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DOOLEY

REMARKS: COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MAY 2, 1989

THANK YOU, JIM, FOR YOUR KIND INTRODUCTION, AND FOR
TAKING THE TIME THIS MORNING TO ACCOMPANY ME.

- 2 -

I'M PLEASED TO FIND MYSELF IN SUCH PLEASANT AND
HIGH-POWERED COMPANY: MY GOOD FRIEND, CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL DAVID ROCKEFELLER; AMBASSADOR LANDAU AND LUDLOW
FLOWER; AND BERNARD ARONSON, MY CHOICE FOR THE
IMPORTANT INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS POST AT STATE.

LOOKING AROUND THE WORLD TODAY, IN THE DEVELOPING
COUNTRIES AND EVEN IN THE COMMUNIST BLOC, WE SEE THE
TRIUMPH OF TWO GREAT IDEAS: THE IDEA OF FREE
GOVERNMENT, AND THE IDEA OF FREE ENTERPRISE.

CERTAINLY, LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN ARE PROVING FERTILE GROUND FOR THESE IDEAS. DEMOCRACY -- A DECADE AGO THE EXCEPTION -- IS TODAY THE RULE. THE SYMBOL OF THIS NEW BREEZE IS THE BALLOT BOX. BY YEAR'S END, 14 NATIONAL ELECTIONS WILL HAVE BEEN HELD ACROSS THE AMERICAS.

AND LET'S REMEMBER WHAT IT MEANS TO VOTE WHEN DEMOCRACY ITSELF IS AT STAKE.

WE'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT PEOPLE WHO MAY STAY HOME FROM THE POLLS BECAUSE IT'S RAINING, OR RUSH HOUR TRAFFIC IS HEAVY. WE'RE TALKING ABOUT PEOPLE RISKING THEIR LIVES TO EXERCISE THEIR DEMOCRATIC RIGHT.

LISTEN TO THE WORDS OF A SALVADORAN MAN, ON THE EVE OF LAST MONTH'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN THAT COUNTRY -- ELECTIONS GUERRILLA FORCES VOWED TO DISRUPT:

"OF COURSE I'M GOING TO VOTE, ALTHOUGH I HAVE TO ADMIT IT'S VERY SCARY.... HERE, GOING TO THE GROCERY STORE CAN BE DANGEROUS -- BUT YOU HAVE TO DO IT. AND YOU HAVE TO VOTE, TOO. WE JUST CAN'T ROLL OVER AND PLAY DEAD EACH TIME WE'RE THREATENED."

THAT'S THE VOICE OF DEMOCRACY SPEAKING -- AND IT'S THE VOICE OF COURAGE AND HOPE.

ECONOMICALLY, ALTHOUGH THERE IS CONCERN ABOUT INTERNATIONAL DEBT, THERE ARE ENCOURAGING SIGNS AS WELL. MEXICO HAS JOINED GATT, AND IS MOVING TOWARD A MORE OPEN AND INTERNATIONALLY-ORIENTED ECONOMY. IN COSTA RICA, BRAZIL AND VENEZUELA NEW VENTURES ARE CREATING EXPORT OPPORTUNITIES THAT PROMISE A BROADER ECONOMIC BASE. YOU IN THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY ARE AMONG THE PIONEERS AND PARTNERS IN THESE CHANGES.

377-5264

YOU ARE CONTRIBUTING TO LATIN AMERICA'S INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY -- YOU ARE HELPING THE REGION TO FULFILL ITS POTENTIAL FOR PROGRESS.

THE HISTORIC SHIFT IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC THINKING NOW UNDERWAY IN LATIN AMERICA IS GOOD NEWS FOR US ALL.

OUR TASK IS CLEAR: TO MAKE THE MOST OF THE NEW OPPORTUNITIES OPEN TO US, WE MUST IMPROVE OUR WORKING PARTNERSHIPS IN THIS HEMISPHERE -- BETWEEN COUNTRIES NORTH AND SOUTH, BETWEEN GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS AND LABOR, AND, IN THE U.S., BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. WE SHARE COMMON INTERESTS -- WE MUST WORK TOWARDS A COMMON AIM.

MY ADMINISTRATION WILL WORK TO BUILD A NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR THE AMERICAS -- A PARTNERSHIP BUILT ON MUTUAL RESPECT, AND MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

WE SEEK A PARTNERSHIP ROOTED IN A COMMON COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC RULE.

THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY IS FAR FROM OVER. THE INSTITUTIONS OF FREE GOVERNMENT ARE STILL FRAGILE, AND IN NEED OF SUPPORT.

OUR BATTLEFIELD IS THE BROAD MIDDLE GROUND OF DEMOCRACY AND POPULAR GOVERNMENT -- OUR FIGHT AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF FREEDOM ON THE EXTREME RIGHT AND THE EXTREME LEFT.

AS A RESULT OF THE RECENT BIPARTISAN ACCORD ON CENTRAL AMERICA, THE UNITED STATES IS SPEAKING WITH ONE VOICE ON A MATTER OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA: BRINGING DEMOCRACY TO NICARAGUA, AND PEACE TO THE REGION.

LET ME TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE SEVERAL OBSERVATIONS ON STEPS THAT ARE VITAL TO PEACE, SECURITY AND DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AMERICA:

FIRST, NICARAGUA'S EFFORT TO EXPORT VIOLENT REVOLUTION MUST STOP. WE CANNOT TOLERATE SANDINISTA SUPPORT -- WHICH CONTINUES TODAY -- FOR INSURGENCIES IN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA, AND TERRORISM IN HONDURAS. PEACE IN THE REGION CANNOT CO-EXIST WITH ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE DEMOCRACY.

SECOND, WE CALL UPON THE SOVIET UNION TO END SOVIET BLOC SUPPORT FOR THE NICARAGUAN ASSAULT ON REGIONAL DEMOCRACY. THE UNITED STATES ENDED MILITARY AID TO THE NICARAGUAN RESISTANCE TWO YEARS AGO, YET SINCE THAT TIME, THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO FUNNEL ABOUT HALF A BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE A YEAR TO THE SANDINISTA REGIME -- ABOUT THE SAME RATE AS BEFORE WE STOPPED OUR MILITARY AID TO THE CONTRAS.

FURTHERMORE, CUBA AND NICARAGUA, SUPPLIED BY \$7 BILLION IN SOVIET BLOC AID, HAVE STEPPED UP THE ARMS FLOW TO THE SALVADORAN GUERILLAS. THAT AID MUST STOP.

THE SOVIET UNION MUST UNDERSTAND THAT WE HOLD IT ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS INTERVENTION IN THIS HEMISPHERE -- AND FOR PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACE IN THE REGION AND DEMOCRACY IN NICARAGUA.

AS THE BIPARTISAN ACCORD MAKES CLEAR, CONTINUED SOVIET SUPPORT OF VIOLENCE AND SUBVERSION IN CENTRAL AMERICA IS IN DIRECT VIOLATION OF THE ESQUIPULAS AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BY THE NATIONS OF CENTRAL AMERICA A YEAR AND A HALF AGO.

FINALLY, WITHIN NICARAGUA, WE WANT TO SEE A PROMISE KEPT --THE PROMISE OF DEMOCRACY, WITHHELD BY THE SANDINISTA REGIME FOR NEARLY A DECADE. TO THIS END, THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPLY HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE NICARAGUAN RESISTANCE THROUGH THE ELECTIONS SCHEDULED IN NICARAGUA FOR FEBRUARY 1990. THE CONDUCT AND THE OUTCOME OF THOSE ELECTIONS WILL DEMONSTRATE TO NICARAGUA'S NEIGHBORS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WHETHER IT MEANS TO DELIVER ON DEMOCRACY.

BUT THE SANDINISTAS' RECENT ACTIONS ARE OMINOUS. APRIL 25TH WAS THE BENCHMARK DATE FOR NICARAGUA TO HAVE IN PLACE ELECTORAL LAWS CONSISTENT WITH FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. INSTEAD, RESTRICTIVE NEW ELECTION AND PRESS LAWS HAVE BEEN PUSHED THROUGH THE SANDINISTA-CONTROLLED LEGISLATURE. THESE LAWS HAVE BEEN UNILATERALLY IMPOSED AND THE PROPOSALS OF NICARAGUA'S OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE BEEN IGNORED. THE RESULT IS A STACKED DECK AGAINST THE OPPOSITION AND STACKED RULES OF THE GAME.

THE ELECTION LAW MANDATES UNILATERALLY THAT HALF OF ALL FOREIGN POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS GO TO THE SUPREME ELECTORAL COUNCIL, WHICH REMAINS UNDER SANDINISTA CONTROL -- AND IGNORES PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD BY THE OPPOSITION TO PROVIDE FOR UNLIMITED FREEDOM OF ACCESS FOR INTERNATIONAL ELECTION OBSERVERS. IN EFFECT THAT'S A STACKED DECK AGAINST FREEDOM.

THE NEW LAW GOVERNING PRESS CONDUCT GIVES EXCESSIVE CONTROLS TO THE INTERIOR MINISTRY TO POLICE VIOLATIONS AGAINST "NATIONAL INTEGRITY," AND CONTINUES THE PROHIBITION OF PRIVATE-SECTOR OWNERSHIP OF TELEVISION STATIONS.

IF THERE IS TO BE PEACE IN NICARAGUA, THE SANDINISTA REGIME MUST WORK WITH THE OPPOSITION -- INCLUDING THE NICARAGUAN RESISTANCE -- TO PUT IN PLACE ELECTION AND PRESS LAWS THAT ARE TRULY FREE AND FAIR.

THAT MEANS TO HAVE FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS WITH OUTSIDE OBSERVERS GIVEN UNFETTERED ACCESS TO ALL ELECTION PLACES AND TO ALL PROCEEDINGS. IT MEANS A SECRET BALLOT ON ELECTION DAY, THE FREEDOM TO CAMPAIGN, TO ORGANIZE, HOLD RALLIES -- AND TO POLL PUBLIC OPINION, TO OPERATE INDEPENDENT RADIO AND TELEVISION STATIONS.

IT MEANS THE ABSENCE OF INTIMIDATION EITHER FROM A POLITICIZED SANDINISTA MILITARY OR POLICE, OR FROM THE NEIGHBORHOOD BLOCK COMMITTEES THAT CONTROL PEOPLE'S RATION CARDS. IT MEANS AN END TO THE ARRESTS AND BULLYING OF OPPOSITION LEADERS. IT MEANS FREEING ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS JAILED UNDER SANDINISTA RULE, NOT JUST FORMER SOMOZA SOLDIERS.

IF THE SANDINISTAS FAIL THIS TEST, IT WILL BE A TRAGIC SETBACK -- AND A DANGEROUS ONE. THE CONSOLATION OF TYRANNY WILL NOT BE PEACE; IT WILL BE A CRISIS WAITING TO HAPPEN.

I WANT TO MENTION SEVERAL OTHER LATIN NATIONS WHERE ELECTIONS CAN SIGNAL POSITIVE CHANGE:

IN EL SALVADOR, LAST MONTH'S FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS PROVED ANOTHER RINGING AFFIRMATION OF THAT NATION'S COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY.

WE EXPECT ARENA TO EXERCISE ITS POLITICAL POWER RESPONSIBLY. I HAVE CONVEYED TO PRESIDENT-ELECT CRISTIANI OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR. HE SHARES MY CONCERNS; HE DESERVES A CHANCE; AND HE HAS OUR SUPPORT.

IN PARAGUAY, THE ONLY COUNTRY WHOSE DICTATOR HAD HELD POWER LONGER THAN FIDEL CASTRO, ELECTIONS HAVE JUST TAKEN PLACE -- THE FIRST HOPEFUL SIGN THAT PARAGUAY IS ON ITS WAY TO JOINING THE DEMOCRATIC MAINSTREAM. THAT DEMOCRATIC OPENING MUST CONTINUE.

IN PANAMA, HOWEVER, THE FORECAST FOR FREEDOM IS LESS CLEAR.

A FREE AND FAIR VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS SCHEDULED FOR THIS SUNDAY WOULD ENABLE PANAMA TO TAKE A SIGNIFICANT STEP TOWARDS ENDING THE INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION AND INTERNAL ECONOMIC CRISIS BROUGHT ON BY THE NORIEGA REGIME. AND IN SPITE OF INTIMIDATION FROM THE AUTHORITIES, PANAMA'S OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE -- WITH GREAT COURAGE -- TAKEN THEIR CAMPAIGN TO THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE. THE NORIEGA REGIME'S CANDIDATES ARE TRAILING IN POLLS BY A MARGIN OF 2 TO 1.

