillo talks. Nicaragua definitively rejects U.S. approach to reach agreement on basis of September draft; reverts to initial position of bilateral accords in lieu of Contadora.

1985

- January 18** U.S. informs Nicaragua that it is not scheduling further meetings at Manzanillo, pending further evolution of the Contadora process.
- February 14** Contadora meeting canceled over asylum dispute between Nicaragua and Costa Rica.
- April 11-12** Contadora meeting of plenipotentiaries agrees in principle on revised procedure of verification.
- May 14-16** Second meeting of Contadora plenipotentiaries, with inconclusive discussion of security issues.

Sandinista border incursions into Costa Rica kill two Costa Rican Civil Guardsmen.	May 31
OAS Permanent Council appoints investigative commission consisting of Contadora Group and OAS Secretary General to report on the May 31 and other related border incidents.	June 7
Nicaragua's refusal to discuss agreed agenda results in abrupt ending of Contadora meeting of plenipotentiaries and 4-month hiatus in Contadora negotiations.	June 17-19
Ambassador Shlaudeman visits Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Colombia, and Venezuela for consultations on Contadora; reviews conditions under which the U.S. might resume bilateral talks with Nicaragua.	June 24-28
Ambassador Shlaudeman continues consultations during visits to Mexico and Panama.	June 30-July 2
Ambassador Shlaudeman concludes consultations with visit to Honduras.	July 17
Contadora Group governments publicly call on U.S. to resume bilateral talks with Nicaragua. Communique also announces intentions to hold bilateral meetings with individual Central American governments in lieu of resuming talks.	July 22
In Mexico City, Secretary Shultz states willingness of U.S. to resume bilateral talks if that would promote a Church-mediated dialogue in Nicaragua and reaffirms strong U.S. support for the Contadora process.	July 26
Following consultations with the Contadora Group, the governments of Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay form the "Contadora Support Group."	July 28
Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador in joint statement welcome the visit of Contadora ministers but propose resumption of Contadora negotiations.	August 1
Contadora Group vice ministers visit the five Central American states to consult on outstanding Contadora issues.	August 3-8
The Contadora Group and Support Group, meeting in Cartagena, Colombia, issue communique stating intent to consult regularly on Contadora matters.	August 23-25
U.S. welcomes formation of Support Group.	August 26
Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador formally reiterate proposal to resume Contadora negotiations.	September 4
Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador jointly request a meeting with the Support Group governments on the margins of the September 12-13 meeting of Contadora foreign ministers in Panama. The request is denied on the ground that it might interfere with the scheduled meetings.	September 8
Ambassador Shlaudeman consults with Support Group governments in visits to Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Peru. He explains U.S. view that Support Group could help by working toward a Sandinista dialogue with armed resistance (United Nicaraguan Opposition) and urges Support Group to consult with all the Central American states.	September 9-13
The Contadora Group tables a third draft of a Contadora agreement. The Central American foreign ministers agree to convene multilateral negotiations on October 7, with the aim of reaching final agreement within 45 days. The agenda for these negotiations is defined narrowly. It is also agreed that events and developments within the region will not interfere with Contadora talks.	September 12-13

- October 7-11** The first round of talks is held on Contadora Island, Panama. Costa Rica states it is willing to sign the September 12 draft. El Salvador and Honduras express general support while identifying issues that require further negotiation. Guatemala maintains neutrality on content of draft while pointing to constitutional difficulty of current government to commit Guatemala in view of upcoming elections. Nicaragua states it is not ready to declare its view.
- October 17-19** Second round of plenipotentiary negotiations held on Contadora Island. Nicaragua presents extensive objections to September 12 draft.
- October 24** President Reagan addresses the U.N. General Assembly, presenting an initiative on regional conflicts. President states that U.S. support of struggling democratic forces "must and shall continue" until there is progress in negotiations between the parties to internal conflicts.
- October 29-31** Ambassador Shlaudeman and Nicaraguan Ambassador Tunnermann meet in Washington. Shlaudeman says U.S. will resume bilateral talks if Sandinistas accept March 1985 proposal of the Nicaraguan Resistance for Church-mediated dialogue, cease-fire, and suspension of the State of Emergency. Tunnermann reports Nicaraguan Government rejection of this offer.
- November 11** Nicaragua publishes letter to Contadora Group and Support Group presidents detailing objections to the Contadora Group's September 12, 1985, draft of a final agreement. Nicaragua's position, in essence, is to insist on an accommodation with the U.S. prior to a Contadora agreement.
- November 11-12** Foreign ministers of the nine Central American and Contadora Group governments meet in Luxembourg with the foreign ministers of the European Community, Spain, and Portugal. European Community/Central American economic agreement is signed; political communique supports Contadora and stresses democratic pluralism and civil liberties.
- November 19-21** Third round of negotiations among Contadora plenipotentiaries held in Panama. Some progress is achieved on verification and related issues. All delegations recommend extending 45-day deadline for final agreement.
- November 22** U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations Vernon Walters addresses the General Assembly on continued U.S. support of the Contadora process.
- December 1** Nicaragua announces that it will not take part in the Contadora meetings to be held on the margins of the OAS General Assembly meeting in Cartagena, Colombia, December 2-5.
- December 2** Secretary of State Shultz meets with Contadora Group foreign ministers at the OAS General Assembly in Cartagena.
- December 3** Nicaragua submits formal request for suspension of Contadora peace negotiations until May 1986.
- December 6** Contadora Group submits report to OAS Secretary General expressing hope that negotiations will continue.
- December 7** Nicaragua reiterates its request for suspension of Contadora talks at a SELA (Latin American Economic System) meeting in Caracas, Venezuela.
- December 10** Venezuelan officials publicly oppose suspension of talks.

OAS General Assembly Resolution, opposed only by Nicaragua, urges continuation of Contadora talks.

December 11

Contadora Group governments consult informally in Montevideo.

December 17-18

1986

Nicaragua publishes letter from President Ortega to the presidents of the Contadora Group and the Support Group proposing a scaled-down treaty of general principles (in lieu of a comprehensive Contadora treaty) and a series of bilateral talks, including U.S.-Nicaraguan talks.

January 8

The eight foreign ministers of the Contadora Group and Support Group governments, meeting in Caraballeda, Venezuela, issue the "Message of Caraballeda." It reiterates basic Contadora principles; urges actions to create climate for negotiations, including resumption of Contadora talks; and offers Contadora's help to "promote new steps of national reconciliation" and renewal of U.S.-Nicaraguan bilateral talks.

January 11-12

Vice President George Bush leads U.S. delegation to inauguration of Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo.

January 14

Foreign ministers of the five Central American states sign the "Declaration of Guatemala," endorsing the "Message of Caraballeda."

January 15

Central American presidents agree to hold summit in Esquipulas, Guatemala, in May.

Central American presidents issue statement expressing satisfaction that their foreign ministers have endorsed the "Message of Caraballeda."

January 16

Nicaragua publicly reaffirms its position on Contadora, as set forth in its November 11 statement, and describes actions called for in the "Message of Caraballeda" as prerequisites to Contadora talks.

Secretary Shultz receives the "Message of Caraballeda" from Washington ambassadors of the Contadora Group and Support Group governments and promises to give it careful study.

U.S. statement on "Message of Caraballeda" announces visit of Ambassador Shlaudeman to Central American and Contadora Group countries to explore possibilities in the Message.

January 17

President-elect Jose Azcona of Honduras visits Washington for consultations. At National Press Club, Azcona opposes resumption of U.S.-Nicaraguan bilateral talks as detracting from Contadora.

Ambassador Shlaudeman visits Panama, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Colombia, and Venezuela to consult with regional leaders.

January 19-23

Secretary of State Shultz invites foreign ministers of the Contadora Group and Support Group governments to Washington for February 10 consultations.

January 25

Vice President Bush leads U.S. delegation to inauguration of Honduran President Azcona; meets with several Contadora and Central American presidents and foreign ministers.

January 26-27

- January 30** Six Nicaraguan opposition parties propose cease-fire, effective amnesty, agreement on a new national electoral process, and lifting State of Emergency. UNO endorses proposal.
- February 4** Nicaraguan President Ortega leads FSLN delegation to Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party in Havana; gives speech to the Congress.
- February 6** Nicaraguan Foreign Minister d'Escoto writes open letter to Contadora Group and Support Group foreign ministers calling on ministers to press for renewal of U.S.-Nicaraguan talks but cautioning that the U.S. would have to abandon the idea that such talks could be used as an "instrument to force Nicaragua into an immoral dialogue with terrorist forces."
- February 10** Secretary Shultz meets with eight Contadora foreign ministers in Washington. He proposes simultaneous U.S.-Nicaraguan/Nicaraguan-UNO talks and policy adjustments in response to Nicaraguan movement on U.S. areas of concern.
- February 14-15** Meeting of Contadora and Central American negotiators in Panama. Nicaragua refuses to negotiate on a Contadora treaty.
- February 18-26** Ambassador Shlaudeman meets with presidents of Mexico, Panama, Colombia, Uruguay, Argentina, Peru, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador.
- February 24** Costa Rica and Nicaragua reach preliminary agreement on commission for border supervision.
- February 27-28** Contadora Group and Support Group ministers meet at Punta del Este, Uruguay.
- March 4** Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte proposes simultaneous dialogues to end the internal wars in Nicaragua and El Salvador.
- March 7** President Reagan appoints Philip C. Habib to replace Harry W. Shlaudeman as Special Envoy for Central America.
- March 12-14** Ambassador Habib visits El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. Habib endorses Duarte initiative; reiterates U.S. willingness to renew bilateral talks with Nicaragua if Sandinistas open talks with armed democratic opposition.
- March 14-15** Meeting of plenipotentiaries in Panama, but no discussion of Contadora treaty; inconclusive discussion of how to implement the "Message of Caraballeda."
- March 17** Presidents of Guatemala and Honduras join President-elect Oscar Arias of Costa Rica in endorsing Duarte initiative.
- March 20** U.S. House of Representatives defeats Administration's proposal for assistance to the Nicaraguan Resistance.
- March 31** Legislative authorization for humanitarian assistance to Nicaraguan Resistance expires.
- April 5-7** Nicaragua's d'Escoto refuses to sign joint communique outlining negotiating goals at meeting of 13 Contadora, Support Group, and Central American foreign ministers in Panama. Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador propose schedule of intensive negotiations to reach agreement by end of May 1986. Eight Contadora and Support Group ministers issue invitation to renew talks; reach agreement by June 6.
- April 11** Ambassador Habib reiterates U.S. position that U.S. will abide by a Contadora agreement that implements September 1983 Document of Objectives in a comprehensive, verifiable, and simultaneous manner.

