

~~SECRET~~

25X1

8 June 1987

Talking Points for ADDI's Briefing of HPSCIProspects for the Central American Summit

With only two weeks remaining before the Central American Summit set for 25-26 June in Guatemala, the Core Four appear unlikely to resolve their significant differences over the Arias Peace Plan, raising prospects that the summit could play into Nicaragua's hands.

Costa Rican President Arias is increasingly pessimistic that the democracies can reach a consensus on his initiative.

- The minor changes San Jose has made to the plan fall far short of meeting Salvadoran and Honduran concerns. Moreover, Arias is unlikely to make any changes in his plan that he believes Nicaragua would reject out of hand, such as by allowing regional insurgents to receive aid after the plan is signed.

25X1

A senior Guatemalan official told US officials in late April that the democracies should seek few changes in the Arias Plan in order to avoid playing into Managua's hands.

25X1

Both Honduras and El Salvador have strong objections to the proposal and fear Costa Rica and Guatemala will desert them at the summit.

- They almost certainly will continue to insist privately on stronger verification procedures and a role for the Nicaraguan insurgents in amnesty and cease-fire negotiations. They also argue that Nicaragua must democratize before external support to the insurgents is cut off.

25X1

Nicaragua is maintaining maximum flexibility in its negotiating position by appearing receptive to the plan but withholding substantive comments.

- President Ortega recently called the Arias Plan constructive. A Vice Foreign Minister said Managua agrees with the plan in principle, but the Sandinistas have not offered detailed comments.

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

[REDACTED]

25X1

- Managua has refused numerous requests from San Jose to discuss the plan and has asked to delay the Foreign Ministers' meeting that is to make final plans for the summit. [REDACTED]

25X1

Nicaragua may try further to exploit Core Four disunity to its advantage by introducing its own proposal at the summit.

- Managua's plan apparently will repeat old proposals and call for renewed bilateral talks with the US,
- In our opinion, Managua is trying to string out the talks by insisting that regional peace negotiations must eventually involve the Contadora Group. Nicaragua urged Mexico last month to arrange for the Contadora mediators to attend the summit. [REDACTED]

25X1

There is an outside chance that Nicaragua may put aside its reservations about the democratic opening and offer to sign the agreement in hopes of influencing the US debate on aid for the anti-Sandinistas.

- Sandinista propaganda could then place the onus on Honduras and El Salvador for holding up an agreement. [REDACTED]

25X1

SECRET

Key Provisions of the Arias Peace Plan

Issue	Provisions
Effective date	Upon signature by the five Central American countries.
Verification	Creates commission consisting of UN and OAS Secretaries General plus Contadora and Support Group Foreign Ministers. Each country facing armed insurgency forms negotiating group made up of representatives from government, internal political opposition, Catholic Church, and Inter-American Human Rights Commission. Within six months, Central American presidents meet to evaluate progress.
National reconciliation	<p>Upon signature, parties in conflict in each country begin cease-fire. Each government opens dialogue with all unarmed internal opposition groups and institutes reforms to encourage pluralistic political system. Within 60 days, governments declare general amnesty for insurgents and political prisoners; restore freedoms of association, assembly, and speech; and guarantee free access to mass media.</p> <p>During first six months of 1988, each government holds free elections to choose representatives to new regional parliament. Subsequently, free elections to be held for positions at all levels of government, according to existing election schedules.</p>
Arms and troop ceilings	Within 60 days of signature, Central American governments begin negotiations on control and reduction of weapons and military forces.
External support for insurgents	All external aid to insurgents in the region to end immediately. Government reaffirm commitment not to provide safehaven or military assistance to groups trying to destabilize other countries.
Military exercises	Not covered.
Foreign military/ security advisers	Not covered.
Foreign bases	Not covered.

 O-35-3

25X1

Central American Positions Regarding Arias Plan:

Costa Rica	Accepts	Opposes any substantive changes
Honduras	Opposes as is	<p>Wants following changes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Both anti-Sandinista insurgents and the unarmed Nicaraguan opposition included in initial dialogue with the Sandinistas. - Cease fire and amnesty to be established by dialogue with insurgents. - Cutoff of aid to insurgents occurs after amnesty and cease fire. - Democratic elections in Nicaragua sooner than Arias Plan. - Some Contadora provisions on security issues to be incorporated. - Stronger verification measures, which include linking implementation of the plan with national elections and restoration of political rights in Nicaragua.
El Salvador	Opposes as is	<p>Shares most Honduran concerns about Arias Plan, but believes anti-Sandinista rebels can be included in talks with Nicaraguan Government only after they have agreed to disarm.</p> <p>Worries arms control provisions could harm the Salvadoran counterinsurgency effort.</p>
Guatemala	Supports as basis for Regional Negotiations	<p>Initially opposed provision calling for dialogue with insurgents because of opposition from military, but President Cerezo reportedly offering proposal which would allow guerrillas a role in cease fire talks.</p> <p>Wants to prevent Nicaragua's isolation at peace talks while seeking to promote own role as mediator.</p> <p>Will not insist on democratization as initial step in negotiations.</p>
Nicaragua	Conditionally accepts	<p>Uncomfortable with provisions on internal democratization, including eventual dialogue with armed opposition.</p> <p>May offer a counterproposal that includes provision requiring Washington to negotiate directly with Managua and will press to incorporate Arias Plan within the Contadora process.</p> <p>May accept plan as way to split Core Four and thwart renewed US funding for insurgents.</p>

Meeting Site for Esquipulas Summit, June 25-26



710516 (547180) 6-87

Main Points of Nicaraguan Peace Proposal

A senior Sandinista official announced last month that Nicaragua will present a peace proposal at the meeting of the Central American presidents in Guatemala on 25-26 June. Managua has provided few details and insists that its ideas are not a substitute for Arias's plan. The key points include:

- Resumption of bilateral talks with the US, which were suspended in 1984.**
 - Discussion of legitimate US security interests in the region.**
 - Agreement to a nonaggression treaty, with provisions for verification.**
 - Elimination of destabilizing actions.**
 - A broad disarmament agreement.**
 - A willingness to drop Nicaragua's suits before the World Court against Costa Rica and Honduras if there is a "political agreement" at the summit.**
-