

UNCLASSIFIED

SECRET

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 ACTION ARA-01

RELEASED IN PART
 B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	EB-01	H-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	JUSE-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00

/040W

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O 112226Z JUL 94
 FM AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9336

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 SANTO DOMINGO 006070

DEPT FOR ARA/USOAS AND ARA/CAR - LEE PETERS
 DEPT PASS TO AID/LAC - NORMA PARKER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PGOV, KDEM, OAS, DR
 SUBJECT: CURRENT STATE OF PLAY IN DOMINICAN ELECTORAL
 CRISIS

REF: SANTO DOMINGO 6017 AND PREVIOUS

1. NOFORN/NOCONTRACT - ENTIRE TEXT. CLASSIFICATION AS
 MARKED.

SUMMARY

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2. (S) THE INVESTIGATIVE COMMISSION IS NOW SCHEDULED
 TO SUBMIT ITS FINAL REPORT TO THE JUNTA CENTRAL
 ELECTORAL (JCE) ON JULY 12. ONE COMMISSION MEMBER IS
 STRIVING TO HAVE THE REPORT MENTION FRAUD. WE REMAIN
 CONVINCED THAT THE MOST LIKELY SCENARIO IS THE
 PROCLAMATION OF BALAGUER AS THE VICTOR. THIS COULD
 OCCUR BETWEEN JULY 15-20. THE NEXT MOST PLAUSIBLE
 SCENARIO INVOLVES NEW ELECTIONS, EITHER PARTIAL OR
 GENERAL. THE DOMINICAN REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (PRD) IS

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3. (S) LEFTIST GROUPS HAVE BEGUN A CAMPAIGN OF STREET PROTESTS AND THE GODR IS REPORTEDLY DETAINING PRD ACTIVISTS. THE PRD HAS NOW EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR THE PROTEST CAMPAIGN AND WILL LIKELY JOIN THE PROTESTS IF BALAGUER IS PROCLAIMED THE WINNER OR THE POLITICAL PARTY ALLIANCES ANNULLED. WE EXPECT A JCE JUDGE TO INITIATE A CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT USG-FUNDED INTERNATIONAL ADVISORS.

4. (C) WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE DOMINICAN ELECTIONS: A) FRAUD TOOK PLACE, B) CURRENT NUMBERS ON DISENFRANCHISED VOTERS CAN NOT BE CONSIDERED DEFINITIVE, C) THE INVESTIGATIVE COMMISSION AND ITS FINAL REPORT WILL HAVE CREDIBILITY PROBLEMS, D) THE OAS AMBASSADOR IS INCLINED TO ENDORSE THE COMMISSION'S WORK, E) THE GOVERNING PARTY BELIEVES THAT THE USG IS BLUFFING ON THE ELECTION ISSUE, AND, F) THE SCENARIO OF NEW ELECTIONS REMAINS THE BEST OPTION. END SUMMARY.

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CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

5. (C) THE LATEST WORD (AS OF THE MORNING OF JULY 11) IS THAT THE INVESTIGATIVE COMMISSION IS STRIVING TO TURN OVER ITS FINAL REPORT TO THE JCE ON TUESDAY, JULY 12; WE BELIEVE IT COULD STILL SLIP TO A LATER DATE. CIVILITY PACT REPRESENTATIVE [REDACTED] HAS TOLD US THAT HE IS ATTEMPTING TO ENSURE THAT THE REPORT MENTIONS THE PROBABILITY THAT FRAUD OCCURRED.