Nicaragua agrees to renew talks and conditions final agreement on resolving outstanding issues and on ending all "U.S. aggression" by date of signature. Central American democracies all accept renewal of talks and urge they begin immediately.

Ambassador Habib consults with presidents and foreign ministers of the Central American democracies, Contadora, and Support Group countries.

April 18-28

President Ortega, in public statement, calls Ambassador Habib a "demagogic liar," raising the issue of Sandinista interest in constructive negotiations.

April 19

Vice President Bush heads U.S. delegation to inauguration of President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica. Bush reiterates U.S. willingness to respect comprehensive, verifiable, and simultaneous treaty.

May 8

Contadora talks held in Panama to consider Contadora Group proposals on arms and military maneuvers. Nicaragua rejects Honduran proposal. Four democracies reject Nicaraguan proposal. Costa Rica and Guatemala jointly present compromise proposal. El Salvador and Honduras support compromise proposal.

May 16-18

- Proposal prohibits maneuvers within 5 kilometers of border, prohibits use of artillery capable of reaching neighboring countries, and regulates maneuvers within 30 kilometers.

- Proposal fixes overall ceiling on arms and troops prior to signature; ceiling expressed in "units of value," with each security component (e.g., a tank) assigned an agreed value.

Five Central American presidents meet at Esquipulas, Guatemala. Communique notes "frankness" of exchanges and profound differences between Nicaragua and its neighbors over meaning of democracy. Presidents reiterate commitment to reach Contadora agreement, omitting June 6 as target date; agree to create Central American Parliament.

May 24-25

President Ortega presents a list of "14 Points" calling for a reduction of armament levels and other military-related matters.

May 26

President Azcona of Honduras makes working visit to Washington; supports aid for the Nicaraguan democratic resistance.

May 26-29

Contadora meeting in Panama. Nicaragua tables its "14 Points," which, if adopted, would have virtually no effect on strength and size of Sandinista arsenal but would have serious impact on the security capabilities of the other Central American countries. Nicaragua also refuses to negotiate limits on "defensive" weapons. Meeting inconclusive.

May 27-28

Ambassador Habib visits Costa Rica, Guatemala, and El Salvador for consultations.

May 31-June 3

Contadora and Support Group foreign ministers meet in Panama, present Central Americans with amended draft agreement.

June 6-7

Central American countries respond to June 7 draft. All countries express support for the Contadora process but make various points about the draft.

June-August

Costa Rica:

- Peace is not valid unless based on democracy; Costa Rica cannot accept half-measures that do not fully address the complete democratization of all of Central America.

- Calendar of continuous verification must be presented with the agreement.

- All negotiations must be concluded before signing, including those concerning arms limits and troop levels.

- Criteria used in establishing maximum limits of military development are susceptible to subjective interpretation and must be clarified prior to signature.

El Salvador:

- Draft does not contain the conditions or requirements agreed on for its adoption and formalization in accordance with the 1983 Document of Objectives—especially in areas of arms limits and troop levels; simultaneous and integrated treatment of all aspects of the Document of Objectives is essential.
- Verification of all obligations is essential.
- Draft must contain sufficient guarantees that Nicaragua will accept serious negotiations in arms issues (including verification and control) and must demonstrate a willingness to observe the Document of Objectives in its entirety.
- There is a need to continue and complete negotiations.

Guatemala:

- Commitments in armament, military forces, evaluation, verification, and control should be clearly stated to constitute a guarantee that agreed results and objectives are achieved.

Honduras:

- Draft does not establish reasonable and sufficient obligations to guarantee its security.
- Obligations regarding disarmament must be established rigorously and clearly in the treaty and not deferred to a later date.
- Draft raises subjective criteria of dubious multilateral significance that would make eventual agreement on limitation, reduction, and control of arms and troops impossible.

Nicaragua:

- Indicates that it could accept draft, but only on the condition that future arms talks be conducted on the basis of its May "14 Points" proposal (which the four democracies had rejected).

June 26	Contadora Group foreign ministers meet with U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and OAS Secretary General Baena Soares to present the June 7 draft.
July 2	U.N. Secretary General de Cuellar issues report on the situation in Central America commending Contadora's effort but citing fundamental preconditions for peace, which focus on pluralistic democracy and nonintervention by outside forces.
July 10-12	Ambassador Habib travels to the Central American democracies.
August 7	Secretary Shultz heads the U.S. delegation to inauguration of President Barco in Colombia. Meets with presidents and foreign ministers of the Central American democracies.
September 7-11	Ambassador Habib travels to Central America.
September 22- October 1	Contadora and Support Group foreign ministers meet in New York on margins of the U.N. General Assembly. On October 1, they issue a declaration warning of the dangerous situation in Central America and reiterating their willingness to continue their efforts to find a negotiated settlement.

Contadora and Support Group deputy foreign ministers meet in Mexico City. Discussion focuses on possibility of institutionalizing Contadora and expanding its scope to include other regional issues such as debt.

October 30-31

OAS General Assembly meets in Guatemala. At the initiative of Nicaragua and Mexico, foreign ministers from Contadora and Support Groups introduce a controversial draft resolution that, among other things, calls for preventing an alleged imminent U.S. aggression as the key issue in Central America. Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Honduras oppose resolution. Other Latin countries announce their opposition to the draft resolution and OASGA ultimately adopts new consensus resolution that supports Contadora effort. Secretary Shultz meets with foreign ministers of Central American democracies while attending OASGA.

November 10-15

U.N. General Assembly adopts consensus resolution on Central America.

November 18

U.N. Secretary General de Cuellar and OAS Secretary General Soares issue "menu of services" available from their organizations to complement Contadora establishing border patrols; monitoring reduction of armed forces or dissolution of irregular forces; verifying international maneuvers or withdrawal of military advisers; verifying human rights complaints; and coordinating economic assistance.

Ambassador Habib travels to Central America, Mexico, and Colombia for consultations with regional leaders.

November 19-21

Government of Costa Rica responds to U.N.-OAS joint initiative. Commends efforts but reiterates Costa Rica's belief that an effective regional accord must be multilateral, comprehensive, binding, and verifiable.

December 3

Government of Nicaragua responds to U.N.-OAS joint initiative. Expresses deep satisfaction with the document.

December 4

Contadora and Support Group foreign ministers meet in Rio de Janeiro. Announce they would visit Central America in January accompanied by U.N. and OAS secretaries general. Also announce intentions to strengthen and systematize the political agreement of their governments through a process of regular consultations, beginning the following April in Argentina.

December 17-18

1987

Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams and Ambassador Habib meet in Miami with Costa Rican Foreign Minister Madrigal to discuss President Arias' plan for regional peace, a plan predicated on national reconciliation and democratization within Nicaragua.

January 7

President Ortega signs into law Nicaragua's new "democratic" constitution. Within hours of its promulgation, Ortega issues new emergency decree suspending the rights and liberties of the Nicaraguan people provided for in the new charter, including freedom of speech, press, assembly, right to organize, right to privacy, and others.

January 9

Ambassador Habib travels to Panama, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Venezuela to consult with Latin American leaders.

January 12-16

Ambassador Habib travels to Belgium, West Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, and France to consult on the negotiating process.

January 18-25

- January 18-21** Contadora and Support Group foreign ministers, accompanied by the U.N. and OAS secretaries general, travel to Central America seeking to revive the negotiating process. They issue communique in Mexico City on January 21 expressing Contadora's continued hope for peace in Central America but offering no new proposals.
- February 6** Seven civic opposition parties in Nicaragua issue a "9 Point" peace proposal calling for, among other things, a national dialogue, a National Commission for Peace, a cease-fire, and a general amnesty. The Sandinista government does not respond to this latest call for peace by opposition parties who are committed to a civic struggle for democracy in Nicaragua.
- February 9-10** Central American, Contadora Group, and European Community foreign ministers meet in Guatemala (San Jose III) and endorse negotiating efforts.
- February 15** At San Jose, the presidents of the four Central American democracies launch a new peace initiative and endorse draft proposal by President Arias of Costa Rica as the basis for discussion at a subsequent summit of all five Central American presidents, including Nicaragua's Ortega, at Esquipulas, Guatemala.
- February 22-24** Ambassador Habib visits Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador, and Mexico.
- March 6** Ambassador Habib visits Guatemala for talks with President Cerezo and other officials.
- March 22-31** Ambassador Habib travels to the Central American democracies and the Contadora Group countries for ongoing consultations.
- March 29** Guatemalan President Cerezo visits Nicaragua and meets with President Ortega and members of the civic opposition.
- April 6** Salvadoran President Duarte visits Guatemala for a private meeting with President Cerezo.

- Three-member Costa Rican delegation visits Nicaragua to discuss peace initiative with Sandinista government and civic opposition. **April 7**
- Contadora and Support Group foreign ministers meet in Argentina to discuss Central America situation; issue a communique expressing support for the peace initiative of the Central American democracies. They then discuss other issues (debt, etc.) as "Group of Eight." **April 13-16**
- Ambassador Habib visits Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador. **April 27-28**
- President Reagan and Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Jim Wright agree on a peace plan that sets out the "basic elements that need to be included" in any regional peace accord. The six-point proposal calls for an immediate cease-fire, a simultaneous suspension of U.S. aid to the democratic resistance and Soviet-bloc assistance to the Sandinistas, the withdrawal of foreign military advisers from Nicaragua, and national reconciliation, democratization, and respect for basic human and political rights in Nicaragua. **August 5**
- The presidents of the five Central American countries of Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua meet in Guatemala City and sign the "Central American Peace Agreement." The agreement calls for, among other points, a cease-fire, national reconciliation, amnesty, democratization, an end to aid to insurgent movements, and free elections. In an August 8 statement, President Reagan declares that he "welcomes this commitment to peace and democracy," but notes that the "agreement makes clear that there is much work to be done by the parties involved." The President pledges that the United States will be "as helpful as possible consistent with our interests and the interests of the Nicaraguan Resistance...." **August 6-7**
- Several meetings of Central American foreign ministers to work out the details for the implementation of the Central American Peace Agreement. **August-September**
- Career diplomat Morris Busby named Special Negotiator for Central America. **September**

August 5, 1987

THE WRIGHT/REAGAN PEACE PLAN

[The Wright/Reagan Peace Plan, also known as the bipartisan peace plan, was a diplomatic initiative developed jointly by Speaker of the House Jim Wright (D-TX) and President Ronald Reagan.]

