

DRAFT

June 3, 1986

MEETING WITH UNO DIRECTORATE MEMBERS ARTURO CRUZ AND ALFONSO ROBELO
IN SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA

Also in attendance, UNO staff personnel, such as Pedro Joaquin Chamoro and Antonio Farach.

The meeting covered a wide range of topics but focused primarily on the internal reconciliation which UNO had agreed to in Miami last week. A copy of that basic agreement is attached.

Robelo stressed at the outset that UNO would support the Contadora process to find a political solution and that they are in agreement with the four democratic governments of Central America. He said that we have solved all of our internal difficulties and that all decisions will be by majority rule, with five exceptions. Those exceptions include: the expansion of the three-member directorate; decisions that would concern the distribution of funds; a strategic change to the principles of the organization; the formation of new alliances with other groups; and the selection of a new military commander, although current military commanders could be removed by majority, the selection would require consensus. On any of these issues, if they should become deadlocked, the 3-member directorate could then turn to a 5-man commission which has been established of distinguished Nicaraguans but whose identity will not be revealed.

On the allegations of drug trafficking and the mismanagement/disbursement of funds, which have appeared in the Miami Herald and other newspapers, Cruz stressed that we welcome any investigation by the United States or by bona fide Nicaraguans or other groups. He said that we have asked the United States to make the financial controls that relate to the disbursement of funds complete - to tighten them up as much as they [U.S.] would like. He noted that they are requesting that the Nicaraguan Organization of Professionals in Miami examine their procurement and disbursement procedures.

Cruz noted that he is "reasonably comfortable" with their public document of commitment. Cruz was asked by Members that they keep hearing the 'contras cannot win, that the internal opposition is not linked very well to the external opposition and that there doesn't appear to be any strong feeling of association and that some people believe that the biggest mistake Cruz made was not participating in the 1984 elections. Cruz began by pointing out that there were no guarantees in terms of participation in the election and that his participation would have legitimized them. But, reflecting back, he said that we [CDN] should have participated. Hence, by doing so, we could have showed a string of violations committed by the Sandinistas. He noted that he has tried to go back to Nicaragua but was barred from doing so in March 1985. He said that the UNO does consult with the internal opposition and supports the six parties whose document issued several months ago forms a basis for internal reconciliation; and that they attempt to meet frequently with the leaders of the internal opposition.

DRAFT

The questioning again addressed the issue of skimming funds and an article in the Miami Herald referencing Costa Rican businesses had indicated that they had not provided the services which UNO had said they had to the Nicaraguan Humanitarian Assistance Office. Robello stated, "We welcome an investigation but we face a different kind of war. A civil war is a different animal." He seemed to be complaining that Nicaraguan society was not open to scrutiny, yet, UNO and the contras were open to the scrutiny of the press. He said all these storekeepers cheat so they don't have to pay local taxes. In other words, they have actually provided the goods which UNO claims, but their books show smaller sales in order not to have to pay the tax. He was asked whether there was misuse by direction. Robelo admitted that, well, perhaps transport might be included within the pricing of some of the goods to cover it that but that is all. Reference was made to the Supermercado Prado market in Honduras and Robelo admitted that it was true that the Honduran military runs the store and they have complained about the rate of exchange differential and the high prices that they are charged.

On the allegation that Mario Calero, Adolfo's brother, lives in a mansion in New Orleans, Robelo noted that he had had it checked out and found that he lived in a middle class suburb.

A question was asked as to who should get the money when funds are parceled out because there are other organizations, such as Alfredo Cesar's BOS group and Brooklyn Rivera's Indian group. Robelo said that UNO represents 98 percent of the fighters, that all 6 parties inside of Nicaragua, the labor unions, as well as the businessmen's group, known as COSEP, supports the UNO organization.

With \$100 million, Robelo indicated they could set conditions for (1) massive defections of Sandinista forces; (2) the regional revolt of individual commands inside of Nicaragua; (3) the addition of new troops; and (4) widespread insurrection inside the country. And, with all of this going on, there would be a distinct possibility that a coup d'etat inside the directorate could occur.

They were also asked about what would happen if dollars came with strings attached. Cruz responded by noting that they are not going to necessarily assure immediate victory with the funds but that they will turn around the current situation and he stressed that a two-track policy is needed, one which is military and another political.

