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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13691
Folder ID Number: 13691-014

Folder Title:
[Speeches Relating to Costa Rica] 10/27/89 [OA 6270]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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Bob
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Patent

WEST NILE VIRUS
1953

Embassy San Jose - Key Personnel

Embassy (506) 20-39-39 Marine Guard x2280

Ambassador	Deane R. Hinton	x 2240	x 2473
DCM	Todd Stewart	x 2233	x 2467
USIS PAO	Louise Crane	x 2210	x 2464
POL Counselor	John Hamilton	x 2254	28-30-06
ECON Counselor	John Dawson	x 2383	32-31-67
USAID Director	Carl Leonard	x 3437	28-28-66
Admin. Counselor	Robert Graninger	x 2313	x 2475
GSO	Julio Perez	x 2323	28-41-05
Security Officer	Richard Watts	x 2317	x 2460
Comm. Officer	Gilbert Harcum	x 2329	28-54-45
Embassy Doctor	Edgar Jimenez	x 2245	28-50-66
Control Officer	Mason Green		

Room Assignments - Holiday Inn Hotel

Arrival: 10/2 Departure 10/3

(506) 33-72-33

John G. Keller, Jr	901	Larry Chandler	1209
Gary E. Fendler	905	John McSweeney	1210
Peggy Hazelrigg	917	Ellis Kitchen	1211
Doug Cunningham	902	Michael Duffy	1212
Isaiah Mapp	903	Steven Alhart	1214
Paul A. Hackenberry	904	Michael Pontecorvo	1215
Alex Echo	908	Sam Brooks	1216
LtC Bob Young	910	Cindy Hutter-Jones	1403
LtC Chris Adams	911	Jack Kelly	1404
William Sittman	912	Frank Governale	1408
Maj. Sean Byrne	914	Wendy Walker	1409
Maj. Steve Riewerts	915	Ron Hacker	1410
Maj. Brian Davis	916	Phil Alongi	1411
Bob Simon	1202	Bill Petrus	1412
Jeannie Bull	1203	James Farley	1414
Chris Liebengood	1204	Larry Downing	1415
Karen Groomes	1208	Julia Malone	1416
		Ruben Robles	1201

CONTROL ROOM.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DRAFT ARRIVAL STATEMENT

I have come to honor a nation, Costa Rica, a leader, (and also my good friend) President Oscar Arias, and an idea, democracy. On behalf of the people of the United States I congratulate the people of Costa Rica on the 100th anniversary of your constitutional democracy.

The Costa Rican model is an example and an inspiration to Central America and to this entire hemisphere: a nation in which the people rule through the ballot box--not commandantes or colonels; a nation whose economy has been freed from the shackles of the state and whose people are sharing in the fruits of expanding growth; a nation that lives in peace with its neighbors because it threatens none with aggression or subversion.

One hundred years ago, the constitutional democracy which we honor here today was the exception in the Americas; today it

is the rule. But I believe we can do more. I believe we can create here in the Americas the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. I believe as well that the Americas can become the model for the rest of the planet for a true partnership between the developed and developing world where trade is free and prosperity is shared and the benefits of technology are harnessed for all. And I believe that here in this hemisphere we can and will unite to confront and defeat the new slayers of the democratic dream, the narco-traffickers who poison our children, murder elected officials, and wage war on civil society.

These are among the ideas I plan to share in dialogue here in Costa Rica. I believe that the democratic leaders of the Americas are reaching out to my Administration offering a new partnership of mutual respect and mutual responsibility. I am here in Costa Rica to make it clear to the democratic leaders of this hemisphere that I am reaching back to them.

ARRIVAL STATEMENT IN COSTA RICA
INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT / FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1989

Bob

MR. PRESIDENT:

IT IS A PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE HERE THIS MORNING,
AND TO GREET ALL THAT ARE HERE TO CELEBRATE DEMOCRACY
IN COSTA RICA.

GATHERED BEFORE US IS ONE OF THE WONDERFUL
TRADITIONS OF THIS GREAT COUNTRY -- THE TRADITION OF
GREETING FOREIGN VISITORS NOT WITH THE GUNS OF MILITARY
SALUTES, BUT WITH THE CHEERS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

- 2 -

A FEW YEARS AGO, I WAS PRIVILEGED TO ATTEND THE
INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT ARIAS. THE STADIUM WHERE THE
CELEBRATION WAS HELD WAS FILLED TO CAPACITY. AND WHEN
OUR DELEGATION ENTERED BEHIND THE UNITED STATES FLAG,
THE COSTA RICAN PEOPLE ROSE TO THEIR FEET AND THE ARENA
ERUPTED INTO CHEERS. THEY WERE CHEERING FOR THE
FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, AND THEY WERE
CHEERING FOR DEMOCRACY.

AND YOUR WELCOME TODAY, AS ON THAT DAY, HAS ME DEEPLY MOVED, AND PROUD.


WE ARE BACK IN SAN JOSE TO HONOR A NATION, COSTA RICA -- A LEADER, PRESIDENT OSCAR ARIAS -- AND AN IDEA, DEMOCRACY.

ON BEHALF OF YOUR NEIGHBORS IN THE UNITED STATES, I CONGRATULATE THE PEOPLE OF COSTA RICA ON THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF YOUR DEMOCRACY.


THE COSTA RICAN MODEL IS AN EXAMPLE AND AN INSPIRATION TO CENTRAL AMERICA, TO THIS ENTIRE HEMISPHERE AND TO THE WORLD. A NATION IN WHICH THE PEOPLE RULE THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX -- NOT COMMANDANTES OR COLONELS. A NATION WHOSE ECONOMY IS BEING FREED FROM THE SHACKLES OF THE STATE, AND WHOSE PEOPLE ARE SHARING IN THE FRUITS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH. A NATION THAT LIVES IN PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS BECAUSE IT THREATENS NONE WITH AGGRESSION OR SUBVERSION.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY WHICH WE HONOR TODAY WAS THE EXCEPTION IN THE AMERICAS. TODAY, IT IS THE RULE. AND TODAY THE NATIONS STILL OPPRESSED BY WHAT JOHN F. KENNEDY, SPEAKING HERE IN SAN JOSE, CALLED "THE LAST VESTIGES OF TYRANNY," CAN BE COUNTED ON ONE HAND.

BUT I BELIEVE WE CAN DO MORE. I BELIEVE WE MUST DO MORE. I BELIEVE WE CAN CREATE HERE IN THE AMERICAS THE WORLD'S FIRST COMPLETELY DEMOCRATIC HEMISPHERE.



I BELIEVE AS WELL THAT THE AMERICAS CAN BECOME THE MODEL FOR THE REST OF THE WORLD FOR A TRUE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD; WHERE TRADE IS FREE, PROSPERITY IS SHARED, AND THE BENEFITS OF TECHNOLOGY ARE HARNESSSED FOR ALL.



AND I BELIEVE THAT HERE IN THE AMERICAS WE CAN AND WILL UNITE TO CONFRONT AND DEFEAT THE NEW SLAYERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC DREAM -- THE NARCO-TRAFFICKERS WHO POISON OUR CHILDREN, MURDER ELECTED OFFICIALS, AND WAGE WAR ON CIVIL SOCIETY.

THESE ARE AMONG THE IDEAS I PLAN TO SHARE IN DIALOGUE HERE IN COSTA RICA.

I BELIEVE THAT THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS OF THE AMERICAS ARE REACHING OUT TO THE UNITED STATES OFFERING A NEW PARTNERSHIP OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY. I AM HERE IN SAN JOSE TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS OF THIS HEMISPHERE THAT WE EMBRACE THIS NEW PARTNERSHIP.

IT IS AN OLD AND VALUED TRADITION. ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO THIS MONTH, ON A BRISK OCTOBER MORNING IN WASHINGTON, 27 DELEGATES FROM THROUGHOUT THE AMERICAS HUDDLED IN OVERCOATS JUST A FEW BLOCKS FROM THE WHITE HOUSE. LIKE OTHER EXPLORERS BEFORE THEM, THEY WERE ABOUT TO EMBARK ON A JOURNEY OF DISCOVERY, AN ODYSSEY BY TRAIN THAT WOULD TAKE THEM 6,000 MILES ACROSS THE UNITED STATES.

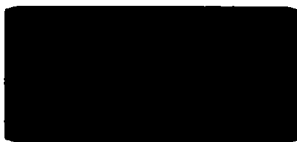
IT WAS THE FIRST INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE, AN EVENT AND AN IDEA THAT WAS EVENTUALLY TO FLOWER INTO THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES. BUT THE CONFERENCE OF 1889-1890 WAS DIFFERENT FROM ITS PREDECESSORS BECAUSE IT WAS NOT CONVENED FOR DEFENSE AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY, OR THE SETTLEMENT OF A SPECIFIC PROBLEM. RATHER, THE AMERICAN NEIGHBORS GATHERED TO BRING THEIR COUNTRIES CLOSER TOGETHER, AND TO ARRIVE AT BETTER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.



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**THAT JOURNEY OF FRIENDSHIP AND DISCOVERY CONTINUES
TODAY IN SAN JOSE. WE LOOK FORWARD TO OUR VISIT, TO
MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL TALKS, AND WE THANK YOU FOR THIS
WARM WELCOME TO COSTA RICA.**

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McNally/Simon
October 24, 1989
Draft Three (B:ARRIVAL.CR)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT IN COSTA RICA
SAN JOSE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1989

[[ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS]]

It is a pleasure for me to be here this morning, and to greet all that are here to celebrate democracy in Costa Rica.

Gathered before us is one of the wonderful traditions of this great country -- the tradition of greeting foreign visitors not with the guns of military salutes, but with the cheers of school children.

A few years ago, I was privileged to attend the inauguration of President Arias. The stadium where the celebration was held was filled to capacity. And when our delegation entered behind the United States flag, the Costa Rican people rose to their feet and the arena erupted into cheers. They were cheering for the friendship between our countries, and they were cheering for democracy.

And your welcome today, as on that day, has me deeply moved, and proud.

We are back in San Jose to honor a nation, Costa Rica -- a leader, President Oscar Arias -- and an idea, democracy.

On behalf of your neighbors in the United States, I congratulate the people of Costa Rica on the 100th anniversary of your democracy.

The Costa Rican model is an example and an inspiration to Central America and to this entire hemisphere. A nation in which the people rule through the ballot box -- not commandantes or colonels. A nation whose economy is being freed from the shackles of the state, and whose people are sharing in the fruits of expanding growth. A nation that lives in peace with its neighbors because it threatens none with aggression or subversion.

One hundred years ago, the constitutional democracy which we honor today was the exception in the Americas. Today, it is the rule. And today the nations still oppressed by what John F. Kennedy, speaking here in San Jose, called "the last vestiges of tyranny," can be counted on one hand.

3-18-62
speech
p. 265

But I believe we can do more. I believe we must do more. I believe we can create here in the Americas the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

I believe as well that the Americas can become the model for the rest of the planet for a true partnership between the developed and the developing world, where trade is free, prosperity is shared, and the benefits of technology are harnessed for all.

And I believe that here in the Americas we can and will unite to confront and defeat the new slayers of the democratic dream -- the narco-traffickers who poison our children, murder elected officials, and wage war on civil society.

These are among the ideas I plan to share in dialogue here in Costa Rica. I believe that the democratic leaders of the Americas are reaching out to my Administration offering a new partnership of mutual respect and mutual responsibility. I am here in San Jose to make it clear to the democratic leaders of this hemisphere that I am reaching back to them.

It is an old and valued tradition. One hundred years ago this month, on a brisk October morning in Washington, 27 delegates from throughout the Americas huddled in greatcoats just a few blocks from the White House. Like Columbus before them, they were about to embark on a journey of discovery, an odyssey by train that would take them 6,000 miles across the United States.

It was the first Inter-American Conference, an event and an idea that was eventually to flower into the Organization of American States. But the Conference of 1889-1890 was different from its predecessors because it was not convened for defense against a common enemy, or the settlement of a specific problem. Rather, the American neighbors gathered to bring their countries closer together, and to arrive at better mutual understanding.

That journey of friendship and discovery continues today in San Jose. We look forward to our visit, to mutually beneficial talks, and we thank you for this warm welcome to Costa Rica.

#

McNally/Simon
October 20, 1989
Draft Two (B:ARRIVAL.CR)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT IN COSTA RICA
SAN JOSE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1989

[[ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS]]

It is a pleasure for me to be here this morning, and to greet all that are here to celebrate democracy in Costa Rica.

Gathered before us is one of the wonderful traditions of this great country -- the tradition of greeting foreign visitors not with the guns of military salutes, but with the cheers of schoolchildren.

A few years ago I was privileged to attend the inauguration of President Arias. In the stadium where the celebration was held -- when the Nicaraguan flag was marched into the arena -- the crowd reacted with whistles and catcalls. And we felt a certain apprehension about how the crowd might respond when we walked in.

But when the U.S. delegation entered behind the Stars and Stripes, the Costa Rican people rose to their feet and the arena erupted into cheers. They were cheering for the friendship between our countries, and they were cheering for democracy.

And your welcome today, as on that day, has me deeply moved, and proud.

We are back in San Jose to honor a nation, Costa Rica -- a leader, President Oscar Arias -- and an idea, democracy.

On behalf of your neighbors in the United States, I congratulate the people of Costa Rica on the 100th anniversary of your constitutional democracy.

The Costa Rican model is an example and an inspiration to Central America and to this entire hemisphere. A nation in which the people rule through the ballot box -- not commandantes or colonels. A nation whose economy has been freed from the shackles of the state, and whose people are sharing in the fruits of expanding growth. A nation that lives in peace with its neighbors because it threatens none with aggression or subversion.

One hundred years ago, the constitutional democracy which we honor today was the exception in the Americas. Today, it is the rule. And today the nations still oppressed by what John F. Kennedy, speaking here in San Jose, called "the last vestiges of tyranny," can be counted on one hand.

But I believe we can do more. I believe we must do more. I believe we can create here in the Americas the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

I believe as well that the Americas can become the model for the rest of the planet for a true partnership between the developed and the developing world, where trade is free, prosperity is shared, and the benefits of technology are harnessed for all.

And I believe that here in the Americas we can and will unite to confront and defeat the new slayers of the democratic

dream -- the narco-traffickers who poison our children, murder elected officials, and wage war on civil society.

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It was the first Inter-American Conference, an event and an idea that was eventually to flower into the Organization of American States. ^{But} ~~And~~ the Conference of 1889-1890 was different from its predecessors because it was not convened for defense against a common enemy, or the settlement of a specific problem. Rather, the American neighbors gathered to bring their countries closer together, and to arrive at better mutual understanding.

That journey of friendship and discovery continues today in San Jose. We look forward to our visit, to mutually beneficial talks, and we thank you for this warm welcome to Costa Rica.

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McNally/Simon
October 19, 1989
Draft One (B:ARRIVAL.CR)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT IN COSTA RICA
SAN JOSE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1989

[[ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS]]

It is a pleasure for me to be here this morning, and to greet all that have gathered to celebrate in Costa Rica.

I have come to honor a nation, Costa Rica -- a leader, President Oscar Arias -- and an idea, democracy.

