

TEXT OF TELEGRAM 84STATE 119650

**EXCISE**

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ORIGIN ARA-00

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 /001 R

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P 241444Z APR 84 ZEX  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO ALL OECD. CAPITALS PRIORITY  
EMBASSY MANAGUA

STATE 119650

FOLLOWING MANAGUA 2018 DATED 13 APR SENT ACTION STATE, INFO  
CONTADORA COLLECTIVE USCINCSO QUARRY HTS BEING REPEATED FOR

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EO 12356 : DECL: 4/12/90

TAGS : PGDV, NU

SUBJ : ATTITUDES OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES ABOUT THE NOVEMBER  
ELECTIONS

REF : A) MANAGUA 83 MANAGUA 6083; B) MANAGUA 1554

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THE DEMOCRATIC COORDINADORA AND THE DEMOCRATIC  
CONSERVATIVE PARTY (PCD) HAVE SIGNED A COALI-  
TION ACCORD.

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BECOME MORE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE.  
THE FOUR OPPOSITION PARTIES AND THE INDEPENDENT LIBERAL PARTY  
(PLI), A FORMER ALLY OF THE FSLN IN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT  
OF THE REVOLUTION (FPR), HAVE ALL THREATENED TO BOYCOTT THE  
ELECTIONS UNLESS THE SANDINISTAS MEET CERTAIN DEMANDS. THE  
MOSCOW-LINE NICARAGUAN SOCIALIST PARTY (PSN) HAS OPTED TO  
RUN INDEPENDENTLY IN THE ELECTION, ALTHOUGH IT WILL REMAIN  
A MEMBER OF THE FPR. THE FSLN HAS DECLARED THAT THE ELECTIONS  
WILL BE HELD WHETHER THE OPPOSITION PARTICIPATES OR NOT.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MB

REVIEWED by [Signature] DATE 11/7/89  
 RELEASE  DECLASSIFY  
 EXCISE  DECLASSIFY IN PART  
 DENY  Non-responsive info. (b)(1)

FOI, EO or PA exemptions

TS authority to:

CLASSIFY AS **CONFIDENTIAL**, OADR  
 DOWNGRADE TO **CONFIDENTIAL**

EB 145,9

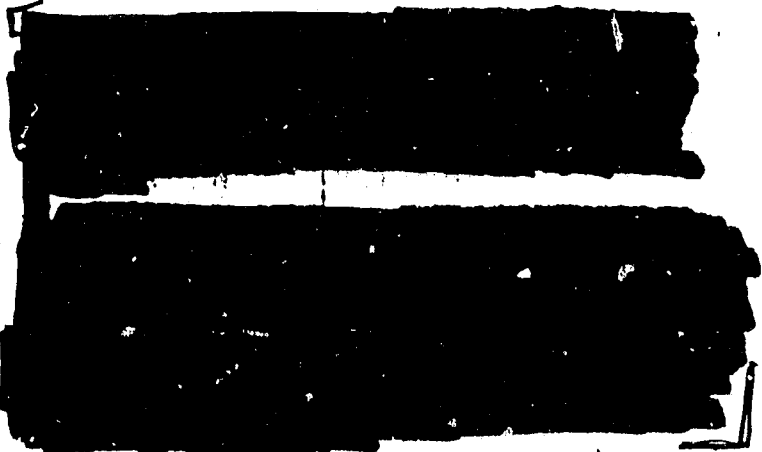
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WHICH INCLUDES THE SOCIAL

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CHRISTIAN (PSC), THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT (PSD) AND THE LIBERAL CONSTITUTIONALIST (PLC) PARTIES, THE PRIVATE SECTOR UMBRELLA GROUP COSEP, AND TWO LABOR CONFEDERATIONS, SUCCEEDED ON APRIL 10 IN HAMMERING OUT AN ALLIANCE WITH THE DEMOCRATIC CONSERVATIVE PARTY (PCD), NICARAGUA'S LARGEST OPPOSITION PARTY. WHILE THERE HAS BEEN NO FINAL DECISION ON WHETHER TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS OR HOW THE ALLIANCE WOULD MOUNT A CAMPAIGN IF IT DID OPT TO RUN, THE LEADERS OF THE VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS RECOGNIZE THAT THEY MUST WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER IN WHATEVER COURSE THEY DECIDE TO TAKE. PRESENTLY, THESE GROUPS INSIST THAT THEY WILL BOYCOTT THE ELECTIONS UNLESS THE FSLN ADDRESSES THE 9 POINTS CONTAINED IN THEIR DECEMBER DOCUMENT (REF A). COSEP.

