

Department of State

TELEGRAM

21
JEN

PAGE 01 MANAGU 03690 01 OF 06 031923Z

3825

ACTION H-03

INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 CS-00 ARA-00 SSO-00 /014 W
-----106005 031932Z /50

O 031921Z JUN 86
FM AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0890
INFO CONTADORA COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN IMMEDIATE
DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7011
USLO CARIBBEAN IMMEDIATE
24 COMPW/DOI IMMEDIATE
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 MANAGUA 03690

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OREP NU

SUBJECT: VISIT OF CODEL MCCURDY TO NICARAGUA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. CODEL MCCURDY, CONSISTING OF THIRTEEN REPRESENTATIVES AND SIX CONGRESSIONAL STAFFERS ARRIVED IN MANAGUA ON JUNE 2 FOR A FIVE HOUR VISIT. AFTER MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR BERGOLD AND LUNCHING WITH LEADERS OF NICARAGUAN OPPOSITION PARTIES, CODEL MCCURDY WENT TO A TWO HOUR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT DANIEL ORTEGA AND FOREIGN MINISTER MIGUEL D'ESCOTO. ORTEGA'S LENGTHY PRESENTATION DEALT WITH THE CONTADORA AGREEMENT AND HIS RECENT MEETING WITH THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN PRESIDENTS IN ESQUIPULAS, GUATEMALA. ORTEGA'S MAIN THEMES WERE DEMOCRACY AND ARMS. EACH COUNTRY MUST BE FREE TO CHOOSE ITS OWN KIND OF DEMOCRACY, SO ATTEMPTS BY THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN NATIONS TO FORCE THEIR "MODEL" OF DEMOCRACY ON NICARAGUA ARE ONLY A "POLEMICAL EFFORT" TO WRECK CONTADORA. ON ARMS, ORTEGA SAID NICARAGUA IS WILLING TO AGREE ON VERIFICATION AND CONTROL MEASURES, AND IS WILLING TO DISCUSS THE LIMITATION OF "OFFENSIVE" WEAPONS. THE CHIEF OBSTACLE TO ACHIEVING AGREEMENT IS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, BUT IF THE U.S. WOULD GIVE EL SALVADOR AND HONDURAS THE FREEDOM TO NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED. CODEL'S PRESS COMMENTS AND LOCAL PRESS REACTION WILL FOLLOW BY SEPTELS. END SUMMARY.

3. CODEL MCCURDY ARRIVED IN MANAGUA AT 1325 HOURS ON JUNE 2. MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION WERE: DAVE MCCURDY (D-OK), OLYMPIA SNOWE (R-ME), MICHAEL A. ANDREWS (D-TX), FREDERICK C. BOUCHER (D-VA), ROD CHANDLER (R-WA), RONALD D. COLEMAN (D-TX), JIM COOPER (D-TN), MARTHA HAYS (MRS. JIM COOPER), CONNIE MACK (R-FL), RICHARD RAY (D-GA), JOHN M. SPRATT, JR. (D-SC), ROBIN TALLON (D-CC), ALBERT G. BUSTAMANTE (D-TX) AND JIM CHAPMAN (D-TX). PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBERS ACCOMPANYING THE DELEGATION WERE: RICHARD H. GIZA, PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE AND GEORGE INGRAM, HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE. PERSONAL STAFF ASSISTANTS WERE: HOWARD YOURMAN, LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT TO MR. MCCURDY AND DAVE DWORKIN, LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT TO MR. CHANDLER. MR. J. EDWARD FOX, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR LEGISLATIVE AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS (STATE), AND DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ESCORT OFFICERS LT. COL. J. O. MCFALLS, MAJOR JOSE GUTIERREZ

AND CAPT. DAN ALLEN COMPLETED THE DELEGATION.