On behalf of your neighbors in the United States, I congratulate the people of Costa Rica on the 100th anniversary of your constitutional democracy.

The Costa Rican model is an example and an inspiration to Central America and to this entire hemisphere. A nation in which the people rule through the ballot box -- not commandantes or ^{generals} colonels. A nation whose economy has been freed from the shackles of the state, and whose people are sharing in the fruits of expanding growth. A nation that lives in peace with its neighbors because it threatens none with aggression or subversion.

One hundred years ago, the constitutional democracy which we honor today was the exception in the Americas. Today it is the rule.

But I believe we can do more. I believe we can create here in the Americas the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. I believe as well that the Americas can become the

model for the rest of the planet for a true partnership between the developed and the developing world, where trade is free, prosperity is shared, and the benefits of technology are harnessed for all.

And I believe that here in the Americas we can and will unite to confront and defeat the new slayers of the democratic dream -- the narco-traffickers who poison our children, murder elected officials, and wage war on civil society.

These are among the ideas I plan to share in dialogue here in Costa Rica. I believe that the democratic leaders of the Americas are reaching out to my Administration offering a new partnership of mutual respect and mutual responsibility. I am here in San Jose to make it clear to the democratic leaders of this hemisphere that I am reaching back to them.

Thank you for your warm welcome. We look forward to our visit and to mutually beneficial talks. Thank you.

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**ANDREWS A.F.B. DEPARTURE STATEMENT
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1989 / 6:20 A.M.**

THIS MORNING WE ARE TRAVELING TO SAN JOSE, AT THE INVITATION OF PRESIDENT ARIAS, TO CELEBRATE A CENTURY OF DEMOCRACY IN THE REPUBLIC OF COSTA RICA. AS WITH OUR TRIP IN JULY, WHEN WE TRAVELED TO PARIS TO COMMEMORATE THEIR BICENTENNIAL, WE WILL CARRY WITH US THE WARM CONGRATULATIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO A NATION THAT HAS BEEN BOTH A GOOD FRIEND, A GOOD NEIGHBOR, AND A PILLAR OF DEMOCRACY.

- 2 -

THREE YEARS FROM NOW, WE WILL CELEBRATE THE 500TH ANNIVERSARY OF COLUMBUS'S FIRST GREAT VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY. EIGHT YEARS AFTER THAT, THE BEGINNING OF A NEW CENTURY.

AS AS WE APPROACH THESE LANDMARKS, THE PEOPLE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE HAVE STRONGLY AFFIRMED THEIR DEMOCRATIC IDEALS. IN NATION AFTER NATION, COURAGEOUS PEOPLE VOTED NEW LEADERS INTO OFFICE AND MARKED THE END OF AUTOCRATIC RULE.

TODAY, MANY WHO BLAZED THE PATH TO DEMOCRACY ARE TRANSFERRING THE PEOPLE'S MANDATE TO ELECTED SUCCESSORS. COSTA RICA IS NO LONGER ONE OF A FEW LONELY DEMOCRACIES. INDEED, TODAY THERE ARE ONLY A FEW LONELY HOLDOUTS AGAINST THE SWEEP OF DEMOCRACY THROUGH THE HEMISPHERE.

I BELIEVE HISTORY WILL SHOW THAT THIS HEMISPHERE'S DEMOCRATIC RESURGENCE HELPED SET THE STAGE FOR TODAY'S ELECTRIFYING CHANGES IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD.

WHEN PEOPLE REPLACE DICTATORSHIP WITH POPULAR RULE ACROSS AN ENTIRE CONTINENT -- THE WORLD TAKES NOTICE. THE NEWS IS IRREPRESSIBLE AND INSPIRING FOR THOSE WITH DEMOCRATIC DREAMS OF THEIR OWN.

HERE IN THE AMERICAS, WE HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CREATE THE WORLD'S FIRST COMPLETELY DEMOCRATIC HEMISPHERE, WHERE FREE MARKETS AND THE MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS CAN PROSPER HAND IN HAND.

- 5 -

**AND SO WE JOURNEY TODAY TO ADVANCE THIS NEW WORLD
OF FREEDOM, AND TO SALUTE THE TRADITIONS OF A NATION
AND A PEOPLE THAT, IN MANY WAYS, REPRESENTS THE MODEL
FOR OUR ENTIRE HEMISPHERE.**

THANK YOU. AND I WISH YOU ALL A PLEASANT WEEKEND.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 26, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*
FROM: EDWARD McNALLY *EM*
SUBJECT: DEPARTURE STATEMENT AT ANDREWS A.F.B.

I. SUMMARY

Attached for your consideration and review are draft remarks for Friday morning's departure statement at Andrews Air Force Base.

II. DISCUSSION

At 6:20 a.m. (i.e., in darkness) on Friday, October 27, 1989, you are scheduled to depart from Andrews Air Force Base (enroute to San Jose, Costa Rica) and to make a brief departure statement to the press.

The attached remarks emphasize that the primary purpose of the visit is to participate in Costa Rica's democratic centennial. The remarks also emphasize the theme of this visit -- the historic opportunity to create the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

McNally/Simon
October 25, 1989
Draft Three (B:ANDREWS.DEP)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ANDREWS A.F.B. DEPARTURE STATEMENT
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1989, 6:20 A.M.

Let me say, first of all, that I appreciate the early hour, and I appreciate the White House Photo Dogs and all who got up and came out all this way with your cameras. Good Morning America doesn't even come on air for a half hour.

This morning we are traveling to San Jose, at the invitation of President Arias, to celebrate a century of democracy in the republic of Costa Rica. As with our trip in July, when we traveled to Paris to commemorate the bicentennial of democratic beginnings in France, we will carry with us the warm congratulations of the American people to a nation that has been both a good friend, a good neighbor, and a pillar of democracy.

We will celebrate the 500th anniversary of Columbus's first great voyage of discovery three years from now. Eight years after that, the beginning of a new century.

As as we approach these landmarks, the people of the Western Hemisphere have strongly affirmed their democratic ideals. In nation after nation, courageous people voted new leaders into office and marked the end of autocratic rule. Today, many who blazed the path to democracy are transferring the people's mandate to elected successors. Costa Rica is no longer one of a few lonely democracies. Indeed, today there are only a few

lonely holdouts against the sweep of democracy through the hemisphere.

I believe history will show that this hemisphere's democratic resurgence helped set the stage for today's electrifying changes in the communist world. When people replace dictatorship with popular rule across an entire continent -- the world takes notice. The news is irrepressible and inspiring for those with democratic dreams of their own.

Here in the Americas, we have the opportunity to create the world's first completely democratic hemisphere, where free markets and the marketplace of ideas can prosper hand in hand.

And so we journey today to advance this new world of freedom, and to salute the traditions of a nation and a people that, in many ways, represents the model for our entire hemisphere.

Thank you. And I wish you all a pleasant weekend.

#

McNally/Simon
October 24, 1989
Draft Two (B:ANDREWS.DEP)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ANDREWS A.F.B. DEPARTURE STATEMENT
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1989, 6:45 A.M.

20

Let me say, first of all, that I appreciate the early hour, and I appreciate the White House Photo Dogs and all who got up and came out all this way with your cameras. Good Morning America doesn't even come on air for another ~~15 minutes.~~ *half hour.*

This morning we are traveling to San Jose, at the invitation of President Arias, to celebrate a century of democracy in the republic of Costa Rica. As with our trip in July, when we traveled to Paris to commemorate the bicentennial of democratic beginnings in France, we will carry with us the warm congratulations of the American people to a nation that has been both a good friend and a good neighbor.

And yes -- we did schedule this trip before we knew that tonight would mark Game Three of the World Series.

Three years from now, we will celebrate the 500th anniversary of Columbus's first great voyage of discovery. Eight years after that, the beginning of a new century.

As as we approach these landmarks, the people of the Western Hemisphere have strongly reasserted their democratic ideals. In nation after nation, courageous people voted new leaders into office and marked the end of autocratic rule. Today, many who blazed the path to democracy are transferring the people's

mandate to elected successors. Costa Rica is no longer one of a few lonely democracies.

I believe history will show that this hemisphere's democratic resurgence helped set the stage for today's electrifying changes in the communist world. When people replace dictatorship with popular rule across an entire continent -- the world takes notice. The news is irrepressible and inspiring for those with democratic dreams of their own.

Here in the Americas, we have the opportunity to create the world's first completely democratic hemisphere, where free markets and the marketplace of ideas can prosper hand in hand.

And so we journey today to advance this vision of cooperation, and to salute the traditions of a nation and a people that, in many ways, represents the model to which the entire hemisphere is turning.

Thank you. And I wish you all a pleasant weekend.

#

FOR BOB SIMON

Draft Statement of the President

Andrews AFB, October 27, 1989
Departing for the San Jose Summit

We are going to San Jose to join the people of Costa Rica as they celebrate one hundred years of constitutional democracy. With its free elections and open marketplace, Costa Rica in many ways represents the model to which the entire hemisphere is now turning.

I'm optimistic about the future of this hemisphere. The success of democracy in the last decade gives us a new strength and a new basis for cooperation as we face our common challenges.

In the Americas, we must cooperate to fight the scourge of drugs. We must speak with one voice when we defend the democratic rights of all the people in this hemisphere. And we must act on the truth that is transforming the world today -- that democracy and free markets go hand in hand, and depend on each other for their success.

I am confident that these challenges can be met by a mature partnership of democratic nations. And we can go beyond these issues: in the Americas, we have the opportunity to create the world's first completely democratic hemisphere, where people are free, and developed and developing nations cooperate as never before.

Our task in San Jose is to advance this vision of cooperation and begin to seize the opportunities that democracy has made possible.

Phil Peters

6477023

STAFFED FOR
THURS. AM

McNally/Simon
October 25, 1989
Draft two (B:EMBASSY.CR)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT IN COSTA RICA
SAN JOSE AIRPORT, COSTA RICA
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1989 12:45 p.m.

As we leave San Jose, I want to say a few words to our hosts. It was a pleasure to be here to celebrate a century of Costa Rican democracy, and to enjoy the warm friendship that has long been a hallmark of relations between our neighboring nations. We deeply appreciate the hospitality extended to us by President Arias and the Costa Rican people.

As we celebrated the democratic tradition in this great republic, we also celebrated the resurgence of democracy in this hemisphere. A decade of democratic renaissance has lifted the Americas, and helped generate the new breeze of freedom and change that is sweeping the world today.

Democracy is a continuing dream, a process that reinvents itself, and nurturing democratic growth depends on our ability to confront some common challenges. These challenges to democracy were the focus of the excellent discussions we shared over the past two days.

Our partnership has much to accomplish. The most widespread problem is drugs. America's drug lords are committing treason of the highest sort -- the ultimate intervention in the internal affairs of our nations -- a crime against democracy itself. And it's also a crime against nature -- an assault on our most vital and vulnerable national resource -- the youth of the Americas.

This is truly an international problem. A vast network links growers on the slopes of the Andes with users in the neighborhoods of North America. And not just North America: use is spreading throughout our region.

None of us can win this battle on our own. I am pleased that the proposed drug summit with the Presidents of the Andean nations will take place, and I look forward to doing serious business.

The denial of democracy to our neighbors in Panama and Nicaragua is also a matter of grave hemispheric concern.

The dream of the Americas -- "to offer to man a land of ^{liberty} ~~freedom~~" -- is enshrined in the Charter of the Organization of American States. Comandante Ortega, General Noriega, if you seek to know the future of your peoples, look around you, here in peaceful, democratic Costa Rica. It is clear to all that your people want democracy. And it is clear that the price of denying it means ever-increasing isolation for your two governments. Isolation from your own people -- and isolation from the world community. ✓

Our democratic transformation won't be complete until our citizens vote not just in elections, but in the marketplace. In the drive for development, the solutions truly lie within each of us. They depend on our ability to free our economies from excessive state control.

The stakes could not be higher. A glance at the world economy tells us that prosperity comes only to those who place

their trust in the energies and creativity of free men and free women in free markets.

1822
Others before me have cited the great vision of Bolivar, the father of the inter-American system. He said: "United in heart, in spirit and in aims, this Continent...must raise its eyes...to peer into the centuries which lie ahead. It can then contemplate with pride those future generations of men, happy and free, enjoying to the full the blessings that heaven bestows on this earth, and recalling in their hearts the protectors and liberators of our day."

America, the future is now. The "centuries which lie ahead" are within sight. And after a decade of historic democratic success, we stand at a crossroads. And we stand together.

Our challenges can be met and overcome. With the energy and confidence of a new generation of democratic leadership, we have it in our hands, in our lifetimes, to fulfill the ancient dream of freedom for all peoples. We can, we will, create the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

Thank you, Costa Rica, for your warm hospitality. Goodbye. Good luck. And Godspeed you all.

#

McNally/Simon
October 25, 1989
Draft One (B:EMBASSY.CR)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT IN COSTA RICA
SAN JOSE AIRPORT, COSTA RICA
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1989

As we leave San Jose, I want to say a few words to our hosts. It was a pleasure to be here to celebrate a century of Costa Rican democracy, and to enjoy the warm friendship that has long been a hallmark of relations between our neighboring nations. We deeply appreciate the hospitality extended to us by President Arias and the Costa Rican people.

As we celebrated the democratic tradition in this great republic, we also celebrated the resurgence of democracy in this hemisphere. A decade of democratic renaissance has lifted the Americas, and helped generate the new breeze of freedom and change that is sweeping the world today.

Democracy is a continuing dream, a process that reinvents itself, and nurturing democratic growth depends on our ability to confront some common challenges. These challenges to democracy were the focus of the excellent discussions we shared over the past two days.

Our partnership has much to accomplish. The most widespread problem is drugs. America's drug lords are committing treason of the highest sort -- the ultimate intervention in the internal affairs of our nations -- a crime against democracy itself. And it's also a crime against nature -- an assault on our most vital and vulnerable national resource -- the youth of the Americas.

This is truly an international problem. A vast network links growers on the slopes of the Andes with users in the neighborhoods of North America. And not just North America: use is spreading throughout our region.

None of us can win this battle on our own. I am pleased that the proposed drug summit with the Presidents of the Andean nations will take place, and I look forward to doing serious business.

The denial of democracy to our neighbors in Panama and Nicaragua is also a matter of grave hemispheric concern. The dream of the Americas -- "to offer to man a land of freedom" -- is enshrined in the Charter of the Organization of American States. It is clear to all that the people of these countries want democracy. And it is clear that the price of denying it means ever-increasing isolation for these two governments. Isolation from their own people -- and isolation from the world community.

Our democratic transformation won't be complete until our citizens vote not just in elections, but in the marketplace. In the drive for development, the solutions truly lie within each of us. They depend on our ability to free our economies from excessive state control.

The stakes could not be higher. A glance at the world economy tells us that prosperity comes only to those who place their trust in the energies and creativity of free men and free women in free markets.

Others before me have cited the great vision of Bolivar, the father of the inter-American system. He said: "United in heart, in spirit and in aims, this Continent...must raise its eyes...to peer into the centuries which lie ahead. It can then contemplate with pride those future generations of men, happy and free, enjoying to the full the blessings that heaven bestows on this earth, and recalling in their hearts the protectors and liberators of our day."

America, the future is now. The "centuries which lie ahead" are within sight. And after a decade of historic democratic success, we stand at a crossroads. And we stand together.