*B199*

IS ASSUMING A MORE DIRECT POLITICAL ROLE AND ATTEMPTING TO PROVIDE THE PARTIES WITH MUCH-NEEDED LEADERSHIP.

*B19519*



DEFENSIVE.

[REDACTED]

*Bias*

[REDACTED]

6. WHILE THE TWO PCO FACTIONS, [REDACTED] HAVE BOTH DECLARED THEIR INTENTION TO BOYCOTT THE ELECTION UNLESS THE PROPER CONDITIONS EXIST. ON MARCH 29 THE [REDACTED] FACTION SENT THE GRN JUNTA A LETTER CALLING UPON IT TO RESPOND TO THE DECEMBER DOCUMENT. THE LETTER ARGUED THAT PEACE COULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS BUT THAT THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT WAS MAKING A FAIR ELECTION IMPOSSIBLE AND FORCING THE OPPOSITION TO ABSTAIN. THE LETTER ASSERTED THAT ONLY PARTIES TIED TO INTERNATIONAL MARXISM COULD PARTICIPATE IN AN ELECTORAL PROCESS WHICH LACKED GUARANTEES AND FREEDOMS, AND THAT ELECTIONS CONTROLLED BY THE FSLN WOULD HAVE NO LEGITIMACY. THE PCO CALLED FOR AN IMMEDIATE NATIONAL DIALOGUE AND WARNED THAT THE FSLN'S CONTINUED SILENCE WOULD MAKE PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTION IMPOSSIBLE.

*Bias*

*Bias*

7. THE FOLLOWING WEEK, THE [REDACTED] FACTION DIRECTED ITS OWN LETTER TO THE JUNTA. THIS NOTE CALLED FOR LIFTING OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, AN END OF CENSORSHIP, RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE ABOLITION OF THE ANTI-SOMOCISTA PEOPLES TRIBUNALS, ETC. IT, TOO, INSISTED THAT THESE CONDITIONS WERE INDISPENSIBLE FOR A FREE ELECTION, AND IT REQUESTED A RESPONSE BY THE END OF THE MONTH.

*Bias*

[REDACTED]

*Bias 19*

SECRETARY GENERAL (LUIS RIVAS)

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ISSUES. THE END OF MARCH THE PSO ISSUED A DECLARATION RESTAT-  
ING ITS SUPPORT FOR THE DECEMBER DOCUMENT AND URGING AN  
ALLIANCE OF ALL OPPOSITION FORCES. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH POLOFF,  
RIVAS LEIVA SKETCHED THREE POSSIBLE SCENARIOS IN DESCENDING  
ORDER OF PROBABILITY: THE SANDINISTAS WOULD CONTINUE THEIR  
CURRENT POLICIES, AND THE ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD WITHOUT THE  
PARTICIPATION OF THE OPPOSITION; THE SANDINISTAS WOULD  
CLAMP DOWN HARD ON THE OPPOSITION AND ABORT THE ELECTIONS,  
BLAMING US AGGRESSION; AND, THE SANDINISTAS COULD MAKE  
SUFFICIENT CONCESSIONS TO PERMIT THE OPPOSITION TO TAKE  
PART IN THE ELECTION. HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE SANDINISTAS  
WOULD BE DEFEATED IN AN HONEST ELECTION, AND THAT THEREFORE  
THEY COULD NOT AFFORD TO HAVE AN OPEN CONTEST. HE FELT THE  
CRITICAL ISSUE FOR THE OPPOSITION AT THIS JUNCTURE WAS TO  
UNITE SO THAT IT COULD DEAL WITH THE SANDINISTAS FROM A  
POSITION OF SOLIARITY.