Recognizing that the Central American Presidents are about to meet to discuss the issues involved and seek a peaceful solution to the problems in Central America, the United States desires to make known its views on certain of the basic elements that need to be included.

With respect to Nicaragua, the United States has three legitimate concerns for the well-being of the hemisphere:

1. That there be no Soviet, Cuban, or Communist Bloc bases established in Nicaragua that pose a threat to the United States and the other democratic governments in the hemisphere.
2. That Nicaragua pose no military threat to its neighbor countries nor provide a staging ground for subversion or destabilization of duly elected governments in the hemisphere.
3. That the Nicaraguan Government respect the basic human rights of its people, including political rights guaranteed in the Nicaraguan Constitution and pledges made to the OAS [Organization of American States]—free speech, free press, religious liberty, and a regularly established system of free, orderly elections.

Beyond this, the United States has no right to influence or determine the identity of the political leaders of Nicaragua nor the social and economic system of the country. These are matters wholly within the right of the Nicaraguan people. The United States affirms its support for the right of the Nicaraguan people to peaceful, democratic self-determination, free from outside intervention from any source.

In order to bring an immediate end to hostilities and begin a process of reconciliation, we propose the following:

1. An immediate cease-fire in place, on terms acceptable to the parties involved, subject to verification by the OAS or an international group of observers should be negotiated as soon as possible. When the cease-fire is in place, the United States will immediately suspend all military aid to the Contras, and, simultaneously, Nicaragua will stop receiving military aid from Cuba, the Soviet Union, and the Communist Bloc countries. Humanitarian aid can be supplied to both groups. The emergency law will be immediately suspended, and all civil rights and liberties will be restored. An agreed, independent multi-party electoral commission will be established to assure regular elections open to free participation by all. A timetable and procedures for all

elections, including those to be supervised and guaranteed by an agreed international body, such as the OAS, will be established within 60 days.

2. The withdrawal of foreign military personnel and advisers from Nicaragua and its immediate neighbors that are in excess of the normal and legitimate needs of the region will be subject to negotiations among the countries of the region. The United States will suspend combat maneuvers in Honduras as a demonstration of good faith when the cease-fire is in place.

3. After the cease-fire is in place, negotiations among the Governments of the United States, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua shall begin on reductions in standing armies in the region, withdrawal of foreign military personnel, restoration of regional military balance, security guarantees against outside support for insurgent forces, and verification and enforcement provisions. As part of this negotiating process, the United States shall enter into discussions with the governments of the region—including the Government of Nicaragua—concerning security issues. A regional agreement on security issues shall be negotiated within 60 days, unless this period is extended by mutual agreement. The OAS shall be invited to be a signatory to and guarantor of this agreement.

4. A plan of national reconciliation and dialogue among citizens of Nicaragua, including amnesty for former combatants and equal rights to participation in the political process. There shall be a plan of demobilization of both Sandinista and Resistance forces. In accordance with the implementation of this plan, the United States simultaneously shall cease all resupply of Resistance forces. Both the Government of Nicaragua and the Government of the United States shall encourage and support the reintegration of demobilized forces into Nicaraguan civil and political society on terms guaranteeing their safety. Nicaragua shall at this time become eligible for existing and prospective U.S. assistance programs.

5. A plan of expanded trade and long-range economic assistance for the democratic governments of Central America in which Nicaragua might participate. By the process of democratization and compliance with regional nonaggression agreements, Nicaragua would qualify for participation in the Caribbean Basin Initiative, and the United States will lift its economic embargo.

6. The negotiating process shall commence immediately and be completed by September 30, 1987. If the Nicaraguan Resistance, or forces under its command, should refuse to engage in this negotiating process, willfully obstruct its progress, or violate its terms, the United States shall immediately suspend all assistance to the Resistance. If because of actions taken by the Nicaraguan Government or the forces under its command, the negotiating process should not proceed; or its terms, conditions, and deadlines should not be met; the parties to these undertakings would be free to pursue such actions as they deem necessary to protect their national interest.

August 7, 1987

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE AGREEMENT

*"Voices calling out and hopeful
winds seeking a joyous peace for all."
—Arturo Echeverría Loria*

PREAMBLE

The Presidents of the Republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, meeting in Guatemala City on August 6 and 7, 1987, encouraged by the vision and continuing desire of Contadora and the Support Group in favor of peace, strengthened by the constant support of all the governments and peoples of the world, their principal international organizations, and especially by the European Economic Community and His Holiness John Paul II, inspired by Esquipulas I, and having gathered together in Guatemala in order to discuss the peace plan presented by the Government of Costa Rica, have agreed to:

- Assume fully the historic challenge to forge a destiny of peace for Central America;
- Undertake to fight for peace and eliminate war;
- Make dialogue prevail over violence and reason over rancor;
- Dedicate these peace efforts to the youth of Central America, whose legitimate aspirations for peace and social justice, for freedom and reconciliation, have been frustrated for many generations;
- Establish the Central American Parliament as a symbol of freedom and independence of the reconciliation to which we in Central America aspire;

We ask for the respect and assistance of the international community in our efforts. Central America has its own pathways to peace and development, but we need help to make them a reality. We ask for an international agreement that would ensure development so that the peace we seek may be a lasting one. We firmly reiterate that peace and development are inseparable.

We express our appreciation to President Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo and to the noble people of Guatemala for having served as the host for this meeting. The generosity of the Guatemalan people and their leader has been vital in creating the climate in which the peace agreements were adopted.

PROCEDURE FOR ESTABLISHING A STABLE AND LASTING PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The Governments of the Republics of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, having undertaken to achieve the objectives and develop the principles established in the United Nations Charter, the Charter of the Organization of American States, the Document of Objectives, the Caraballeda Message for Peace, Security, and Democracy in Central America, the Guatemala Declaration, the Punta del Este Communique, the Panama Message, the Esquipulas Declaration, and the draft Contadora Act for Peace and Cooperation in Central America of June 6, 1986, have agreed upon the following procedure for establishing a stable and lasting peace in Central America.

1. National Reconciliation

(a) Dialogue

To carry out urgently, in those cases in which deep divisions have occurred within a society, actions of national reconciliation to allow the people to participate, with full

guaranties, in authentic political processes of a democratic nature, on the basis of justice, freedom, and democracy, and, for that purpose, to establish mechanisms for dialogue with opposition groups, in accordance with the law.

To that end, the respective governments shall initiate dialogue with all domestic political opposition groups that have laid down their arms and with those that have accepted the amnesty.

In each Central American country, except in those where the International Evaluation and Follow-up Committee determines that it is not necessary, decrees of amnesty shall be issued, which shall establish all the provisions to guarantee the inviolability of life, freedom in all its forms, property, and the security of the persons to whom such decrees apply. Simultaneously with the issue of the amnesty decrees, the irregular forces in the respective country shall release any persons they may be holding.

In order to verify the fulfillment of the commitments undertaken by the five Central American governments upon signing this document, with regard to amnesty, cease-fire, democratization, and free elections, a National Reconciliation Committee shall be created. Its function shall be to determine whether the process of national reconciliation is actually under way, and whether there is absolute respect for all the civil and political rights of Central American citizens guaranteed herein.

The National Reconciliation Committee shall be composed of one regular delegate and one alternate from the Executive Branch and one regular member and one alternate suggested by the Episcopal Conference and selected by the government from a slate of three Bishops to be submitted within 15 days of receipt of the formal invitation. This invitation shall be extended by the governments within 5 working days of the signing of this document. The same nomination procedure shall be used to select one regular member and one alternate from the legally registered opposition political parties. The three-person slate shall be submitted in the same time period as mentioned above. Each Central American government shall also select to serve on the committee one outstanding citizen who is not part of the government and does not belong to the government party, as well as one alternate. Copies of the agreements or decrees creating each National Committee shall be transmitted immediately to the other Central American governments.

The governments vehemently urge that a cessation of hostilities be arranged in those states in the area currently experiencing the action of irregular or insurgent groups. The governments of such states undertake to carry out all actions necessary to achieve an effective cease-fire within a constitutional framework.

The governments undertake to provide the impetus for an authentic democratic process, both pluralistic and participatory, which entails the promotion of social justice, respect for human rights, sovereignty, territorial integrity of the states, and the right of all nations to choose, freely and without any outside interference whatsoever, their economic, political, and social system. Furthermore, the governments shall adopt in a verifiable manner measures conducive to the establishment and, where appropriate, improvement of democratic, representative, and pluralistic systems that will guarantee the organization of political parties and effective participation by the people in the decision-making process and ensure that the various currents of opinion have free access to fair and regular elections based on the full observance of citizens' rights. To ensure good faith in the development of this process of democratization, it shall be understood that:

(a) There must be complete freedom for television, radio, and the press, which shall encompass the freedom for all ideological groups to open and maintain in operation communications media, and the freedom to operate such media without prior censorship.

(b) Amnesty

(c) National Reconciliation Committee

2. Urging a Cessation of Hostilities

3. Democratization

(b) There shall be complete pluralism of political parties. In this respect, political groups shall have broad access to the communications media and full enjoyment of the rights of association and the ability to hold public demonstrations in the unrestricted exercise of the right to publicize their ideas orally, in writing, and on television, as well as freedom of mobility for the members of the political parties in their campaign activities.