Our challenges can be met and overcome. With the energy and confidence of a new generation of democratic leadership, we have it in our hands, in our lifetimes, to fulfill the ancient dream of the pioneers on whose shoulders we stand. We can, we will, create the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

Thank you, Costa Rica, for your warm hospitality. Goodbye. Good luck. And Godspeed you all.

#

BOB

**AMERICAN COMMUNITY GREETING / AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE
SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA / SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1989**

- 0 IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE TO BE HERE IN SAN JOSE TO JOIN WITH YOU IN CELEBRATING THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF COSTA RICAN DEMOCRACY.**

- 0 WE WANT TO THANK AMBASSADOR HINTON FOR HIS HOSPITALITY ONCE AGAIN. IN MAY 1984, YOU WERE OUR HOST IN PAKISTAN ON A TRIP I WILL NEVER FORGET.**

- 2 -

**WE DIDN'T HAVE TIME TO PLAY TENNIS THEN, BUT I UNDERSTAND YOU'RE STILL SPOILING FOR A MATCH.
[[HINTON LOVES TENNIS.]]**

- 0 DEANE [[HINTON]] HAS SEEN AND DONE IT ALL -- SERVING AS AN AMERICAN ENVOY ON FOUR CONTINENTS IN THE LAST 15 YEARS ALONE. THAT'S ALMOST AS MUCH MOVING AS BARBARA AND I'VE DONE.**

- 0 I UNDERSTAND MANY OF YOU FROM THE EMBASSY HAVEN'T BEEN IN COSTA RICA MUCH LONGER THAN I HAVE -- SOME JUST A FEW WEEKS. [[TRUE]] AND WHAT'S THE FIRST THING YOU HAVE TO DO AFTER FINDING THE COFFEE MACHINE? COPE WITH A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT.
- 0 I KNOW WHAT THAT'S LIKE. WHILE IN CHINA, WE HAD TO HANDLE A VISIT FROM PRESIDENT FORD -- AND TWO FROM HENRY KISSINGER! AND LIVED TO TELL ABOUT IT.

- SO WE KNOW WHAT YOU'VE BEEN THROUGH. AND WE'RE GRATEFUL.
- 0 THE UNITED STATES HAS ENJOYED THE RICH FRUITS OF DEMOCRACY FOR MORE THAN 200 YEARS. THE COSTA RICANS NOW FOR A FULL CENTURY. DESPITE DIFFERENT CULTURAL TRADITIONS AND LANGUAGES, THIS HERITAGE IS SOMETHING OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE SHARED FOR A LONG TIME.

- 0 OUR COMMON DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS HAVE FOSTERED MANY EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, BETWEEN AMERICANS AND TICOS [[TEE-COS]], AND FOSTERED UNDERSTANDING ABOUT OUR TWO CULTURES. MANY COSTA RICANS HAVE SETTLED IN THE UNITED STATES, JUST AS YOU AND OTHER AMERICANS COME HERE, SOME TO REMAIN AND MAKE A LIFE IN THIS LOVELY COUNTRY.

- 0 IT CAN BE DIFFICULT SOMETIMES, BEING AWAY FROM AMERICA FOR LONG STRETCHES OF TIME. FORTUNATELY, THOUGH, HERE IN SAN JOSE, A LITTLE PIECE OF AMERICA IS NEVER MORE THAN A PHONE CALL AWAY -- FROM DOMINO'S OR PIZZA HUT. [[TRUE]]
- 0 THOMAS JEFFERSON ONCE REMARKED THAT DEMOCRACY IS A DELICATE ROSE -- IT NEEDS TO BE CAREFULLY TENDED AND WATERED, OR ELSE IT WILL SURELY WITHER.

IN COSTA RICA, THAT FLOWER HAS RECEIVED SUCH FINE ATTENTION THAT IT HAS FLOURISHED REMARKABLY. NEXT FEBRUARY, ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD HERE ONCE AGAIN -- PEACEFULLY, ORDERLY, WITHOUT THE THREAT OF BLOODSHED OR INTIMIDATION.

- 0 SUCH FREE EXPRESSIONS OF POPULAR WILL HAVE BECOME COMMONPLACE IN COSTA RICA, THEY HAVE BEEN HELD SO OFTEN. AND YET, WE ALL KNOW THAT IN OUR WORLD FREE ELECTIONS, LIKE JEFFERSON'S ROSES, ARE INDEED MARVELOUS THINGS.**

- 0 ALL OF YOU ARE DIPLOMATS OF DEMOCRACY. YOU ARE ALL IMPORTANT THREADS WHICH WEAVE TOGETHER COSTA RICA AND THE UNITED STATES.**

IF GENUINE FRIENDSHIP, RESPECT AND A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION PREVAIL AMONG AMERICANS AND TICOS HERE, THAT MAKES MY JOB MUCH EASIER.

0 SO, BEFORE LEAVING, LET ME THANK YOU ALL FOR COMING OUT. THESE TWO DAYS IN COSTA RICA HAVE BEEN A WONDERFUL EXPERIENCE AND, MORE THAN THAT, I BELIEVE WE HAVE DONE SOME REAL GOOD.

THERE IS STILL MUCH TO DO. BUT WITH THE CONTINUED EFFORTS OF GOOD PEOPLE SUCH AS YOURSELVES, WE WILL SUCCEED. GOD BLESS YOU, AND MAY GOD BLESS COSTA RICA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#

McNally/Simon
October 24, 1989
Draft Four (B:COFFEE)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: FOLLOWING COFFEE WITH OPPOSITION LEADERS
SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1989, 9:00 A.M.

I have just met with (Violeta Chamorro, Guillermo Endara, and other) leaders of the political opposition in Nicaragua and Panama. Here in Costa Rica, saluting 100 years of democracy, these discussions serve as an especially fitting tribute to the spirit of the occasion -- and the spirit of the times.

These courageous opposition leaders left us with a stronger appreciation of the daily difficulties of the pro-democracy movements in these two countries. I conveyed to them the encouragement, and the admiration, of the American people.

It is ironic that the shining example of Latin American democracy in which we meet, lies between two nations whose rulers have so long and so harshly ignored the will of their own people.

From Cape Horn to the Bering Strait -- from Chile's promising new plebiscite to the Alaska-Soviet border, re-opened after 40 years -- a new breeze of freedom has swept the Americas with hope and opportunity. The world's first completely democratic hemisphere. But two nations have been left behind, shackled by failed ideology and failed leadership.

To the south, the outlaw Noriega regime must be replaced. This is not the judgment of Uncle Sam -- it is the judgment of the Panamanian people. And it is the judgment of history.

Today, Noriega may think his lead-pipe politics have won. But he has won nothing more than a hollow victory. Democracy

will triumph in Panama. It is a question of "when" -- not "if." By putting his own personal interests above those of the Panamanian people, Noriega will only continue to lose support internationally, inside the Panamanian Defense Forces, and among the growing number of courageous Panamanians who dare to resist his oppressive rule.

The United States will continue to work with the democracies in this hemisphere, and around the world, to support the struggle of the Panamanian people.

To the north, the Nicaraguan people have waited for democracy since they ended the Somoza dictatorship 10 years ago. Elections are planned for next February. But to date, it's clear that the Sandinistas are stacking the deck in their own favor.

The people of this hemisphere know the difference between real elections, and sham elections. And the people of Nicaragua know the kind of steps the ruling Sandinistas can take to show a real commitment to fair elections.

They have suffered long enough. If the Sandinistas don't allow fair debates and clean elections, they confirm the dictatorship long before the elections even take place. No real democracy is threatened by the voices of its people.

Today, every continent is being swept by the new breeze of political change. The world has watched in wonder as brave men and women have taken to the streets to claim their rights and to proclaim a faith in democracy. Some governments respond with reform. Some with repression. But there is no longer any doubt

which side history is on. The day of the despot, the day of the dictator, is over. The Nicaraguans and Panamanians with whom I have just met are brave and inspiring people. They stand in the vanguard of history. And they deserve the active support of all who support democracy in this hemisphere.

#

Bob

**TOASTING THE CENTENARY OF COSTA RICAN DEMOCRACY
OCTOBER 27, 1989**

PRESIDENT ARIAS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I WANT TO OFFER A FEW WORDS IN CELEBRATION OF ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF DEMOCRACY IN THE REPUBLIC OF COSTA RICA.

THIS IS A NATIONAL HOLIDAY FOR COSTA RICA, BUT IT IS A HISTORIC MILESTONE WE CELEBRATE ALL ACROSS THE AMERICAS. FOR TODAY REPRESENTS THE TRIUMPH OF A CENTURY OF COSTA RICAN WORK IN SERVICE OF THE VALUES THAT DEFINE THIS HEMISPHERE.

- 2 -

A CENTURY OF FREE VOTING IN FAIR ELECTIONS. A CENTURY OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. A CENTURY OF OPEN DEBATE IN THE PRESS. A CENTURY OF RESPECT FOR FREE MEN AND WOMEN EMPOWERED TO GOVERN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS.

THESE ARE THE VALUES AND PRACTICES THAT GIVE THE AMERICAS OUR OWN PLACE IN HISTORY: NATIONS FREED FROM COLONIAL POWER, INDIVIDUALS FREE TO BUILD SOCIETIES BASED ON EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

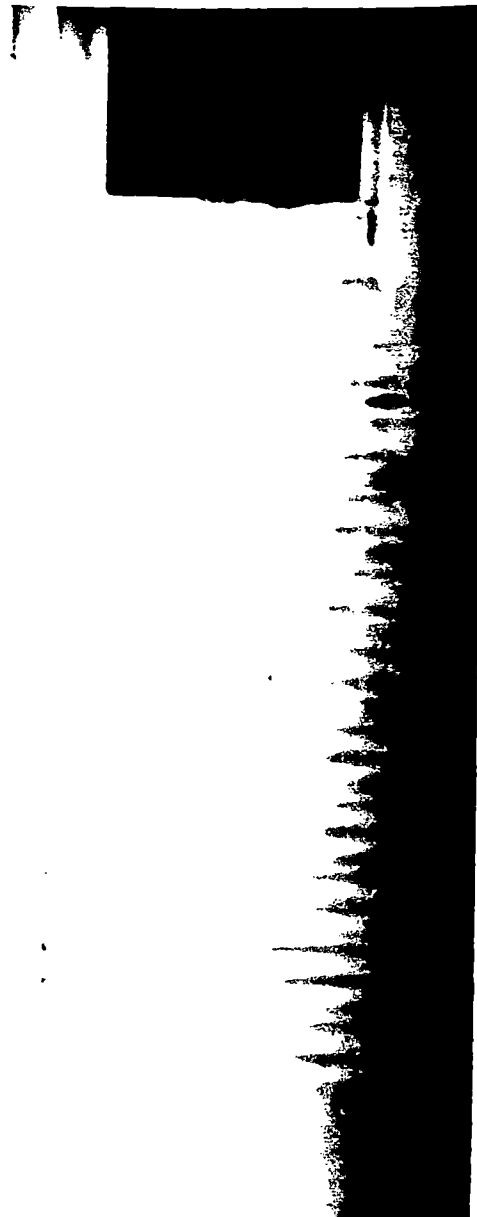
IN THE LAST DECADE, PEOPLE ACROSS THE HEMISPHERE HAVE STRONGLY REASSERTED DEMOCRATIC IDEALS. AND THEY HAVE SUCCEEDED -- IN NATION AFTER NATION, COURAGEOUS DEMOCRATS HAVE WON POPULAR MANDATES AND TAKEN OFFICE, MARKING THE END OF YEARS OR EVEN DECADES OF AUTOCRATIC RULE. TODAY, MANY WHO BLAZED THE DEMOCRATIC PATH ARE TRANSFERRING THE PEOPLE'S MANDATE TO ELECTED SUCCESSORS.

SO WE CELEBRATE TWO THINGS: COSTA RICAN DEMOCRACY AND THE MANY NEW DEMOCRACIES THAT HAVE JOINED IT.

AS WE CELEBRATE, LET'S ALSO REMEMBER OUR RESPONSIBILITIES TO WORK AND ACT IN SOLIDARITY AS A FAMILY OF DEMOCRACIES. WHEREVER DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN TRAMPLED, WHEREVER PEOPLE DO NOT ENJOY THE RIGHT TO ACT AND SPEAK AND REPLACE THEIR GOVERNMENT WITHOUT FEAR THROUGH ELECTIONS, WE NEED TO STAND UP FOR OUR COMMON VALUES.

SO LET'S RAISE A GLASS TO CELEBRATE THE DEMOCRATIC
VALUES THAT BIND US, AND COSTA RICA'S CENTURY OF
DEMOCRACY.

#



Bob

Department of State
Toasting the Centenary of Costa Rican Democracy
October 27, 1989

President Arias, ladies and gentlemen: I want to offer a few words in celebration of one hundred years of democracy in the Republic of Costa Rica.

This is a national holiday for Costa Rica, but it is a historic milestone we celebrate all across the Americas. For today represents the triumph of a century of Costa Rican work in service of the values that define this hemisphere. A century of free voting in fair elections. A century of respect for human rights. A century of open debate in the press. A century of respect for free men and women empowered to govern their own affairs.

These are the values and practices that give the Americas our own place in history: nations freed from colonial power, individuals free to build societies based on equality of opportunity.

In the last decade, people across the hemisphere have strongly reasserted democratic ideals. And they have succeeded - - in nation after nation, courageous democrats have won popular mandates and taken office, marking the end of years or even decades of autocratic rule. Today, many who blazed the democratic path are transferring the people's mandate to elected successors. So we celebrate two things: Costa Rican democracy and the many new democracies that have joined it.

As we celebrate, let's also remember our responsibilities to work and act in solidarity as a family of democracies. Wherever

democracy has been trampled, wherever people do not enjoy the right to act and speak and replace their government without fear through elections, we need to stand up for our common values.

So let's raise a glass to celebrate the democratic values that bind us, and Costa Rica's century of democracy.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

REVISED

October 24, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF
DAVID BATES
ANDREW CARD
JAMES CICCONI
DAVID DEMAREST
MARLIN FITZWATER
BOYDEN GRAY
FRED MCCLURE
BONNIE NEWMAN
ROGER PORTER
BRENT SCOWCROFT
SIG ROGICH
CHASE UNTERMAYER
SUSAN PORTER ROSE
ED ROGERS
JOE HAGIN
JIM WRAY
CHRISS WINSTON

BOBBIE KILBERG
SICHAN SIV
PATTY PRESOCK
LINDA CASEY
WILLIAM KRISTOL
TIMOTHY MCBRIDE
ROSE ZAMARIA
PAUL BATEMAN
DAVID VALDEZ
BILLY DALE
JAY ALLISON
JOHN HERRICK
LAURIE FIRESTONE
PEGGY SWIFT
JEAN LAMB
DEB ANDERSON
USSS/PPD OPS
WHCA AUDIO/VISUAL
WHCA OPERATIONS
MEDICAL UNIT
PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS

THROUGH: SIG ROGICH
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN G. KELLER, JR. JGK
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

SUBJECT: TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT TO SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA
OCTOBER 27 - 28, 1989

For your use and planning purposes, the attached is a preliminary outline schedule for the Trip of the President to San Jose, Costa Rica on October 27 - 28, 1989.