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[REDACTED] DOES NOT SHARE HIS PREOCCUPATION AND IS LESS INCLINED TO SIGN A STATEMENT SAYING THAT MANIPULATION TOOK PLACE. INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS (IFES) EXPERT JORGE TIRADO HAS YET TO FINISH HIS REPORT TO THE COMMISSION ALTHOUGH IT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED BY COMMISSION MEMBERS. TIRADO WILL NOT CONCLUDE ONE WAY OR THE OTHER THAT FRAUD/MANIPULATION OF THE VOTERS LISTS TOOK PLACE. HE HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO ESTABLISH CONCRETE PROOF THAT IT DID TAKE PLACE. WITHOUT SOLID PROOF HIS REPORT WILL NOT BE CONCLUSIVE AND HE WILL RECOMMEND FURTHER

6. (S) WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT A JCE PROCLAMATION OF BALAGUER AS THE WINNER IS THE MOST LIKELY SCENARIO. SOCIAL CHRISTIAN REFORMIST PARTY (PRSC) LEADERS SUCH AS JACINTO PEYNADO ARE HARDENING THEIR RHETORIC AND ARE DEMANDING THAT THE JCE DECLARE BALAGUER THE WINNER; WE ARE NOW HEARING THAT THIS MAY OCCUR DURING THE JULY 15-

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20 TIME PERIOD.

7. (C) ELECTIONS, EITHER PARTIAL OR GENERAL, IS THE MOST PLAUSIBLE OF THE REMAINING SCENARIOS. THE VISIT OF PDAS SKOL (SEPTTEL) HAS LENT CREDIBILITY TO THIS OPTION. PENA GOMEZ AND THE PRD ARE NOW ADVOCATING COMPLETELY NEW ELECTIONS. THERE REMAINS A WIDESPREAD FEAR OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT BUT MANY ARE NOW BEGINNING TO CONFRONT THE ISSUE.

8. (S) LEFTIST FRINGE GROUPS SUCH AS THE COLLECTIVE OF POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS (COP) HAVE BEGUN TO EMBARK ON A CAMPAIGN OF SOMETIMES VIOLENT STREET PROTESTS (SEPTTEL) AGAINST ELECTORAL FRAUD AND THE DISAPPEARANCE OF NATIONAL UNIVERSITY (UASD) PROFESSOR NARCISO GONZALEZ. ON JULY 9, THE NATIONAL POLICE ARRESTED FOUR PRD AND ONE UD (PRD ALLY) ACTIVISTS, PRESUMABLY IN A PREEMPTIVE MOVE AGAINST SCHEDULED JULY 11 PROTESTS IN NORTHERN SANTO DOMINGO. WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED ANOTHER REPORT OF WEEKEND DETENTIONS OF AT LEAST 10 PRD ACTIVISTS IN SANTO DOMINGO, LA ROMANA, AND NAGUA. WHILE THE PRD HAS YET TO OFFICIALLY JOIN THE STREET PROTESTS, A JULY 10 HIGH-LEVEL PRD MEETING RESULTED IN

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A COMMUNIQUE WHICH, INTER ALIA, EXPRESSED SYMPATHY AND
 SOLIDARITY WITH THE PROTEST CAMPAIGN.

9. (S) SECURITY SERVICES ACTIONS AGAINST PRD
 ACTIVISTS MAY GOAD THE PRD INTO FORMALLY JOINING THE
 PROTESTS. THE PRD LEADERSHIP IS REPORTEDLY FACING
 STRONG PRESSURE FROM ITS BASES TO TAKE TO THE STREETS.

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 IF THE PRD DOES NOT DO SO BEFOREHAND, AN ANNULMENT OF
 THE PRD ALLIANCE OR A PROCLAMATION OF BALAGUER AS THE
 WINNER WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY LEAD THE PRD TO MAKE
 COMMON CAUSE WITH THE LEFTIST GROUPS ALTHOUGH THE PRD
 MAY ATTEMPT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN NON-VIOLENT AND
 VIOLENT PROTEST. WE DO NOT FORESEE THE DOMINICAN
 SECURITY SERVICES TAKING NOTE OF SUCH DISTINCTIONS IN
 THEIR REACTIONS TO STREET PROTESTS.