UNFORTUNATELY, IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE REGIME IS READY TO RESORT TO MASSIVE ELECTION FRAUD IN ORDER TO REMAIN IN POWER. THE NORIEGA REGIME CONTINUES TO THREATEN AND INTIMIDATE PANAMANIAN WHO BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY. IT IS ALSO ATTEMPTING TO LIMIT THE PRESENCE AND FREEDOM OF ACTION OF INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS, AND TO PREVENT JOURNALISTS FROM REPORTING ON THE ELECTION PROCESS IN PANAMA.

LET ME BE CLEAR: THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT RECOGNIZE THE RESULTS OF A FRAUDULENT ELECTION ENGINEERED TO KEEP NORIEGA IN POWER.

ALL NATIONS THAT VALUE DEMOCRACY -- THAT UNDERSTAND FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS ARE THE VERY HEART OF THEIR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM -- SHOULD SPEAK OUT AGAINST ELECTION FRAUD IN PANAMA.

THAT MEANS THE DEMOCRACIES OF EUROPE, AS WELL AS NATIONS IN THIS HEMISPHERE STRUGGLING TO PRESERVE THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS THEY'VE FOUGHT SO HARD TO PUT IN PLACE.

IT'S TIME FOR THE PLAIN TRUTH: THE DAY OF THE DICTATOR IS OVER. THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO DEMOCRACY MUST NOT BE DENIED. [PAUSE]

A COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY IS ONLY ONE ELEMENT IN THE NEW PARTNERSHIP I ENVISION FOR THE NATIONS OF THE AMERICAS. THIS NEW PARTNERSHIP MUST ALSO AIM AT ENSURING THAT THE MARKET ECONOMIES SURVIVE, PROSPER AND PREVAIL.

THE PRINCIPALS OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM HAVE NOT BEEN APPLIED AS FULLY AS THE PRINCIPAL OF DEMOCRACY.

WHILE THE POVERTY OF STATISM AND PROTECTIONISM IS MORE EVIDENT THAN EVER, STATIST ECONOMIES REMAIN IN PLACE, STIFLING GROWTH, IN MANY LATIN NATIONS.

THAT IS WHY THE U.S. HAS MADE A NEW INITIATIVE TO REDUCE THE WEIGHT OF DEBT, AS LATIN GOVERNMENTS AND LEADERS TAKE THE DIFFICULT STEPS TO RESTRUCTURE THEIR ECONOMIES.

ECONOMIC GROWTH REQUIRES POLICIES THAT CREATE A CLIMATE FOR INVESTMENT -- ONE THAT WILL ATTRACT NEW CAPITAL, AND REVERSE THE FLIGHT OF CAPITAL OUT OF THE REGION.

WE WELCOME THE BROAD INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT EXPRESSED FOR OUR IDEAS TO STRENGTHEN THE DEBT STRATEGY.

WE URGE THE PARTIES INVOLVED -- THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, DEBTOR COUNTRIES, AND COMMERCIAL BANKS -- TO MAKE A SUSTAINED EFFORT TO MOVE THIS PROCESS FORWARD. WE RECOGNIZE THE COMPETING CLAIMS DEBTOR GOVERNMENTS MUST TRY TO SATISFY AS THEY WORK TO ADVANCE ECONOMIC REFORM, SERVICE THEIR DEBT, AND RESPOND TO THE NEEDS OF THEIR CITIZENS.

HOWEVER, WE ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT PROGRESS CAN BE AN INCREMENTAL PROCESS -- CASE-BY-CASE, STEP-BY-STEP -- PROVIDED THERE IS A CLEAR COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC REFORM.

FINALLY, OUR COMMON PARTNERSHIP MUST CONFRONT A COMMON ENEMY: INTERNATIONAL DRUG TRAFFICKERS.

DRUGS THREATEN CITIZENS AND CIVIL SOCIETY THROUGHOUT OUR HEMISPHERE. JOINING FORCES IN THE WAR ON DRUGS IS CRUCIAL.

THERE IS NOTHING GAINED BY TRYING TO LAY BLAME AND MAKE RECRIMINATIONS. DRUG ABUSE IS A PROBLEM OF BOTH SUPPLY AND DEMAND -- AND ATTACKING BOTH IS THE ONLY WAY WE CAN DEFEAT THE DRUG MENACE. [PAUSE]

THERE IS A PLACE IN THIS NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR YOU IN THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS. THOMAS PAINE SAID THAT "THE PROSPERITY OF ANY COMMERCIAL NATION IS REGULATED BY THE PROSPERITY OF THE REST."

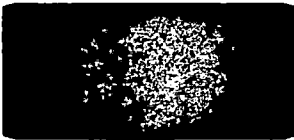
YOUR EFFORTS CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY TO THE GREATER PROSPERITY OF ALL THE NATIONS OF THE AMERICAS.

THE CHALLENGES I'VE SPOKEN OF TODAY WON'T BE EASY. BUT ALL OF US -- NORTH AND SOUTH, IN GOVERNMENT AND IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR -- CAN WORK TOGETHER TO MEET THE CHALLENGES, AND MASTER THEM.

WE'VE GOT WORK TO DO -- WORK THAT WON'T WAIT -- TO
ENSURE THAT ALL THE AMERICAS ENJOY THE PEACE, FREEDOM
AND PROSPERITY THAT WE CHERISH.

THANK YOU.

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reaching out theme

- democracy in Central America + Panama
- economic debt
- drugs

Panama / Nicaragua

0900 Apr 27
DENNIS SCOCZ
647-9193

The Secretary's remarks to the Council of the Americas

May 1, 1989

*David
Pacelli FACCELT*

If you look around the world today, from the Communist bloc to the developing areas, you will see evidence of the triumph of two great ideas: the idea of a free ~~society~~^{government} and the idea of a free economy.

The two ideas are really one, joined in a single vision, a vision of democracy. Abroad, it is a vision that causes ordinary people to rejoice and dictators to tremble. Here at home, it is a vision which all Americans should applaud, for freedom is quintessentially our founding vision, the vision of the New World.

A free society and a free economy are now also becoming the models for the rest of the New World that Columbus discovered almost 500 years ago -- the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. Across this hemisphere, the old barriers of dictatorship and state control are being dismantled.

a decade
Democracy -- 10 years ago the exception -- is today the rule. The ballot box is the concrete symbol of a decade of

political progress in Latin America and the Caribbean. By year's end, 14 national elections will have been held this year alone. And most of them will have offered real choices with real consequences.

Economically, also, there are encouraging signs. Mexico has joined GATT and is making profound changes toward a more open and outward-oriented economy. Costa Rica is exporting cellular phones to third world customers; Brazil is to supply automated supermarket systems to Portugal; and Venezuela is mixing water and oil in a new substance called orimulsion which it is marketing for power plants in Japan.

You in the business community are among the pioneers and partners in these changes. You are contributing to Latin America's productivity and capacity for progress. You have greatly increased the region's potential for success.

These hopeful changes in Latin America, and the historic shift in political and economic thinking now underway, are good news for us all. Once democratic habits have become established, they give people both a stake in their future and mechanisms for change that are less violent and disruptive than the abrupt swings Latin American countries have often known in the past. There is fundamental value, even strategic advantage for the United States, in the stability that comes from

America's economies fuels trade and jobs for the citizens of the United States.

4/339 TJ on Democracy
Seul K
K16 Padover
Padover

- To Ticknor

Thomas Jefferson said that "It is a kind of law of nature that every nation prospers by the prosperity of others." Today, the stake we have in the prosperity of our neighbors is greater than ever. Their growth will restore vigor to U.S. trade with Latin America and the Caribbean. Growth will win the approval of the voters in the Latin democracies who are looking to their elected leaders to "deliver the goods." And because it brings diversification, growth is also the key to a new and meaningful kind of independence -- not being dependent on one or two commodities; the independence that comes from having options and freedom to maneuver.

Which brings me to my central point today: to make the most of the new opportunities in the hemisphere, we must improve our working partnerships -- between countries north and south, between the different branches of government, and between government and business. We are all in this together. We must all work together.

We in the Administration intend to reach out to Latin America as never before to build a new partnership for the Americas -- a partnership built on mutual respect and mutual responsibility.

We seek a partnership based on support for democratic forms of government. The battle for democracy is by no means won; in many nations the struggle continues or has only just begun. But it is clear on which side of the battle line we stand: This Administration stands with the people of Latin America in the cause of democracy and against the enemies of freedom on the extreme left and on the extreme right.

On Central America, we have already made a new approach toward partnership with the democratic leaders of this hemisphere. With the full bipartisan support of Congress we have joined together to support the promises of democracy, security, and peace contained in the Agreement signed almost two years ago at Esquipulas by the five Central American Presidents.

Achieving these goals will not be easy. But if the U.S. Congress and the Administration and the democratic governments inside the hemisphere and out work together, we have the best chance of turning the promises of Esquipulas into concrete realities on the ground.

insert
- security Threat
- Soviets must cooperate
- Sandinistas lack of compliance on election law + media law
(see State Dept sheets)

In Paraguay, the only country with a dictator who had been in power longer than Fidel Castro, elections are taking place ~~today~~ ^{yesterday} under freer and fairer conditions that give hope that Paraguay is on its way to joining the hemisphere's mainstream.

(MMH)
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In Panama, free and fair elections this coming Sunday would end that nation's political and economic crisis and its international isolation as well. Despite coercion and intimidation and the regime's tight control of the media, Panamanians have mounted an effective campaign for democracy. The regime's candidates are trailing in polls by a margin over 2 to 1. Unfortunately the Noriega regime's response has been to prepare for a massive fraud and to ^S restrict the presence of international observers and press.

If democracy is to continue to develop in this hemisphere, such practices cannot be tolerated. The position of the United States is clear: There can be and there will be no accomodation with a Noriega-dominated regime. There is still time for the Panamanians to save their country from the increasing destruction wrought by the Noriega dictatorship. The key is in the hands of the Defense Forces. They can fulfill their constitutional duty as professional soldiers and allow the elections to proceed freely and fairly. Or they can face the consequences of the path on which General Noriega has placed them. The days of dictatorship in Latin America are over. They must end in Panama as well.

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pres. draft
statement

A second element of the new partnership we seek should reflect a common committment to helping new market oriented economies survive, prosper, and prevail. Thus far, economic

freedom has not moved as far along or as fast as political freedom. The economic case for statism and protectionism has never been weaker and the advocates of these regressive policies have never been so few in number, yet statist regulations and entrenched bureaucracies remain largely intact in many nations in the Americas.

That is why this Administration has made a new commitment, through the Brady proposals, to reach out to help reduce the weight of debt -- as Latin governments and leaders take the important, but difficult steps to restructure their economies.

And that is the key point: debt reduction is necessary, but it is not by itself sufficient to generate the needed growth. To grow, Latin America must create a climate for investment -- a climate that will bring flight capital back to the region and that will attract new capital flows. Debt is a problem, but it is really also a symptom of, sometimes, a greater problem. If there were a magical solution that did not require structural economic reform, then those nations which have declared a moratorium on debt would be growing well today, but that simply is not the case. Instead, they are in deeper economic crisis. Today the democratic governments must try to reform bloated state economies, service their debt and, at the same time, satisfy the real needs of their citizens. We understand that facing this challenge alone is a nearly impossible juggling act

We recognize that individual debtor economies are different. Their problems are different. Election schedules do not always match ideal timetables for economic initiatives. But, the Brady approach is not an "all or nothing," "now or never" option. Progress will likely come incrementally, case-by-case and step-by-step. No country is precluded from participation so long as a clear commitment is made to needed reforms.

Our common interest in growth demands that each do his part and that all work together: debtor countries, commercial banks, creditor countries, and the international financial institutions. We must be able to count on the full and meaningful participation of all.

Third, our new partnership seeks a common commitment to free and open trade. If we ask Latin America to strip away the layers of protection that shield their economies from the free flow of trade in goods and services, then we in the United States, too, must confront protectionism and steadily reduce the barriers to products. We are deeply engaged in the Uruguay Round in an effort to dismantle remaining tariff barriers and to grapple with the many nontariff barriers that have sprung up to impede trade. Already making good on the promise of freer and expanded trade, the Caribbean Basin Initiative can go still

further. We welcome proposals in the Congress to enhance opportunities under the Initiative.

Finally, we seek a partnership based on a common commitment to face our common enemies, none more than narcotics traffickers. We all have a responsibility and a part to play. Drugs threaten our citizens and civil society on both sides of the Rio Grande and all shores of the Caribbean. We and the people of Latin America must face this common menace together as full partners instead of wasting time and precious energy in the endless game of mutual blame and recrimination. For the plain truth is that drugs is both a problem of demand and of supply and if we do not tackle both heads of this two headed monster, it will devour us all.

You in Council of Americas have long propounded a vision of cooperation and partnership with Latin America. Your commitment is important as never before. The potential is great, but there are also dangers. The countries which have not yet summoned political will to make needed economic reforms need our encouragement and assistance. They must know that if they are willing to walk down same path as Mexico, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Chile, the financial business community will help them take the next step with debt reduction and new investment.