Please keep in mind that the following information has not been finally approved and is subject to change.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Revised 10/24/89 11:00 am

PRELIMINARY OUTLINE SCHEDULE OF

THE PRESIDENT

TO

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA

OCTOBER 27 - 28, 1989

REVISED

Thursday, October 26, 1989

OFFICIAL PARTY AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

6:00 pm - Baggage Call. Please place
8:00 pm unlocked baggage in West
Basement at this time.

Friday, October 27, 1989

OFFICIAL PARTY AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

4:00 am Baggage Call. Please place
all unlocked baggage in West
Basement at this time.

5:00 am Staff going directly to Andrews
AFB with baggage should arrive
Distinguished Visitors Lounge
for check-in.

5:30 am Guests and Staff not manifested
on Marine One depart West
Basement en route Andrews AFB.

6:00 am Staff going directly to Andrews
AFB without baggage should
arrive Distinguished Visitors
Lounge for check-in.

6:05 am Staff manifested on Marine One
proceed to South Lawn for
Boarding.

6:10 am MARINE ONE departs White House en route Andrews Air
Force Base.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

6:20 am MARINE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

* DEPARTURE STATEMENT
- Open Press

6:30 am AIR FORCE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base en
route San Jose, Costa Rica.

(Flying Time: 5 Hours)
(Time Change: Back 2 Hours)
(Interchange: Yes)

9:30 am AIR FORCE ONE arrives Juan Santamaria
(11:30 am International Airport, San Jose, Costa Rica.
E.D.T.)

* AIRPORT ARRIVAL CEREMONY
- Open Press
- Arrival Statement

9:45 am MOTORCADE departs Juan Santamaria Airport en route
Hotel Cariari Conference Center.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

9:55 am MOTORCADE arrives Hotel Cariari Conference Center.

* MEETING WITH PRESIDENT OSCAR ARIAS SANCHEZ
(10:30 am - 10:50 am)
- Photo Opportunity

- * HEMISPHERIC PRESIDENTIAL SUMMIT WELCOMING SESSION
(11:00 am - 12:30 pm)
- Pool Coverage
- * PRIVATE TIME
- * HEMISPHERIC SUMMIT LUNCHEON
(1:00 pm - 2:00 pm)
- Photo Opportunity
- * PRIVATE TIME
- * HEMISPHERIC SUMMIT WORKING SESSION
(3:00 pm - 6:00 pm)
- Closed Press
- * PRIVATE TIME
(6:05 pm - 8:25 pm)

8:30 pm MOTORCADE departs Hotel Cariari en route National Theatre.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

8:45 pm MOTORCADE arrives National Theatre.

- * HEMISPHERIC SUMMIT RECEPTION AND DINNER
- Pool Coverage

11:10 pm MOTORCADE departs National Theatre en route Hotel Cariari.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

11:25 pm MOTORCADE arrives Hotel Cariari.

RON

Saturday, October 28, 1989

8:10 am THE PRESIDENT departs Suite and proceeds to TBD Room.

- * COFFEE HOSTED BY COSTA RICAN POLITICAL PARTIES
(8:15 am - 8:50 am)
- Closed Press
- * PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT
(9:00 am - 9:20 am)
- Expanded Pool

10:10 am MOTORCADE departs Hotel Cariari en route National Museum.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

10:30 am MOTORCADE arrives National Museum.

- * NATIONAL MUSEUM TOUR
(10:30 am - 10:40 am)
- Closed Press
- * DEDICATION OF DEMOCRACY PLAZA
(10:45 am - 11:30 am)
- Open Press

11:35 am MOTORCADE departs National Museum en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

11:55 am MOTORCADE arrives Ambassador's Residence.

- * AMERICAN COMMUNITY GREETING
- Pool Coverage
- Brief Remarks

12:25 pm MOTORCADE departs Ambassador's Residence en route Juan Santamaria Airport.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

12:45 pm MOTORCADE arrives Juan Santamaria Airport.

- * AIRPORT DEPARTURE
- Open Press

1:00 pm AIR FORCE ONE departs San Jose, Costa Rica en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 4 Hours 40 Minutes)
(Time Change: Ahead 2 Hours)
(Interchange: None)

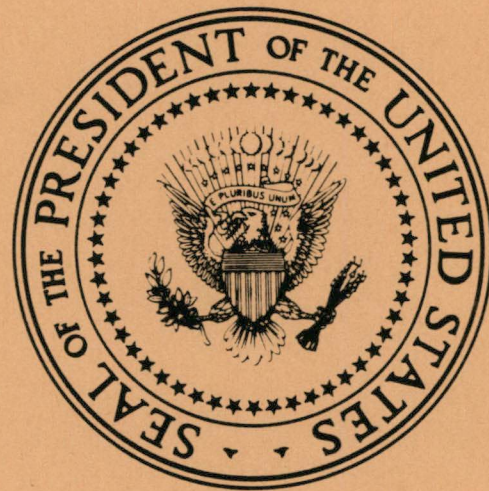
7:40 pm AIR FORCE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

7:45 pm MARINE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base en route White House.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

7:55 pm MARINE ONE arrives White House.

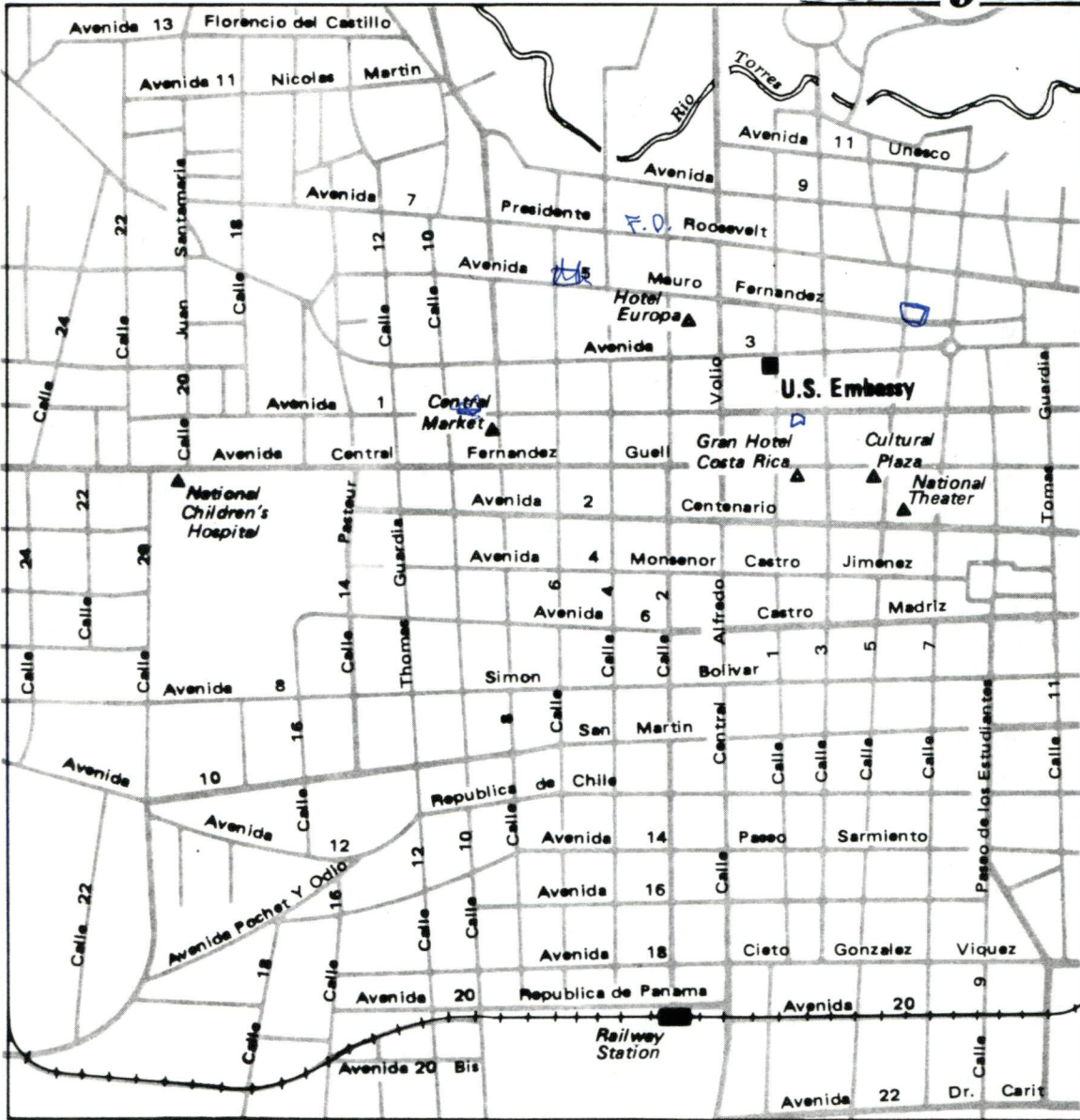
Presidential Pre-Advance to Costa Rica



October 2-3, 1989



San Jose



5375 1 84 STATE (GE)

Notes on Gifts and Customs

Gifts

As set forth in 22 CFR Part 3, the Foreign Gifts Act specifies that employees and members of their families may accept and retain a gift tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy from foreign governments or their representatives if it is of "minimal value," which is currently defined as a retail value in the United States, at the time of acceptance, of \$140 or less. However, an employee may accept a gift valued at over \$140 only if to refuse it "would likely cause offense or embarrassment or otherwise adversely affect the foreign relations of the United States," and even then such a gift is deemed to have been accepted on behalf of the United States and, upon acceptance, becomes the property of the United States. Any such gift must, within 60 days after acceptance, either be deposited for disposal with the recipient's employing agency, or, subject to the approval of the employing agency, deposited with that agency for official use. For Department of State employees, the depository is the Office of Protocol.

The Attorney General may bring a civil action in the U.S. District Court against any employee who knowingly has solicited or accepted a gift from a foreign government not consented to by the revised statute, or who has failed to deposit or report such a gift as the law requires. A penalty may be assessed in such a case in any amount not to exceed the retail value of the gift improperly solicited or received plus \$5,000.00.

Customs

Everyone will be expected to fill out a customs declaration form to be returned to the steward just prior to returning to a U.S. point of entry. You will need to note on the declaration when:

- The total fair retail value of articles acquired abroad exceeds \$400, or if acquired in American Samoa, Guam, or the U.S. Virgin Islands, \$800.
- More than 1 liter (33.8 fl. oz.) of alcoholic beverages, 200 cigarettes, or more than 100 cigars are included. Or if returning from American Samoa, Guam, or the U.S. Virgin Islands: more than 4 liters (135.2 fl. oz.) of alcoholic beverages, 100 cigars, and 1,000 cigarettes.
- Some of the items are not intended for your personal or household use, such as commercial samples, items for sale or use in your business, or articles you are bringing home for another person.
- Articles acquired in the U.S. Virgin Islands, American Samoa, or Guam are being sent to the United States.
- A customs duty or internal revenue tax is collectible on any article in your possession.

Note: "Courtesy of the Port" does not mean you do not have to fill out a declaration or that you will not have to pay customs duty. Your declarations will be reviewed by customs officials at the U.S. point of entry and you will be billed for any dutiable items purchased.

Prohibited and Restricted Articles

Some items must meet certain requirements, require a license or permit, or may be prohibited entry. Among these are:

- Absinthe
- Biological material
- Books protected by American copyright if unauthorized foreign reprints
- Candy, liquor-filled
- Copies of gold coins if not properly marked
- Electronic products subject to radiation emission standards
- Firearms & ammunition
- Food, drugs, and certain other items not approved by FDA
- Fruits, plants, vegetables & their products
- Hazardous articles (e.g., fireworks, dangerous toys, toxic or poisonous substances)
- Lottery tickets
- Meats, poultry & products (e.g., sausage, pate, canned items)
- Motor vehicles not conforming to safety and emission standards
- Narcotics & dangerous drugs including medicine containing same
- Objects of Central and South American pre-Columbian Indian cultures
- Obscene articles & publications
- Pets (e.g., dogs, birds, turtles, monkeys)
- Seditious or treasonable matter
- Trademarked items (e.g., certain cameras, watches, perfumes)
- Switchblade knives
- Wildlife (birds, fish, animals) & endangered and protected species (e.g., pheasants; furskin; feathers, eggs, or skins of wild birds; articles from reptile skins, ivory, and whalebone).

Time Conversion Table

<u>Washington, D.C. (DST)</u>	<u>San Jose (DST)</u>
0	-1
0600	0500
0700	0600
0800	0700
0900	0800
1000	0900
1100	1000
1200	1100
1300	1200
1400	1300
1500	1400
1600	1500
1700	1600
1800	1700
1900	1800
2000	1900
2100	2000
2200	2100
2300	2200
2400	2300
0100	2400
0200	0100
0300	0200
0400	0300
0500	0400

+ 1 day

COSTA RICA COLON CONVERSION TABLE AT C.81.2 = U.S. \$

(Colon = 100 centimos)

<u>COLON TO U.S. DOLLARS</u>		<u>U.S. DOLLARS TO COLON</u>	
<u>COLON</u>	<u>U.S. \$</u>	<u>U.S. \$</u>	<u>COLON</u>
10.00	0.12	0.10	8.12
20.00	0.25	0.25	20.30
30.00	0.37	0.50	40.60
50.00	0.62	0.75	60.90
81.20	1.00	1.00	81.20

100.00	1.23	10.00	812.00
500.00	6.16	20.00	1,624.00
1,000.00	12.32	50.00	4,060.00
5,000.00	61.58	100.00	8,120.00
10,000.00	123.15	200.00	16,240.00
20,000.00	246.31	300.00	24,360.00
30,000.00	369.46	400.00	32,480.00
40,000.00	492.61	500.00	40,600.00

NOTE: ALL U.S. DOLLAR VALUES ARE ROUNDED TO NEAREST U.S. CENT. VALUE OF COLON FLUCTUATES ACCORDING TO CURRENCY MARKET CONDITIONS.

August 1989

background notes

Costa Rica



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

March 1989



Official Name:
Republic of Costa Rica

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 51,032 sq. km. (19,652 sq. mi.), slightly smaller than West Virginia. **Cities:** *Capital*—San Jose (metropolitan population 890,434). *Other cities*—Alajuela (34,556), Limon (33,925), Golfito (29,043). **Terrain:** A rugged, central massif runs the length of the country separating coastal plains. **Climate:** Tropical and subtropical.

People

Nationality: *Noun and adjective*—Costa Rican(s). **Population** (1988): 2.7 million. **Annual growth rate** (1987): 2.67%. **Density:** 55.27/sq. km. (143.49 sq. mi.). **Ethnic groups:** white (including a few mestizos), 96%; black, 3%; Indian, 1%. **Religion:** Roman Catholic 95%. **Language:** Spanish,

with Jamaican dialect of English spoken around Puerto Limon. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—6. *Attendance*—nearly 100%. *Literacy*—93.1%. **Health:** *Infant mortality rate*—15.2/1,000. *Life expectancy*—men, 67.5 years; women, 71.9 years. **Work force** (1965,300, 1987): *Agriculture*—32%. *Industry and commerce*—25%. *Services and government*—38%. *Banking and finance*—5%.