(c) Similarly, the Central American governments that are maintaining in effect a state of siege or emergency shall abolish it and bring about the rule of law in which all constitutional guarantees are in effect.

4. Free Elections

Once the conditions inherent in any democracy have been created, free, pluralistic, and fair elections shall be held.

As a joint gesture of the Central American states toward reconciliation and lasting peace for their peoples, elections shall be held for the Central American Parliament, which was proposed in the Esquipulas Declaration of May 25, 1986.

To that end, the Presidents have expressed their wish to move forward with the organization of the Parliament. The Preparatory Committee of the Central American Parliament shall therefore conclude its deliberations and deliver the respective draft treaty to the Central American Presidents within 150 days.

These elections shall be held simultaneously in all the countries of Central America during the first 6 months of 1988 on a date to be agreed upon in due course by the Presidents of these states. They shall be subject to monitoring by the appropriate electoral bodies, and the respective governments agree to extend an invitation to the Organization of American States and to the United Nations, as well as to governments of third states, to send observers to attest to the fact that the electoral procedures have been governed by the strictest rules of equal access for all political parties to the communications media, as well as extensive opportunities for holding public demonstrations and engaging in any other type of campaign propaganda.

In order that the elections for membership in the Central American Parliament may be held within the time period indicated in this section, the treaty establishing that body shall be submitted for approval or ratification in the five countries.

As soon as elections for membership in the Central American Parliament have been held, equally free and democratic elections shall be held in each country, with international observers and the same guarantees and within the established intervals and the timetables to be proposed under the present political constitutions, to select the people's representatives in the municipalities, congresses, and legislative assemblies, as well as the Presidents of the Republics.

5. Cessation of Aid to Irregular Forces and Insurgent Movements

The governments of the five Central American states shall request governments in the region or those outside it that are providing, either overtly or covertly, military, logistic, financial or propagandistic aid or assistance in the form of troops, weapons, munitions, and equipment to irregular forces or insurgent movements to cease such aid as an essential requirement for achieving a stable and lasting peace in the region.

The foregoing does not include assistance used for repatriation, or, if that does not occur, relocation, and assistance needed to accomplish the reintegration into normal life of those persons who have belonged to the above-mentioned groups or forces. Similarly, the irregular forces and insurgent groups active in Central America shall be asked to refrain from receiving such aid for the sake of a genuine Latin Americanist spirit. These requests

shall be made in fulfillment of the provisions of the Document of Objectives as regards elimination of the traffic in weapons within the region or from outside sources to persons, organizations, or groups attempting to destabilize the Central American governments.

The five countries signing this document reiterate their commitment to prevent the use of their own territory and to neither furnish nor allow logistical military support for persons, organizations, or groups seeking to destabilize the governments of the Central American countries.

The governments of the five Central American states, with participation by the Contadora Group in the exercise of its function as mediator, shall proceed with negotiations on the points on which agreement is pending in matters of security, verification, and control under the draft Contadora Act for Peace and Cooperation in Central America.

These negotiations shall also cover measures for the disarmament of those irregular forces that are willing to accept the amnesty decrees.

The Central American governments undertake to address, with a sense of urgency, [the problem of] the flow of refugees and displaced persons caused by the regional crisis, by means of protection and assistance, especially with regard to health, education, employment, and security and, furthermore, to facilitate their repatriation, resettlement, or relocation, provided that it is of a voluntary nature and takes the form of individual cases.

They also undertake to arrange for aid from the international community for the Central American refugees and displaced persons, whether such assistance is direct under bilateral or multilateral agreements or obtained through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or other organizations and agencies.

In the climate of freedom guaranteed by democracy, the Central American countries shall adopt such agreements as will permit them to accelerate their development in order to achieve societies that are more egalitarian and free from misery.

The consolidation of democracy entails the creation of an economy of well-being and economic and social democracy. In order to attain those objectives, the governments shall jointly seek special economic assistance from the international community.

An International Verification and Follow-up Committee shall be created, composed of the Secretaries General of the Organization of American States and the United Nations, or their representatives, as well as by the foreign ministers of Central America, the Contadora Group, and the Support Group. The functions of this committee shall be to verify and follow up on the fulfillment of the commitments contained herein.

In order to reinforce the efforts of the International Verification and Follow-up Committee, the governments of the five Central American states shall issue statements of support for its work. All nations interested in promoting the cause of freedom, democracy, and peace in Central America may adhere to these statements.

The five governments shall provide all necessary facilities for the proper conduct of the verification and follow-up functions of the National Reconciliation Committee in each country and of the International Verification and Follow-up Committee.

6. **Non-use of Territory To Attack Other States**
7. **Negotiations on Security, Verification, Control, and Limitation of Weapons**
8. **Refugees and Displaced Persons**
9. **Cooperation, Democracy, and Freedom for Peace and Development**
10. **International Verification and Follow-up**
 - (a) **International Verification and Follow-up Committee**
 - (b) **Support and Facilities for Mechanisms of Reconciliation and of Verification and Follow-up**

11. **Timetable for
Implementing
the
Commitments**

Within 15 days of the signing of this document, the Central American foreign ministers shall meet as an Executive Committee to regulate and promote the agreements contained herein and to make their application feasible. They shall also organize the working committees so that, as from this date, the processes leading to the fulfillment of the commitments entered into within the intervals stipulated may begin through consultations, negotiations, and any other mechanisms deemed necessary.

When 90 days have elapsed from the date of the signature of this document, the commitments with regard to amnesty, cease-fire, democratization, cessation of aid to irregular forces or insurgent movements, and the non-use of territory to attack other states, as defined in this document, shall simultaneously begin to govern publicly.

When 120 days have elapsed from the date of the signature of this document, the International Verification and Follow-up Committee shall analyze the progress made in the fulfillment of the agreements provided for herein.

When 150 days have elapsed, the five Central American Presidents shall meet and receive a report from the International Verification and Follow-up Committee and shall make pertinent decisions.

The points included in this document form a harmonious and indivisible whole. Signing it entails the obligation, accepted in good faith, to comply simultaneously and within the established time limits with the provisions agreed upon.

The Presidents of the five Central American states, with the political will to respond to our people's yearnings for peace, hereby sign this document in Guatemala City on August 7, 1987.

OSCAR ARIAS SANCHEZ
President
Republic of Costa Rica

JOSE NAPOLEON DUARTE
President
Republic of El Salvador

VINICIO CEREZO AREVALO
President
Republic of Guatemala

JOSE AZCONA HOYO
President
Republic of Honduras

DANIEL ORTEGA SAAVEDRA
President
Republic of Nicaragua

**FINAL
PROVISIONS**

CONTADORA DOCUMENT OF OBJECTIVES

Considering:

The situation prevailing in Central America, which is characterized by an atmosphere of tension that threatens security and peaceful coexistence in the region, and which requires, for its solution, observance of the principles of international law governing the actions of States, especially:

- The self-determination of peoples;
- Non-intervention;
- The sovereign equality of States;
- The peaceful settlement of disputes;
- Refraining from the threat or use of force;
- Respect of the territorial integrity of States;
- Pluralism in its various manifestations;
- Full support for democratic institutions;
- The promotion of social justice;
- International cooperation for development;
- Respect for and promotion of human rights;
- The prohibition of terrorism and subversion;

The desire to reconstruct the Central American homeland through progressive integration of its economic, legal and social institutions;

The need for economic cooperation among the States of Central America so as to make a fundamental contribution to the development of their peoples and the strengthening of their independence;

The undertaking to establish, promote or revitalize representative, democratic systems in all the countries of the region;

The unjust economic, social, and political structures, which exacerbate the conflicts in Central America;

The urgent need to put an end to the tensions and lay the foundations for understanding and solidarity among the countries of the area;

The arms race and the growing arms traffic in Central America, which aggravate political relations in the region and divert economic resources that could be used for development;

The presence of foreign advisers and other forms of foreign military interference in the zone;

The risks that the territory of Central American States may be used for the purpose of conducting military operations and pursuing policies of destabilization against others;

The need for concerted political efforts in order to encourage dialogue and understanding in Central America, avert the danger of a general spreading of the conflicts, and set in motion the machinery needed to ensure the peaceful coexistence and security of their peoples.

[Adopted on September 9, 1983, by the Contadora countries of Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela and the Central American nations of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.]

**Declare Their
Intention of
Achieving the
Following
Objectives**

To promote detente and put an end to situations of conflict in the area, restraining from taking any action that might jeopardize political confidence or obstruct the achievement of peace, security and stability in the region;

To ensure strict compliance with the aforementioned principles of international law, whose violators will be held accountable;

To respect and ensure the exercise of human, political, civil, economic, social, religious and cultural rights;

To adopt measures conducive to the establishment and, where appropriate, improvement of democratic, representative, and pluralistic systems that will guarantee effective popular participation in the decision-making process and ensure that the various currents of opinion have free access to fair and regular elections based on the full observance of citizens' rights;

To promote national reconciliation efforts wherever deep divisions have taken place within society, with a view to fostering participation in democratic political processes in accordance with the law;

To create political conditions intended to ensure the international security, integrity and sovereignty of the States of the region;

To stop the arms race in all its forms and begin negotiations for the control and reduction of current stocks of weapons and on the number of armed troops;

To prevent the installation on their territory of foreign military bases or any other type of foreign military interference;

To conclude agreements to reduce the presence of foreign military advisers and other foreign elements involved in military and security activities, with a view to their elimination;

To establish internal control machinery to prevent the traffic in arms from the territory of any country in the region to the territory of another;

To eliminate the traffic in arms, whether within the region or from outside it, intended for persons, organizations or groups seeking to destabilize the Governments of Central American countries;

To prevent the use on their own territory by persons, organizations or groups seeking to destabilize the Governments of Central American countries and to refuse to provide them with or permit them to receive military or logistical support;

To refrain from inciting or supporting acts of terrorism, subversion or sabotage in the countries in the area;

To establish and coordinate direct communication systems with a view to preventing or, where appropriate, settling incidents between States of the region;

To continue humanitarian aid aimed at helping Central American refugees who have been displaced from their countries of origin and to create suitable conditions for the voluntary repatriation of such refugees, in consultation with or with the cooperation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other international agencies deemed appropriate;

To undertake economic and social development programs with the aim of promoting well being and an equitable distribution of wealth;

To revitalize and restore economic integration machinery in order to attain sustained development on the basis of solidarity and mutual advance;

To negotiate the provision of external monetary resources, which will provide additional means of financing the resumption of intra-regional trade, meet the serious balance-of-payments problems, attract funds for working capital, support programs to extend and restructure production and promote medium- and long-term investment projects;

To negotiate better and broader access to international markets in order to increase the volume of trade between the countries of Central America and the rest of the world, particularly the industrialized countries; by means of a revision of trade practices, the elimination of tariff and other barriers, and the achievement of the price stability at a profitable and fair level for the products exported by the countries of the region;

To establish technical cooperation machinery for the planning, programming, and implementation of multi-sectoral investment and trade promotion projects.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Central American countries, with the participation of the countries in the Contadora Group, have begun negotiations with the aim of preparing for the conclusion of the agreements and the establishment of machinery necessary to formalize and develop the objectives contained in this document, and to bring about the establishment of appropriate verification or monitoring systems. To that end, account will be taken of the initiatives put forward at the meetings convened by the Contadora Group.