4. AFTER A BRIEF MEETING WITH THE PRESS, THE CODEL WENT TO AMBASSADOR BERGOLD'S RESIDENCE FOR A MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR AND A LUNCH WITH LEADERS OF SIX OPPOSITION PARTIES. DURING THE LUNCH, MEMBERS OF THE CODEL HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO QUESTION THE OPPOSITION PARTY MEMBERS ABOUT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN NICARAGUA. FRANCISCO TABOADA OF THE SOCIAL CHRISTIAN PARTY; LUIS RIVAS LEIVA, PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY; ENRIQUE SOTELO, NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MEMBER FROM THE CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS - NO OFICIALISTA; MARIO RAPPACCIOLI, LEADER OF THE NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE PARTY; GUILLERMO SELVA OF THE LIBERAL INDEPENDENT PARTY AND RODOLFO MEJIA UBILLA OF THE LIBERAL CONSTITUTIONALIST PARTY REPRESENTED SIGNATORIES OF THE SIX PARTY DOCUMENT AT THE LUNCHEON.

5. DUE TO THE LATE ARRIVAL OF THE AIRCRAFT FROM GUATEMALA, THE CODEL'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER D'ESCOTO WAS COMBINED WITH THEIR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT DANIEL ORTEGA. ORTEGA SPOKE FOR ONE HOUR ON THE CONTADORA AGREEMENT AND THE RECENT MEETING OF CENTRAL AMERICAN PRESIDENTS IN ESQUIPULAS, GUATEMALA. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY APPROXIMATELY THIRTY MINUTES OF QUESTIONS FROM REPRESENTATIVES MCCURDY, SNOWE, MACK, COOPER AND BOUCHER. BESIDES PRESIDENT ORTEGA AND FOREIGN MINISTER D'ESCOTO, THE NICARAGUAN SIDE WAS REPRESENTED BY UN-AMBASSADOR

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 MANAGU 03690 02 OF 06 031924Z

3827

ACTION H-03

INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SS-00 ARA-00 SSO-00 /024 W
-----106043 031932Z /51

O 031921Z JUN 86

FM AMEMBASSY MANAGUA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0891

INFO CONTADORA COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

USCINCSO QUARRY HTG PN IMMEDIATE

DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7012

USLO CARIBBEAN IMMEDIATE

24 COMPAW/DOI IMMEDIATE

USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 06 MANAGUA 03690

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OREP NU

SUBJECT: VISIT OF CODEL MCCURDY TO NICARAGUA

MORA ASTORGA, VICE FOREIGN MINISTER VICTOR HUGO
TIMOCO AND AMBASSADOR SAUL ARANA.

6. PRESIDENT ORTEGA PRESENTED A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE CONTADORA PROCESS THAT SHOWED NICARAGUA'S WILLINGNESS TO REACH AGREEMENT. THE CHIEF OBSTACLE TO REACHING SUCH AN AGREEMENT IS THE USG'S OPPOSITION TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION FOR CONTADORA. THE KEY ISSUE THAT REMAINS IS THE QUESTION OF ARMS LIMITATION. ORTEGA SAID THAT NICARAGUA IS WILLING TO LIMIT ARMS AND TO SEE ALL FOREIGN MILITARY ADVISORS REMOVED FROM CENTRAL AMERICA, ALTHOUGH HE WAS UNCLEAR AS TO WHO WOULD BE CONSIDERED A MILITARY ADVISOR AND WHO WOULD NOT. ORTEGA'S ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING AT ESQUIPULAS EMPHASIZED THAT THE SUDDEN OPPOSITION OF EL SALVADOR AND HONDURAS TO A CONTADORA AGREEMENT THAT DID NOT ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF INTERNAL DEMOCRACY WAS THE RESULT OF U.S. PRESSURE ON THESE TWO COUNTRIES. ORTEGA AGREED THAT DEMOCRACY WAS NECESSARY, BUT SAID THAT EACH COUNTRY MUST BE FREE TO CHOOSE ITS OWN KIND OF DEMOCRACY.

CONTADORA

7. PRESIDENT ORTEGA RECALLED THAT NICARAGUA HAD ACCEPTED THE DRAFT ACT OF SEPTEMBER, 1984, BUT THAT THIS HAD BEEN REJECTED BY THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES. THE 1984 DRAFT WAS MODIFIED AND PRESENTED AS A NEW DRAFT IN SEPTEMBER OF 1985. NICARAGUA HAS QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS DRAFT. THIS IS DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO AGREE ON EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED. ONLY CHAPTER THREE, DEALING WITH ARMS AND SECURITY, IS STILL PENDING.