Government

Type: Democratic republic. **Independence:** September 15, 1821. **Constitution:** November 9, 1949.

Branches: *Executive*—president (head of government and chief of state) elected for a single 4-yr. term, two vice presidents, Cabinet (16 ministers). *Legislative*—57-deputy unicameral Legislative Assembly elected at 4-yr. intervals. *Judicial*—Supreme Court of Justice (17 magistrates elected by Legislative Assembly at 8-yr. intervals).

Subdivisions: Seven provinces divided into 80 cantons that are subdivided into districts.

Political parties: Social Christian Unity Party (PUSC), National Liberation Party (PLN), Popular Vanguard Party (PVP), Costa Rican People's Party (PPC), Costa Rican Socialist Party (PSC). **Suffrage:** Obligatory over age 18.

Central government budget (1987): \$791.6 million.

Defense: Costa Rica has no army.

Holiday: Independence Day, September 15.

Flag: Two blue horizontal stripes top and bottom, two white inner stripes, and a wide, red central band with the national coat of arms.

Economy

GDP (1987): \$4.29 billion. **Real growth rate** (1987): 3.9%. **Per capita income** (1987): \$1,584. **Inflation** (1987 consumer price index change): 16.4%.

Natural resources: Hydroelectric power.

Agriculture (18% of GDP): *Products*—bananas, coffee, beef, sugarcane, grain.

Industry (23% of GDP): *Types*—food processing, textiles and clothing, construction materials, fertilizer.

Trade (1987): *Exports*—\$1,114 million: coffee, bananas, beef, sugar, cocoa. *Major markets*—US 41%, Central American Common Market (CACM) 9%, FRG 9%. *Imports*—\$1,385 million: manufactured goods, machinery, transportation equipment, chemicals, fuel, foodstuffs, fertilizer. *Major suppliers*—US 35%, CACM 8%, Japan 15%.

Exchange rate: *Market rate*—76.10 colones = US\$1 (August 1988).

Fiscal year: Calendar year.

US economic aid received (1987): \$120 million.

Debt service charges as % of exports: 76% in 1987.

Membership in International Organizations

UN and some of its specialized and related agencies, including the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), International Development Association (IDA), World Meteorological Organization (WMO), International Labor Organization (ILO), Interparliamentary Union (IPU), International Telecommunication Union (ITU), World Health Organization (WHO); International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Organization of American States (OAS); Central American Common Market (CACM); Inter-American Development Bank (IDB); Latin American Economic System (SELA).

Deane R. Hinton
Ambassador to Costa Rica

Deane R. Hinton was appointed Ambassador to Costa Rica in November 1987. Prior to his appointment, he served as Ambassador to Pakistan from 1983-86.

Since joining the Department of State, Mr. Hinton has served as an economist in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, 1962 and 1975; as an international economist in the Office of OECE, European Community, and Atlantic Political-Economic Affairs, 1963; as an overseas program director with the Agency for International Development, 1967; as White House program director, 1971; and as an Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, 1980.

Mr. Hinton served as Chief of Mission in Kinshasa, 1974; in Brussels-EC, 1976; and in San Salvador, 1981. In 1976 Mr. Hinton received a Superior Honor Award; in 1983, the Presidential Distinguished Service Award.

Mr. Hinton was born in Montana in 1923. He received an AB from the University of Chicago in 1943 and degrees from Harvard University and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Key U.S. Embassy Officials in San Jose, Costa Rica

J. Todd Stewart
Deputy Chief of Mission

Joseph F. Becelia
Political Officer

John R. Dawson
Economic Officer

Judith Henderson
Commercial Officer

Kirk-Patrick Kotula
Consular Officer

Roger E. Burgess
Administrative Officer

Richard J. Watts
Regional Security Officer

Robert D. Plotkin
Branch Public Affairs Officer (USIS)

²³ William R. Manning (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860*, Vol. II (Washington: Carnegie Endowment, 1925), p. 58.

²⁴ Ulloa, *Historical Appendix*, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, and several other sources. There is no major study of the conferences from 1865 to 1888.

Inter - American Conferences

1826 - 1954:

History + Problems

Samuel Gay Inman

CHAPTER 3

THE FIRST INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

Washington, 1889-1890

PAN AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE UNITED STATES

Continued

James G. Blaine, Secretary of State under President Garfield, and later under President Benjamin Harrison, was a worthy successor to Henry Clay. During each term he enlisted the support of businessmen and of Congress for an American Congress to encourage trade and promote the peaceful settlement of disputes. In this latter objective he gained the support of church groups and of the American Peace Society, which helped notably to arouse popular and Congressional interest.¹

The moral leadership of Abraham Lincoln, especially the humanitarianism symbolized by his Emancipation Proclamation, had restored Latin American confidence in United States leadership, which the end of the pro-slavery pressure for territorial expansion now made it possible for her to assume. After the Civil War she insisted on Spanish withdrawal from Santo Domingo, helped to force Napoleon to withdraw French troops from Mexico, and mediated with some success between Spain, Peru, and Chile. Although the United States had failed to prevent Spanish bombardment of Valparaiso, thus alienating Chilean feeling,² the successful arbitration of the Alabama claims against Great Britain had confirmed the United States traditional commitment to the arbitration of international disputes.

THE INVITATION

Between his two terms as Secretary of State, Blaine devoted his attention to an unsuccessful campaign for the presidency in 1881 and to promoting the idea of an inter-American conference. By the time he assumed office under President Benjamin Harrison (1889), the U. S. Congress had acted (May 10, 1888) authorizing the president to invite the nations of Latin America to a conference in Washington "for the purpose of discussing and recom-

mending for adoption to their respective governments some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disagreements and disputes that may hereafter arise between them and for considering questions relating to the improvement of business intercourse. . . ."

LATIN AMERICAN REACTIONS

All of the states, except the Dominican Republic, accepted the invitation. Santo Domingo declined, saying that, because the treaty for arbitration and commercial reciprocity concluded with the United States in 1884 had not been ratified by the United States, she was not "at liberty to enter into a new discussion of the subjects already settled by the Treaty of 1884." A delay in the replies from Chile, Bolivia, and Peru caused some anxiety. It was known that Chile did not want the question of Tacna-Arica reopened; Peru and Bolivia, having everything to gain and nothing to lose, indicated that they would not participate unless Chile attended and the subject of Tacna-Arica was reopened. Chile was thus the key to the situation. Only after Secretary Bayard sent John G. Walker to assure the Chilean government that the Conference would not interfere in these matters did President Balmaceda agree to accept the invitation. Thereupon the Bolivian and Peruvian governments also accepted. Brazil agreed to attend and her delegates remained at the Conference despite a revolution which replaced the empire with a republic at that time. The Haitian acceptance was put off until October 4, 1889 because of international disturbances, but her representatives reached the Conference before it began its actual work.⁴

The decision of the United States to become one of the directors instead of a mere onlooker or passive supporter of Pan Americanism awakened mixed emotions in Latin America. The Latin republics would have liked to take the gesture at its face value, but felt the natural fear of the weak for the strong. Developments at the Washington meeting were dictated not only by this fear but also by the rivalries and dissensions in and among the nations themselves.⁵

In Central America, Nicaragua and Costa Rica disagreed over the projected Nicaragua Canal. Guatemala was nervously eyeing Mexico, even though the boundary dispute between the two countries had been settled. The Central American delegates were

influenced by the failure of their governments to agree on plans of confederation.

In the nations of Spanish South America, attitudes were shaped by the dominance and rivalries of Argentina and Chile. The nations which had been conquered in the War of the Pacific feared Chile and turned toward the Argentine Republic as their champion. Brazil, in the political turmoil consequent to changing from a monarchy to a republic, was unable to play the role to which her size and population entitled her.

THE DELEGATES

Twenty-seven official delegates attended the Conference, ten of them from the United States. The delegates were of two kinds, diplomats stationed in Washington and those who came directly from their home countries. Guatemala, Mexico, Colombia, Nicaragua, Peru, Chile, Venezuela, the Argentine Republic, and Brazil named their Washington representatives. Colombia, Argentina, Venezuela, and Brazil sent two additional delegates each, while Mexico and Chile each sent one. The delegates from Chile and Brazil were named Envoys Extraordinary to the United States before the Conference started, as were those from Honduras, Bolivia and Ecuador. Other countries named special delegates to the Conference.⁶

Fidel G. Sierra, secretary of the conference, described the delegates frankly in correspondence cited by Ernesto Quesada.⁷ Delegate Velarde from Bolivia was a man of few words, modest, intelligent, and practical, who seldom spoke but worked hard. The Chilean delegate, Varas, was a man of knowledge and energy but a little brusque; Alfonso, of the same delegation, had a clear mind, a strong character, and agreeable manners. The Brazilian delegates, Valente and Mendonça, participated little in the discussions, although they were men of clear intelligence. Nim, the Uruguayan, was a perfect gentleman, generous, affable, and dependable. The delegate from Paraguay, Decoud, was simple in manners, but his head was a library, his heart a well of kindness. Zegarra, the Peruvian delegate, was an able orator, easy and elegant. The Ecuadorian representative, Caamano, was energetic, independent, and a facile speaker. The Venezuelan representative, Bolet Peraza, attracted attention with the elegance and timeliness

of his speeches. The Colombian Hurtado was a retired merchant, well versed in commercial and general knowledge. Martínez Silva, also from Colombia, was a writer, rancher, and politician. Calderón, the third Colombian delegate, was a lawyer of extensive knowledge and a facile writer. Guatemala's delegate, Cruz, was a writer, poet and statistician, a man of modesty and of a delightful manner which was the admiration of all. Zelaya, from Honduras, was intelligent and unpretentious. The Nicaraguan Guzmán was best described as a likable talker. Costa Rica's delegate, Aragón, was a merchant with a wide knowledge of the world.

Only six of the Latin Americans, and none of the Argentines, spoke English. Yet Manuel Quintana and Roque Sáenz Peña of Argentina stood out among the delegates and took the leadership on many important questions. This Argentine predominance may explain Blaine's caution in pushing his daring plans for a customs union and arbitration. He understood that if he insisted on these proposals the Argentines would bring about the failure of the Conference.

The delegates of the United States were described in less flattering terms by *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires). John B. Henderson, head of the delegation, was characterized as an international lawyer—good natured—"of facile speech, but a somewhat bitter if popular orator." William H. Trescot was called a "somewhat Jesuitical" lawyer, Ex-Senator Henry G. Davis was referred to as a man with a fortune calculated at twenty million dollars, whose mission seemed to be "to give his fellow delegates lessons in parliamentary practice." Clement Studebaker was described as a manufacturer of coaches and wagons, a man of good intentions but limited talents. Andrew Carnegie was called a silent man, who "always spoke up in favor of arbitration and gave a delightful dinner to the visiting delegates." Morris M. Estee, a California lawyer, was characterized as a man of "excellent common sense," and a "distributor of good jokes." T. Jefferson Coolidge, the cotton manufacturer, was ridiculed for pretending to be a professor to the Conference. Cornelius N. Bliss was noted as a rich merchant with a reputation as a keen trader. Charles R. Flint was spoken of as a "merchant who knows most of Spanish America."⁸

When it appeared that the United States wished the Secretary of State to be the President and to appoint the other officers,

Latin American opposition arose, centering in the Argentine delegation. The Conference finally agreed upon rules of procedure, which although the source of subsequent disagreement, set important precedents for future conferences. Most Latin American delegates followed the lead of the Argentines, but the Mexican, Matías Romero, and the Venezuelan, Bolet Peraza, supported the Washington delegates.⁹

The rules of the Conference provided that the host government name "the employees and all aides who are needed." When Blaine tried to make his friend, William E. Curtis, Secretary of the Conference, Quintana persuaded the Conference to name two secretaries, one Spanish-speaking, the other English-speaking, and both knowing both languages.¹⁰

Quintana's move won favor partly because it eliminated Curtis, whose writings had offended several Latin American countries: Argentina by an article on her financial credit, Colombia by an article concerning the family life of President Rafael Núñez, Chile by comments on the recent war with Peru, and the Ecuador delegate, Señor C. Caamano, by a humorous allusion to Quito in Curtis' book, *Capitals of South America*. When Curtis was excluded, Blaine promptly appointed him executive officer of the Congress—a position which the delegates did not understand.¹¹

The secretaries chosen were H. Remsen Whitehouse and Fidel G. Pierra. Pierra was a representative of the Spanish-American Commercial Union of New York who accompanied the Spanish-American delegates on the pre-Conference excursion soon to be discussed. His temperament, however, made it impossible for him to continue in his post and he was succeeded by José Ignacio Rodríguez. After his resignation, he published a letter in Buenos Aires containing many false statements about the Conference.¹²

Further disagreement arose concerning the choice of a conference chairman. The names of Trescot and Henderson were put forward by Latin Americans, the former because of his diplomatic experience and the latter because he was Chairman of the United States delegation. The United States delegation supported Blaine.

This nomination pleased the Secretary of State and was approved by President Harrison. Most Latin Americans felt Blaine's high position added dignity to the Conference. But the Argentines opposed Blaine on the grounds that he was not a delegate. Quin-

... and Sáenz Peña showed their displeasure by not attending the inaugural meeting where the election was to take place, making their non-attendance as public as possible. When asked to excuse themselves on grounds of ill health, they refused, passing the day riding about Washington in an open carriage so that the world might know their absence was deliberate. They regretted sufficiently, however, to attend the official banquet tendered by Secretary Blaine that evening.¹³ The choice of Blaine set another precedent and proved to be a wise one, for Blaine's patient tact made it possible to go further in meeting the South American viewpoints than the United States delegates might otherwise have felt they could go.

*understanding
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We too,
came on
journey*

*of dis.
We too,
came on
journey*

will permit no secret understanding on any subject, but will frankly publish to the world all its conclusions; a conference which will tolerate no spirit of conquest, but will aim to cultivate an American sympathy as broad as both continents; a conference which will form no selfish alliance against the older nations from whom we are proud to claim inheritance; a conference, in fine, which will seek nothing, propose nothing, endure nothing that is not, in the general sense of all the delegates, timely and wise and peaceful.¹⁴

WH Complex

BLAINE'S OPENING ADDRESS

(214-16 OE08)

On October 2, 1889, in the formal Diplomatic Room of the Department of State, this "all American team" presented itself for a five months trial of positions. If it lacked somewhat the dignity of the "solemn session" with which the former Latin American Conferences were opened, the delegates from thirteen countries that had already arrived were impressed. Suave, proud, and dignified, mixed with quiet, smiling mestizos, and with the ten United States delegates, some of them a little uncomfortable in stiff collars and cutaways.