9. THE SOCIAL CHRISTIANS HAVE BEEN LESS VOCAL, BUT EQUALLY  
FIRM IN INSISTING THAT THEY WILL ABSTAIN UNLESS THE PROPER  
CLIMATE EXISTS. PSC PRESIDENT AGUSTIN JARQUIN EXPLAINED THAT  
THE OPPOSITION IS IN A DIFFICULT POSITION BECAUSE IF THE  
PARTIES OPT TO RUN IN THE ELECTIONS, THEY WOULD BE LABELED  
"ZANCUOS" ("MOSQUITOS"-- A DERISORY TERM APPLIED TO THE  
DOCILE CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF THE SOMOZA ERA). HOWEVER, IF  
THE PARTIES CHOSE NOT TO RUN, THEY WOULD BE ROUNDLY  
CRITICIZED BY MANY ABROAD WHO DID NOT FULLY UNDERSTAND THAT  
THE PREVAILING CONDITIONS DID NOT PERMIT MEANINGFUL ELECTIONS  
AND WERE MERELY A STRATEGY OF THE FSLN TO AFFIRM ITS LEGITIMACY.

10. THE INDEPENDENT LIBERAL PARTY (PLI), WHICH WITHDREW  
FROM THE PATRIOTIC FRONT OF THE REVOLUTION (FPR) IN FEBRUARY,  
HAS BEGUN HEDGING ITS COMMITMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE  
ELECTIONS. PLI PRESIDENT MARIO GODOY HAS BEEN QUOTED IN  
THE PRESS AS SAYING THAT THE PLI WOULD RUN INDEPENDENTLY  
ON THE BASIS OF THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS.

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IN NOVEMBER, BUT THAT IT WOULD ABSTAIN UNLESS CERTAIN  
DEMANDS WERE MET (SEE ALSO MANAGUA 1841). GODOY MET WITH FSLN  
LEADERS IN EARLY APRIL TO ARGUE FOR CHANGES SUCH AS LIFTING  
THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, REVISING THE ELECTORAL LAW, ETC.  
GODOY SAID THAT THESE CHANGES SHOULD BE AGREED TO BY THE END  
OF APRIL, AND THAT THE PARTY WOULD HOLD A CONVENTION ON  
MAY 20 TO DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT IT WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE  
ELECTION. ON APRIL 8 THE PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF THE PLI'S  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECIDED, INTER ALIA, TO CALL ON ALL PLI  
OFFICIALS WORKING WITH THE GRN TO STEP DOWN BY MAY 20.  
THIS PRESUMABLY WOULD AFFECT SUPREME COURT JUSTICE ROOOLFO ROBELO,  
APPELATE COURT JUSTICE EDUARDO CORONADO, AND NEWLY-ASSIGNED  
AMBASSADOR TO PANAMA GUILLERMO SUAREZ RIVAS. ACCORDING TO  
THE APRIL 10 LA PRENSA, ROBELO WAS PREPARED TO RESIGN IF THE  
PARTY SO ORDERED, BUT THERE WAS SOME DOUBT AS TO WHETHER  
THE PARTY'S DECISION WOULD APPLY TO MEMBERS OF THE JUDICIARY.

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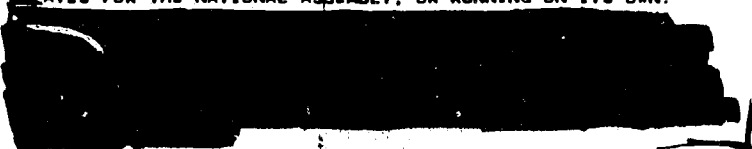
12. ONE OF THE PLI'S FORMER ALLIES IN THE FPR, THE MOSCOW-LINE NICARAGUAN SOCIALIST PARTY (PSN), HAS REVERSED ITS EARLIER DECISION TO RUN ON THE SAME TICKET AS THE FSLN. A PSN CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN LATE MARCH ANNOUNCED THAT THE PSN WOULD CAMPAIGN FOR ITS OWN SLATE OF CANDIDATES IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS; IT WOULD REMAIN A MEMBER OF THE FPR, HOWEVER, AS IT REGARDED THE FPR AS A CONSULTATIVE BODY AND NOT AN ELECTORAL ALLIANCE. THE PSN COMMUNIQUE BLASTED COSEP AND THE OPPOSITION PARTIES FOR WHAT IT DESCRIBED AS THEIR POLICY OF BLACKMAIL AND THREATS WHICH SERVED THE INTERESTS OF THE US-BACKED CONTRAS. IT ALSO CALLED FOR RESCINDING THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IN ZONES NOT AFFECTED BY THE FIGHTING, THE REOPENING OF RADIO NEWS BROADCASTS, AND COMPLETE FREEDOM FOR PARTIES TO ENGAGE IN PROSELYTIZING ACTIVITIES. PSN SECRETARY GENERAL LUIS SANCHEZ SANCHEZ SUBSEQUENTLY TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE PSN HAD CONSIDERED VARIOUS OPTIONS, INCLUDING AN ALLIANCE WITH OTHER MARXIST PARTIES, BUT ULTIMATELY CONCLUDED THAT EACH PARTY OF THE LEFT SHOULD DEMONSTRATE ITS OWN LEVEL OF POPULAR SUPPORT. HE ADDED THAT THE PSN WAS ACTIVELY PREPARING FOR NOVEMBER AND HAD ALREADY FORMED ELECTORAL COMMISSIONS IN FOUR DEPARTMENTS. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WOULD MEET ON APRIL 18 TO SELECT THE PSN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT. HE NOTED.

