

The opposition and their program

Statements by the U.S. State Department and the Somoza government that Somoza's opponents are variously "radicals" or "Communists" actually refer to a broad range of diverse opposition organizations—in fact, to all but a handful of Somoza's foes.

When the U.S. split the broad-based Nicaraguan opposition movement last fall, pulling a minority in behind the mediation bid, the remaining majority formed the National Patriotic Front. Far from being the "radicals" denounced by the State Department, the Front is based on a program for the reconstruction and industrialization of Nicaragua modeled on the Mexican example, which would be readily accepted by most Americans if it were widely known. This program is backed by the Sandinista guerrillas who are besieging Somoza.

Included in the National Patriotic Front are the Group of Twelve (an organization of businessmen and professionals), the United People's Movement, the Independent Liberal Party, the Popular Social Christian Party, and others. A spokesman for the Patriotic Front, Group of 12 member Carlos Tunnerman, announced from Costa Rica last week that a Patriotic Front government will call on the business sector, trade unions, and other opposition groups to join in the construction of a pluralist democracy. A civilian junta comprised of National Front representatives will run the country until free elections can be carried out, and foreign policy will be based on a policy of nonalignment and national independence. The government will not be socialist, Tunnerman added, since any socialist government would be crushed by the United States. The announcement of a provisional government is expected shortly.

Below, excerpts from the official program of the National Patriotic Front:

The undersigned subscribe to this Founding Document as official representatives of their respective organizations, which decided to unite in a National Patriotic Front in order to fight to bring about the popular overthrow of the Somozist dictatorship, and to bring about in the political, economic and social arena the three fundamental principles which characterize the Front. These three principles are: 1) National Sovereignty, 2) Effective Democracy, and 3) Justice and Social Progress....

The following programmatic and fundamental principles are accepted and must be respected by all the organizations that form part of the National Patriotic Front.

Programmatic Principles

A) National Sovereignty

1. Demand and defend the right of political, social and economic self-determination of the Nicaraguan people....

B) Effective Democracy

4. Formation of a government of democratic unity with national scope, composed of all the political and social forces which have effectively participated in the eradication of the dictatorship. The government will lay the foundation for a new democratic order in the country, based on this program....

9. Elimination of terror as the system of government....

12. Establishment of a democratic regime which fully guarantees the citizens' right to political participation without ideological discrimination and without restrictions on the free registration of parties, with the exception of those parties and organizations which represent or intend to return the Somoza machine to power....

C) Justice and Social Progress

14. To implement a thorough agricultural reform which, in addition to ensuring rural workers access to the land, will also provide them with indispensable technical, educational, and financial assistance...

15. To put in the hands of the state the ownership, control, and exploitation of all natural resources: mines, forests, fishing, energy resources, etc.

16. To promulgate a Labor Code which will be of real protection for urban and agricultural workers and all kinds of wage earners, which will guarantee in an effective manner the right to form unions and the right to strike....

18. To promote national development in a planned and coordinated manner, subordinating private interests to the general interests of the nation through a National Plan which will liberate us from underdevelopment and external dependency and give preferential treatment to industrialization based on the utilization of the country's raw materials.

National enterprises, especially small and medium sized ones, will be protected by the State from the multinational corporations and will be backed up by incentives directed to the fulfillment of the National Development Plan.

Savings and banking credit will be oriented towards

the implementation of the National Development Plan....

19. To bring about a real urban reform which will solve the problems of the slum areas. ... Priority emphasis will be given to the construction of decent housing for the mass of the people....

21. To open to all Nicaraguans real opportunities to better their lives through a full employment policy, combatting unemployment and guaranteeing housing, health, social security, efficient transportation, education, culture, sports and healthy diversion....

22. To accomplish an educational reform which will eliminate illiteracy, encourage adult education and establish a new system of free and compulsory education....

Educational plans and programs will be scientifically designed and will be adapted to the development requirements of the country.

Nicaraguan rebels to U.S.: 'we are sick of hypocrisy'

In a telegram to U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy, Representative Thomas Harkin and U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young, members of The Group of Twelve—a Nicaraguan opposition organization composed of businessmen and professionals—denounced U.S. intervention on behalf of Somoza as a violation of the "moral heritage" of the U.S. Excerpts follow:

With great anguish we have learned about U.S. Hercules planes transporting arms, ammunition and other military supplies to general Somoza's national Guard. ... We strongly condemn this criminal intervention as a flagrant violation of our country's right of self-determination, as well as violation of our people's sacred right to rebel against tyranny and create a free and democratic nation....

We Nicaraguans are sick of empty U.S. government rhetoric about democracy, human rights and the right of self-determination of nations. We are sick of occasional hypocritical lamentations about the blood being shed and the people dying in our country when the U.S. knowingly trained and equipped the soldiers who are killing. ... All we ask of the U.S. government is to stop all aid to the murderer so that ... we do not have to struggle against the United States. ... The U.S. must understand that the God-given rights of men and nations are not dependent on territorial size or military power, that might does not make right and that to act as if it did is a gross violation of the values that constitute the moral heritage of both our nations....

State

In an exclusive interview made available to *Executive Intelligence Review* from journalistic sources, Charles M. Smith, Deputy Director of Latin American Policy Planning in the U.S. State Department, stated bluntly on June 13 that the U.S. is planning for an imminent military intervention into Nicaragua, either employing U.S. Marines directly or using an Organization of American States cover.

Smith's admissions represent the thinking of the highest policy making levels of the Carter administration. Smith works out of the office of Luigi Einaudi, Director of Policy Planning for Latin America, who is currently heading an interagency governmental task force charged with drawing up U.S. policy options for Central America. Einaudi, a close collaborator of Henry Kissinger in the Nixon-Ford administration, played a major role in orchestrating the 1976 right-wing coup in Peru. Before joining the State Department, Einaudi was a Rand corporation expert specializing in scenarios for a "Second War of the Pacific" involving Peru, Bolivia and Chile.

Q: *How is Somoza holding out under the present circumstances?*

Smith: There has been a change in the last two weeks of people's perceptions concerning this. It looks like he will make it this time. He'll survive this round.

Q: *In other words, he can last?*

Smith: This time, but he will probably be out before 1981, which is when he says he'll hold elections. The Sandinistas are not strong enough to finish him off at present. They are going to fail in their announced final solution. They will continue to be effective in causing limited disruptions, violence and killings, but they won't win this round. But he'll be out before 1981. His friends in neighboring countries are now talking about not having him around.

Q: *What you're saying then is that in the short term Somoza can survive the Sandinista offensive but that in the medium term we will have to find a moderate, stable, viable alternative.*

Smith: Yes, that's it exactly.

Q: *But we've tried that. We've shopped around for a moderate alternative and frankly there just isn't anything there. It looks like we'll have to develop one.*

Smith: Bowdler [the State Dept. envoy sent to mediate a solution between Somoza and opposition] had precisely that objective. The mediation effort failed but it did get the political process underway. But you're right, the