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10. (S) WE UNDERSTAND THAT JCE JUDGE MATOS BERRIDO IS DEVELOPING INFORMATION WITH THE AIM OF DISCREDITING USAID-FUNDED IFES ADVISORS. THIS ACTION IS AN APPARENT REACTION TO A READING OF THE DRAFT REPORT BY IFES ADVISOR CARINA PERELLI, A COPY OF WHICH HE OBTAINED FROM SOMEONE IN THE JCE. DURING THE PDAS SKOL VISIT, MATOS EXPRESSED THANKS FOR THE WORK OF U.S.-FUNDED ADVISORS IN ALL AREAS OF JCE ACTIVITIES. WE SUSPECT THAT MATOS AND THE PRSC WILL NOW ATTEMPT TO BLAME THE ADVISORS FOR THE ELECTION PROBLEMS. (NOTE: THE IFES REPORTS DETAIL HOW ADVICE WAS OFFERED TO, AND REPEATEDLY REJECTED BY, THE JCE.)

TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE DOMINICAN ELECTIONS

11. (C) BEARING IN MIND THE SCHEDULED HFAC WESTERN HEMISPHERE SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS ON JULY 13, THE FOLLOWING ARE TENTATIVE EMBASSY CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE ELECTIONS BASED ON WHAT WE KNOW AS OF JULY 11.

12. (S) CONCLUSION A: WE ARE CONVINCED THAT FRAUD
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OCCURRED IN THE MAY 16 ELECTION. REPORTING FROM
MULTIPLE SOURCES (INCLUDING PRE-ELECTION REPORTING [REDACTED])
[REDACTED] INDICATES THAT THE FRAUD WAS EXTENSIVE AND MULTI-
FACETED. TAKEN INDIVIDUALLY, THERE EXISTS THE
POSSIBILITY (HOWEVER SMALL) THAT EACH TYPE OF
IRREGULARITY COULD BE EXPLAINED AWAY DUE TO ERROR OR
INCOMPETENCE. HOWEVER, IT WOULD TAKE AN UNBELIEVABLE
CHAIN OF CIRCUMSTANCES TO EXPLAIN AWAY ALL OF THE
VARIOUS IRREGULARITIES IN THE ELECTIONS.

13. (C) CONCLUSION B: THE CURRENT FIGURES (26-38
THOUSAND) OF DISENFRANCHISED VOTERS CAN NOT BE
CONSIDERED AS AUTHORITATIVE AND DEFINITIVE ESTIMATES
ALTHOUGH THEY WILL LIKELY BE PRESENTED AS SUCH IN THE
INVESTIGATIVE COMMISSION'S FINAL REPORT. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ARE ON SHAKY GROUNDS
WHEN THEY CONTEND THAT THE PRD HAS EXHAUSTED ITS REVIEW
OF ELECTORAL LISTS, AN ASSERTION DENIED BY THE PRD.
[REDACTED] REJECTS THE PRD CLAIM BECAUSE HE
BELIEVES THAT HE RECEIVED THE TRUE PICTURE FROM ONE PRD
TECHNICIAN. IN EFFECT, HE IS BASING HIS JUDGEMENT ON
THE WORD OF ONE PERSON UNSUBSTANTIATED BY ANY OTHER

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14. (C) CONCLUSION C: THE INVESTIGATIVE COMMISSION'S RESTRICTED MANDATE, LIMITED TIME, AND RELIANCE ON THE JCE COMPUTER CENTER WILL RAISE SERIOUS CONCERNS ABOUT ITS CREDIBILITY. THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE IS NOT TO INVESTIGATE, BUT RATHER TO VERIFY PROOF OF IRREGULARITIES PRESENTED BY THE POLITICAL PARTIES, THEREBY LEAVING ITSELF OPEN TO CRITICISM AS