In conclusion, if I were to summarize our approach, I would say that progress in Latin America towards democracy and the

economic freedom that goes with it makes possible greater cooperation than ever. Democracy within nations makes it easier to practice democracy among nations. We recognize that our dialogue will move at different speeds and follow a somewhat different course for nations like Mexico and Venezuela, which have just installed new governments, than with nations like Argentina and Brazil, which are preparing for elections. But we are prepared to move ahead in partnership with any nation that is ready to make a serious effort. And we intend to use the OAS to help define and support partnership on a regional basis as well.

I do not underestimate the problems, risks, and threats that challenge and assail us. There is no guarantee that all will work out for the best -- the problems are daunting, even for a Texan. But I believe that all of us -- North and South, in government and in the private sector -- can indeed work to meet the challenges of change head on and together. And I believe that if we do, then the Americas will indeed enter the next century living up to its enormous potential.

McGroarty/Dooley
April 28, 1989
11:45 am
Draft 2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MAY 2, 1989

[Introductory remarks, acknowledgements....]

Looking around the world today, in the developing world and even in the communist bloc, we see the triumph of two great ideas: the idea of free government, and the idea of free enterprise.

Certainly, Latin America is proving fertile ground for these ideas. Democracy -- a decade ago the exception -- is today the rule. The symbol of this new breeze is the ballot box. By year's end, 14 national elections will have been held across Latin America and the Caribbean.

State Remarks

And let's remember what it means to vote when democracy itself is at stake. We're not talking about people who may stay home from the polls because it's raining, or rush hour traffic is heavy. We're talking about people risking their lives to exercise their democratic right.

Listen to the words of a Salvadoran man, on the eve of the last month's presidential elections in that country -- elections guerilla forces vowed to disrupt:

*UPJ
3/18/89*

"Of course I'm going to vote, although I have to admit it's very scary.... Here, going to the grocery store can be dangerous

-- but you have to do it. And you have to vote, too. We just can't roll over and play dead each time we're threatened."

That's the voice of democracy speaking -- and it's the voice of courage and hope.

Economically, there are encouraging signs as well. Mexico has joined GATT, and is moving toward a more open and internationally-oriented economy. In Costa Rica, Brazil and Venezuela new ventures are creating export opportunities that promise a broader economic base. You in the business community are among the pioneers and partners in these changes. You are contributing to Latin America's increased productivity -- you are helping the region to fulfill its potential for progress.

The historic shift in political and economic thinking now underway in Latin America is good news for us all. Our task is clear: to make the most of the new opportunities open to us, we must improve our working partnerships in this hemisphere -- between countries north and south, between government and business, and, in the U.S., between the different branches of the federal government. We share common interests -- we must work towards a common aim.

The U.S. can lead the way. My Administration will work to build a new partnership for the Americas -- a partnership built on mutual respect, and mutual responsibilities.

We seek a partnership rooted in a common commitment to democratic rule.

State
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P.2

State
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P.3

The battle for democracy is far from over. The institutions of free government are still fragile, and in need of support. Our battlefield is the broad middle ground of democracy and popular government -- our fight against the enemies of freedom on the extreme right and the extreme left.

As a result of the recent Bipartisan Accord on Central America, the United States is speaking with one voice on a matter of crucial importance to peace in Central America: bringing democracy to Nicaragua, and peace to the region.

Let me take this opportunity to make several observations on steps that are vital to peace, security and democracy in Central America:

First, Nicaragua's effort to export violent revolution must stop. We cannot tolerate Sandinista support -- which continues today -- for insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala, and terrorism in Honduras. Peace in the region cannot co-exist with attempts to undermine democracy.

Second, we call upon the Soviet Union to end Soviet bloc support for the anti-democratic activities of Cuba and Nicaragua. While the U.S. has not provided military aid to the Nicaraguan Resistance for the past 18 months, the Soviets continue to funnel \$500 million dollars worth of military assistance a year -- well over a million dollars in military aid each day -- to the Sandinista regime. That aid must stop.

The Soviet Union must understand that we hold it accountable for the consequences of its intervention in this hemisphere --

Bipartisan
Accord 5/24
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David
Pacelli
NSC

and for progress towards peace in the region and democracy in Nicaragua. As the Bipartisan Accord makes clear, continued Soviet support of violence and subversion in Central America is in direct violation of the Esquipulas Agreement concluded by the nations of Central America a year and a half ago.

Finally, within Nicaragua, we want to see a promise kept -- the promise of democracy, withheld by the Sandinista regime for nearly a decade. To this end, the U.S. will continue to supply humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan resistance through the elections scheduled in Nicaragua for February 1990. The conduct and the outcome of those elections will demonstrate to Nicaragua's neighbors and the international community whether it means to deliver on democracy.

But the Sandinistas' recent actions cause us concern. April 25th was the benchmark date for Nicaragua to have in place electoral laws consistent with free and fair elections. Instead, restrictive new election and press laws have been pushed through the Sandinista-controlled legislature -- over the objections of Nicaragua's opposition parties.

The election law mandates that one-half of all foreign political contributions go to the Sandinista-controlled Supreme Electoral Council -- and ignores proposals put forward by the Nicaraguan opposition to provide for unlimited freedom of access for international election observers. The new law governing press conduct authorizes the Interior Ministry to police

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Bipartisan
Accord

Press
Briefing
starts
4/25

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violations against "national integrity," and to close down news operations found to cross this arbitrary line for four days.

The Sandinista regime must work with the Nicaraguan opposition -- including the Nicaraguan Resistance -- to put in place election and press laws that are truly free and fair.

We know what it means to have free and fair elections. It means freedom for every citizen to cast a secret ballot on election day -- but it also means much more than that. It means the freedom to campaign, to organize, hold rallies -- to use the media and poll public opinion, to operate independent radio and television stations. It means the absence of intimidation -- an end to the arrests and bullying of opposition leaders by Sandinista security forces. It means freeing all political prisoners jailed under Sandinista rule.

The people of Nicaragua have waited long enough. It's time for the Sandinistas to deliver the democracy they promised.

I want to mention several other Latin nations where elections can signal positive change:

In El Salvador, last month's elections proved another ringing affirmation of that nation's commitment to democracy. We expect ARENA to exercise its political power responsibly. I have conveyed to President Christiani our concerns about human rights in El Salvador. He shares my concerns, and he's off to a good start.

In Paraguay, the only country whose dictator had held power longer than Fidel Castro, elections have just taken place -- the

Fitzwater
Statement
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first hopeful sign that Paraguay is on its way to joining the democratic mainstream.

In Panama, however, the forecast for freedom is less clear. A free and fair vote in the elections scheduled for this Sunday would enable Panama to take a significant step towards ending the international isolation and internal economic crisis brought on by the Noriega regime. And in spite of intimidation from the authorities, Panama's opposition parties have -- with great courage -- taken their campaign to the Panamanian people. The Noriega regime's candidates are trailing in polls by a margin of 2 to 1.

State Draft P. 5

Unfortunately, it is evident that the regime is ready to resort to massive election fraud in order to remain in power. The Noriega regime continues to threaten and intimidate Panamanians who believe in democracy. It is also attempting to limit the presence and freedom of action of international observers, and to prevent journalists from reporting on the election process in Panama.

State Draft P. 3

President's Statement



Let me be clear: the United States will not recognize the results of a fraudulent election engineered to keep Noriega in power.

It's time for the plain truth: The day of the dictator is over. The people's right to democracy must not be denied. [pause]

Our new partnership must also aim at ensuring that the market economies survive, prosper and prevail.

So far, economic freedom has not kept pace with its political counterpart. While the poverty of statism and protectionism is more evident than ever, statist economies remain in place, stifling growth, in many Latin nations.

That is why the U.S. has made a new commitment to reduce the weight of debt, as Latin governments and leaders take the difficult steps to restructure their economies.

The key point should be clear: debt reduction is a necessary step, but not sufficient in itself to generate growth. Growth requires creation of a climate for investment -- one that will attract new capital, and stem and reverse the flight of capital out of the region.

We recognize that individual debtor economies are different -- and that election schedules do not always match the ideal pace for economic reform. We recognize the competing claims governments must try to satisfy as they work to advance economic reform, service their debt, and respond to the needs of their citizens. But our plan isn't a "now or never" approach. Progress can be an incremental process -- case-by-case, step-by-step -- provided there is a clear commitment to economic reform.

Finally, our common partnership must confront a common enemy: international drug traffickers.

Drugs threaten citizens and civil society throughout our hemisphere. Joining forces in the war on drugs is crucial. There is nothing gained by trying to lay blame and make recriminations. Drug abuse is a problem of both supply and

*Stewart
Draft
86*

demand -- and attacking both is the only way we can defeat the drug menace. [pause]

There is a place in this new partnership for you in the Council of the Americas. Thomas Jefferson said that "it is a kind of law of nature that every nation prospers by the prosperity of others." Your efforts contribute directly to the greater prosperity of all nations of the Americas.

The challenges I've spoken of today won't be easy. But all of us -- North and South, in government and in the private sector -- can work together to meet the challenges, and master them.

We've got work to do -- work that won't wait -- to ensure that all the Americas enjoy the peace, freedom and prosperity that we cherish.

Thank you.



See attached

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A n New
DICTIONARY OF
QUOTATIONS
ON *HISTORICAL* PRINCIPLES
FROM
ANCIENT AND MODERN SOURCES

Selected and Edited by
H. L. MENCKEN



NEW YORK : ALFRED A. KNOFF : 1976

New

Prose

Prosperity

The laws of propriety have the least force behind them but they are the best obeyed.

LA ROCHEFOUCAULD: *Maxims*, 1665

. . . not proper to be related by a female pen.

SARAH KEMBLE KNIGHT: *Diary*, 1704

The perfect hostess will see to it that the works of male and female authors be properly separated on her book shelves. Their proximity, unless they happen to be married, should not be tolerated.

LADY COUGH: *Etiquette*, 1863

[See also Fashion.

Prose

For more than forty years I have been speaking prose without knowing it.

J. B. MOLIÈRE: *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*, II, 1670

I might have been a poet if I had given up my mind to it. In prose I found more room.

W. S. LANDOR: *Letter to Robert Browning*, Nov. 12, 1845

When the brain gets as dry as an empty nut, When the reason stands on its squarest toes, When the mind (like a beard) has a formal cut, —

There is place and enough for the pains of prose.

AUSTIN DOBSON: *The Ballad of Prose and Rhyme*, 1873

Order, precision, directness are the radical merits of prose thought, and it is more than merely legitimate that they should form the criterion of prose style.

WALTER PATER: *English Literature*, 1886 (London Guardian, Feb. 17)

A perfect prose is the last word in literature, since it contains every kind of rhythm to be found in verse, and other rhythms as well, and all in such a rich variety and seeming irregularity that while no rhythm is insistent every rhythm is heard.

A. R. ORAGE: *Selected Essays*, 1935

[See also Metaphor, Poetry and Prose.

Proselyte

A man is glad to gain numbers on his side, as they serve to strengthen him in his private opinions. Every proselyte is like a new argument for the establishment of the faith.

JOSEPH ADDISON: *The Spectator*, Oct. 2, 1711

[See also Convert.

Prosperity

The Lord was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man.

GENESIS XXXIX, 2, c. 700 B.C.

A state that is prosperous always honors the gods.

ÆSCHYLUS: *The Seven Against Thebes*, c. 490 B.C.

In prosperity there is never any dearth of friends.

EURIPIDES: *Hecuba*, c. 426 B.C.

In prosperity let us particularly avoid pride, disdain, and arrogance.

CICERO: *De officiis*, I, 78 B.C.

So long as a man enjoys prosperity, he cares not whether he is beloved.

LUCAN: *Pharsalia*, VII, 65

The remembrance of past wants makes present prosperity more pleasant.

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM: *Homilies*, XIII, c. 388

Prosperity doth bewitch men, seeming clear; As seas do laugh, show white, when rocks are near.

JOHN WEBSTER: *The White Devil*, v, c. 1608

Prosperity's the very bond of love.

SHAKESPEARE: *The Winter's Tale*, IV, c. 1611

Prosperity lets go the bridle.

GEORGE HERBERT: *Outlandish Proverbs*, 1640

Prosperity makes very few friends.

LUC DE VAUVENARGUES: *Réflexions*, 1746

The prosperity of any commercial nation is regulated by the prosperity of the rest. If they are poor, she cannot be rich; and her condition, be it what it may, is an index of the height of the commercial tide in other nations.

THOMAS PAINE: *The Rights of Man*, II, 1791

Prosperity is the surest breeder of insolence I know.

S. L. CLEMENS (MARK TWAIN): *Letter from New York to the Alta Californian* (San Francisco), Feb. 23, 1867

There are those who believe that, if you will only legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, their prosperity will leak through to those below. The Democratic idea, however, has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up through every class which rests upon them.