They were asked whether Cruz and Robelo, now that they have had a change in direction at the top of the UNO leadership, whether they would, in fact, be able to change the FDN's military strategy. Cruz responded that the strategic high command, as well as front commanders, are concerned about the targets and a review will be made of the wisdom of hitting economic targets. However, Robelo stressed that military and economic targets are interrelated. It is very hard to distinguish. When asked about the FDN's commander, Enrique Bermudez, whom it has been alleged Cruz would like to replace, they said there was no intention of removing Bermudez but a review of all FDN commanders will

be made shortly. Yet, Cruz stressed that Bermudez must be willing to accept civilian direction and the civilian directorate. We have told him that we objected to his appearance on a PBS T.V. program where he dismissed one of the original UNO founding documents that provided for such control.

A view was expressed by one member of delegation that if an individual is more of a liability than an asset, you have to remove him. Robelo responded that it is a personal thing. In this kind of a war, you don't give orders but you convince people to do things.

It was pointed out to Cruz and Robelo that you appear to be down in the region more than you were before. Why is that? Cruz responded that well, lots of times in the past, the FDN wouldn't let us into the camps. They would make up delays and all kinds of excuses for not allowing us in there but that is going to change. (This remains to be seen. See memo on visit to FDN camp.)

The \$64,000 question is whether this arrangement will work. Cruz and Robelo, of course, put on a good front and best foot forward and said, oh, yes, of course it is. We're improving our command and control. We have appointed individuals, some of whom they introduced like Alfonso Sandino, who will become director for political matters and Pedro Joaquin Chamoro who will direct media and propaganda. They mentioned an individual by the name of Luis "Wincho" Rivas, who will be head of the military commission, sort of an IG, and they reiterated that all of their agreements were reached without U.S. pressure. This is interesting when one considers all the newspaper articles that have appeared over the last month about the U.S. pressure and the fact that U.S. personnel, to include CIA managers, attended the Miami meetings with the UNO leadership.



(Original version in Spanish)

BASIC AGREEMENTS

1. UNIDAD NICARAGUENSE OPOSITORA (UNO) (UNITED NICARAGUAN OPPOSITION) is an alliance of organizations and individuals fighting to establish peace and democracy in Nicaragua.
2. The member organizations of UNO maintain their own identity and framework within a pluralistic union, and they are committed to the objectives, principles and guidelines of the alliance.
3. The organization and their internal structures, as well as the individual members of UNO, are under the collegiate authority of the Directorate and they accept it as the leading organization in all aspects of the struggle. The member organizations of the alliance will place all their political, financial, and military resources at the service of UNO in order to achieve their common goals.
4. UNO is the means to reach the goals of liberating and pacifying the fatherland, lay the foundations for an effective democracy, establish the rule of law, bring together all Nicaraguans, and initiate the reconstruction of the country.
5. UNO is a political and military organization, governed by the principle of civilian authority over the military, respecting the lines of command within each structure.
6. UNO fights to liberate and guide Nicaragua along the democratic path that the rest of Central America is experiencing today, as well as to rescue its sovereignty within the context of the continental solidarity and the interdependence of the modern world, without conditions and free from foreign interferences, placing the national interests above everything else.
7. A balance of power is established as an alliance principle to prevent the predominance of one organization over the others in any area. Specifically, UNO and the member organizations, are committed to support a stronger military effort in all fronts. The political parties should have the highest participation in the political areas in order to promote the necessary pressures leading to the downfall of the Sandinista dictatorship.
8. A fundamental objective of UNO is to promote by every available means the full and equal participation within UNO of all democratic Nicaraguans and their respective political, civic and labor and business organizations in the task leading to the liberation of Nicaragua.



9. A fundamental objective of UNO is the reconciliation of the Nicaraguan family. Consequently, all members of the alliance, including the Directorate, are obligated to abide by the principles, objectives and these basic agreements. They are also committed to cooperate with and respect each other, so that the pluralistic integration of the common structures is effective and harmonious.

10. UNO reaffirms the respect for the historic rights of the peoples of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, and it recognizes their full and effective participation in the struggle for national liberation.

11. After the liberation of Nicaragua, the new National Army will be made of combatants from all fronts if they so desire and meet the requirements. For this reason, it becomes necessary from now to lay the groundwork that will assure the effectiveness and democratic structure of the army, and to establish mechanisms that will gradually incorporate those characteristics in the different war fronts.

Miami, Florida, May 29, 1986.

Adolfo Calero

Alfonso Robelo

Arturo J. Cruz