Secretary of State Blaine welcomed the delegates in words early indicating his objectives and those of his government:

Gentlemen of the International American conference: Speaking for the Government of the United States, I bid you welcome to this capital. Speaking for the people of the United States, I bid you welcome to every section and to every State of the Union. . . . Your presence here is no ordinary event. It signifies much to the people of all America today. It may signify far more in the days to come. . . . The delegates whom I am addressing can do much to establish permanent relations of confidence, respect and friendship between the nations which they represent. They can show to the world an honorable, peaceful conference of seventeen independent American Powers in which all shall meet together on terms of absolute equality; a conference in which there can be no attempt to coerce a single delegate against his own conception of the interests of his nation; a conference which

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He next stated "seven beliefs": that the American republics can and should be more helpful each to the other; that they should be drawn more closely together by sea and rail highways; that hearty cooperation would save them from the burdens and evils of the Old World; that a spirit of justice should leave no room for such artificial balances of power as existed elsewhere; that friendship would remove the necessity of guarding boundary lines with fortifications and military forces; that standing armies beyond the needs of public order should be unknown in America; and that friendship rather than force, the spirit of just law rather than the violence of the mob, should be the recognized rule among all American nations. The buzz of comment and sincere applause as the Secretary of State sat down showed that he had delivered a notable as well as a tactful address.

After the opening session, Blaine escorted the delegates to the White House, where they were received by President Benjamin Harrison. That evening the Secretary of State tendered them a banquet, and the next day they set off on the official tour of the country which was to precede the labors of the Conference.

THE EXCURSION

Washington was not too experienced in entertaining international conferences in 1889, but was enthusiastic about showing visitors the sights of this wonderful country. The Pennsylvania Railroad joined the government in providing a trip that was intended to sweep the visitors off their feet. The finest locomotive and train of Pullman cars ever built "anywhere in the world" stood on the Mall on the morning of October 3, 1889, ready to take the delegates on a six-weeks swing around the East and as far West as Chicago.

*100 years ago
this month*

*delegates stood in great coats
awaiting the brick autumn air.
like Columbus before their journey*

Official Washington stood on the platform seeing off their Latin guests, who were huddled in greatcoats for protection against the brisk autumn air. Many must have wondered just how relaxing it would be to travel 6,000 miles on a train, however elegant. But, to their credit, most of the delegates made the journey cheerfully and without grumbling.¹⁵

The purposes of the tour were fourfold: to give the delegates an opportunity to get acquainted; to impress them with the prosperity, wealth, and commercial advantages of the United States; to remove prejudices by hospitality; and to awaken among the people of the United States an interest in the proceedings of the Conference.

Finally, with the wheels of diplomacy presumably well oiled, the special train rolled smoothly back to Washington and the Conference convened in earnest.¹⁶

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE

Seventy sessions were held, of which the first fifteen were occupied in passing on the credentials of the delegates and on organization. The question of sessions open to the public was discussed at length, the final vote favoring closed doors. During the last few weeks much time was lost debating when the Conference should adjourn.

The Conference delegates approved twenty-one articles of procedure, which established precedents for future hemispheric meetings. These included rules on voting, languages to be employed at the Conference, procedures on resolutions, amendments, committee organization, and similar matters. These were combined into "Rules of the International American Conference."¹⁷

The invitation had called upon the Conference to consider:

1. Measures to promote the prosperity of the American States.
2. Measures to promote the formation of an American Customs Union.
3. The establishment of regular communications between the American ports.
4. Establishment of a uniform system of customs regulations.
5. The adoption of a system of weights and measures and laws to protect copyrights and trademarks.

that great conf. of OAS see p. 45

6. The adoption of a common silver coin.
7. An agreement upon a definite plan of arbitration.
8. Other subjects related to the welfare of the American States.¹⁸

ISSUES AND CONFLICTS

The days passed unhurriedly, while some fifteen committees and the general sessions of the Conference ate slowly into the mass of work they had set for themselves. With each session they blessed more fervently the choice of Blaine as Chairman. By a courteous word here, a gesture of good will there, a caution to the more intransigent United States delegates, a suggestion of practical compromise between warring factions, Blaine kept the divisive tendencies of the Conference in check until its work was done, with friendship restored among warring factions.

One of the earliest quarrels arose over the right of the delegates to express personal as well as official opinions. While each nation could cast but one vote, at times a delegate's instructions allowed him to exercise personal judgment.

The Argentines resented the rather anarchic American attitude. Ten different United States representatives might express ten different approaches to any question; and though the delegates were willing to vote as a unit, they insisted on expressing their personal opinions. As a result two opposing reports were often signed by United States representatives.

Each time that this occurred, an Argentine would leap to his feet to demand that the Americans agree among themselves. To this Americans would vigorously object. When Morris M. Estee and T. Jefferson Coolidge disagreed on the question of monetary union, for example, Quintana exclaimed impatiently:

Is this a conference of private individuals, each speaking for himself and discoursing on all the questions that a government or academy might submit to his consideration, or is it on the contrary, a diplomatic conference, in which everyone works in an official capacity and in which the words uttered by each delegate are understood, as they should be, to represent the ideas of his government?¹⁹

Blaine insisted that the Americans yield the point to the Argentine, which they did with obvious irritation.

On the question of a customs union the majority voted, as a compromise, for reciprocal trade treaties. The minority, however, at the insistence of Sáenz Peña, demanded the blunt rejection of the entire customs union idea and succeeded in having their minority report as well as that of the majority approved by the assembly, a circumstance which parliamentarians found rather puzzling. The arguments between Sáenz Peña, Henderson, and Estee at this point became rather violent. Sáenz Peña spoke sixteen times on trade treaties, and Henderson and Estee seven times each.²⁰

The Uruguayan delegate diplomatically suggested that to save time these replies and counter-replies should merely be placed on the table and included in the minutes. "It appears to me," he commented, "that our opinion is already formed. In this way the gentlemen who might wish to continue the debate could do so without difficulty."

Quintana argued the superiority of the Argentine over the United States Constitution. Henderson replied:

I must inform my friend that he interprets the Constitution of the United States with great dexterity and carries his kindness to the extreme of insinuating that I know very little about it. . . . I must make clear my protest against such an interpretation and recommend that he make a more careful and prudent study of the dispositions of that instrument.²¹

Since neither man understood the language of the other, each waited on tenterhooks until the other's speech had been translated.

When the Conference finally adjourned without catastrophe, everyone heaved a sigh of relief. Henderson said in the closing session that "to arrive at the conclusions we have reached, the most complete liberty of debate has been essential. If in that freedom of speech a word of acrimony has escaped, let us now consider it expunged from the record."²²

ACTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

Between January 20 and April 27, 1890, some twenty-three general sessions were held to discuss and act upon the reports of the committees. Resolutions adopted included most of the subjects

which were to receive attention during the years to come. A commission was authorized to study routes for an inter-American railway system, later to produce an eight volume report. Other resolutions dealt with steamship service, postal and telegraphic communications, customs regulations, patents and copyright protection, adherence to an extradition treaty drawn up at Montevideo the preceding year, a monetary union, banking, navigation on international rivers, various aspects of international law, and international sanitation measures.²³

Discussion of the arbitration question brought out various national rivalries, particularly the rivalry of Argentina and the United States, each of which suspected the other of ambitions of a kind of hegemony in their respective proposals.²⁴

A joint Argentine-Brazilian declaration was introduced on January 15, 1890, calling for arbitration and opposing all acquisition of territory by conquest. Thus Argentina proposed to make arbitration obligatory in all disputes, except those in which the independence of one of the parties might be imperiled, but coupled her proposal with a strong stipulation against right of conquest.²⁵ The United States members of the committee approved this. Chile, on the other hand, fresh from her victory over Peru and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific, felt that any obligation to arbitration should be limited to newly arising issues.

Unable to effect a reconciliation among these views, Blaine suggested dividing the recommendation into two parts, a general arbitration proposal and a declaration against conquest.

The Argentine delegates voted for the arbitration treaty project proposed by the Committee on April 18, but later declined to sign it. Their reasons included the refusal of Henderson to sign the report on the right of conquest and the fact that their proposal had been changed radically from its original form. They also feared their signatures might be considered a final approval by their government.

Henderson's refusal to sign the report against conquest almost caused a collapse of the entire arbitration concept, but Blaine accepted the resolution for the United States. As finally adopted, this resolution on the right of conquest called for the elimination of the principle of conquest from American public law and the nullification of any surrender of territory made under the threat

of war or the pressure of armed force, asserting the right of any nation having made such surrender to require a decision by arbitration as to its validity and the invalidity of any refusal to have recourse to arbitration. The resolution was adopted unanimously save for Chile, whose representatives abstained from voting.²⁶

Thus, Blaine achieved one of his major objectives, an arbitration treaty signed by delegates representing Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Salvador, the United States of America, the United States of Brazil, the United States of Venezuela, and Uruguay. Delegates from Argentina, Costa Rica, Colombia, Peru, and Paraguay did not sign, although their delegates had voted approval of the convention. Mexico and Chile neither voted for it nor signed. None of the signatory countries ratified the treaty, not even the United States, its principal advocate.²⁷

Blaine considered that the arbitration pact and another resolution on arbitration of disputes with European powers would have a profound effect on future relations among the American States. In his closing address he remarked:

If this Congress had only one of its acts to be proud of, we should call the world's attention to the reasoned, confiding and solemn consecration by the two vast continents of the maintenance of peace and prosperity, the offspring of peace. We look upon this new Magna Charta which suppresses war and substitutes arbitration among American governments in its place as the first result and the most important one of the International American Congress.²⁸

CUSTOMS UNION

A customs union was an integral part of Blaine's objective of commercial expansion. But approval of a customs union was prevented by the fact that the United States Congress was at the point of adopting the rate-raising McKinley tariff, as well as by the opposition of the Argentines. Blaine soon found out that if he insisted on a customs union the Argentine delegation would walk out of the Conference.²⁹

The majority report of the Conference recommended reciprocity treaties among the Americas, which Blaine favored, but the con-

comitant adoption of a minority report, as previously noted, left the actual position of the conference uncertain.³⁰ The United States Senate added an amendment to the McKinley Act embodying Blaine's proposal for tariff reciprocity. Sugar, molasses, tea, coffee, and hides were to enter free of duty from countries which entered into reciprocity agreements, while a bounty of two cents a pound to domestic sugar producers was to protect them against foreign competition. The United States negotiated reciprocal trade agreements in 1891 with Brazil and with Spain on behalf of Puerto Rico and Cuba. Similar treaties were made with Great Britain for the West Indies, and with San Domingo, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala. Only the treaty with Spain in respect to Cuba and Puerto Rico had any great importance, and a change in party control of the Congress brought the repeal of reciprocity in the tariff act of 1894. Real inter-American tariff reciprocity thus had to wait forty-three years, until Cordell Hull persuaded the Seventh International Conference of American States to approve his proposal for reciprocal trade agreements and the United States Congress to authorize the President to enter into such arrangements.

THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS

One seed planted by the first Pan American Congress was to grow until it became a major organism in hemispheric relations. This was the International Bureau of American Republics, later to be known as the Pan American Union, still later, in 1948, to flower into the present Organization of American States. A resolution adopted April 14, 1890, created it, describing its functions as follows:

The governments here represented shall unite for the establishment of an American International Bureau for the collection, tabulation and publication in the English, Spanish and Portuguese languages of information as to productions and commerce and as to the customs, laws and regulations of their respective countries; such Bureau to be maintained in one of the countries for the common benefit at the common expense and to furnish to all the other countries such commercial statistics and other useful information as may be contributed to it by any of the American republics; that the Committee on

p.r. 47

Customs Regulations be authorized and instructed to furnish to the Conference a plan of organization and a scheme for the practical work of the proposed Bureau.³¹

The United States government advanced \$36,000 for expenses of the Bureau during its first year, with the understanding that thereafter a sum not to exceed that amount was to be assessed on the member governments, in the proportion that the population of the respective governments bore to the total population of the countries represented in the Union. This step toward permanent organization of the American republics attracted little attention at the time, but proved to be the most important action of the Washington gathering.

REACTIONS AND ESTIMATE

The day after adjournment, Elihu Root declared that the delegates were "the advance guard in the greatest movement since civilization began toward the brotherhood of man and the federation of the world."³² Ignacio Calderón, Bolivian Minister, saw in the conference a step toward better understanding between the Americas. Don Joaquín Casaus, the Mexican Ambassador, declared:

Never before had such an extensive program been presented for an international conference. The labors of the Pan American Conference were of concord and peace; nor was it inspired as was necessarily the Congress of Panama, a dream of the great Simón Bolívar, with the uniting of the persecuted to resist the attack of a common aggressor; it sought the union of all in practical efforts for common prosperity of the hemisphere on the basis of peace through the amicable solution of international conflicts.

Speaking at home, the delegates' opinions were not always so rosy. "The delegates of American republics," said the Argentine Ernesto Quesada, "went to the Washington Conference with great mistrust because they were not unaware of the absorbent tendencies of the United States, [but] derived from it the advantage of having begun to know better and to appreciate more exactly her aspirations and resources."³³

The truth was that the logic of events was forcing the two continents into a closer relationship. The Conference of 1889-90 differed from its predecessors in not being convened for defense against a common enemy, nor for the settlement of a specific problem. Rather, the representatives of neighboring countries were summoned for the purpose of bringing their countries into closer touch with one another and of arriving at better mutual understanding. The Americas were too new, the principle of cooperation too untried, and the questions too complicated to permit the adoption of definite projects. But Ariel of the South and Caliban of the North had, nearly a century after the founding of their republics, finally met in conference, engaged in intimate contact and open debate for six months, and decided that all were Americans with more likenesses than differences.

FOOTNOTES

¹ A. Curtis Wilgus: "Blaine and the Pan American Movement," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. V (Nov. 1922), 663. For the role of the American Peace Society see Edson L. Whitney, *The American Peace Society*, Third Revised Edition (Washington: The American Peace Society, 1929), pp. 154-158.

² Samuel Flagg Bemis. *Latin American Policy of the United States: An Historic Interpretation* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943).

³ Alice Felt Tyler, *The Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine*, pp. 169-305; *International American Conferences*, Historical Appendix, Vol. IV, pp. 315 ff.

⁴ The basic documentation of the Conference is found in the *Minutes of the International Conference of American States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890) and in *International American Conference, Reports and Recommendations together with the messages of the president and letters of the Secretary of State*, transmitting the same to Congress (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), 4 Vols. Senate Executive Document, No. 232, 51st Cong., 1st sess., 1889-90, XIV, 9-11. Selected documents have been published in James Brown Scott, Editor, *The International Conferences of American States*, 2 v. (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Oxford Press, 1931). For a good account see A. Curtis Wilgus, "James G. Blaine and The Pan American Movement," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Nov., 1932.

⁵ Matías Romero, *Mexico and the United States* (New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1898).

⁶ See Ernesto Quesada, *Primera Conferencia Pan Americana*, Washington, Oct. 2, 1889-April 19, 1890. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta Shenone, 1919), pp. 5-7.

⁷ Quesada, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

⁸ Quesada, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 14.

⁹ Matías Romero, *Mexico and the United States* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), p. 640.

¹⁰ Quesada, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹² *La Nación*, March 10, 1890.

¹³ Commenting on their action, *La Nación*, May 15, 1890, said, "The effect

produced by their refusal [to attend the inaugural session] was indescribable."

¹⁴ *Senate Executive Document*, No. 232, Part 1, p. 38.

¹⁵ The *London Times* reported the movements of the delegates, stating how impressed they were with what they saw and how tired they progressively grew.

¹⁶ *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 232, Part 1, p. 38. The Conference met in the Wallack Mansion on the corner of Eighteenth and I Streets, Washington. The whole edifice had been fixed up as a clubhouse for the delegates, the meetings being held in the ballroom (*New York Herald*, October 1, 1889).