8. NICARAGUA IS VERY INTERESTED IN VERIFICATION AND CONTROL. FOR THEM THE ISSUE IS HOW TO USE THE VERIFICATION AND CONTROL MECHANISM, ONCE IN PLACE, TO "CONTROL" THE CONTRA.

9. IN NOVEMBER OF 1985, NICARAGUA WAS FORCED BY THE U.S. MILITARY ESCALATION TO REJECT ANY DISCUSSION OF ARMS LIMITATION. NICARAGUA COULD NOT AGREE TO FREEZE ARMAMENT LEVELS UNLESS U.S. AGGRESSION ENDED. THIS REFUSAL LED THE CONTADORA NATIONS TO PRODUCE THE CARABALLEDA DOCUMENT, WHICH CALLED FOR

A NUMBER OF SIMULTANEOUS STEPS. IT ALSO LED TO THE FIXING OF A SET DATE FOR THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, NICARAGUA COULD NEITHER SIGN AN AGREEMENT NOR DISCUSS ARMS LIMITATIONS AS LONG AS U.S. AGGRESSION CONTINUED.

10. NICARAGUA LATER REVERSED ITS POSITION AND AGREED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSING THE ARMS QUESTION. NICARAGUA HAS MADE A SERIES OF CONCRETE PROPOSALS TO SHOW ITS SERIOUSNESS, AS "WE INTEND TO ABIDE BY THE AGREEMENT". HOWEVER, OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES DO NOT SEEM TO BE NEGOTIATING SERIOUSLY, AND ARE APPROACHING CONTADORA AS A PROPAGANDA EXERCISE TO ATTACK NICARAGUA. UNDOUBTEDLY "THE HAND OF THE U.S. IS BEHIND THIS."

ESQUIPULAS

11. PRESIDENT ORTEGA BEGAN BY STATING THAT AS THE MEETINGS AT ESQUIPULAS HAD BEEN VERY FRANK AND VERY CONFIDENTIAL, HE WOULD RESPECT THE CONFIDENTIALITY UNDER WHICH THE TALKS HAD TAKEN PLACE. THE BULK OF PRESIDENT ORTEGA'S REMARKS WERE DESIGNED TO SHOW THAT THE DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN HIMSELF AND PRESIDENTS ARIAS, AZCONA AND DUARTE WERE THE RESULT OF THE WEIGHT THE U.S. CARRIES WITH THEIR GOVERNMENTS, AND THEREFORE ANY PROBLEMS ARE AGAIN DUE TO U.S. OPPOSITION AND HOSTILITY.

12. THE FIVE PRESIDENTS ACHIEVED AGREEMENT ON

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 MANAGU 03690 03 OF 06 031925Z
ACTION H-03

3828

INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SS-00 ARA-00 SSO-00 /024 W
-----106064 031933Z /51

O 031921Z JUN 86
FM AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0892
INFO CONTADORA COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN IMMEDIATE
DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7013
USLO CARIBBEAN IMMEDIATE
24 COMPW/DOI IMMEDIATE
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 06 MANAGUA 03690

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OREP NU
SUBJECT: VISIT OF CODEL MCCURDY TO NICARAGUA

EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE ISSUES. ALL ACCEPTED THE NEED FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF CENTRAL AMERICA, AND FOR THE HEADS OF STATE TO REMAIN IN 'FLUID' CONTACT IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THIS. ALL AGREED THAT THE QUESTIONS OF SALVADORAN AND HONDURAN SUPPORT FOR THE CONTRA AND "EL SALVADOR'S PERCEPTION" THAT NICARAGUA WAS SUPPORTING THE GUERRILLAS COULD BE RESOLVED IN THE CONTADORA PROCESS.

13. THE FIVE PRESIDENTS ALSO AGREED ON THE NEED FOR POLITICAL PLURALISM. ON THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL PLURALISM, ORTEGA SAID THAT NICARAGUA COULD FOLLOW THE MODELS OF NEITHER COSTA RICA NOR CUBA, BUT MUST PURSUE ITS OWN TYPE OF DEMOCRACY. HONDURAS, EL SALVADOR AND COSTA RICA HAD INSISTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE NICARAGUANS USE THEIR MODEL OF DEMOCRACY. ORTEGA STATED THAT THEY ARE, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF COSTA RICA, "HALF-HEARTED DEMOCRACIES," AS THE MILITARY HAS FIFTY TO EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE POWER IN THEIR COUNTRIES. NICARAGUA DOES NOT ASK THAT THESE COUNTRIES USE THE NICARAGUAN MODEL OF DEMOCRACY, AND THEY MUST RESPECT NICARAGUA'S INDEPENDENCE TO CHOOSE ITS OWN MODEL.