Panama City, 9 September 1983

If you would like to receive additional information,
contact the Office of Public Diplomacy
for Latin America and the Caribbean

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(cont.) Annex I

PRIMARY GUIDELINES FOR FUNCTIONALLY IMPROVING, STRENGTHENING AND EQUIPPING THE SANDINISTA
PEOPLE'S ARMY (SPA) FOR THE PERIOD 1988-1990 AND PRELIMINARY GUIDELINES FOR THE FIVE-YEAR
PERIOD 1991-1995

(DIRIANGEN I - DIRIANGEN II)

OCTOBER 1987

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INTRODUCTION

1. In June of 1985, after compiling practical experience garnered since 1979 in the overall defense of the Sandinista People's Revolution (SPR) and from specific aspects of the structuring of the SPA amidst the conditions imposed by American aggression, the Nicaraguan Minister of Defense completed the first draft of the military doctrine of the SPR.

The key elements embodied in the military doctrine were expressed in the following considerations:

- a. the probable nature of enemy action, variations in his aggression and the occupation of [this] country.
- b. key doctrinal and strategic guidelines.
- c. primary methods for waging the People's National Patriotic War.

2. Concurrently, the definition and in-depth development of the key doctrinal elements enabled the establishment of the basic outlines which would guide the development of the SPA in the five-year period 1986-1990. These guidelines were combined into two key considerations:

- a.) primary guidelines for the structure and composition of the SPA over the period 1986-1990
- b.) primary guidelines for furnishing [the SPA] with arms and technical support in the five-year period 1986-1990.

3. The key doctrinal guidelines as well as the basic outlines for the five-year period 1986-1990 were moulded into a document entitled "Basic Planning of the Sandinista People's Army with Regard to Doctrine, Strategy, Structure and Equipment for its Strengthening and Consolidation and the Development of the National Defense over the Five-year Period 1986-1990", dated June 1985.

This document served as the basis for discussion for the tripartite conference (USSR-CUBA-NICARAGUA) which took place in June of 1985 in Havana, Cuba. Here, the "19th of

July" Plan was established as the basic framework for the development of the SPA and the basis for working out the provision of technico-material support and arms, for the five-year period 1986-1990.

4. Experience garnered from the defense of the SPR, from the time of the tripartite conference of June 1985 to the present-- a period characterized by a sustained escalation of American aggression via a mercenary war and the continuing threat of a large-scale military action on the part of the United States' own forces-- has enabled us to develop in depth certain elements of the military doctrine of the SPR and the improvement of the structure, composition and outfitting of the SPA for the period 1988-1990, to the end of insuring the total defeat of mercenary forces while simultaneously guaranteeing the strengthening and the multilateral preparation of this country in order to confront the direct invasion of American troops.

5. The Nicaraguan side, with the aim of submitting the proposed improvements in the structure, composition and outfitting of the SPA for the remainder of the five-year period 1986-1990 (viz., 1988-1990) for consideration by the Soviet and Cuban sides, requested the staging of another tripartite conference (USSR-CUBA-NICARAGUA) in November of 1987.

6. In order to guarantee the continued improvement and strengthening of the SPA through 1990 (viz., 1988-1990), it is vital to secure a supplemental order of arms, technical support, materiel and logistics not furnished in 1985, at which time the bases for support over the five-year period 1986-1990 were defined.

7. In this document, the SPA briefly sets forth the primary elements which constitute the basis for improving and strengthening its structure and composition through 1990 as well as the supplemental order assuring said strengthening over the period 1988-1990.

8. The November 1987 tripartite conference also intends to draft preliminary guidelines for improving the structure, composition, outfitting and technico-material support of the SPA for the five-year period 1991-1995. These considerations are taken up in Chapter IV of this document.

I - PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS OF THE PRESENT STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF THE SPA

Taking the composition of the units established via the "19th of July" Plan and the various functional adjustments we have implemented over the period 1985-1987 as a frame of reference, the present composition of the SPA, in terms of its principal units, is as follows:

A. GROUND FORCES

1. Reserve combat units of the High Command:

- one (1) mechanized infantry brigade
- one (1) artillery brigade
- one (1) antiaircraft artillery regiment
- one (1) special forces battalion

2. 1st Military Region (1st MR):

- one (1) permanent infantry brigade
- two (2) light assault battalions
- one (1) detachment of border security troops

Note: The document does not deal with individual local forces battalions but rather concerns itself with total [numbers] of local forces battalions.

- three (3) permanent regional companies
- four (4) light infantry brigades
- eight (8) local forces battalions (four local forces battalions make up the local forces battalion at ESTELI)

3. 2nd Military Region (2nd MR)

- one (1) mechanized infantry brigade
- one (1) permanent infantry brigade
- one (1) detachment of border security troops
- three (3) light infantry brigades

- twelve (12) local forces battalions
 - 4 local forces battalions = the local forces battalion at CHINANDEGA
 - 4 local forces battalions = the local forces battalion at LEON
 - 2 independent [local forces battalions]
 - 2 local forces battalions at CORINTO which are components of the Sandinista Navy but which [2 WORDS INDISTINCT] the 2nd MR [1 WORD INDISTINCT] with them.

4. 3rd Military Region (3rd MR)

- two (2) permanent infantry brigades
- five (5) light infantry brigades
- twenty (20) local forces battalions

5. 4th Military Region (4th MR)

- one (1) detachment of border security troops
- three (3) light infantry brigades
- eighteen (18) local forces battalions

6. 5th Military Region (5th MR)

- six (6) unconventional warfare battalions
- seven (7) light assault battalions
- one (1) detachment of border security troops (absorbed by the 55th Infantry Brigade)
- twenty-one (21) permanent regional companies
- five (5) light infantry brigades
- nine (9) local forces battalions

7. 6th Military Region (6th MR)

- one (1) border infantry brigade
- six (6) unconventional warfare battalions
- eight (8) light assault battalions
- twenty-one (21) permanent regional companies
- five (5) light infantry brigades

- fourteen (14) local forces battalions

8. 7th Military Region (7th MR)

- one (1) permanent infantry brigade

- one (1) detachment of border security troops

- three (3) permanent regional companies

- one (1) light infantry brigade

- three (3) local forces battalions

B. THE SANDINISTA AIR FORCE

- three air detachments situated as follows:

- one (1) in the 3rd MR

- one (1) in the 5th MR

- one (1) in the 6th MR

- one (1) antiaircraft regiment

- one (1) heavy transport squadron

- radio communications troops with:

- six (6) radio communications centers

- one (1) mobile radio communications company

- combat support units

- one (1) technical services unit

- other units

C. THE SANDINISTA NAVY

- one (1) naval district on the Pacific coast

- three (3) light motor launch squadrons

- one (1) minesweeper squadron

- two (2) antiaircraft artillery groups

- one (1) radio communications company

- eight (8) coastal surveillance posts

- one (1) repair base
- one (1) naval sector in SAN JUAN DEL SUR
 - one (1) squadron of light motor launches
 - five (5) coastal surveillance posts
 - one (1) radio communications complex
- one (1) naval district on the Atlantic coast
- one (1) naval sector at EL BLUFF
 - two (2) naval infantry companies
 - five (5) coastal surveillance posts
 - one (1) radio communications company
 - one repair base
- one (1) naval sector at PUERTO CABEZAS
 - one (1) light motor launch squadron

D. MAIN REAR GUARD SERVICES UNITS

E. SCHOOLS SUBORDINATE TO A CENTRAL UNIT

F. OTHER UNITS

II - PRINCIPAL GUIDELINES FOR IMPROVING THE STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF THE SPA
OVER THE REMAINDER OF THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD 1986-1990 (1988-1990)

As a result of the experience garnered in confronting the present mercenary aggression and pinpointing the nature of enemy actions, the variations in [his] aggression and the occupation of this country, the following are considered prime objectives in achieving the strengthening and improvement of the SPA over the period 1988-1990 (OPERATION DIRIANGEN I):

A. In the ground forces

1. To insure the functional stability and necessary outfitting of the unconventional warfare units created in the period 1985-1987 for the purpose of confronting mercenary aggression. The principal units are:
 - one (1) border infantry brigade in the 6th MR
 - twelve (12) unconventional warfare battalions
 - six (6) in the 5th MR
 - six (6) in the 6th MR
 - seventeen (17) light assault battalions
 - two (2) in the 1st MR
 - seven (7) in the 5th MR
 - eight (8) in the 6th MR
 - forty-nine (49) permanent regional companies
 - three (3) in the 1st MR
 - twenty-one (21) in the 5th MR
 - twenty-one in the 6th MR
 - four (4) in the 7th MR
 - one (1) reconnaissance battalion in the 6th MR
2. To keep the remainder of the permanent ground forces units in their present configuration throughout the period 1988-1990.

3. In keeping with the present and future requirements of the National Defense Plan, to create up to six (6) new light infantry brigades in the country's Pacific coastal regions (2nd, 3rd and 4th MRs) in addition to those now extant.