W. J. BRYAN: Speech at the Democratic National Convention, Chicago, July 8, 1896

If we are brought face to face with the naked issue of either keeping or totally destroying a prosperity in which the majority share, but in which some share improperly, why, as sensible men, we must decide that it is a great deal better that some people should prosper too much than that no one should prosper enough.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT: Speech in Fitchburg, Mass., Sept. 2, 1902

Prostitute

The slogan of progress is changing a full dinner pail to the full garage.

HERBERT HOOVER: Speech in C

Man can bear all things except good DU

Good times make bad people. GERN

The prosperity of this world is like water. HI

In prosperous times no altars smol ITAL

In prosperity be cautious; in adven PORTUGU

[See also Adversity, Chicken, Friendship, Greatness, Happiness, Pro

Prostitute

A prostitute is a furnace of love, b and money.

BHARTRIHARI: *The Sringa S*

No woman is worth money th money.

JOHN VANBRUGH: *The Rel*

Nor are the nymphs that brea air

So fair as Cynthia, nor so chaste: These to the town afford each free: And the clown's trull receives th brace;

From whom, should chance agai down,

The peer's disease in turn attack GEORGE CRABBE: *The Vi*

Prostitutes . . . trample on virgini with a sort of bravado, and, their shame, become more aud than men, however deprived.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT: *A the Rights of Wor*

A devoted part of the sex — de salvation of the rest.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT: *A the Rights o*

Prostitutes are a necessity. Witho would attack respectable w streets.

NAPOLEON I: To Gasparc St. Helena

The life of a fille de joie is as be is of honor.

ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER *Parali*

The prostitute draggles her shav bobs on her tipsy and pimpled. The crowd laugh at her blackgu men jeer and wink to each ot (Miserable! I do not laugh at y jeer you).

WALT WHITMAN: *Walt V*

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TUESDAY, MAY 2, 1989

EVENT: Address to the Council of the Americas

DATE: May 2, 1989

TIME: 10:55 am - 11:35 am

LOCATION: The Loy Henderson Auditorium

ATTENDEES: 380

PRESS: Open

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives State Department and is greeted by The Hon. James A. Baker, III, Secretary of State. Secretary Baker will escort THE PRESIDENT to the Holding Room where he will be greeted by: Mr. David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Council of the Americas; and Ambassador Joseph V. Reed, Chief of Protocol, Department of State. THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Secretary Baker, then proceeds to Off-Stage Announcement Area. THE PRESIDENT and Secretary Baker are announced onto stage by an Off-Stage Announcement and proceed to seats on Dais. THE PRESIDENT will join: Mr. Ludlow Flower, III, Director of the Washington Office, Council of the Americas; Mr. Bernard Aronson, Assistant Secretary Designate for Inter-American Affairs; Former Ambassador George W. Landau, President of the Council of the Americas; and Mr. David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Board, Council of the Americas, who are already on stage. THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Secretary Baker. The podium is offset stage right and there is a banner with the Council of the Americas logo located to the left of the podium in front of the other participants. THE PRESIDENT gives Remarks. THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks and, accompanied by Secretary Baker, departs the Dais and proceeds to Motorcade.

647-0202

The Council of the Americas corporate membership is comprised of some 200 major U.S. firms doing business in Latin America. Its Washington Conference, held May 1 - 2, 1989, is an annual meeting. Board Chairman David Rockefeller has personally invited THE PRESIDENT to attend. THE PRESIDENT has participated in this Conference before as Vice President.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 28, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY

SUBJECT: COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS SPEECH

I. SUMMARY

The attached draft has been prepared for your address to the Council of the Americas association, Tuesday morning, May 2, 1989, at the Department of State. The audience will be approximately 380 business executives with business interests in Latin America. Council of the Americas is chaired by David Rockefeller.

II. DISCUSSION

This speech provides an opportunity to speak about democratic developments in Latin America, with special emphasis on the changes we seek in Nicaragua. The speech also focuses on debt relief and economic reform, issues that should be of particular interest to this audience.

McGroarty/Dooley
April 28, 1989
9:35 p.m.
Draft 3

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MAY 2, 1989

[Introductory remarks, acknowledgements....]

Looking around the world today, in the developing world and even in the communist bloc, we see the triumph of two great ideas: the idea of free government, and the idea of free enterprise.

Certainly, Latin America and the Caribbean are proving fertile ground for these ideas. Democracy -- a decade ago the exception -- is today the rule. The symbol of this new breeze is the ballot box. By year's end, 14 national elections will have been held across the Americas.

And let's remember what it means to vote when democracy itself is at stake. We're not talking about people who may stay home from the polls because it's raining, or rush hour traffic is heavy. We're talking about people risking their lives to exercise their democratic right.

Listen to the words of a Salvadoran man, on the eve of last month's presidential elections in that country -- elections guerilla forces vowed to disrupt:

"Of course I'm going to vote, although I have to admit it's very scary.... Here, going to the grocery store can be dangerous

-- but you have to do it. And you have to vote, too. We just can't roll over and play dead each time we're threatened."

That's the voice of democracy speaking -- and it's the voice of courage and hope.

Economically, although there is concern about international debt, there are encouraging signs as well. Mexico has joined GATT, and is moving toward a more open and internationally-oriented economy. In Costa Rica, Brazil and Venezuela new ventures are creating export opportunities that promise a broader economic base. You in the business community are among the pioneers and partners in these changes. You are contributing to Latin America's increased productivity -- you are helping the region to fulfill its potential for progress.

The historic shift in political and economic thinking now underway in Latin America is good news for us all. Our task is clear: to make the most of the new opportunities open to us, we must improve our working partnerships in this hemisphere -- between countries north and south, between government, business and labor, and, in the U.S., between the different branches of the federal government. We share common interests -- we must work towards a common aim.

My Administration will work to build a new partnership for the Americas -- a partnership built on mutual respect, and mutual responsibilities.

We seek a partnership rooted in a common commitment to democratic rule.

The battle for democracy is far from over.. The institutions of free government are still fragile, and in need of support. Our battlefield is the broad middle ground of democracy and popular government -- our fight against the enemies of freedom on the extreme right and the extreme left.

As a result of the recent Bipartisan Accord on Central America, the United States is speaking with one voice on a matter of crucial importance to peace in Central America: bringing democracy to Nicaragua, and peace to the region.

Let me take this opportunity to make several observations on steps that are vital to peace, security and democracy in Central America:

First, Nicaragua's effort to export violent revolution must stop. We cannot tolerate Sandinista support -- which continues today -- for insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala, and terrorism in Honduras. Peace in the region cannot co-exist with attempts to undermine democracy.

Second, we call upon the Soviet Union to end Soviet bloc support for the Nicaraguan assault on regional democracy. The United States ended military aid to the Nicaraguan Resistance two years ago, yet since that time, the Soviets continue to funnel about half a billion dollars worth of military assistance a year to the Sandinista regime. Furthermore, Cuba and Nicaragua, supplied by \$7 billion in Soviet bloc aid, have stepped up arms flow to the Salvadoran guerillas. That aid must stop.

The Soviet Union must understand that we hold it accountable for the consequences of its intervention in this hemisphere -- and for progress towards peace in the region and democracy in Nicaragua. As the Bipartisan Accord makes clear, continued Soviet support of violence and subversion in Central America is in direct violation of the Esquipulas Agreement concluded by the nations of Central America a year and a half ago.

Finally, within Nicaragua, we want to see a promise kept -- the promise of democracy, withheld by the Sandinista regime for nearly a decade. To this end, the U.S. will continue to supply humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan resistance through the elections scheduled in Nicaragua for February 1990. The conduct and the outcome of those elections will demonstrate to Nicaragua's neighbors and the international community whether it means to deliver on democracy.

But the Sandinistas' recent actions are ominous. April 25th was the benchmark date for Nicaragua to have in place electoral laws consistent with free and fair elections. Instead, restrictive new election and press laws have been pushed through the Sandinista-controlled legislature. These laws have been unilaterally imposed and the proposals of Nicaragua's opposition parties have been ignored. The result is a stacked deck against the opposition and stacked rules of the game.

The election law mandates unilaterally that half of all foreign political contributions go to the Supreme Electoral Council, which remains under Sandinista control -- and ignores

proposals put forward by the opposition. In effect that's a stacked deck against freedom. The new law governing press conduct gives excessive controls to the Interior Ministry to police violations against "national integrity," and continues the prohibition of private-sector ownership of television stations.

If there is to be peace in Nicaragua, the Sandinista regime must work with the opposition -- including the Nicaraguan Resistance -- to put in place election and press laws that are truly free and fair.

That means to have free and fair elections. It means a secret ballot on election day, the freedom to campaign, to organize, hold rallies -- to use the media and poll public opinion, to operate independent radio and television stations. It means the absence of intimidation either from a politicized Sandinista military or police, or from the neighborhood block committees that control people's ration cards. It means an end to the arrests and bullying of opposition leaders. It means freeing all political prisoners jailed under Sandinista rule, not just former Somoza soldiers.

If the Sandinistas fail this test, it will be a tragic setback -- and a dangerous one. The consolation of tyranny will not be peace; it will be a crisis waiting to happen.

I want to mention several other Latin nations where elections can signal positive change:

In El Salvador, last month's elections proved another ringing affirmation of that nation's commitment to democracy. We

expect ARENA to exercise its political power responsibly. I have conveyed to President-Elect Cristiani our commitment to human rights in El Salvador. He shares my concerns, and he's deserves a chance.

In Paraguay, the only country whose dictator had held power longer than Fidel Castro, elections have just taken place -- the first hopeful sign that Paraguay is on its way to joining the democratic mainstream. That Democratic opening must continue.

In Panama, however, the forecast for freedom is less clear. A free and fair vote in the elections scheduled for this Sunday would enable Panama to take a significant step towards ending the international isolation and internal economic crisis brought on by the Noriega regime. And in spite of intimidation from the authorities, Panama's opposition parties have -- with great courage -- taken their campaign to the Panamanian people. The Noriega regime's candidates are trailing in polls by a margin of 2 to 1.

Unfortunately, it is evident that the regime is ready to resort to massive election fraud in order to remain in power. The Noriega regime continues to threaten and intimidate Panamanians who believe in democracy. It is also attempting to limit the presence and freedom of action of international observers, and to prevent journalists from reporting on the election process in Panama.

Let me be clear: the United States will not recognize the results of a fraudulent election engineered to keep Noriega in power.

It's time for the plain truth: The day of the dictator is over. The people's right to democracy must not be denied. [pause]

Our new partnership must also aim at ensuring that the market economies survive, prosper and prevail.

The principals of economic freedom have not been applied as fully as the principal of democracy. While the poverty of statism and protectionism is more evident than ever, statist economies remain in place, stifling growth, in many Latin nations.

That is why the U.S. has made a new initiative to reduce the weight of debt, as Latin governments and leaders take the difficult steps to restructure their economies.

Economic growth requires policies that create a climate for investment -- one that will attract new capital, and reverse the flight of capital out of the region.

We welcome the broad international support expressed for our ideas to strengthen the debt strategy. We urge the parties involved -- the international financial institutions, debtor countries, and commercial banks -- to make a sustained effort to move this process forward. We recognize the competing claims debtor governments must try to satisfy as they work to advance economic reform, service their debt, and respond to the needs of their citizens. However, we also understand that progress can be

an incremental process -- case-by-case, step-by-step -- provided there is a clear commitment to economic reform.

Finally, our common partnership must confront a common enemy: international drug traffickers.

Drugs threaten citizens and civil society throughout our hemisphere. Joining forces in the war on drugs is crucial. There is nothing gained by trying to lay blame and make recriminations. Drug abuse is a problem of both supply and demand -- and attacking both is the only way we can defeat the drug menace. [pause]

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We've got work to do -- work that won't wait -- to ensure that all the Americas enjoy the peace, freedom and prosperity that we cherish.

Thank you.

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That is why the U.S. has made a new initiative to reduce the weight of debt, as Latin governments and leaders take the difficult steps to restructure their economies.

Economic growth requires policies that create a climate for investment -- one that will attract new capital, and reverse the flight of capital out of the region.

We welcome the broad international support expressed for our ideas to strengthen the debt strategy. We urge the parties involved -- the international financial institutions, debtor countries, and commercial banks -- to make a sustained effort to move this process forward. We recognize the competing claims debtor governments must try to satisfy as they work to advance economic reform, service their debt, and respond to the needs of their citizens. However, we also understand that progress can be

an incremental process -- case-by-case, step-by-step -- provided there is a clear commitment to economic reform.

Finally, our common partnership must confront a common enemy: international drug traffickers.

Drugs threaten citizens and civil society throughout our hemisphere. Joining forces in the war on drugs is crucial. There is nothing gained by trying to lay blame and make recriminations. Drug abuse is a problem of both supply and demand -- and attacking both is the only way we can defeat the drug menace. [pause]

There is a place in this new partnership for you in the Council of the Americas. Thomas Paine said that "the prosperity of any commercial nation is regulated by the prosperity of the rest." Your efforts contribute directly to the greater prosperity of all the nations of the Americas.