14. PRESIDENT ORTEGA SINGLED OUT COSTA RICA'S PRESIDENT ARIAS FOR SPECIAL CRITICISM, SAYING THAT FORMER PRESIDENTS OF COSTA RICA NEVER HAD ANY TROUBLE MEETING WITH SOMOZA OR THE OTHER MILITARY DICTATORS IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THE MEETING IN ESQUIPULAS WAS THE FIRST MEETING OF CENTRAL AMERICAN PRESIDENTS SINCE THE REVOLUTION. PRESIDENT ORTEGA EMPHASIZED THAT "WE SPOKE VERY FRANKLY" AT ESQUIPULAS, APPARENTLY AN ALLUSION TO THE HEATED EXCHANGES THAT TOOK PLACE WITH PRESIDENT ARIAS. THIS SEEMED TO INDICATE THAT HE WAS STILL UPSET BY THE ENCOUNTER.

15. ORTEGA WAS ALSO UNHAPPY WITH DUARTE OF SALVADOR. ORTEGA SAID THE ORIGINAL ESQUIPULAS DOCUMENT, DRAFTED BY THE VICE PRESIDENTS OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES, CALLED FOR CONTADORA TO BE SIGNED ON JUNE 6. ORTEGA AGREED TO SIGN IF THE DISCUSSION OF THE ARMS QUESTION COULD CONTINUE. THIS WAS APPARENTLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE OTHER PRESIDENTS, BUT IN A SUPRISE MOVE AT THE NEXT MEETING, PRESIDENT DUARTE ANNOUNCED THAT HE COULD NOT SIGN. HE GAVE HIS REASON THAT ONLY NICARAGUA WOULD BENEFIT FROM CONTADORA BEING

SIGNED ON JUNE 6, AS THIS WOULD INSURE THAT THE 100 MILLION DOLLARS IN AID TO THE CONTRA WOULD NOT BE GRANTED AND EL SALVADOR COULD NOT RISK U.S. DISFAVOR. THIS SHOWS THAT THE OBSTACLE TO ACHIEVING AGREEMENT IS NOT EL SALVADOR BUT RATHER U.S. POLICY. SIMILARLY, PRESIDENT AZCONA'S SPEECH TO THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES DID NOT REFLECT HIS TRUE FEELINGS OF CORDIALITY, BUT RATHER HIS NEED TO GUARANTEE U.S. AID.

16. PRESIDENT ORTEGA CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT ESQUIPULAS SHOWED THAT "WE ARE IN THE FINAL STAGE OF CONTADORA," DESPITE DISAGREEMENTS WITH HONDURAS AND EL SALVADOR. NICARAGUA IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE THE NUMBER OF AIRCRAFT, HELICOPTERS, TANKS AND MILITARY AIRPORTS IN ITS ARSENAL, ARMS THAT THE U.S. HAS DECLARED TO BE "OFFENSIVE WEAPONS." AN AGREEMENT ON MILITARY AND SECURITY ISSUES COULD BE REACHED IF THE U.S. WOULD ALLOW EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS AND COSTA RICA THE NECESSARY INDEPENDENCE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT. THE PROBLEM OF FINDING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA DEPENDS,

THEREFORE, ON THE U.S. GOVERNMENT.