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FUNDAMENTALLY FLAWED BECAUSE IT IS RELYING ON EVIDENCE COLLECTED BY THE AGGRIEVED PARTY RATHER THAN CONDUCTING AN INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION. THE JCE WOULD NOT ORDER THE MUNICIPAL ELECTORAL BOARDS TO TURN OVER COPIES OF EACH ELECTORAL TABLE VOTER LIST. THUS, THE COMMISSION WAS FORCED TO RELY ON A SAMPLING OF THE FIRST, SECOND, AND LAST TABLES IN EACH MUNICIPALITY. (NOTE: THE COMMISSION FOUND 45 OF THE 107 MUNICIPALITIES TO HAVE PROBLEMS WITH DISENFRANCHISED VOTERS, AN INDICATION OF WIDESPREAD IRREGULARITIES.) IN ADDITION, THE PRD CHARGES OF MULTIPLE VOTING AND VOTING BY THE MILITARY HAVE NOT BEEN THOROUGHLY REVIEWED BY THE COMMISSION. THE COMMISSION IS DEDICATED TO COMING OUT WITH A SOLID REPORT BUT IS HAMPERED BY THE LIMITS OF ITS TIME AND RESOURCES. UNFORTUNATELY, THE COMMISSION'S REPORT TO THE JCE WILL BE TREATED AS THE DEFINITIVE RESPONSE TO CHARGES OF FRAUD AND OTHER IRREGULARITIES; WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE REPORT MERITS SUCH A DESIGNATION.

15. (C) CONCLUSION D: OAS AMBASSADOR GRAHAM WILL ATTEMPT TO ENDORSE THE COMMISSION REPORT. BASED ON EXTENSIVE CONVERSATIONS WITH GRAHAM, WE BELIEVE THAT GRAHAM'S HIGHEST PRIORITY IS TO AVOID VIOLENCE OR

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	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00

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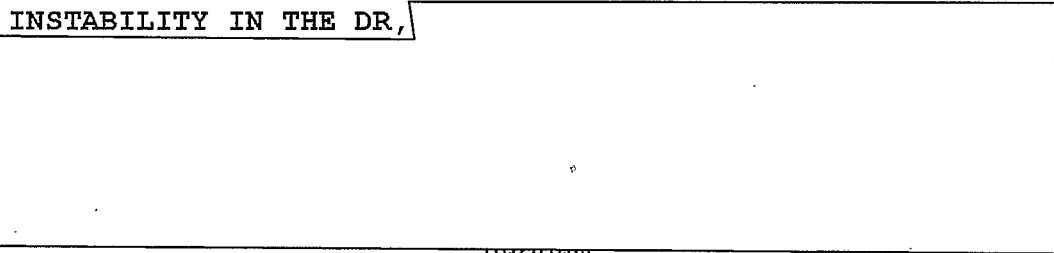
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16. (C) CONCLUSION E: THE SOCIAL CHRISTIAN REFORMIST PARTY STILL BELIEVES THE USG IS BLUFFING ON THE ELECTION ISSUE. DESPITE DEPARTMENT STATEMENTS AND THE PDAS SKOL VISIT, OUR SENSE IS THAT THE PRSC STILL DOES NOT TAKE SERIOUSLY OUR WARNINGS ABOUT A PREMATURE PROCLAMATION OF BALAGUER AS WINNER OF THE ELECTION. THE PRSC BELIEVES THAT IT CAN RIDE OUT THE STORM OF

CRITICISM AND THAT U.S.-DOMINICAN BILATERAL RELATIONS WILL SOON RETURN TO NORMAL. THE PRSC JUST DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THAT TIMES HAVE CHANGED.

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17. (C) CONCLUSION F: THE NEW ELECTIONS SCENARIO REMAINS THE BEST OF A SERIES OF UNAPPEALING OPTIONS. THE TIME AND COST OF NEW ELECTIONS, AND THE CONSEQUENT UNKNOWN OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, ARE THE OBVIOUS DRAWBACKS TO THIS OPTION BUT WE SEE NO OTHER PALATABLE ALTERNATIVE. GIVEN THE FLAWED NATURE OF THE ENTIRE PROCESS, THE JCE'S LACK OF CREDIBILITY WITH THE GENERAL PUBLIC, AND THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF KNOWING WHO REALLY WON, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT FULL ELECTIONS ARE THE ONLY WAY POSSIBLE TO ENSURE THE LEGITIMACY OF A NEW GOVERNMENT. OROZCO

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