The challenges I've spoken of today won't be easy. But all of us -- North and South, in government and in the private sector -- can work together to meet the challenges, and master them.

We've got work to do -- work that won't wait -- to ensure that all the Americas enjoy the peace, freedom and prosperity that we cherish.

Thank you.

March 19

McGroarty/Dooley
April 27, 1989
4:00 pm
Draft 1

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MAY 2, 1989
?:00 a.m.

[Introductory remarks, acknowledgements....]

Looking around the world today, in the developing world and even in the communist bloc, we see the triumph of two great ideas: the idea of free government, and the idea of free enterprise.

Certainly, Latin America is proving fertile ground for these ideas.

Democracy -- a decade ago the exception -- is today the rule. The symbol of this new breeze is the ballot box. By year's end, 14 national elections will have been held across Latin America and the Caribbean.

Economically, there are encouraging signs as well. Mexico has joined GATT, and is moving toward a more open and internationally-oriented economy. In Costa Rica, Brazil and Venezuela new ventures are creating export opportunities that promise a broader economic base.

You in the business community are among the pioneers and partners in these changes. You are contributing to Latin

*anecdotes
from
El Salvador
(?)
NEWS.*

America's increased productivity -- you are helping the region to fulfill its tremendous potential for progress.

The historic shift in political and economic thinking now underway in Latin America is good news for us all. Democracy opens a path towards progress, peace and prosperity -- in sharp contrast to the dictatorships of right and left that have plagued Latin America in the past.

Our task is clear: to make the most of the new opportunities open to us, we must improve our working partnerships in this hemisphere -- between countries north and south, between government and business, and between the different branches of government themselves. We share common interests -- we must work towards a common aim.

The U.S. can lead the way. My Administration will work to build a new partnership for the Americas -- a partnership built on mutual respect and mutual responsibilities.

We seek a partnership rooted in a common commitment to democratic rule.

The battle for democracy is far from over. The institutions of free government are still fragile, and in need of support. Our battlefield is the broad middle ground of democracy and popular government -- our fight against the enemies of freedom on the extreme right and the extreme left.

As a result of the recent Bipartisan Accord on Central America, the United States is speaking with one voice on a matter

of crucial importance to peace in Central America: bringing democracy to Nicaragua, and peace to the region.

Let me take this opportunity to make several observations on steps that are vital to peace, security and democracy in Central America:

First, ^{actions to} Nicaragua's ~~effort to~~ export violent revolution must stop. ^{We cannot tolerate} This means an end to Sandinista support -- which continues today -- for insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala, and terrorism in Honduras. Peace in the region cannot co-exist with attempts to undermine democracy.

Second, ^{we call upon} we ~~look to~~ the Soviet Union to end Soviet bloc support for the anti-democratic activities of Cuba and Nicaragua. While the U.S. has not provided military aid to the Nicar^aguan Resistance for the past 18 months, the Soviets continue to funnel \$500 million dollars worth of military assistance a year to the Sandinista regime. ^{There is simply no} ~~an amount far in excess of~~ legitimate defense needs. ^{that justifies military aid of the magnitude} ^{-- well over a billion dollars in military aid each day --}

All told, the Soviet Bloc has poured at least \$50 billion in into Cuba and Nicaragua in the past decade. A continuation of this policy raises serious questions about Soviet intentions in Central America, and towards the United States.

Finally, within Nicaragua, we want to see a promise kept -- the promise of democracy, ^{a promise given by Sandinistas seeking} withheld by the Sandinista regime for nearly a decade. To this end, the U.S. will continue to supply humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan resistance through the elections scheduled in Nicaragua for February 1990. The conduct

power to the OAS,

and the outcome of those elections will ~~tell~~ ^{Lemonade to} Nicaragua's neighbors and the international community whether it means to deliver on democracy.

But the Sandinistas' recent actions are troubling. Restrictive new election and press laws have been pushed through the Sandinista-controlled legislature -- over the objections of Nicaragua's opposition parties. We urge the Sandinista regime to work with Nicaraguan opposition parties to put in place election and press laws that are truly free and fair.

The people of Nicaragua have waited long enough. It's time for the Sandinistas to deliver the democracy they promised.

I want to mention two other Latin nations where elections can signal positive change:

In Paraguay, the only country whose dictator had held power longer than Fidel Castro, elections have just taken place -- the first hopeful sign that Paraguay is on its way to joining the democratic mainstream.

In Panama, however, the forecast for freedom is less clear. A free and fair vote in the elections scheduled for this Sunday would enable Panama to take a significant step towards ending the international isolation and internal economic crisis brought on by the Noriega regime. And in spite of intimidation from the authorities, Panama's opposition parties have ^{courageously} taken their campaign to the Panamanian people. The Noriega regime's candidates are trailing in polls by a margin of 2 to 1. ^{with great courage} Unfortunately, there are signs that the regime intends to

restrict international election observers, and will resort to massive election fraud in order to remain in power.

Let me be clear:
The United States will not recognize the results of a fraudulent election engineered to keep Noriega in power.

It's time for the plain truth: The day of the dictator is over. The people's right to democracy must not be denied. *[pause]*

Our new partnership must also aim at ensuring that the market economies survive, prosper and prevail.

So far, economic freedom has not kept pace with its political counterpart. While the poverty of statism and protectionism is more evident than ever, statist economies remain in place, stifling growth, in many Latin nations.

That is why the U.S. has made a new commitment to reduce the weight of debt, as Latin governments and leaders take the difficult steps to restructure their economies.

The key point should be clear: debt reduction is a necessary step, but not sufficient in itself to generate growth. Growth requires creation of a climate for investment -- one that will attract new capital, and stem and reverse the flight of capital out of the region.

We recognize that individual debtor economies are different -- and that election schedules do not always match the ideal pace for economic reform. We recognize the competing claims governments must try to satisfy as they work to advance economic reform, service their debt, and respond to the needs of their citizens. But our plan isn't a "now or never" approach.

Progress can be an incremental process -- case-by-case, step-by-step -- provided there is a clear commitment to economic reform.

In addition to nurturing market economies, our new partnership seeks to advance free and open trade.

If we ask Latin America to strip away the protectionist barriers that shield their economies, we owe them something in return -- a commitment to free and open trade on our own part. We are deeply involved in the Uruguay Round to dismantle remaining tariff barriers -- and to remove non-tariff impediments to trade. We will also work to further expand the Caribbean Basin Initiative, and build on the beginning it has made in fostering free trade.

Finally, our common partnership must confront a common enemy: international drug traffickers.

Drugs threaten citizens and civil society throughout our hemisphere. Joining forces in the war on drugs is crucial. There is nothing gained by trying to lay blame and make recriminations. Drug abuse is a problem of both supply and demand -- and attacking both is the only way we can defeat the drug menace. [pause]

There is a place in this new partnership for you in the Council of the Americas. Thomas Jefferson said that "it is a kind of law of nature that every nation prospers by the prosperity of others." Your efforts contribute directly to the greater prosperity of all nations of the Americas.

The challenges I've spoken of today won't be easy. But all of us -- North and South, in government and in the private sector -- can work together to meet the challenges, and master them.

We've got work to do -- work that won't wait -- to ensure that all the Americas enjoy the peace, freedom and prosperity that we cherish.

Thank you.

548-9821

4:00

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Vote...

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 28, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY

SUBJECT: COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS SPEECH

I. SUMMARY

The attached draft has been prepared for your address to the Council of the Americas association, Tuesday morning, May 2, 1989, at the Department of State. The audience will be approximately 380 business executives with business interests in Latin America. Council of the Americas is chaired by David Rockefeller.

II. DISCUSSION

This speech provides an opportunity to speak about democratic developments in Latin America, with special emphasis on the changes we seek in Nicaragua. The speech also focuses on debt relief and economic reform, issues that should be of particular interest to this audience.

McGroarty/Dooley
April 28, 1989
9:35 p.m.
Draft 3

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MAY 2, 1989

[Introductory remarks, acknowledgements....]

Looking around the world today, in the developing world and even in the communist bloc, we see the triumph of two great ideas: the idea of free government, and the idea of free enterprise.

Certainly, Latin America and the Caribbean are proving fertile ground for these ideas. Democracy -- a decade ago the exception -- is today the rule. The symbol of this new breeze is the ballot box. By year's end, 14 national elections will have been held across the Americas.

And let's remember what it means to vote when democracy itself is at stake. We're not talking about people who may stay home from the polls because it's raining, or rush hour traffic is heavy. We're talking about people risking their lives to exercise their democratic right.

Listen to the words of a Salvadoran man, on the eve of last month's presidential elections in that country -- elections guerilla forces vowed to disrupt:

"Of course I'm going to vote, although I have to admit it's very scary.... Here, going to the grocery store can be dangerous

-- but you have to do it. And you have to vote, too. We just can't roll over and play dead each time we're threatened."

That's the voice of democracy speaking -- and it's the voice of courage and hope.

Economically, although there is concern about international debt, there are encouraging signs as well. Mexico has joined GATT, and is moving toward a more open and internationally-oriented economy. In Costa Rica, Brazil and Venezuela new ventures are creating export opportunities that promise a broader economic base. You in the business community are among the pioneers and partners in these changes. You are contributing to Latin America's increased productivity -- you are helping the region to fulfill its potential for progress.

The historic shift in political and economic thinking now underway in Latin America is good news for us all. Our task is clear: to make the most of the new opportunities open to us, we must improve our working partnerships in this hemisphere -- between countries north and south, between government, business and labor, and, in the U.S., between the different branches of the federal government. We share common interests -- we must work towards a common aim.

My Administration will work to build a new partnership for the Americas -- a partnership built on mutual respect, and mutual responsibilities.

We seek a partnership rooted in a common commitment to democratic rule.

The battle for democracy is far from over. The institutions of free government are still fragile, and in need of support. Our battlefield is the broad middle ground of democracy and popular government -- our fight against the enemies of freedom on the extreme right and the extreme left.

As a result of the recent Bipartisan Accord on Central America, the United States is speaking with one voice on a matter of crucial importance to peace in Central America: bringing democracy to Nicaragua, and peace to the region.

Let me take this opportunity to make several observations on steps that are vital to peace, security and democracy in Central America:

First, Nicaragua's effort to export violent revolution must stop. We cannot tolerate Sandinista support -- which continues today -- for insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala, and terrorism in Honduras. Peace in the region cannot co-exist with attempts to undermine democracy.

Second, we call upon the Soviet Union to end Soviet bloc support for the Nicaraguan assault on regional democracy. The United States ended military aid to the Nicaraguan Resistance two years ago, yet since that time, the Soviets continue to funnel about half a billion dollars worth of military assistance a year to the Sandinista regime. Furthermore, Cuba and Nicaragua, supplied by \$7 billion in Soviet bloc aid, have stepped up arms flow to the Salvadoran guerillas. That aid must stop.

The Soviet Union must understand that we hold it accountable for the consequences of its intervention in this hemisphere -- and for progress towards peace in the region and democracy in Nicaragua. As the Bipartisan Accord makes clear, continued Soviet support of violence and subversion in Central America is in direct violation of the Esquipulas Agreement concluded by the nations of Central America a year and a half ago.

Finally, within Nicaragua, we want to see a promise kept -- the promise of democracy, withheld by the Sandinista regime for nearly a decade. To this end, the U.S. will continue to supply humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan resistance through the elections scheduled in Nicaragua for February 1990. The conduct and the outcome of those elections will demonstrate to Nicaragua's neighbors and the international community whether it means to deliver on democracy.

But the Sandinistas' recent actions are ominous. April 25th was the benchmark date for Nicaragua to have in place electoral laws consistent with free and fair elections. Instead, restrictive new election and press laws have been pushed through the Sandinista-controlled legislature. These laws have been unilaterally imposed and the proposals of Nicaragua's opposition parties have been ignored. The result is a stacked deck against the opposition and stacked rules of the game.

The election law mandates unilaterally that half of all foreign political contributions go to the Supreme Electoral Council, which remains under Sandinista control -- and ignores

proposals put forward by the opposition. In effect that's a stacked deck against freedom. The new law governing press conduct gives excessive controls to the Interior Ministry to police violations against "national integrity," and continues the prohibition of private-sector ownership of television stations.

If there is to be peace in Nicaragua, the Sandinista regime must work with the opposition -- including the Nicaraguan Resistance -- to put in place election and press laws that are truly free and fair.

That means to have free and fair elections. It means a secret ballot on election day, the freedom to campaign, to organize, hold rallies -- to use the media and poll public opinion, to operate independent radio and television stations. It means the absence of intimidation either from a politicized Sandinista military or police, or from the neighborhood block committees that control people's ration cards. It means an end to the arrests and bullying of opposition leaders. It means freeing all political prisoners jailed under Sandinista rule, not just former Somoza soldiers.