¹⁷ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁸ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

¹⁹ Quesada, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

²² Joseph B. Lockey, *Essays in Pan Americanism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), pp. 76-78.

²³ Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-40, gives all the recommendations of the Conference.

²⁴ On the question of arbitration in the Conference see *ibid.*, pp. 40-48; Lockey, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-83; and Thomas F. McGann, "Argentina at the First Pan American Conference," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, Vol. I, (Sept. 1947), p. 39.

²⁵ Lockey, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-85.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁷ J. Lloyd Mecham, *The United States and Inter-American Security* (Austin: University of Texas Press, c. 1961), pp. 55-57.

²⁸ Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-43. See, also Robert N. Burr and Ronald D. Hussey, *Documents on Inter-American Cooperation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955), pp. 51-53.

²⁹ A. Curtis Wilgus, "James G. Blaine and the Pan American Movement," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. V (Nov. 1922), pp. 662-708, and Thomas F. McGann, "Argentina at the First Pan American Conference," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, Vol. I (Sept. 1947), pp. 21-53.

³⁰ Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-35; Lockey, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77.

³¹ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

³² *Senate Executive Document*, No. 232, Part 3, p. 295.

³³ Preceding quotations from Quesada, *op. cit.*, p. 43. (Translated by the author.)

CHAPTER 4

THE SECOND INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

Mexico City, October 22, 1901-January 31, 1902

INTERNATIONAL SETTING

Two important events during the 1890's had created conditions and an atmosphere for the Mexico City Conference of 1901 which differed greatly from those in which the Washington Conference had met. These two events were the arbitration of the boundary controversy between Venezuela and Great Britain in 1895 and the intervention of the United States in the war for Cuban Independence in 1898, commonly called the Spanish-American War. The first effect of both had been to call attention to the emergence of the United States as a world power. The secondary effects were even more important, however. The bewildered reaction of Spanish Americans to the ease with which the United States defeated the Spanish forces soon gave place to an intense yankeephobia, particularly among intellectuals. The incidental by-products of these two effects were also significant: increased concern with inter-American relations, even though the concern was often negative in its expressions, and greater participation of Latin American countries in international councils in general.

In 1894 Venezuela had appealed to the United States for help in settling a long-standing controversy over her boundary with British Guiana. British settlement had been extending into territory claimed by Venezuela, and the British government had refused to arbitrate the question of boundary. When the government of Joaquin Crespo appealed to President Grover Cleveland in 1895, the United States Secretary of State, Richard Olney, sent to Britain a strongly worded demand for arbitration, based upon the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, which included the famous and somewhat misunderstood sentence: "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon

9:55 am

MOTORCADE arrives Hotel Cariari Conference Center.

- * **HEMISPHERIC PRESIDENTIAL SUMMIT**
(First Session)
(11:00 am - 12:00 pm)
- Pool Coverage
- * PRIVATE TIME (1 Hour)
(12:00 pm - 1:00 pm)
- * LUNCH
(1:00 pm - 2:30 pm) *all heads at round table*
- Photo Opportunity *ditto for for. ministers*
- * **SECOND SESSION**
(3:00 pm - 5:00 pm) *10 minutes per head*
- Pool Coverage
- * PRIVATE TIME (3 Hours)
(5:00 pm - 8:00 pm)

8:00 pm

MOTORCADE departs Hotel Cariari en route
National Theatre.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

*16 confirmed
20-22 possible*

8:15 pm

MOTORCADE arrives National Theatre.

- * **STATE DINNER (Black Tie)**
- Pool Coverage

9:30 pm

MOTORCADE departs National Theatre en route
Hotel Cariari.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

9:45 pm

MOTORCADE arrives Hotel Cariari.

+ JAB3

RON

Saturday, October 28, 1989

8:50 am THE PRESIDENT departs Suite and proceeds to Conference Center.

8:55 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Conference Center.

* THIRD SESSION (9:00 am - 11:00 am)

10 min. per head

* PRIVATE TIME (1 Hour)
(11:00 am - 12:00 pm)

* LUNCH
(12:00 pm - 1:30 pm)

2:00 pm MOTORCADE departs Hotel Cariari en route National Museum.

(Drive Time: 30 Minutes)

2:30 pm MOTORCADE arrives National Museum.

*7500?
thousands of
students escorting*

* PROCLAMATION SIGNING AND READING
(2:30 pm - 3:30 pm)
- Open Press

3:30 pm MOTORCADE departs National Museum en route Juan Santamaria Airport.

(Drive Time: 40 Minutes)

4:10 pm MOTORCADE arrives Juan Santamaria Airport.

4:15 pm AIR FORCE ONE departs San Jose, Costa Rica en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 4 Hours 40 Minutes)
(Time Change: Ahead 2 Hours)
(Interchange: TBD)

10:55 pm AIR FORCE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

11:00 pm

MARINE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base en route
White House.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

11:10 pm

MARINE ONE arrives White House.

Jeb Bush

HOW TO KEEP PRESSURE ON THE SANDINISTAS

The Nicaraguan elections scheduled for February 1990 had better be free—or else.
Not even Congress wants a replay of the 1984 fiasco.

On March 24 President Bush, surrounded by the bipartisan leadership of Congress, announced the extension of humanitarian assistance to the Nicaraguan democratic resistance through February 1990. The agreement calls for support of the voluntary reintegration or relocation of the resistance in accordance with the 1987 Esquipulas II agreement and last February's El Salvador accord. Because military aid will not be provided this year, the outcome of the February 1990 election, announced by the Sandinistas as part of the El Salvador accord, will define U.S. policy in Central America in the 1990s.

The Bipartisan Accord on Central America is itself the product of Congress's failure to provide military aid over the last two years. To those who say that George Bush has sold out the democratic resistance (and there have been a few) I say it was sold out by Chris Dodd, John Kerry, Jim Wright, and a majority in Congress. Be that as it may, the point to remember is that the accord allows the military resistance to remain intact until the Sandinistas can live up to their promise to democratize Nicaragua.

No doubt, most congressional leaders and many in the administration have tired of the five-year battle over Nicaraguan policy. By taking Nicaragua off the foreign policy hot plate, the thinking goes, it might be possible to resurrect the tradition of a foreign policy consistently supported by both Democrats and Republicans. A bipartisan consensus on foreign policy is a worthy objective, to be sure, but the question to ask is, Will the new accord and the February 1990 election help bring about our government's expressed goal of freedom for the people of Nicaragua and peace in Central America? The answer will depend on the behavior of the Sandinistas, the civilian opposition, and the U.S. govern-

ment between now and next February.

The Sandinistas will try to use the 1990 election to obtain greater economic and political support from European and Latin countries. As they showed in the 1984 election, this objective has nothing to do with support for free elections. In that year the Sandinistas suppressed the opposition's attempts to organize, denied it access to the media, sent in thugs to break up public rallies, and controlled all aspects of the voting from registration to vote counting. As Comandante Bayardo Arce, a member of the Sandinista National Directorate, said at the time, the Sandinistas considered the election a nuisance that would be manipulated for political gain. According to Arce, the elections would provide a framework to satisfy the international bourgeoisie on the surface and thus decrease outside pressure to provide democratic guarantees.

To date, it does not appear that the Sandinistas have changed their attitude toward elections. For instance, they have rejected the civic opposition's call that the all-important Consejo Supremo Electoral (CSE) be made independent. The CSE appoints all official poll watchers and supervises voter registration and vote counting. Not only

do the Sandinistas plan to keep the CSE under their control, but they have also stipulated that 50 percent of opposition funding raised outside Nicaragua is to go into the CSE's coffers. Naturally, they still retain exclusive rights to the millions in government money that can be spent on the election.

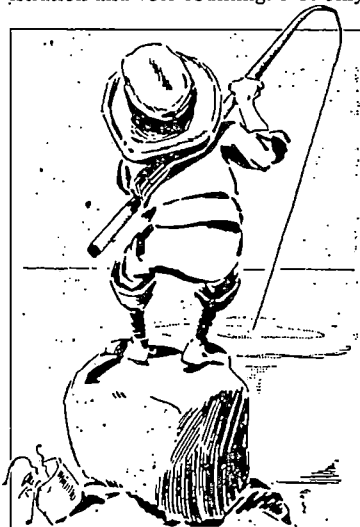
The hope for even relatively free elections resides in continued pressure from the civilian opposition, and from the United States, Latin America, and Europe. For example, the Sandinista proposal to give opposition groups one hour a day on government television should be expanded to eliminate censorship of Nicaragua's few remaining independent media outlets. In addition, pressure should be put on the Sandinistas to accept Pedro Joaquin Chamorro's proposal to create an independent television station. The Sandinistas released a large number of former Somoza national guardsmen from prison earlier this year. Pressure should now be exerted to bring about the release of the estimated 4,800 political prisoners still in jail. Given that the military resistance has been mothballed, obligatory service in the Sandinista army should be suspended. The existence of a 60,000-strong military force (with another 40,000 in reserves) tied to the ruling party is a most intimidating factor during an election period. Therefore, any diminution of the Sandinista armed forces—larger than all others in Central America combined—would be appropriate.

While the prospects for free elections in Nicaragua are in my opinion only slightly better than the chances of the Miami Heat becoming NBA champs in 1990, the election nonetheless has tremendous potential for mobilizing opposition to the Sandinista regime. As was the case in Panama, Chile, the Philippines, and even the Soviet Union, the purity of the process is not as important as the fact that elections

allow for open expression of dissatisfaction.

In the case of Nicaragua, latent opposition to the government has increased as economic conditions have worsened. From February 1988 to February 1989, the Nicaraguan currency depreciated by 1.5 million percent—an amount worthy of the *Guinness Book of World Records*. Since imports account for 40 percent of Nicaragua's GNP, the currency's astronomical depreciation will be felt increasingly as the election approaches. The inflation rate in Nicaragua is running at over 33,000 percent. The unemployment rate in Managua is at 30 percent and industrial production during the last year has dropped in real terms by eight percent with no sign of improvement. In short, real income in dollar terms is lower today in Nicaragua than it was before World War II. The economic disaster should translate into significant support for the civic opposition, particularly among 16-to-28-year-olds who have been hardest hit and who make up more than 50 percent of the electorate. The opposition comprises diverse political parties, business organizations, labor unions, and religious groups. To use the election period effectively, it must unite behind one candidate and turn the election into a referendum on the Sandinista regime. The Sandinista leadership's opulent lifestyle (shades of Ferdinand and Imelda) in the face of the masses' abject poverty makes for an explosive environment detrimental to the stability of the regime.

What can the United States do? First, we need to keep calling attention to the Sandinistas' intransigence in fulfilling their commitment to hold free elections. Without a constant spotlight on Nicaragua, the Sandinistas will be in a position to replay the election farce of 1984. Second, the U.S. government must increase its efforts to cut the flow of Eastern bloc support to Nicar-



Jeb Bush is a businessman in Miami, Florida.

agua. There are signs that under Gorbachev the Soviet Union is re-evaluating its policy of \$1 billion a year in military and economic aid to the Sandinistas. Secretary of State James Baker's calls for cuts in Soviet military aid to Nicaragua—which he regards as a key indicator of Soviet interest in improved relations with the U.S.—will achieve positive results if continued. Third, our allies in Western Europe must be encouraged to tie economic aid to San-

dinista compliance with fair and free elections. It seems hypocritical for countries such as Sweden, West Germany, and France to provide unconditional economic support to Nicaragua while withholding aid to countries such as Chile, where broader freedoms exist and democracy is closer to being achieved. Fourth, the United States should guarantee that exiles who return to Nicaragua will receive political asylum as promised by the Sandinistas. We also

need to provide safeguards that our support will continue for those in the democratic resistance wishing to return to Nicaragua. Fifth, using our response to the Panamanian election as a guide, we should lay the groundwork for a similar effort in Nicaragua. You can be sure the Sandinistas are watching very carefully what happens to Noriega.

The Bush Administration should persevere in its determination to support the cause of freedom in Nicaragua as

the best way to securing a lasting peace in Central America. Strong support for legitimate elections in Nicaragua is essential if this goal is to be attained. If the Sandinistas allow free elections, it is likely they will be defeated. If they fail to hold free elections, the effort for freedom in Nicaragua will continue by other means and a renewal of military assistance to the resistance by Congress will be in order. Let's hope it doesn't have to come to that. □

Terry Teachout

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, JOURNALIST

The forgotten decade in the life and career of a legendary conservative.

The public life of Whittaker Chambers revolves endlessly around two dates. In 1938, Chambers, then the courier for a Soviet spy ring based in Washington, D.C., broke with the Communist party and went into hiding. In 1948, he testified under oath before the House Un-American Activities Committee about his activities as a member of the Fourth Section of the Soviet Military Intelligence. In the course of his testimony, he told the committee that Alger Hiss, president of the Carnegie Endowment for World Peace, and a former high-ranking official in the State Department, had been one of his agents.

For many people, Chambers's story stops with the first date and resumes with the second. Yet during the intervening decade, Whittaker Chambers did what for most men would have been the principal work of a lifetime. Starting out in 1939 as a book reviewer for *Time*, Chambers rose to become a senior editor of the most popular news-magazine in America. He edited *Time's* "Foreign News" section from 1944 to 1945, giving it a strongly anti-Soviet slant at a time when the American public was being officially encouraged to view the Soviet Union as an ally; he was

later assigned, together with James Agee, to a department of his own, the "Special Projects" unit, which produced cover stories on politics, culture, and religion; and he wrote the text for seven chapters of *Life's* "History of Western Culture" series.

It was only because his *Time* articles were unsigned that Whittaker Chambers was not more widely known prior to his HUAC testimony. Given the extraordinary controversy that surrounded Chambers after he left *Time* in 1948, one would naturally expect that his articles for *Time* and *Life*, as well as his later essays for *National Review*, would be better known than they are. In fact,

Chambers's journalism, early and late, is all but unknown, even to scholars specializing in the Hiss case, who invariably cite the same half-dozen essays and articles in discussions of Chambers's life and work.

Why is Whittaker Chambers's career as a journalist forgotten? One reason is that the inherent drama of his role in the Hiss case naturally overshadowed what he described in *Witness*, his 1952 autobiography, as "the tranquil years" he spent working for Time Inc. Of equal importance, however, is the fact that virtually none of the hundreds of articles Chambers published between 1931, when he be-

came a contributing editor of *New Masses*, and 1959, when he resigned from *National Review*, have been reprinted in book form. The bulk of Chambers's journalism is accessible only to well-equipped researchers. As a result, it is chiefly as the author of *Witness* and, to a lesser degree, of *Cold Friday*, a collection of unpublished writings, and *Odyssey of a Friend*, a volume of his letters to William F. Buckley, Jr., that Chambers the writer is remembered.

Whittaker Chambers's journalism, however, is more than just a footnote to *Witness*. To read his contributions to *Time* and *Life* is to marvel at the implicit compliment that Henry Luce was paying his readers in publishing literary criticism and cultural commentary of such erudition and high seriousness. It is difficult to imagine such criticism appearing even occasionally, much less week after week, in the newsmagazines of today. The story of how these pieces came to be written tells much about a remarkable period in the history of American journalism—and about the mind and character of one of postwar American conservatism's central figures.