QUESTIONS

17. REPRESENTATIVE MCCURDY SAID THAT THE PERCEPTION OF THE MEETINGS AT ESQUIPULAS THE CODEL HAD RECEIVED IN ITS EARLIER MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CEREZO

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 MANAGU 03690 04 OF 06 032135Z

4465

ACTION H-03

INFO LOG-00. COPY-01 ADS-00 SS-00 ARA-00 SSO-00 /014 W
-----113001 032139Z /61/50

O 031921Z JUN 86

FM AMEMBASSY MANAGUA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0893

INFO CONTADORA COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN IMMEDIATE

DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7014

USLO CARIBBEAN IMMEDIATE

RUEOSBA/24 COMPW/DOI IMMEDIATE

USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 06 MANAGUA 03690

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARAS 17 & 18)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OREP NU

SUBJECT: VISIT OF CODEL MCCURDY TO NICARAGUA

DIFFERED FROM THAT GIVEN BY PRESIDENT ORTEGA. THE MAJOR CONCERNS OF COSTA RICA WERE DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND THE MAJOR CONCERN FOR GUATEMALA WAS ARMS. THERE WERE SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES ON THE DEFINITIONS OF DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL PLURALISM RAISED BY PRESIDENT ARIAS. COULD PRESIDENT ORTEGA ACCOUNT FOR THESE DIFFERENCES, GIVEN COSTA RICAN SUPPORT FOR THE SANDINISTA REVOLUTION IN 1979? IT WAS ALSO REPRESENTATIVE MCCURDY'S PERCEPTION THAT THE FOUR OTHER COUNTRIES WOULDN'T SIGN UNLESS NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IS INCLUDED.

18. FOREIGN MINISTER MIGUEL D'ESCOTO ATTRIBUTED THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NICARAGUA AND COSTA RICA TO PERSONAL MOTIVES ON THE PART OF PRESIDENT ARIAS. AS HIS EFFORTS TO OBTAIN A JOINT COMMUNIQUE AT HIS INAUGURATION HAD FAILED, IT WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE FOR HIM TO HAVE ANYTHING WHERE NICARAGUA PLAYED A PART SUCCEED. PRESIDENT ORTEGA ADDED THAT THE EFFORTS TO INTERJECT THE QUESTION OF INTERNAL DEMOCRACY AT ESQUIPULAS WAS AN EFFORT TO SABOTAGE CONTADORA. HIS IMPRESSION WAS THAT SOME OF THE PRESIDENTS WANTED ESQUIPULAS TO BE A FAILURE SO THEY COULD CAST THE BLAME FOR THIS FAILURE ON NICARAGUA.

19. IN RESPONSE TO REPRESENTATIVE SPRATT'S QUESTION ABOUT THE ELEMENTS THAT MAKE UP NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, PRESIDENT ORTEGA SAID THAT PRESIDENT ARIAS HAD INSISTED THAT THE GON TALK WITH THE CONTRA, BUT THAT NICARAGUA WOULD TALK WITH THE U.S. NICARAGUA'S AMNESTY PROGRAM PROVIDES FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, AND SOME 2,000 PEOPLE HAVE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF THE AMNESTY LAW IN THE ONE YEAR IT HAS BEEN IN EXISTENCE. THE "CABILDOS" OR TOWN MEETINGS THE GON IS HOLDING TO DISCUSS THE NEW NICARAGUAN CONSTITUTION FORM THE OTHER PART OF THE GON'S NATIONAL RECONCILIATION PROGRAM, AS THEY GIVE THE OPPOSITION PARTIES AN OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON THE SHAPE THE GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE IN THE FUTURE. ORTEGA STRESSED THAT THE GON HAD ACCEPTED THE SECTION WITHIN CONTADORA ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND IS NOT PREPARED TO REOPEN THE DISCUSSION.

20. REPRESENTATIVE MACK ASKED IF THIS DID NOT

REPRESENT SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NICARAGUA AND THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN NATIONS ON THE ISSUES OF DEMOCRACY AND PLURALISM. PRESIDENT ORTEGA REPLIED THAT HE REGARDS THE INTRODUCTION OF THESE ISSUES AS AN EFFORT TO WRECK CONTADORA. DEMOCRACY IS A POLEMICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUE. NICARAGUA DOES NOT ACCEPT THE OTHER COUNTRIES' MODELS OF DEMOCRACY, AND DOES NOT THINK IT PRACTICAL TO PHILOSOPHIZE AS TO THE NATURE OF DEMOCRACY FOR CENTRAL AMERICA. ALL FIVE PRESIDENTS AGREE ON THE NEED FOR POLITICAL PLURALISM, DIRECT ELECTION AND OTHER ASPECTS OF DEMOCRACY. HOW EACH COUNTRY WILL IMPLEMENT THESE IS UP TO THAT COUNTRY.