If the Sandinistas fail this test, it will be a tragic setback -- and a dangerous one. The consolation of tyranny will not be peace; it will be a crisis waiting to happen.

I want to mention several other Latin nations where elections can signal positive change:

In El Salvador, last month's elections proved another ringing affirmation of that nation's commitment to democracy. We

expect ARENA to exercise its political power responsibly. I have conveyed to President-Elect Cristiani our commitment to human rights in El Salvador. He shares my concerns, and he's deserves a chance.

In Paraguay, the only country whose dictator had held power longer than Fidel Castro, elections have just taken place -- the first hopeful sign that Paraguay is on its way to joining the democratic mainstream. That Democratic opening must continue.

In Panama, however, the forecast for freedom is less clear. A free and fair vote in the elections scheduled for this Sunday would enable Panama to take a significant step towards ending the international isolation and internal economic crisis brought on by the Noriega regime. And in spite of intimidation from the authorities, Panama's opposition parties have -- with great courage -- taken their campaign to the Panamanian people. The Noriega regime's candidates are trailing in polls by a margin of 2 to 1.

Unfortunately, it is evident that the regime is ready to resort to massive election fraud in order to remain in power. The Noriega regime continues to threaten and intimidate Panamanians who believe in democracy. It is also attempting to limit the presence and freedom of action of international observers, and to prevent journalists from reporting on the election process in Panama.

Let me be clear: the United States will not recognize the results of a fraudulent election engineered to keep Noriega in power.

It's time for the plain truth: The day of the dictator is over. The people's right to democracy must not be denied. [pause]

Our new partnership must also aim at ensuring that the market economies survive, prosper and prevail.

The principals of economic freedom have not been applied as fully as the principal of democracy. While the poverty of statism and protectionism is more evident than ever, statist economies remain in place, stifling growth, in many Latin nations.

That is why the U.S. has made a new initiative to reduce the weight of debt, as Latin governments and leaders take the difficult steps to restructure their economies.

Economic growth requires policies that create a climate for investment -- one that will attract new capital, and reverse the flight of capital out of the region.

We welcome the broad international support expressed for our ideas to strengthen the debt strategy. We urge the parties involved -- the international financial institutions, debtor countries, and commercial banks -- to make a sustained effort to move this process forward. We recognize the competing claims debtor governments must try to satisfy as they work to advance economic reform, service their debt, and respond to the needs of their citizens. However, we also understand that progress can be

an incremental process -- case-by-case, step-by-step -- provided there is a clear commitment to economic reform.

Finally, our common partnership must confront a common enemy: international drug traffickers.

Drugs threaten citizens and civil society throughout our hemisphere. Joining forces in the war on drugs is crucial. There is nothing gained by trying to lay blame and make recriminations. Drug abuse is a problem of both supply and demand -- and attacking both is the only way we can defeat the drug menace. [pause]

There is a place in this new partnership for you in the Council of the Americas. Thomas Paine said that "the prosperity of any commercial nation is regulated by the prosperity of the rest." Your efforts contribute directly to the greater prosperity of all the nations of the Americas.

The challenges I've spoken of today won't be easy. But all of us -- North and South, in government and in the private sector -- can work together to meet the challenges, and master them.

We've got work to do -- work that won't wait -- to ensure that all the Americas enjoy the peace, freedom and prosperity that we cherish.

Thank you.

Central America Speech

one voice

When I took the oath of this office ten weeks ago, I reached out -- to the people, and to the Congress -- to join me in rebuilding a bipartisan foreign policy based on trust and common purpose. I am pleased, and proud, that the new breeze of cooperation has brought us a great achievement -- the Bipartisan Accord on Central America.

That Accord permits continued humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance while we redouble our efforts for a democratic, diplomatic solution. It is a great tribute to political statesmanship by both branches of our government; it's the kind of problem-solving -- and leadership -- that the American people expect from us. I intend to proceed in that same spirit of cooperation, in full partnership with Congress.

But every achievement is also a beginning: The Accord strengthens our hand as we face the main issue now in Central America -- democracy and freedom for the people of Nicaragua, and all of Central America, a region vital to our security.

✓ Let there be no mistake about what the urgent problem in Central America is: It's Nicaragua's effort to consolidate its tyranny at home and destabilize its neighbors. In signing the Esquipulas

Accord a year and a half ago, President Arias of Costa Rica said: "Without democracy, there can be no peace in Central America." He's right. All of Nicaragua's neighbors enjoy democratically elected governments; Nicaragua is the one, glaring, ominous exception.

Since Congress last year ended our military support for the Nicaraguan Resistance, the dangers in the region have grown. The Communist war against El Salvador has intensified -- even though the brave Salvadoran people have once again shown, by turning out to vote in the face of guerrilla violence, how deeply they cherish democracy. And the fate of democracy inside Nicaragua -- the fate of the Church, of a free press, of free political parties and labor unions -- now hangs in the balance.

Thus it was crucial that Congress and the President join together to make clear to the Sandinistas and their patrons [that there are limits.]

First of all, there can be no doubt of this Nation's reaction to any attempt by Nicaragua to establish a Soviet or Soviet-bloc military base, or to import advanced combat aircraft. And the export of violent revolution must stop: This means an end to Nicaraguan support -- which is continuing -- for insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala and terrorism in Honduras.

Second, the Bipartisan Accord is aimed at the goal of genuinely free national elections in Nicaragua in February of next year, as now scheduled. The whole world knows what a free election means: It means not only a secret ballot on election day; it means the freedom to organize, to campaign, to hold rallies, to use the media, to take public opinion polls. It means fair competition on a level playing field. It means -- as the opposition parties have now demanded -- major changes in oppressive laws on elections, media freedom, and other basic rights.

update?

A truly free election campaign means, for example, full, equal and non-discriminatory access to the media for all political parties, and the right of private citizens to operate a television station. It means the absence of intimidation, either from the politicized Sandinista military or police or from the neighborhood block committees that control people's ration cards. It means an end to the Sandinista habit of arresting or bullying opposition political leaders. It means full restoration of habeas corpus and the release, not just of former Somocista soldiers but of the thousands of remaining political prisoners. It means a genuine dialogue between the Sandinistas and the opposition -- including the Resistance -- on all these issues of fair procedure and genuine reform. It means international monitoring of the electoral process -- and not just by those observers whom the Sandinistas might invite.

The world's media should shine the spotlight on Nicaragua -- starting now -- and hold them to the standards of real democracy. Democracy means pluralism. It means economic rights as well as political rights, including the right to strike. It means recurring contested elections, with the losers -- even if they are the incumbent government -- bowing to the will of the majority.

Third, the United States pledges its commitment to democracy and progress in all of the region. I call upon Congress to expand its aid to the Central American democracies, including both development and security assistance. These democracies have proven their courage and their dynamism. Their diplomatic efforts for peace are justly applauded by the world. They deserve our help, and that of all the industrial democracies.

Fourth, the Soviet Union should understand that we hold it accountable for the consequences of its intervention in this hemisphere. As the Bipartisan Accord states, continued Soviet aid and support of violence and subversion in Central America is in direct violation of the Esquipulas Agreement. It's not just a matter of eliminating arms supplies, which is long overdue. It's a question of a Nicaraguan war machine that is already grossly out of proportion to any defensive needs. It's a question of Soviet responsibility to help ensure a democratic outcome of the

political process now underway in Nicaragua, as well as an end to Nicaraguan subversion.

Fifth, Cuba, too, should understand its responsibility to halt its aid to tyranny and subversion. We welcome Cuba's constructive role in the Angola/Namibia accords, but our broader relations with Cuba will depend on a change -- of which we yet see no sign -- in its totalitarian policies closer to home.

But today -- I want to emphasize -- is really a moment of hope. These problems go to the heart of regional security, but there is a precious opportunity here for a political solution. It may be the last opportunity.

A democratic outcome in Nicaragua will mean true peace in the region. It will mean a major breakthrough in U.S.-Soviet relations, and solid evidence of positive change in Soviet foreign policy. Economic relations in the region, and with us, will flourish. It will be a triumph of bipartisan collaboration in our own government. It will give hope to the world.

If this political experiment fails, it will be a tragic setback -- and a dangerous one. The consolidation of Sandinista repression is not peace; it is a crisis waiting to happen.

The long-suffering peoples of Central America deserve better than that. They deserve democracy -- that vital political freedom that ensures human rights and the rule of law, the freedom that is the precondition of economic advance and social progress. We see a trend of democracy around the world, and -- most dramatically of all -- in this hemisphere. We in the United States have a special responsibility, which we dare not fritter away. The Bipartisan Accord shows us meeting that responsibility.

In close cooperation with Congress, and with the support of my fellow citizens, I pledge an all-out effort, with all the energy and determination at my command: Together, we can help bring true peace, with freedom and security, to Central America.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 7, 1989

STATEMENT BY MARLIN FITZWATER
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND PRESS SECRETARY

President Bush met with Salvadoran President-elect Alfredo Cristiani and Vice President-elect Francisco Merino in the Oval Office for 30 minutes today. The President again congratulated Mr. Cristiani for his first-round electoral victory on March 19. The President said he looked forward to establishing the same sort of working relationship that he and President Reagan had with President Duarte. In furtherance of that goal, the President issued an invitation to Mr. Cristiani to come to Washington in late summer for an official working visit. Mr. Cristiani accepted the President's offer and expressed his hope of enhancing our mutual cooperation.

The President stated in strongest terms his commitment to support Salvadoran democracy and his admiration of the commitment of the Salvadoran people who risked death or injury by guerrilla threats to interrupt the vote. A U.S. observer team from both political parties, as well as electoral observers from other countries, have certified the election as free and fair. The President noted that El Salvador's democratic institutions stand in marked contrast to those of Nicaragua. The Salvadoran press is free; political groups mount demonstrations without government interference; and the government has granted a total amnesty.

For the past eight years, our commitment to El Salvador has reflected a bipartisan consensus. Nevertheless, there have been some voices that have prejudged Mr. Cristiani and who are pessimistic about the future. The President stated his view that Mr. Cristiani should be given the chance to prove his dedication to democracy, peace, and human rights. Mr. Cristiani has already proven his ability to run a fair campaign, which inspires our confidence about the future.

The President and Mr. Cristiani noted the importance of human rights in El Salvador. The President noted with satisfaction Mr. Cristiani's role in helping to overturn the decision of a judge who released rightwing elements accused of involvement in kidnappings. The President offered continued U.S. assistance to improve Salvadoran judicial institutions.

Mr. Cristiani warmly endorsed the Bipartisan Accord on Central America as a contribution to peace and said that the focus must remain on Nicaraguan democratization. The President indicated that we would consult El Salvador, as well as the other Central American democracies, on peace issues.

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Attn: Peggy Dooley

From: Daniel Holt

State Dept PA/PRS

647-2492

2 pages to follow

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DAILY PRESS BRIEFING

DPC #71

TUESDAY, APRIL 25, 1989, 12:39 P. M.
(ON THE RECORD UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED)

MS. TUTWILER: Good morning. How are you all? I have a brief -- not brief, but I have a statement. Are we ready?

Q Yes, ma'am.

A Today, April 25, marks the date by which the Government of Nicaragua is obligated under the Tesoro Beach agreement to have in place electoral laws conducive to free and fair elections scheduled to take place in February of 1990.

The Government of Nicaragua has recently put into effect new laws governing electoral procedures and the press. Both the substance of these laws and the manner in which they have been put into effect is troubling.

The electoral law was not the result of good-faith bargaining between the Government of Nicaragua and the internal opposition groups and was unilaterally imposed after being passed by the Sandinista-dominated legislature. This law includes a provision requiring that the Supreme Electoral Council, of which the Sandinistas maintain control, receive one-half of any foreign political contributions. It ignores proposals made by the internal opposition for absentee balloting and procedures for ensuring the presence and unlimited access of international election observers.

A new law governing press conduct includes penalties for disseminating information which the Interior Ministry determines to be a violation of national integrity and allows the Interior Ministry to order closures of up to four days. This media law has also been passed by the Sandinista Legislature without genuine dialogue with the internal opposition, which depends upon freedom of expression, or with the independent media in Nicaragua.

It is still not too late for dialogue and for the necessary compromises by all sides which alone can create conditions of trust in which free elections can go forward. We urge the Government of Nicaragua to engage in the necessary dialogue to revise its electoral and press laws.

-2-

Tuesday, 4/25/89

Q Can we get a copy of that?

A Sure.

Q Margaret, is the conclusion of the Administration, therefore, to offer carrots or sticks or nothing at all in response to what has happened in Nicaragua?

A I'm not sure I understand what you're asking me.

Q Well, the Secretary of State told Congress that he would have --

A I know about that.