These light infantry brigades will be created within the [same] organizational structure as the present local forces brigades which carry out missions in defense of Nicaragua's most important Pacific coastal cities but which, in terms of their designation, composition and equipment will not insure the fulfillment of this mission.

The light infantry brigades to be set up are:

- one (1) in LEON (2nd MR)
- one (1) in CHINANDEGA (2nd MR)
- two (2) in MANAGUA (3rd MR)
- one (1) in GRANADA (4th MR)
- one (1) in MASAYA (4th MR)

The creation of these light infantry brigades will make it possible to firmly establish the defense of these cities and the more strategic access routes to them.

4. To improve and fortify the structure and present equipment of twenty-one (21) light infantry brigades, designating them "Type A light infantry brigades". In these Type A light infantry brigades, infantry armament (light and support), land-based, antitank and antiaircraft artillery weapons will be increased and fortified both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Strengthening these units will enable them to wield the necessary combat capacity for fulfilling their combat missions, in keeping with the demands of the probable enemy to be confronted and the specific needs of Nicaragua's Pacific Theater of Operations.

The twenty-one (21) light infantry brigades to be improved as Type A units will be:

- eleven (11) light infantry brigades in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th MRs
 - three (3) in the 2nd MR
 - five (5) in the 3rd MR
 - three (3) in the 4th MR
- six (6) newly formed light infantry brigades in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th MRs
 - two (2) in the 2nd MR
 - two (2) in the 3rd MR
 - two (2) in the 4th MR
- four (4) light infantry brigades in the 5th and 6th MRs (designated as reserves of the High Command)
 - two (2) in the 5th MR
 - two (2) in the 6th MR

5. To maintain, in their present structure and composition, the remaining eleven (11) light infantry brigades extant, designating them "Type B light infantry brigades".

The distribution of these brigades shall be as follows:

- four (4) in the 1st MR
 - three (3) in the 5th MR
 - three (3) in the 6th MR
 - one (1) in the 7th MR
6. To create, in the country's Pacific regions (2nd, 3rd and 4th MRs), up to one hundred (100) new battalions (approximately 800 men per battalion) of local forces (Sandinista People's Militias), arming them with infantry rifles.

In keeping with the guidelines of the military doctrine of the SPR, this increase in the number of local forces shall enhance the country's capacity for waging the People's National Patriotic War, insuring massive popular support for defense.

B. In the Sandinista Air Force/Air Defense (SAF/AD)

The primary efforts for the functional improvement and strengthening of the SAF/AD shall be directed toward:

1. the Air Force

- consolidation of the three (3) mixed Air Force detachments for the period 1988-1990:
 - PANCHITO air detachment (3rd MR)
 - two (2) squadrons of MI-17 helicopters
 - one (1) mixed squadron of MI-25 and MI-8 helicopters plus AN-2 aircraft
 - JUIGALPA air detachment (5th MR)
 - one (1) squadron of MI-17 helicopters
 - one (1) mixed squadron of MI-25 and MI-17 helicopters plus AN-2 aircraft
 - WASWALI air detachment (6th MR)
 - one (1) squadron of MI-17 helicopters
 - one (1) mixed squadron of MI-25 and MI-17 helicopters plus AN-2 aircraft
- maintaining at 100% the helicopter and air support stockpiles envisioned in the functional structure for the period 1988-1990, by means of immediate replacement of inventory presently listed as losses directly or indirectly attributable to the mercenary war we are confronting.
- insuring the additional delivery of helicopters and air materiel-- described in point 3. of the SAF/AD supplement attached to and forming a part of this document-- in line with projected real losses forecasted for the period 1988-1990 and attributable to the ongoing war.
- maintaining and consolidating the heavy transport squadron currently in existence.
- maintaining and consolidating the executive transport squadron currently in existence.
- converting the technical services unit initially designated to carry out officially prescribed [maintenance] and repair functions for fixed-wing

aircraft, into a technical services unit for effecting officially prescribed [maintenance] and repair functions for rotary-wing aircraft.

2. radio communications troops

-- maintaining and consolidating the six (6) radio communications centers and one (1) mobile radio communications company deployed as follows:

- one (1) radio communications center at EL CRUCERO (3rd MR)
- one (1) radio communications center at CHINANDEGA (2nd MR)
- one (1) radio communications center at PUERTO CABEZAS (7th MR)
- one (1) radio communications center at BLUEFIELDS (5th MR)
- one (1) radio communications center at SIUNA (7th MR)
- one (1) radio communications center at ESTELI (1st MR)

3. air defense

-- creating one (1) anti-aircraft rocket regiment of the G-125 type for air defense of the capital

-- maintaining the two (2) medium- and small-caliber anti-aircraft artillery regiments:

- one (1) medium-caliber anti-aircraft artillery regiment
 - three (3) KC-19 100 mm gun batteries
 - three (3) C-60 57 mm gun batteries
- one (1) small-caliber anti-aircraft artillery regiment
 - six (6) 37 mm gun batteries
 - three (3) ZU-23-2 batteries

The functional improvement and strengthening of the SAF/AD for the period 1988-1990 is expanded upon and set forth in the SAF/AD supplement attached to and forming a part of this document.

The index for the attached SAF/AD supplement is the following:

1. Aide memoire
2. The structure of the SAF/AD ("DIRIANGEN I")
3. Requirements for systems, equipment and weapons being replaced or on order

for the period 1988-1990.

4. Requirements for the repair of systems, arms and equipment
5. Maintenance and repair workshop equipment for [servicing] available systems
6. The meteorological laboratory and technical support/meteorological service requirements
7. The conversion of the MIG-21B fighter technical services unit into a technical services unit for rotary-wing aircraft
8. The status and behavior of commercial and military contracting (DGI, DGT AVIAEXPORT)
9. Technical support status and requirements
10. The SAF/AD school project and its requirements
11. Requirements for training cadres abroad, in line with the present structure and the outlook for 1991-1995
12. Requirements for aviation armaments and munitions, lubricants and basic training materials (literature)
13. The SAF/AD outlook for the period 1991-1995
14. Other considerations of interest

C. In the Sandinista Navy

The primary efforts for functionally improving and strengthening the Sandinista Navy , for the period 1988-1990, shall be directed toward:

1. strengthening and developing the protection of our coastal borders within the following contexts:
 - in the fight against coastal provisioning of the mercenary forces
 - in the fight against the mining of the country's chief ports
 - in the air and naval defense of the country's chief ports
 - in the struggle against the mercenary forces in the land portion of the country's Atlantic naval district.
 - in radio, searchlight and visual reconnaissance

2. maintaining the present structure of the Sandinista Navy over the period 1988-1990
3. maintaining at 100% the naval systems supplies envisioned in the functional structure for the period 1988-1990, by rapidly replacing systems currently listed as real losses or which will become real losses during combat action or with the takeover of their operational sites
4. continuing to develop the infrastructure, equipment and training of personnel for setting up repair bases and shipyards in the naval districts
5. creating four (4) 85 or 100 mm multi-purpose gun batteries with the objective of bolstering antiaircraft and naval firepower in the country's Pacific coastal region.

The functional improvement and strengthening of the Sandinista Navy, over the period 1988-1990, is expanded upon and set forth in detail in the Sandinista Navy supplement attached to and forming a part of this document.

III - PRINCIPAL GUIDELINES FOR THE SPA'S TECHNICO-MATERIAL SUPPORT AND THE SUPPLEMENTAL ORDER FOR ARMS, SYSTEMS AND MATERIEL SUPPORT FOR THE PERIOD 1988-1990

A. The principal guidelines for technico-material support of the SPA for the period 1988-1990 are:

1. to continue supplying the SPA with arms, systems and multilateral support aimed at enhancing the combat readiness of the primary units, granting priority, over the period 1988-1990, to the unconventional warfare units, armed forces units (SAF/AD and the Sandinista Navy) and the Type A light infantry brigades.
2. to maintain at 100% the supplies for helicopter and air operations envisioned in the functional structure for the period 1988-1990, by rapidly replacing systems presently listed as real losses attributable directly or indirectly to the the mercenary war that we are currently confronting.
3. to insure the delivery of additional systems to the SAF/AD, in accordance with projections of real losses forecasted for the period 1988-1990 and attributable to the present war. [This latter] is set forth in detail in point 3. of the SAF/AD supplement attached to and forming part of this document.
4. to establish the mechanisms for enabling the replacements of arms, munitions and basic systems of all types which, during their use, consumption or combat action can become real losses, thus necessitating their immediate replacement.
5. to bolster technical assistance, over the period 1988-1990, by employing Soviet specialists who would assist in the assimilation of systems and armaments.
6. to accelerate implementation of the 28 June 1986 operations protocol concerning the tasks jointly undertaken by Soviet and Nicaraguan specialists for the purpose of determining the level of technical assistance available to Nicaragua in the establishment of military installations.
7. to insure, by dispatching a Soviet commission, the determination of the possible volume of material and technical aid required for constructing warehouses and system complexes in the SPA, for the period 1988-1990 and on through 1995.

B. The supplemental order for arms, systems and material support, for the period 1988-1990, resulting from the functional improvement and strengthening of the SPA is attached to and forms a detailed part of this document.