21. PRESIDENT ORTEGA ADDED THAT HE FOUND IT STRANGE THAT THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN NATIONS WERE NOW RAISING THE ISSUE OF DEMOCRACY WHEN THEY HAD NEVER STRESSED IT IN THE PREVIOUS CONTADORA MEETINGS. BEFORE THE ISSUE HAD BEEN REGARDED AS RESOLVED AND NICARAGUA DOES NOT WISH THE ISSUE TO BE REOPENED. PRESIDENT AZCONA AND THE OTHERS ARE USING THE DEMOCRACY ISSUE TO PREVENT AN AGREEMENT FROM BEING REACHED. THIS IS THE RESULT OF THE U.S. DECISION TO NOT ACCEPT ANY CONTADORA AGREEMENT.

22. REPRESENTATIVE COOPER THEN ASKED IF ANOTHER DATE WOULD BE SET IF NICARAGUA REFUSED TO SIGN THE CONTADORA AGREEMENT ON JUNE 6, AND WHETHER IT WOULD NOT BE IN NICARAGUA'S ADVANTAGE TO SET A FIXED DATE AS THIS WOULD PUT PRESSURE ON THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT AN AGREEMENT. PRESIDENT ORTEGA REPLIED THAT NICARAGUA HAD NEVER ACCEPTED THE NEED FOR A FIXED DATE, AND AS THEY DID NOT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 MANAGU 03690 05 OF 06 031927Z
ACTION H-03

3838

INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SS-00 ARA-00 SSO-00 /024 W
-----106130 031933Z /51

O 031921Z JUN 86
FM AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0894
INFO CONTADORA COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN IMMEDIATE
DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7015
USLO CARIBBEAN IMMEDIATE
24 COMFW/DOI IMMEDIATE
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 06 MANAGUA 03690

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OREP NU
SUBJECT: VISIT OF CODEL MCCURDY TO NICARAGUA

SEE CONTADORA AS A PROPAGANDA EVENT, THEY FELT IT BETTER TO WAIT UNTIL EVERYONE COULD AGREE TO SIGN. TO PRESENT A DIVIDED PUBLIC IMAGE, WITH SOME SIGNING NOW AND OTHERS REFUSING, WOULD ULTIMATELY WEAKEN THE AGREEMENT.

23. REPRESENTATIVE SNOVE CHALLENGED PRESIDENT ORTEGA'S CLAIM THAT THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN NATIONS ARE THE OBSTACLE, AND SAID THAT THERE ARE SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES OVER TROOP LEVELS, FOREIGN ADVISORS AND ARMS REDUCTIONS BETWEEN NICARAGUA AND THE OTHER COUNTRIES. PRESIDENT ORTEGA SAID THAT DISAGREEMENT ON SUCH MILITARY MATTERS EXISTED ONLY WITH EL SALVADOR AND HONDURAS. BY DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE ARMS, EACH COUNTRY WILL BE ABLE TO DETERMINE THE LEVEL OF DEFENSIVE ARMAMENT NECESSARY FOR ITS OWN SECURITY, WHILE REDUCING OFFENSIVE ARMAMENTS.

24. REPRESENTATIVE SNOVE ASKED IF THIS MEANT THAT NICARAGUA WOULD BE WILLING TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN ADVISORS IT NOW HAS. PRESIDENT ORTEGA SAID THAT NICARAGUA WOULD "ACCEPT PROPOSALS TO DEMILITARIZE THE ENTIRE REGION OF FOREIGN MILITARY ADVISORS." CONTRARY TO REPORTS, HE MAINTAINED THERE ARE NOW ONLY 800 CUBAN ADVISORS, INCLUDING BOTH CIVIL AND MILITARY, IN NICARAGUA.