13. THE FOURTH MEMBER OF THE FPR, THE SMALL POPULAR SOCIAL CHRISTIAN PARTY (PPSC), HAS MADE NO PRONOUNCEMENT ABOUT ITS

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STATE, GUILLERMO MEJIA, TOLD THE PRESS THAT HIS PARTY WAS CONSIDERING ALTERNATIVES, SUCH AS RUNNING IN CONCERT WITH THE FSLN, HAVING A JOINT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE BUT DIFFERENT SLATES FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, OR RUNNING ON ITS OWN.

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14. THE ULTRA-LEFT COMMUNIST PARTY OF NICARAGUA (PCN) INAUGURATED ITS "ELECTORAL FRONT" ON APRIL 1. PCN SECRETARY GENERAL ELI ALTAMIRANO DISAGREED WITH THE FSLN'S ASSERTION THAT THE ELECTION WAS ANOTHER WEAPON IN THE DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION; HE ARGUED THAT IN FACT IT WAS A VICTORY OF THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL BOURGEOISIE OVER THE REVOLUTION. HE INSISTED THAT NICARAGUA URGENTLY NEEDED THE PCN TO WIN, AND THAT ONCE IN POWER, THE PCN WOULD ESTABLISH A DEMOCRATIC AND PATRIOTIC GOVERNMENT CAPABLE OF OVERCOMING IMPERIALISM AND INTERNAL REACTIONARY ELEMENTS. WHILE HE AGREED WITH MANY FSLN POLICIES, PARTICULARLY CONCERNING DEFENSE, HE CALLED FOR MORE EXTENSIVE AGRARIAN REFORM, THE REPUDIATION OF THE FOREIGN DEBT, AND THE PROHIBITION OF CHURCH INTERFERENCE IN AFFAIRS OF STATE.

15. THE FSLN'S DECLARED POLICY IS THAT THE ELECTIONS WILL GO FORWARD REGARDLESS OF WHICH PARTIES DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE. IN AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE MANOLO MORALES FOUNDATION ON APRIL 6, COUNCIL OF STATE PRESIDENT CARLOS NUNEZ PROCLAIMED THAT THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WAS INSTAPPABLE AND COULD NOT BE INTERRUPTED. NUNEZ SAID THE ELECTION WOULD BE A

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"GIGANTIC PLEBISCITE" IN WHICH THE PEOPLE WOULD MOBILIZE ON A MASSIVE SCALE TO RATIFY THE REVOLUTIONARY PROJECT. NUNEZ LINKED THE OPPOSITION'S THREATS TO ABSTAIN WITH US AGGRESSION AGAINST THE REVOLUTION AND EFFORTS TO DISCREDIT THE ELECTION. NUNEZ PURSUED THIS SAME THEME IN A STATEMENT PUBLISHED IN THE APRIL 11 EDITION OF THE FSLN ORGAN BARRICAADA. HE SAID PARTIES WHICH BOYCOTTED THE ELECTION WOULD LOSE THEIR LEGAL STANDING, AND ADDED THAT THEY DID NOT REALIZE THAT "THE US WOULD SACRIFICE THEM" AS PART OF ITS PLANS AGAINST NICARAGUA.

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