C. As a result of the improvement of the functional structure of the SPA, over the period 1988-1990, and the provision of systems and arms stemming therefrom, the following guidelines are established as the basis for the supplemental order which is attached to and forms part of this document:

1. Arms and Munitions:

a. Infantry Weapons

- for the period 1988-1990, to equip and round out the principal SPA units with models of the arms listed below:
 - the MAKAROV 9 mm pistol
 - the model M-43 AKM 7.62 mm rifle
 - the model M-43 RPK 7.62 mm light machine gun
 - the model M-1908 PKM 7.62 mm heavy machine gun
 - the model M-1908 SVD 7.62 mm sniper rifle
 - the model RPG-7V antitank rocket launcher
 - the model ASG-17 30 mm automatic grenade launcher
- to equip the SPA's special forces with light, helmet-mounted personal night vision gear

The quantities of infantry weapons reflected in the supplemental order, for the period 1988-1990, take into account:

- the programmed inclusion of the unconventional warfare units
- reinforcement of the Type A light infantry brigades with support infantry weapons
- the furnishing of arms to trainees at training centers
- the expansion of local forces units
- the replacement of armaments listed as real losses

b. Land-based Artillery Weapons

- for the period 1988-1990, to continue with existing models of land-based artillery weapons and mortars
- the quantities of artillery and mortar weapons reflected in the supplemental order for the period 1988-1990 take into account:
 - the programmed inclusion of 82 mm mortars in the inventory of the unconventional warfare units
 - reinforcement of the Type A light infantry brigades with SPG-9 antitank artillery weapons
 - the expansion of the six (6) newly formed Type A light infantry brigades by equipping them with 82 mm mortars and GRAD-1P rocket launchers

c. Antiaircraft Artillery Weapons

- to bolster the portable antiaircraft complexes of SPA units with C-3M and IGLA-1M [systems]
- to enhance the antiaircraft capacities of the Type A light infantry brigades by supplying them with ZU-23-2 units and portable antiaircraft complexes
- to introduce the C-125 antiaircraft rocket system for strengthening the capital's air defense system
- to introduce 85 or 100 mm multipurpose artillery, destined for the Sandinista Navy, for the air and naval defense of the country's chief ports
- the quantities of antiaircraft artillery weapons reflected in the supplemental order for the period 1988-1990 take into account:
 - the inclusion of IGLA-1M portable antiaircraft complexes in the inventory of the unconventional warfare units
 - the formation of antiaircraft artillery batteries, in the Type A light infantry brigades, composed of ZU-23-2 antiaircraft installations and IGLA-1M portable antiaircraft complexes
 - reinforcement of the SPA's main units with IGLA-1M portable antiaircraft complexes
 - formation of the C-125 antiaircraft rocket regiment for the air defense of the capital

- the creation of four (4) 85 or 100 mm multipurpose gun batteries for defense of the country's chief ports

d. Infantry, Land-based Artillery, Tank, Antiaircraft Artillery and Naval Munitions

In keeping with the country's defensive operations, as spelled out in the military doctrine of the SPR, and aimed at having available, even in peacetime, the necessary quantity of munitions units in the event of a possible invasion and prior blockade of our country, it has been determined that the SPA should have available the following levels of munitions units:

Item No.	Description	Units programmed	Units on hand	Total units [required]
01	M43 7.62 mm [rounds]	7	4.14	2.86
02	M1908 7.62 mm [rounds]	7	9.60	-
03	9 mm [rounds] for MAKAROV pistol	5	7.56	-
04	30 mm VPG-17 [rounds]	7	6.68	-
05	PG-7V rockets	4	3.94	0.06
06	57 mm [rounds] for ZIS-2 antitank gun	3	4.8	-
07	76 mm [rounds] for D56T and ZIS-3 tank-mounted gun	4	2.9	1.1
08	82 mm [rounds] for the BM-82	5	3.63	1.37
09	100 mm [rounds] for the D-10T2S tank gun	5	5	-
10	100 mm [rounds] for the BS-13 antitank gun	7	7	-
11	122 mm [rounds] for the D30A 122 mm howitzer	7	7.9	-
12	122 mm 9M22M [rounds] for the GRAD-1P	6	5.25	0.75
13	122 mm M21 OF [rounds] for the BM-21	6	5.56	0.44
14	152 mm [rounds] for the D20 152 mm howitzer	7	6.23	0.77
15	12.7 mm [rounds] for the DSHK	8	21	-
16	14.5 mm [rounds] for the ZGU-1, ZPU-2 ZPU-4, ZM-7 and KPVT [systems]	8	5.2	2.8
17	23 mm [rounds] for the ZU-23-2	8	5.17	2.83
18	37 mm [rounds] for the M-39 37 mm antiaircraft gun	7	8.25	-
19	57 mm [rounds] for the S-60 antiaircraft gun	5	5	-
20	100 mm [rounds] for the KS-19 antiaircraft gun	4	2.65	1.35
21	9M32M (C-2M) rocket	5	2.31	2.69
22	9M36-I (C-3M) rocket	5	2	3
23	9M319-1 (IGLA-1M) rocket	5	2.5	2.5
24	25 mm [rounds] for the 2M-3M	10	35.9	-
25	12.7 mm [rounds] for the UTIU-M	10	8.8	1.2
26	12.7 mm [rounds] for the YAK-B	15	21.1	-
27	23 mm [rounds] for the GSH	15	21	-
28	S-5KP rocket	19.9	10.1	19.8 [sic]
29	9M17P missile	4.7	1.1	3.6
30	9M14 missile	4.7	1.2	3.5
31	Signal flares	5	-	5
32	PPl-26-1B pyrotechnic rounds	145	1.2	143.8
33	PPL pyrotechnic rounds	177	30.2 [sic]	95.8 [sic]
34	P-50-75-91 bomb	35.8	11.8	24
35	ZAB-100-105 bomb	13.5	6.3	7.2
36	OFAB-100-120 bomb	20.9	16.9	4.0
37	OFAB-250-270 bomb	15.4	6.6	8.8
38	RBK-250-270 bomb	1.4	-	1.4
39	RBK-250-330 bomb	22	7.7	14.3
40	CAP-250 bomb	5.6	1.5	4.1
41	FAB-500 bomb	77.5	5.5	72
42	ZB-500 bomb	97.5	25.3	72.2

- the quantities of munitions reflected in the supplemental order, for the period 1988-1990, correspond to the arms extant within the country plus the arms to be received pursuant to the agreement for the five-year period 1986-1990.
- the munitions stockpiles [cited] take into account those [munitions] to be received pursuant to the agreement for the five-year period 1986-1990.
- arms to be delivered pursuant to the supplemental order, for the period 1988-1990, should be accompanied by the [corresponding] quantity of appropriate munitions for the SPA.

2. Tanks and Transport Vehicles

a. Tanks and Armored Transports

- to maintain the following vehicle models at their currently programmed numbers:
 - T-54 and T-55 tanks
 - PT-76 tanks
 - BTR-60PB and BTR-152 armored transports
 - the BRDM-2 reconnaissance and chemical services vehicle [TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: this is the translation of the vehicle type as described in the original. The vehicle was otherwise described in another part of this document].
- for the period 1988-1990, to introduce BTR-70PB armored transports into the two mechanized infantry battalions of the mechanized infantry brigade of the SPA's High Command reserves
- the quantities of tanks and armored transports reflected in the supplemental order, for the period 1988-1990, take into account:
 - the introduction of the BTR-70PB [armored transports] into the mechanized infantry brigade of the SPA's High Command reserves
 - the programmed rounding out of inventories with T-55 tanks
 - the rounding out of inventories via the replacement of two (2) BTR-70PB [armored transports]
 - the programmed rounding out of inventories and the replacement of BRDM-2 chemical reconnaissance [vehicles] (TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: See note above)

b. Transport Vehicles, [Vehicles] for Towing Artillery Pieces and for Conventional Construction and Military Engineering Support

- to continue technically supplanting the transport inventory via the introduction of the following models:
 - the replacement of KRAZ vehicles with KAMAZ vehicles
 - the increase in the numbers of URAL-4320 military vehicles for towing artillery pieces, replacing ZIL-131 vehicles
 - by retaining the ZIL-131 as the main troop carrier
 - by retaining the UAZ model 31512 jeep as the standard light [utility] vehicle
 - by introducing the IZH-27151 van as a service vehicle and rear guard services vehicle
- nearly all the quantities of transport vehicles, artillery towing vehicles and conventional support vehicles used for construction and military engineering reflected in the supplemental order for the period 1988-1990 have been requested in lists, which the Soviet foreign trade authorities have had since April 1987, with the expectation that they shall be placed on contract through a special line of credit requested of the Soviet government, for the period 1988-1990.

c. Special Purpose Vehicles and Workshops

- according to their specific use, special purpose vehicles and workshops for the following specialties:
 - tanks and transport vehicles
 - main rear guard services
 - military engineering
 - chemical services troops
 - communications
 - armaments
 - Air Force/Air Defense
 - Navy

are reflected in the supplemental order for the period 1988-1990, in keeping with SPA structural adjustments over the same period.

3. Military Engineering

a. Special-purpose and Conventional Engineering Support

-- to insure the formulation of time tables for the deployment of our units in the theater of military operations of the military regions currently confronting mercenary aggression

-- to continue, even in peacetime, the engineering operations of the theater of military operations, as regards plans for fortifications

-- to continue equipping and rounding out the SPA's small permanent engineering and chemical [services] units with specialized engineering and chemical services support

b. Engineering Munitions

-- to assure large-scale use of engineering munitions in the present confrontation of mercenary forces

-- with the engineering munitions to be delivered pursuant to the supplemental order for the period 1988-1990, to insure the installation of antitank and antipersonnel barriers which shall insure an obstacle density of 0.5 in the defensive fronts of the main SPA units

c. Engineering and Chemical Services Weapons

-- to assure that, for the period 1988-1990, the permanent, small units of the SPA are thoroughly equipped with engineering and chemical services weapons

-- to provide and thoroughly equip the permanent units with individual protective gear, masks and a water supply

4. Communications

-- to boost the supply levels of the SPA's main units [by furnishing them] with the following:

- short-wave radio stations

- ultra short-wave radio stations

- [radio] receivers

- radio links
 - command[/control] vehicles
 - mobile workshops
- to continue rounding out small communications units [by supplying them] with communications systems and equipment, for the purpose of improving the communications system continually available for combat [purposes], bolstering command staff vitality in wartime, up to the battalion level, and insuring command [function] within the unconventional warfare units
- to effect the [systematic] replacement of the R-105 gear, currently in use with the unconventional warfare units, with the R-159 gear, embodying superior tactical and technical features, for use by the units
- to introduce into the unconventional warfare units, short-wave communications gear which can be supplied and which incorporates the following features:
- medium-power short-wave capacity
 - capacity for high-speed operation
 - portability for field use
 - DC power supply [using a] nickel-cadmium [battery] and a hand generator
- to introduce the R-125 mobile command post up through the level of the Type A light infantry battalions and into the unconventional warfare units
- to increase the number of telephone and telegraph communications networks at the general staff, military region, brigade and infantry levels, including the establishment of tropospheric networks
- to increase the number of radio link lines having few channels so as to insure communications with the command staffs of the military regions and the (Type A & B) light infantry brigades, relinquishing priority to the 1st and 6th MRs
- the quantities of communications gear reflected in the supplemental order for the period 1988-1990 take into account:
- the inclusion of the unconventional warfare units
 - the establishment of the new Type A light infantry brigades