25. REPRESENTATIVE SNOVE ASKED IF SUCH REDUCTIONS WOULD INCLUDE ADVISORS LISTED AS CIVILIAN BUT "CAPABLE" OF ACTING AS MILITARY ADVISORS. FOREIGN MINISTER D'ESCOTO SAID THAT IT WOULD REQUIRE "WITCHCRAFT" TO ESTABLISH WHICH CIVILIANS HAD MILITARY CAPABILITIES. PRESIDENT ORTEGA ADDED THAT IF A CENSUS OF FOREIGNERS IN NICARAGUA WAS TAKEN, IT WOULD SHOW THAT MOST ARE AMERICAN OR WEST EUROPEAN. ALMOST ALL OF THE MEN WOULD HAVE TO BE COUNTED AS CAPABLE OF ACTING AS MILITARY ADVISORS, AS MOST HAD RECEIVED MILITARY TRAINING. ORTEGA ACKNOWLEDGED THERE IS A PROPOSAL TO COUNT "CAPABLES" UNDER DISCUSSION IN PANAMA, BUT IT HAS NOT YET BEEN AGREED ON.

26. REPRESENTATIVE BOUCHER ASKED IF THE NICARAGUAN MODEL OF DEMOCRACY HAD THE POTENTIAL FOR THE REPLACEMENT OF THE SANDINISTAS AS THE RULING PARTY IN THE FUTURE. ORTEGA ANSWERED BY SAYING THAT EXCEPT FOR COSTA RICA, THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN NATIONS WERE REALLY ONE PARTY STATES, CONTROLLED

BY THE MILITARY. NICARAGUA'S REVOLUTION HAD BEEN PEACEFUL, AND OPPOSITION PARTIES CAN PARTICIPATE. HOWEVER, A CENTRAL PART OF THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION IS THE REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. THIS REDISTRIBUTION IS CHANGING THE "POLITICAL STRUCTURE" OF THE COUNTRY, MAKING NICARAGUAN DEMOCRACY "VERY DIFFERENT" FROM THAT OF THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES. THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE MIGHT WELL "INSTITUTIONALIZE" THE FSLN AS THE MEXICAN PEOPLE INSTITUTIONALIZED THE PRI. ORTEGA ADDED THAT THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION WAS MUCH MORE LIKE THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION THAN THE COSTA RICAN REVOLUTION. THE MAIN DIFFERENCE WAS THAT BOTH MEXICO AND NICARAGUA HAD TO FACE A HOSTILE U.S. GOVERNMENT.

27. PRESIDENT ORTEGA HAD REPEATEDLY CLAIMED DURING THE MEETING THAT PRESIDENT AZCONA AND THE OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN PRESIDENTS MUST FOLLOW THE U.S. LINE IN ORDER TO CONTINUE RECEIVING U.S. AID. REPRESENTATIVE BOUCHER ASKED IF THE SAME WAS NOT TRUE OF NICARAGUA, THAT IT MUST HEED THE SOVIETS TO PRESERVE ITS SOVIET AID. IF NICARAGUA ACTED INDEPENDENTLY, WOULDN'T IT LOSE ITS SOVIET AND CUBAN AID. ORTEGA REPLIED THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE DETERMINATION OF EITHER NICARAGUA'S DOMESTIC OR INTERNATIONAL POLICY.

28. REPRESENTATIVE MCCURDY ASKED THE FINAL QUESTION: WHAT WOULD HAPPEN ON THE SIXTH OF JUNE? FOREIGN MINISTER D'ESCOTO ANSWERED THAT THE CONTADORA DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD MEET ON THE 4TH

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
Department of State

TELEGRAM

PAGE 01
ACTION H-03

MANAGU 03690 06 OF 06 031927Z

3831

INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SS-00 ARA-00 SSO-00 /014 W
-----106134 031934Z /50

O 031921Z JUN 86
FM AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0895
INFO CONTADORA COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN IMMEDIATE
DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7016
USLO CARIBBEAN IMMEDIATE
24 COMPW/DOI IMMEDIATE
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 06 MANAGUA 03690

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OREP NU
SUBJECT: VISIT OF CODEL MCCURDY TO NICARAGUA

AND 5TH, AND POSSIBLY THE SEVENTH. HE WAS UNWILLING
TO PREDICT WHAT WOULD HAPPEN, OTHER THAN "IT WILL
NEVER GO BEYOND JULY." REPRESENTATIVE MCCURDY
URGED THE NICARAGUANS TO "SET AN AGENDA" FOR
SIGNING, AND WITH THAT THE MEETING CLOSED. BERGOLD

CONFIDENTIAL