Q -- this whole collection of incentives or disincentives. Now the Sandinista Government has done some things, as you just outlined them, so what is the response? Does the United States -- do you want to ask for sticks or are you going to offer carrots?

A The United States is asking for free, fair and honest elections.

Q But, for example, relations with the Sandinistas are still at a very low level. There's no Ambassador in either capital.

A Ambassador -- what?

Q There's no Ambassador in either capital.

A That's correct. And that particular point is under review.

Q What does that mean?

Q Does that mean he's under review?

Q We're now considering --

A The reinstituting of an Ambassador there and an Ambassador here is currently under review.

Q That's been under review since the Administration took office.

A That's true. It's still under review, as of today. (Laughter) I asked.

-3-

Tuesday, 4/25/89

Q I think what Roy is asking, if I -- what happens -- I mean, we're calling on them, we're saying there's still time to make these changes which we have outlined. What if they don't?

A That's something that I'm not prepared to answer today.

Q What if they do?

A That would be very encouraging.

Q No. But I think what Roy was trying to get at is

A I know.

Q -- there was this set of carrots and sticks, and this is one of the deadlines of which one would have expected some sort of an official U.S. response -- either a carrot or a stick or nothing.

A But I think that I just did make an official United States response to -- today is April 25 -- and to point out our disappointment that genuine consultation has not taken place with all the opposition groups. I'd point out, which I think you all would have an interest in, that the media laws that they have passed -- I'd hate to think what it would be like in many countries in the world, including our own, if we said we were going to disband the media for four minutes, much less four days.

So, I mean, there is definitely room for improvement here.

Q Do you see anything positive in the steps that have been taken?

A I've characterized the steps that have been taken, as I characterized them in the statement.

Q I mean, for example, they used to be able to shut down the media indefinitely, and so they are claiming that limiting themselves to four days is an advance. Now, for us it's certainly not. But do you see any advance in that?

A I wouldn't call that an advance, just as you said you wouldn't.

Q Is the State Department prepared to have some observations about Japan's political problems? Mr. Takeshita, who was unceasingly described by the White House as President Reagan's best friend, apparently is on the way out, and I wondered if relations with Japan will take a dip because of all this.

-7-

Thursday, 4/20/89

A -- that there be no discrimination.

Q But go ahead and list all the other appointments he's made, and it doesn't come out looking that good, so --

A Well, the whole process is not finished yet, I'm sure. But in any case, he's very firmly committed to this. There was an announcement he issued on, I think it was February 22nd, about equal opportunity within the Department, and it's a matter of great importance to him, and I'm sure he will carry it out fully.

Q New subject.

A All right.

Q Does the United States Government intend to ask the Mexican Government to extradite Ramon Salcido?

A We've been in touch with Mexican authorities on the matter, but I don't have anything particular for you now on extradition.

Q Do you expect any particular difficulties with the treaty with Mexico in this situation? Does the situation present any obvious difficulties in achieving an extradition?

A They're not obvious to me. I don't really have any knowledge of it. It is a legal matter. It's under review. It's being looked at here and at the Department of Justice, and we just don't have any conclusions or statements now.

Q Richard, Iraq has called for declaring the Middle East a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. Do you have any comment on that?

A I don't have any comment on that. I'm sorry.

Q Will you look at that? Will you have any comment?

A I think our position on nuclear-free weapon zones, nuclear-free areas, chemical-free areas and that sort thing has been stated many times.

Q Yes, but this time it is coming from Iraq.

A I don't think I have anything new on this. I'll look into it and see if there is anything specific to Iraq, but I must say right now that I doubt it.

Q On Nicaragua --

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Thursday, 4/20/89

Q Specifically, what do you find objectionable? You've been speaking in general terms. You haven't given specifics as to what's wrong with the process.

A Well, what's wrong with the process is a lot of things. I'd say the basic step that's been taken so far regards the structure of the electoral council. That council, in order to achieve legitimacy, has to fairly represent the people of Nicaragua. The structure that's been passed in this legislation is not one that can lead, then, to further steps that would ensure the legitimacy of the elections.

We've also, I think, spoken before about access to the media and other things. These are things the opposition groups have highlighted in their statements. They have listed a whole bunch of specific steps that should be taken in order for there to be fair and free elections.

Back to your statement on Panama for just one more question. Are there any consequences to U.S.-Panamanian relations from the announcement that you reported today about the change of visa requirements and travel requirements, and so on? Are there any consequences with regard to the election process that you foresee to U.S.-Panamanian relations?

A I'm not exactly sure what kind of consequences you're looking for. There's a consequence to American travelers, first of all. We, as the United States Government, are very concerned about that. There's a consequence to the ability of --

Q Can you do anything about that -- about your concern?

A Well, we've made it clear. What we've said is that there can be no normal relations -- what the Secretary said -- "No normal relations as long as Noriega is in power. This kind of thing shows why.

Q But you don't meet with -- you don't send anybody to meet with the Noriega government to resolve this little issue of visa -- or travel restrictions?

A Nothing that I'm aware of.

Q Do you do anything about trying to influence the setting up of the election procedures?

A As we said, we've made public calls for the ability of outside observers to monitor a free and fair election. We have supported the efforts of various groups to try to get in there and monitor elections. We're calling attention to the fact Noriega has made that impossible. That's what we're doing.

-11-

Tuesday, 4/25/89

Q But isn't there a difference because those were changes in parties?

A There is a difference overall, no matter who had won this election, in standards. And there is a difference -- what in the first term of the Reagan Administration, I can't speak to the Carter Administration -- an initial FBI, what we call "name check," "overnight name check," which in the first term of the Reagan Administration took approximately 24 hours to 3 to 5 days, which is what I have been told. Today that same process can take anywhere up to three weeks or longer, so there is a difference in process, yes.

Q You just mentioned "standards." What do you mean by standards?

A I mean there is a different standard based on -- after eight years of an administration we're all under much more difficult scrutiny; I believe there are more forms to fill out; there are different questions we are asked, in reaction to things that happened over the last eight or 10 years. And so it definitely takes longer.

In fact, you can talk to some people who served in the Ford Administration who are now serving in this administration; you can talk to people who served in the first term of the Reagan Administration -- it just takes longer. There are a combination of reasons, and it just does.

But as far as where we are and who all's been confirmed, how many Assistant Secretaries have been officially nominated by the President and announced from the White House, I don't keep a list. I can try to get it for you. I just don't have it.

Q Do you have any comment on, or can you tell us something about the two Soviets who allegedly defected up around Alaska? What happened to these people?

A We don't comment, Don, as you know, on whether or not individuals have made requests for asylum. The Immigration and Naturalization Service decides all requests for asylum, with the State Department serving in an advisory role.

Q Margaret, I want to go back to -- unless you have a follow-up on that, Don? Go ahead.

A We have not received a request from the Soviets to meet with the two journalists. That's all I have.

Q On Nicaragua, is the Secretary going to Congress in the context of the Bipartisan Accord, and relaying in any way the information that you have laid out here this morning, that clearly the Nicaraguans have not passed this first deadline, or hurdle, that we had set, for them for their reforms?

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Tuesday, 4/25/89

A He does not have a scheduled meeting on the Hill that I am aware of.

Q May I ask, what are the implications? I mean, April 25 was the date.

A That's correct.

Q It's now passed.

A And the last paragraph of my statement said something to the effect of -- I'll get it literally -- that it still is not too late.

Q Right.

A It is still not too late for dialogue and for the necessary compromises by all sides, which alone can create conditions of trust in which free elections can go forward.

My understanding of that is that we are asking people to still, sincerely and genuinely, negotiate and discuss and talk to try to ensure free, fair, and honest elections in Nicaragua.

Q Has the Secretary given that message to the Sandinistas in some form other than through the public podium here?

A I don't have a literal answer for you to that, but my instincts would tell me there are officials in this building who certainly are.

Q In other words, this has been transmitted already to the Nicaraguan Government?

A I haven't asked that specific question.

Q Also, there's a group of Resistance, internal opposition people, and Contra leaders in town. Is the Secretary seeing them?

A Not that I'm aware of. But I'd want to check that for you. I know it's not on his schedule for today, to my knowledge, unless they added it this morning or something --

Q I understand Mr. Delvalle is in town and is requesting meetings with people in the State Department. Has his request been granted?

A I became aware that he has requested this morning to see Secretary Baker. I do not know if it was added to his schedule. I believe the request was for today.

*Panama
too for*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The people of Panama clearly yearn for a free and fair election on May 7th so that their country can take its rightful place in this hemisphere's community of democratic nations. Only the threat of violence and massive fraud by the Noriega regime will keep the Panamanian people from realizing that aspiration for democracy.

Free and fair elections on May 7th, and respect for the results, can produce a legitimate government in Panama which will end that nation's political and economic crisis and international isolation. That is clearly what the people of Panama deserve and desire.

The Noriega regime promised that free and fair elections would in fact take place May 7th, and that international observers would be permitted to observe them. In recent weeks the Noriega regime has taken steps to commit systematic fraud. Through violence and coercion, it threatens and intimidates Panamanian citizens who believe in democracy. It is attempting to limit and obstruct the presence of observers from around the world and the ability of journalists to report freely on the election.

Nevertheless, many observers intend to travel to Panama to shine the spotlight of world opinion on the Panamanian elections just as they did previously in nations like the Philippines and El Salvador. We admire their commitment to democracy and their courage and will fully support their efforts.

The days of rule by dictatorship in Latin America are over. They must end in Panama as well. There is still time for Panama to resolve its current crisis through free and fair elections. The people and Government of the United States will not recognize fraudulent election results engineered by Noriega. The aspirations of the people of Panama for democracy must not be denied.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DAILY PRESS BRIEFING

DPC #71

TUESDAY, APRIL 25, 1989, 12:39 P. M.
(ON THE RECORD UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED)

MS. TUTWILER: Good morning. How are you all? I have a brief -- not brief, but I have a statement. Are we ready?

Q Yes, ma'am.

A Today, April 25, marks the date by which the Government of Nicaragua is obligated under the Tesoro Beach agreement to have in place electoral laws conducive to free and fair elections scheduled to take place in February of 1990.

The Government of Nicaragua has recently put into effect new laws governing electoral procedures and the press. Both the substance of these laws and the manner in which they have been put into effect is troubling.

The electoral law was not the result of good-faith bargaining between the Government of Nicaragua and the internal opposition groups and was unilaterally imposed after being passed by the Sandinista-dominated legislature. This law includes a provision requiring that the Supreme Electoral Council, of which the Sandinistas maintain control, receive one-half of any foreign political contributions. It ignores proposals made by the internal opposition for absentee balloting and procedures for ensuring the presence and unlimited access of international election observers.

A new law governing press conduct includes penalties for disseminating information which the Interior Ministry determines to be a violation of national integrity and allows the Interior Ministry to order closures of up to four days. This media law has also been passed by the Sandinista Legislature without genuine dialogue with the internal opposition, which depends upon freedom of expression, or with the independent media in Nicaragua.

It is still not too late for dialogue and for the necessary compromises by all sides which alone can create conditions of trust in which free elections can go forward. urge the Government of Nicaragua to engage in the necessary dialogue to revise its electoral and press laws.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1989

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The President of a Central American democracy was asked recently what is the most important step the United States can take. He said, "Speak with one voice." Today, for the first time in many years, the President and Congress, the Democratic and Republican leadership in the House and Senate, are speaking with one voice about Central America.

In my inaugural address I reached out my hand to the leadership of Congress in both parties asking them to join with me to rebuild a bipartisan foreign policy based on trust and common purpose. Today, I am gratified that the Speaker and the Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate and House have extended their hands back to me.

We have signed today together a Bipartisan Accord on Central America. It sets out the broad outlines of U.S. policy towards that troubled region and commits both the Executive and Congress to work together to achieve it.

The goals we seek are the goals which the people of Central America yearns for: democracy, security, and peace. Those are the pledges made by the Central American Presidents in the Esquipulas II Accord. That agreement is an integrated whole: all of its provisions must move forward together if any of them are to be fulfilled. Our challenge now is to turn those promises into concrete realities on the ground.

The only way we can meet that challenge is if Latin democratic leaders and the United States work together, with the support of our European friends and allies, as true partners with candor and mutual respect. I believe Latin leaders are asking for that kind of relationship as we confront together the many challenges facing our hemisphere. As President, I pledge the United States is ready to respond.

Under this Central America agreement, insurgent forces have the right to re-integrate into their homeland under safe, democratic conditions with full civil and political rights. That is the desire of the Nicaraguan Resistance. It is what they are fighting for. We hope and believe it can be achieved through a concerted diplomatic effort to enforce this regional agreement.

To achieve these goals the bipartisan leadership of Congress has agreed to support my request for continued humanitarian assistance to the Nicaraguan Resistance through the elections scheduled in Nicaragua for February 28, 1990.