- the programmed inclusion of communications gear for the system continuously available for combat use
- the inclusion of communications equipment in accordance with the recommendations of the Soviet side, made in May of 1987, subsumed in the operations protocol of 26 May 1987 and requested of the Soviet Minister of Defense by the Nicaraguan Minister of Defense, in a letter dated 3 July 1987

5. Rear Guard Services

Over the period 1988-1990, for the various rear guard service specialties, the following equipment and support are planned:

a. Provisions

-- to establish the following guidelines over the period 1988-1990:

- to prioritize the supply of unconventional warfare units with technical gear and comestibles
- to define the following priority order for supplying technical gear:
 - permanent units and armed forces units
 - Type A light infantry brigade
 - Type B light infantry brigade
- to supply [units] with KP-125 field kitchens, up through the Type A light infantry brigade level
- to introduce PAK-200 self-propelled field kitchens into the units of the mechanized infantry
- to furnish unconventional warfare units , permanent units and Type A light infantry brigades with TSV-50 [portable] water supplies
- to obtain a kiloton-capacity refrigeration unit for centralized preservation of fresh and perishable meat products; to anticipate the dispatch of a technical squad for ascertaining the levels of technical and material support for this project
- pursuant to contract Nos. 0202/67214 and 0204/667212 of 31 December 1986, for supplying canned goods, to request the assortment of these goods in accordance with the supplemental order for the period 1988-1990 which is attached to and forms a part of this document

- to request that the annual supply of 16,000 tons of foodstuffs furnished to the Ministry of Defense by the Soviet government be distributed in the following manner:

Wheat flour	3,000 tons
Sugar	2,000 tons
Rice	5,000 tons
Condensed milk	1,000 tons
Powdered milk	1,000 tons
Animal fats	2,000 tons
Edible fats	2,000 tons

b. Medical Services

- to establish the following guidelines for the period 1988-1990:

- firstly, to insure that the requirements of the unconventional warfare units [are met]
- to insure that the SPA's principal units [receive] an increase in special support
- to increase the number of UAZ-469A ambulances, particularly those supplied to:
 - military hospitals
 - centralized medical units
 - unconventional warfare units
 - the SAF/AD
 - reserve units of the High Command
- during the period [cited] to introduce the following equipment:
 - an SDP-2 sterilization/distillation trailer for the SPA's epidemiology group
 - a DDP-2 disinfection trailer for use by the platoons of anti-epidemic health personnel of the military regions
 - a DDA-66 disinfection van for the SPA's epidemiology group
 - a mobile oxygen station for the SPA's medical battalion
 - an AP treatment vehicle for [dispensing] medical first aid, destined for

Type A and B light infantry brigades

- over the period 1988-1990, to insure [supply] of the following articles for the purpose of furnishing our troops in the field with basic personal effects:

- personal health kits
- integrated health packs
- medical kits for the armored, air and naval units

c. Clothing

-- to establish the following guidelines over the period 1988-1990:

- to insure that all permanent and mobilized SPA units are furnished with full clothing complements

- owing to the impact which the continued support of more than 80,000 men, necessitated by the present state of aggression, has upon the national economy, the following quantities of supplies, over and above those already approved, are necessary:

-- full clothing complements approved for the period 1988-1990:

1988	40,000
1989	80,000
1990	80,000

-- additional full clothing complements necessary for the period 1988-1990:

1988	280,000
1989	240,000
1990	240,000

d. Fuels and Lubricants

-- for the period 1988-1990, the principal guidelines for fuels and lubricants are as follows:

- to continue supplying fuels and lubricants with the aim of insuring:
 - the mobilization of all the SPA's rolling stock
 - the operational capacity of the principal inventory items of the Sandinista Air Force and Navy
 - the maintenance of weapons and systems within the SPA

- the creation of fuel and lubricant stockpiles for wartime
- considering the maintenance of strict quality control over fuels and lubricants to be of vital importance, to equip the centralized and Sandinista Air Force fuel and lubricant laboratories with equipment and supplies included in the supplemental order for the period 1988-1990
- to replace the TZ-22 (KRAZ-258) automated fuel supply system with the KAMAZ-54112 [system], for the purpose of improving fuel supply to the troops

c. Military Transport Facilities

The principal guidelines for the period 1988-1990 are:

- to reinforce the SPA's Central Transport Unit's solid and liquid cargo transport operations
- to create a special technical support group for special operations by Nicaragua's Atlantic and Pacific seaports for receiving military materiel
- for the period 1988-1990, to continue the systematic replacement of the KRAZ [vehicle] inventory by the new inventory of KAMAZ models

6. Multipurpose Equipment

This equipment responds to the need for continuing to supply SPA units with equipment and basic means for insuring:

- the secret command staff of the troops
- that small special forces units and special purpose detachments of the Sandinista Navy [are supplied] with special equipment for the successful completion of their missions
- [the provision of] teams [furnishing] instruction and training in arms, tanks and transports, for the purpose of insuring the combat training of troops and specialists.

IV - PRELIMINARY GUIDELINES FOR IMPROVING THE STRUCTURE, COMPOSITION, EQUIPMENT
AND TECHNICO-MATERIAL SUPPORT OF THE SPA FOR THE PERIOD 1991-1995

The following should be considered as fundamental elements permitting the preliminary definition of the key features of the improvement and development of the SPA over the period 1991-1995 (DIRIANGEN II):

1. the degree of consolidation achieved by the national defense plans and the SPA in 1990 when the plan for improvement and strengthening, envisioned for the period 1988-1990 (DIRIANGEN I), expires
2. the level of American aggression, in its mercenary phase, in the year 1990. For purposes of this projection, we estimate that, by 1990, the mercenary forces will be reduced to their lowest strength, after sustaining a total defeat during the period 1988-1990.

This consideration will enable a gradual reduction, over the period 1991-1995, of the number of unconventional warfare units slated for the period 1988-1990.

3. Once this variation of mercenary phase military aggression is reduced to a minimum and gradually eliminated, after it is defeated, over the period 1991-1995, it shall be more vital than ever, to the consolidation and development of the SPR, to rely upon a solid national defense and a powerful Army which will more convincingly avert the possibility of a direct invasion by American troops and assure their defeat, should the invasion occur.
 4. the outlook for stabilizing the deterioration of the socioeconomic situation during the period 1991-1995
 5. the forecasts of population growth and distribution over the period 1991-1995
- A. Over the period 1991-1995, the main improvement and development trends will be the following:
1. continuation of the improvement of the permanently combat-ready units, equipping them with the most modern arms, technology and means, thereby endowing them with

greater combat capability in the event of their deployment, firepower and autonomy in combat

2. continuation of the consolidation of Type A and B light infantry brigades, in the case of Type A light infantry brigades, improving their artillery weapons and, in some cases, their transport facilities, regulating them in terms of the type of missions that they are to carry out in defensive operations
3. the continuation of large-scale augmentation of the Sandinista People's Militias, creating additional local forces units
4. the expansion of our capacity for exercising air superiority, qualitatively strengthening the country's air defense system via the acquisition of better technology and arms
5. the enhancement of the capacity for exercising naval supremacy in our territorial waters and inland waterways, introducing naval craft with greater firepower and range as well as the improvement of the overall defense and protection of the country's seaports.

B. The Basic Composition and Equipment of SPA Units

In keeping with the principal improvement and development trends, the primary SPA units should possess the following features and composition:

1. In the ground forces

a. Mechanized Infantry Brigade

It should have greater mobility upon being furnished with BTR-70PB armored transports for the infantry as well as self-propelled guns.

Its mainstay continues to be the T-55 tank.

The composition of the principal mechanized infantry brigade units will be as follows:

-- two (2) T-55 tank battalions, each battalion accompanied by a mechanized infantry company [transportable via] BTR-70PB [vehicles].

In the case of the reserves of the High Command, each tank battalion will contain thirty-one (31) tanks.

- two (2) mechanized infantry battalions [transportable in] BTR-70PB [vehicles]. Each battalion will be accompanied by one (1) T-55 tank company, each company having 7 tanks.
- one (1) 0-122 mm self-propelled artillery group
- one (1) antitank artillery group composed of six (6) BRDM-transportable MALIUTKA [units] ([or their] equivalent) and six (6) 100 mm guns (T-12A)
- one (1) mixed antiaircraft artillery group consisting of a battery of G-10 units and portable antiaircraft complexes

b. Permanent Infantry Brigade

It will be equipped with BTR-70PB armored transports. It retains the T-55 tanks and [its] 76 mm guns are replaced by CO-122 mm guns.

The composition of the principal permanent infantry brigade units will be:

- one (1) mechanized infantry battalion, [transportable via] BTR-70PB [vehicles], accompanied by a T-55 tank company. (In the 1st and 7th MRs, the permanent infantry brigades have no tanks).
- two (2) [truck-transportable] permanent infantry battalions. (In the case of the permanent infantry brigades of the 1st and 7th MRs, there are three (3) [truck-transportable] infantry battalions and no battalions transportable via BTR-70PB vehicles).
- one (1) T-55 tank battalion accompanied by one (1) permanent mechanized infantry company [transportable via] BTR-70PB [vehicles]. (In the case of the permanent infantry brigades of the 1st and 7th MRs, there is no tank battalion).
- one (1) mechanically-driven 0-122 mm group
- one (1) mixed antiaircraft group having ZU-23-2 [units] and portable anti-aircraft complexes
- one (1) mixed antitank artillery group comprised of six (6) BRDM-transportable MALIUTKA [units] ([or their] equivalent) and six (6) 100 mm guns (T-12A)