There will be extensive consultations and review with respect to these funds effective November 30, 1989 by the bipartisan leadership and relevant committees. However, I have been assured that the leadership in both Houses supports the extension of this assistance through the Nicaraguan elections barring unforeseen circumstances.

There is no shortcut to democracy; no quick fix. The next weeks and months will demand patience and perseverance by the democratic community and the hard, technical work of ensuring compliance with the Esquipulas Accord. The United States will work in good faith to support that kind of diplomatic effort, but we will not support a paper agreement that sells out the Nicaraguan people's right to be free.

We do not claim the right to order the politics of that country. That is for the people of Nicaragua to decide. We support what the Esquipulas Accord requires: free, open, political processes in which all groups can fairly and safely compete for political leadership. That means the playing field must be level; all, including the current government must respect the majority's decision in the end, and the losers must also retain the political rights to operate as a legal opposition and contest again for political authority in the next recurring election contest.

The burden of proof is on the Sandinista government to do something it has steadfastly refused to do from 1979 to 1989: to keep its promises to the Nicaraguan people to permit real democracy; keep its promises to its neighbors not to support subversion in Central America; and keep its obligation to this hemisphere not to permit the establishment of Soviet bloc bases in Central America. If those promises are kept we have an opportunity to start a new day in Central America; but if those promises continue to be violated, we hope and expect that other nations will find ways to join us to condemn those actions and reverse those processes.

The Soviet Union also has an obligation and an opportunity: to demonstrate that its proclaimed commitment to "new thinking" is more than a tactical response to temporary setbacks, but represents instead a new principled approach to foreign policy.

In other regional conflicts around the world the Soviet Union has adopted a welcome new approach that has helped resolve long-standing problems in constructive ways. In Central America what we have seen from the Soviet Union and Cuba can only be described as "old thinking."

In the last decade, the Soviet bloc has poured at least \$50 billion in aid into Cuba and Nicaragua. Soviet and Cuban aid is building in Nicaragua a military machine larger than all the armies of the other Central American nations combined and continues to finance violence, revolution, and destruction against the democratically elected government of El Salvador. Indeed, Soviet bloc military support for the Marxist guerrillas has increased since the United States ended military support for the Nicaraguan Resistance and Soviet military aid to the government of Nicaragua continues at levels wholly uncalled for by any legitimate defensive needs. The continuation of these levels of Soviet bloc aid into Central America raises serious questions about Soviet attitudes and intentions towards the United States.

The Soviet Union has no legitimate security interest in Central America; and the United States has many. We reject any doctrine of equivalence of interest in this region as a basis for negotiations. Instead, the Soviet Union and Cuba have an obligation to the leaders of Central America to stop violating the provisions of the Esquipulas Accord which the Soviet Union and Cuba both pledged to uphold. The time to begin is now.

In signing the Esquipulas Accord, President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica said: "Without democracy, there can be no peace in Central America." He is right. But with democracy and peace in Central America can come new hope for economic development in which all of the people of the region can share. One can look at the terrible violence ravaging Central America and despair, but I have a different vision of its future.

I can see a democratic Central America in which all of the nations of the region live in peace with each other; where the citizens of the region are safe from the violence of the state or from revolutionary guerrillas; where resources now devoted to military defense could be channeled to build hospitals, homes, and schools. That is not a dream if all the people and nations of the Americas will it to be true. I hope the Esquipulas Accord and perhaps, also, the Bipartisan Accord, will someday be seen as the first step toward its fulfillment.

#

Central America Speech

one voice...

When I took the oath of this office ten weeks ago, I reached out -- to the people, and to the Congress -- to join me in rebuilding a bipartisan foreign policy based on trust and common purpose. I am pleased, and proud, that the new breeze of cooperation has brought us a great achievement -- the Bipartisan Accord on Central America.

That Accord permits continued humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance while we redouble our efforts for a democratic, diplomatic solution. It is a great tribute to political statesmanship by both branches of our government; it's the kind of problem-solving -- and leadership -- that the American people expect from us. I intend to proceed in that same spirit of cooperation, in full partnership with Congress.

But every achievement is also a beginning: The Accord strengthens our hand as we face the main issue now in Central America -- democracy and freedom for the people of Nicaragua, and all of Central America, a region vital to our security.

✓ Let there be no mistake about what the urgent problem in Central America is: It's Nicaragua's effort to consolidate its tyranny at home and destabilize its neighbors. In signing the Esquipulas

It's time to make good on democracy

Sandinistas gave their pledge 10 yrs. ago

Accord a year and a half ago, President Arias of Costa Rica said: "Without democracy, there can be no peace in Central America." He's right. All of Nicaragua's neighbors enjoy democratically elected governments; Nicaragua is the one, glaring, ominous exception.

Since Congress last year ended our military support for the Nicaraguan Resistance, the dangers in the region have grown. The Communist war against El Salvador has intensified -- even though the brave Salvadoran people have once again shown, by turning out to vote in the face of guerrilla violence, how deeply they cherish democracy. And the fate of democracy inside Nicaragua -- the fate of the Church, of a free press, of free political parties and labor unions -- now hangs in the balance.

Thus it was crucial that Congress and the President join together to make clear to the Sandinistas and their patrons [that there are limits.]

First of all, there can be no doubt of this Nation's reaction to any attempt by Nicaragua to establish a Soviet or Soviet-bloc military base, or to import advanced combat aircraft. And the export of violent revolution must stop: This means an end to Nicaraguan support -- which is continuing -- for insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala and terrorism in Honduras.

Second, the Bipartisan Accord is aimed at the goal of genuinely free national elections in Nicaragua in February of next year, as now scheduled. The whole world knows what a free election means: It means not only a secret ballot on election day; it means the freedom to organize, to campaign, to hold rallies, to use the media, to take public opinion polls. It means fair competition on a level playing field. It means -- as the opposition parties have now demanded -- major changes in oppressive laws on elections, media freedom, and other basic rights.

update?

A truly free election campaign means, for example, full, equal and non-discriminatory access to the media for all political parties, and the right of private citizens to operate a television station. It means the absence of intimidation, either from the politicized Sandinista military or police or from the neighborhood block committees that control people's ration cards. It means an end to the Sandinista habit of arresting or bullying opposition political leaders. It means full restoration of habeas corpus and the release, not just of former Somocista soldiers but of the thousands of ^{the} remaining political prisoners. It means a genuine dialogue between the Sandinistas and the opposition -- including the Resistance -- on all these issues of fair procedure and genuine reform. It means international monitoring of the electoral process -- and not just by those observers whom the Sandinistas might invite.

*jointly under
the
Sandinista
rule.*

The world's media should shine the spotlight on Nicaragua -- starting now -- and hold them to the standards of real democracy. Democracy means pluralism. It means economic rights as well as political rights, including the right to strike. It means recurring contested elections, with the losers -- even if they are the incumbent government -- bowing to the will of the majority.

Third, the United States pledges its commitment to democracy and progress in all of the region. I call upon Congress to expand its aid to the Central American democracies, including both development and security assistance. These democracies have proven their courage and their dynamism. Their diplomatic efforts for peace are justly applauded by the world. They deserve our help, and that of all the industrial democracies.

Fourth, the Soviet Union should understand that we hold it accountable for the consequences of its intervention in this hemisphere. As the Bipartisan Accord states, continued Soviet aid and support of violence and subversion in Central America is in direct violation of the Esquipulas Agreement. It's not just a matter of eliminating arms supplies, which is long overdue. It's a question of a Nicaraguan war machine that is already grossly out of proportion to any defensive needs. It's a question of Soviet responsibility to help ensure a democratic outcome of the

See Group...

*None to combat
in part to
7500 m. per year.*

(?)

*80,000 new
in arms?*

political process now underway in Nicaragua, as well as an end to Nicaraguan subversion.

Fifth, Cuba, too, should understand its responsibility to halt its aid to tyranny and subversion. We welcome Cuba's constructive role in the Angola/Namibia accords, but our broader relations with Cuba will depend on a change -- of which we yet see no sign -- in its totalitarian policies closer to home.

But today -- I want to emphasize -- is really a moment of hope. These problems go to the heart of regional security, but there is a precious opportunity here for a political solution. It may be the last opportunity.

A democratic outcome in Nicaragua will mean true peace in the region. It will mean a major breakthrough in U.S.-Soviet relations, and solid evidence of positive change in Soviet foreign policy. Economic relations in the region, and with us, will flourish. It will be a triumph of bipartisan collaboration in our own government. It will give hope to the world.

If this political experiment fails, it will be a tragic setback -- and a dangerous one. The consolidation of Sandinista repression is not peace; it is a crisis waiting to happen.

Conel.

The long-suffering peoples of Central America deserve better than that. They deserve democracy -- that vital political freedom that ensures human rights and the rule of law, the freedom that is the precondition of economic advance and social progress. We see a trend of democracy around the world, and -- most dramatically of all -- in this hemisphere. We in the United States have a special responsibility, which we dare not fritter away. The Bipartisan Accord ^{is a sign that we mean to} ~~shows us meeting that~~ responsibility. C.J.

In close cooperation with Congress, and with the support of my fellow citizens, I pledge an all-out effort, with all the energy and determination at my command: Together, we can help bring true peace, with freedom and security, to Central America.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 24, 1989

Bipartisan Accord on Central America

The Executive and the Congress are united today in support of democracy, peace, and security in Central America. The United States supports the peace and democratization process and the goals of the Central American Presidents embodied in the Esquipulas Accord. The United States is committed to working in good faith with the democratic leaders of Central America and Latin America to translate the bright promises of Esquipulas II into concrete realities on the ground.

With regard to Nicaragua, the United States is united in its goals: democratization; an end to subversion and destabilization of its neighbors; an end to Soviet bloc military ties that threaten U.S. and regional security. Today the Executive and the Congress are united on a policy to achieve those goals.

To be successful the Central American peace process cannot be based on promises alone. It must be based on credible standards of compliance, strict timetables for enforcement, and effective on-going means to verify both the democratic and security requirements of those agreements. We support the use of incentives and disincentives to achieve U.S. policy objectives.

We also endorse an open, consultative process with bipartisanship as the watchword for the development and success of a unified policy towards Central America. The Congress recognizes the need for consistency and continuity in policy and the responsibility of the Executive to administer and carry out that policy, the programs based upon it, and to conduct American diplomacy in the region. The Executive will consult regularly and report to the Congress on progress in meeting the goals of the peace and democratization process, including the use of assistance as outlined in this Accord.

Under Esquipulas II and the El Salvador Accord, insurgent forces are supposed to voluntarily reintegrate into their homeland under safe, democratic conditions. The United States shall encourage the Government of Nicaragua and the Nicaraguan Resistance to continue the cessation of hostilities currently in effect.

To implement our purposes, the Executive will propose and the bipartisan leadership of the Congress will act promptly after the Easter Recess to extend humanitarian assistance at current levels to the Resistance through February 28, 1990, noting that the Government of Nicaragua has agreed to hold new elections under international supervision just prior to that date. Those funds shall also be available to support voluntary reintegration or voluntary regional relocation by the Nicaraguan Resistance. Such voluntary reintegration or

more

voluntary regional relocation assistance shall be provided in a manner supportive of the goals of the Central American nations, as expressed in the Esquipulas II agreement and the El Salvador Accord, including the goal of democratization within Nicaragua, and the reintegration plan to be developed pursuant to those accords.

We believe that democratization should continue throughout Central America in those nations in which it is not yet complete with progress towards strengthening of civilian leadership, the defense of human rights, the rule of law and functioning judicial systems, and consolidation of free, open, safe, political processes in which all groups and individuals can fairly compete for political leadership. We believe that democracy and peace in Central America can create the conditions for economic integration and development that can benefit all the people of the region and pledge ourselves to examine new ideas to further those worthy goals.

While the Soviet Union and Cuba both publicly endorsed the Esquipulas Agreement, their continued aid and support of violence and subversion in Central America is in direct violation of that regional agreement. The United States believes that President Gorbachev's impending visit to Cuba represents an important opportunity for both the Soviet Union and Cuba to end all aid that supports subversion and destabilization in Central America as President Arias has requested and as the Central American peace process demands.

The United States Government retains ultimate responsibility to define its national interests and foreign policy, and nothing in this Accord shall be interpreted to infringe on that responsibility. The United States need not spell out in advance the nature or type of action that would be undertaken in response to threats to U.S. national security interests. Rather it should be sufficient to simply make clear that such threats will be met by any appropriate Constitutional means. The spirit of trust, bipartisanship, and common purpose expressed in this Accord between the Executive and the Congress shall continue to be the foundation for its full implementation and the achievement of democracy, security, and peace in Central America.

George Bush
President of the United States

James C. Wright, Jr.
Speaker of the House

Robert Dole
Senate Republican Leader

George J. Mitchell
Senate Majority Leader

Robert H. Michel
House Republican Leader

Thomas S. Foley
House Majority Leader

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 24, 1989.

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