When Whittaker Chambers broke with the Communist party, he quickly began to look for a "visible identity" as a means of preventing his former colleagues from killing him before he had a chance to testify about his underground activities. Penniless



Terry Teachout is a member of the editorial board of the New York Daily News. This essay is adapted from his introduction to Ghosts on the Roof: Selected Journalism of Whittaker Chambers, 1931-1959, to be published by Regnery Gateway this summer.

Government of Iran has ignored repeated efforts by the United States to obtain information on the families of the Iranian victims. The United States stands ready to make payments to these families so long as the Government of Iran permits an appropriate in-

termediary to distribute the funds to the families.

¹ Read to news correspondents by Richard A. Boucher, Department deputy spokesman. ■

Upcoming Elections in Nicaragua

PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT,
JULY 19, 1989¹

Ten years ago, there was widespread satisfaction here and in Latin America that the anti-Somoza revolution in Nicaragua had triumphed and at long last democracy would be given a chance. The Sandinistas committed to the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1979 to establish a democracy and renewed that commitment when the Central America peace accord was signed nearly 2 years ago. Despite these promises, that commitment remains unfulfilled today.

The United States wanted to do its part for the success of the turn toward democracy. We had contributed to the overthrow of Somoza by cutting off military assistance. Encouraged by the Sandinistas' promise to the OAS, we provided \$118 million in economic and humanitarian assistance to the new Nicaraguan Government. This was substantially more than any other country gave the new regime and represented more aid than we had provided the Somoza government in the previous 4 years.

Despite our efforts to be supportive, as well as those of other democratic governments, the Sandinistas quickly embarked on a course which centralized power in their hands, brought economic ruin to their country, and forced hundreds of thousands to flee. They built up the largest army in Central America, with aid from Cuba, the Soviet Union, and other communist states. The security forces and Sandinista thugs harassed and imprisoned the opposition, including from the political parties, labor unions and businessmen, the Catholic Church, and the Miskito Indian community. Elections were postponed for 5 years, and, when they were held, the Sandinistas' ground rules did not allow the opposition to compete freely and fairly.

Today, with the eyes of the world upon them, the Sandinistas have another opportunity to give peace and de-

mocracy a chance. But as the second anniversary of the commitments at Esquipulas approaches, what is evident is a renewed attempt to prevent a free and fair election. In strong contrast to its neighbors, who have chosen the democratic path, the Sandinista government continues to show that it fears free political competition.

The Sandinista electoral reform law, for example, was imposed upon the opposition over its objections and provides for an Electoral Council which is stacked in the Sandinistas' favor. Provisions for government campaign financing penalize parties that did not participate in the last election. To snuff out any chance that foreign contributions to the opposition could somehow offset official favoritism toward the Sandinista party, the law provides that 50% of foreign contributions be distributed to the Electoral Council. The Sandinista party is under no such constraints.

On paper the electoral law permits foreign observers, but Sandinista practice to date indicates a desire to restrict them. The Sandinistas, for example, have branded National Endowment for Democracy representatives as "CIA agents," expelled a Freedom House observer, and imposed visa restrictions on Americans so as to control who may report on the election. Two American diplomats were expelled for observing an opposition rally, and Sandinista restrictions on other members of the diplomatic corps provoked a protest by the European Community representatives. These moves stand in sharp contrast to the Salvadoran experience, where observers from all sides were welcomed, even those critical of the government.

The new media law also fails to meet democratic standards, as it contains vague provisions that permit prosecution for defaming the government and enforcement is left to the Ministry of Interior. Unlike the other Central American countries, the government by law owns all television

broadcasting. Moreover only government-sanctioned polling is permitted, allowing the Sandinistas to hide from the people the true extent of their unpopularity.

The Sandinistas have also shown their fear of electoral freedoms in other ways. Several opposition marches have been cancelled because the government denied permits. Labor unions have been threatened lest their display of economic power threatens the Sandinistas. Recently several private-sector leaders were stripped of their property—not for violations of law but in a transparent attempt to silence vocal critics of Sandinista policies.

Permeating all of these Sandinista measures is a government propaganda that equates opposition with disloyalty and criticism with allegiance to a foreign power. At every point, the Sandinistas have shown that they feel they can ignore opposition demands for dialogue. Last week in San Jose, President Ortega indicated he might be willing to change. We look for him to do so, for there will be dim prospects for national reconciliation unless the internal opposition and the Nicaraguan Resistance are made full partners in this process.

We also look to the Sandinistas to make other changes to comply with their Esquipulas commitments. Recently discovered arms caches in El Salvador show that the Sandinistas continue to subvert their neighbors. Despite our having halted lethal aid to the Resistance, the Sandinista military buildup continues with new deliveries from Cuba and other communist states. And now the Sandinistas are making common cause with the Noriega regime in Panama—a dictatorship in the style of Somoza.

The bipartisan accord with Congress offers an opportunity for better relations between our two countries. We want to see democracy and national reconciliation work in Nicaragua. We remain willing to respond positively if the Sandinistas fulfill their promises—made to the OAS over 10 years ago, at Esquipulas, and again last February in El Salvador—to allow Nicaraguans to exercise their democratic rights.

Despite the somber prospects, we remain committed to support free elections and democracy in Nicaragua, and our sincerest hope is that next year, the Nicaraguan people will truly have something to celebrate.

¹ Text from Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents of July 24, 1989. ■

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 2, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS

The State Department
Washington, D.C.

11:08 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. And I am pleased to find myself here, surrounded by friends and in such high-powered company -- once again, to be with David Rockefeller, the chairman of this illustrious Council; Ambassador Landau and Jim Flower, Bernie Aronson. And also I want to point out that I was accompanied over here by a man who is doing a superb job, a friend to many in this room, Brent Scowcroft. They couldn't find a seat for him, but there he is, standing over there, and delighted he's here. (Laughter and applause.)

But looking around the world today, in 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. And certainly, Latin America and the Caribbean are proving fertile ground for these ideas. Democracy, a decade ago the exception, I think we would all agree is today the rule. And the symbol of this new breeze is the ballot box. And by year's end, 14 national elections will have been held across the Americas.

And let's remember what it means to vote in some countries 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, in some cases, about people literally risking their lives to exercise their democratic right.

And listen to the words of a Salvadoran man on the eve of last month's presidential elections in that country -- elections that 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 mounting 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 and Brazil and Venezuela, new ventures are creating export opportunities that promise a broader economic base for those countries. You in the business community are among the pioneers and partners in these changes. And you're contributing to Latin America's increased productivity -- you're 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

MORE

common aim.

My administration will work to build a new partnership for the Americas -- a partnership built on mutual respect and mutual responsibilities. And 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 on 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. And I want to salute our Secretary of State for hammering out this Bipartisan Accord when many, two or three months ago, said that it could not be done.

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 the insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala, and terrorism in Honduras, as well. Peace in the region cannot co-exist with attempts to undermine democracy.

And 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. And yet, since that time, the Soviets continue to funnel about \$.5 billion 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 guerrillas. Soviet bloc weapons, such as AK-47s, are now being sent through Cuba and Nicaragua to the guerrillas. And that aid must stop.

The Soviet Union must understand that we hold it accountable for the consequences of this intervention -- 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 United States will continue to supply humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan resistance through the elections scheduled in Nicaragua for February of 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 attacks 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 is a stacked

deck against freedom. The new law governing press conduct gives excessive controls to the Interior Ministry to police violations against what they call "national integrity," and continues the prohibition of private-sector ownership of television stations.

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

And 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, to hold rallies -- and to poll public opinion, to operate independent radio and TV stations as well. It means the absence of intimidation either from a politicized Sandinista military or police, or from those 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 the Sandinista rule, not just a handful of former Somoza soldiers.

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

I want to mention several other Latin American 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. And I have conveyed personally to President-elect Cristiani our commitment to human rights in El Salvador. I honestly feel that he shares my concern and he deserves 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. And we do congratulate President-elect Rodriguez on his electoral victory and look forward to working with him. This democratic opening must continue.

In Panama, however -- Jim spoke to you all about this yesterday -- 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 authorities, Panama's opposition parties have -- with great courage -- taken their campaign to the Panamanian people. The Noriega regime's candidates are trailing in poll after poll by a margins of two to one.

Unfortunately, as Secretary Baker told you yesterday, 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's 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 simply 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. And that means the democracies of Europe -- they out to be speaking out about this -- as well as nations in this hemisphere struggling to preserve the democratic systems they've fought so hard to put in place.

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

A commitment to democracy is only one element in the new partnership that I envision for the nations of Americas. This new partnership must also aim at ensuring that the market economies survive and prosper and prevail.

The principles of economic freedom have not been applied as fully as the principle 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.

And that is why the U.S. has made a new initiative to reduce the weight of the 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, one that will reverse the flight of capital out of the region.

We welcome the broad, broad international support that has been expressed for our ideas to strengthen the debt strategy. We urge the parties involved -- the international financial institutions, debtor countries, 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.

I want to say some case-by-case successes in this hemisphere. To that end, we've started discussions, as you know, with Mexico and Venezuela and other countries as well.

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 face and defeat the drug menace.

I believe that there is much more understanding on this point in this hemisphere south of our border than there used to be. It is my view that countries to the south felt for many years that this was simply the problem of a U.S. market for this insidious product. Now they see that their own societies are being undermined by drug use. Now they see that their own sense of order is being undermined by those trafficking in narcotics. So I would call for much more cooperation between the countries this hemisphere to combat the menace of narcotics.

There's a place in this new partnership for all of 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 do contribute. They contribute directly to the greater prosperity of all of the nations of the Americas.

The challenge 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 know we've got a lot of work to do. And you know you've got a lot of work to do -- work that won't wait -- to ensure that all the Americas enjoy the peace, the freedom and the prosperity that we cherish.

Thank you for what you're doing. Redouble your efforts. And I promise you, we'll do our level best in the executive branch of this government. Thank you very, very much.

Nicaraguan rebels, he said, was "an internal, political affair of the United States."

The Sandinistas, too, made a curious gesture toward Washington. Last week they allowed Jeane Kirkpatrick, the former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, to fly to Managua aboard an American government plane to give a pro-contra speech to several hundred anti-Sandinista Nicaraguans. One State Department official argued that the visit was aimed at bolstering the internal opposition, but it could also jeopardize the Sandinistas' opponents if the peace process fails and funding for the contras is resumed. A Democratic senatorial aide noted the oddity of the Sandinistas' admitting Kirkpatrick while the United States refuses a visa to Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomás Borge. "Which country

is supposed to be the democracy?" he complained.

Absent a positive vote on contra funding, the administration's options in Nicaragua are few. While a negotiated cease-fire might allow the rebels to hoard their remaining military supplies, supporters fear that another break in the supply line could cause thousands of fighters to accept offers of amnesty or become refugees in Honduras or the United States. The administration might continue to dip into the CIA's Nicaraguan political fund, totaling about \$10 million a year. Most of that money supports contra political activity outside of Nicaragua and will be available even after the current \$100 million of contra funding expires. The administration might also help the Nicaraguan opposition in a varie-

ty of smaller ways. Recently, for example, the federally funded National Endowment for Democracy reactivated a \$103,500 grant to the newly reopened opposition newspaper, La Prensa. But if Arias certifies that his peace plan is working, the major pressure on the Sandinistas will almost certainly come to an end. "It's as if we've had the official stamp of approval now from the Nobel Prize committee," says a bitter administration official. "We can declare peace and walk away." The administration is unlikely to walk away from Nicaragua, but without the threat of military force, there may be little that it can really accomplish.

HARRY ANDERSON with TIMOTHY NOAH and ROBERT PARRY in Washington and CHARLES LANE in San José

Arias: Is Costa Rica Big Enough?

Oscar Arias Sánchez has always been ambitious—he'll tell you so himself. Asked once when the notion of becoming president first occurred to him, he jokingly replied, "While I was in my mother's womb." His high-school yearbook duly noted that goal; his wife, Margarita, says that the friends who tried to dissuade her from marrying Arias referred to him as "that lunatic who wants to become president." "People joke about how he wants to be secretary-general of the United Nations or be Nobel Peace Prize winner," said a Western European diplomat in San José, three months before Arias's award was announced. Such single-mindedness may not win friends, but it certainly influences people. No one less self-confident would pursue a quest as quixotic as peace in Central America.

Arias has challenged the odds before. He ran for the presidency in 1985 against the objections of his party's two elder statesmen, winning the nomination and then coming from behind to take the election. Arias didn't win on charm. "He rarely laughs, and it takes a lot to make him smile," says his brother-in-law Agustín Penón. "Oscar didn't have charisma,



SUSAN MEISELAS—MAGNUM

An ambition that began 'in my mother's womb': *With Ortega*

yet everybody followed him anyway." Arias is "obsessive about detail," says his wife, and quick to anger when things don't go his way.

'A new generation': The elder son of a wealthy coffee-growing family, Arias, 46, grew up in the provincial city of Heredia. He inherited on his father's side a long tradition of government service: his grandfather had served in two presidential cabinets; his father had run the country's central bank. Arias also learned from his travels. After graduating from a Roman Catholic-run high school, Arias spent several months in the United States. On Cape Cod in 1960 he met John

F. Kennedy, then a presidential candidate; 25 years later, in his own presidential campaign, Arias billed himself as the "leader of a new generation." After college Arias spent three years in England studying political science. Those years "left a large imprint on my way of thinking," Arias told NEWSWEEK last July. "I learned to look at things from a different perspective than that of a superpower." Arias's admiration for British understatement, says the Western European diplomat, left him with a distaste for "all this [Reagan administration] talk about kicking ass and pushing people around."

That doesn't mean Arias is interested in self-effacement; he takes himself *very* seriously. Like many sickly children—Arias had asthma—he was a voracious reader, and he likes to show off his erudition. In Guatemala City for the regional summit in August, Arias quoted Rudyard Kipling and Jorge Luis Borges; coming after the plain talk of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, the Costa Rican's speech seemed pretentious. Arias can happily spend hours leafing through scrapbooks of his newspaper clippings and campaign mementos, and he enjoyed watching his own television spots during the election. Moments before his great triumph in Guatemala City, when he was about to present the new peace accord to the press and public, Arias recognized an American reporter in the crowd—and asked when a postponed profile of himself was finally going to run.

That vanity has led some critics to accuse Arias of being obsessed with his image. Still, whatever fuels his drive, his efforts have brought closer a resolution to the regional strife that has taken more than 100,000 lives in this decade. Is Arias playing to history? Why not—since history might just listen.

NANCY COOPER with JOSEPH CONTRERAS in San José

the cheerful, twenty-six-year-old daughter of Prince Charles's polo manager, Ronald Ferguson. While they had not traveled in the same circles, Miss Ferguson, an editor in a London publishing house, had known the prince from her childhood, and the pair soon became inseparable. Wary of the press, the two managed to avoid the spotlight for several months. It was only after "Fergie," as she is known to friends, was spotted holding hands with the prince at Sandringham, where she had joined the royal family for the New Year's holiday, that journalists and photographers descended on the young woman. Although the press reported that Miss Ferguson had previously been involved in two serious relationships, the public nonetheless seemed to accept her as the first suitable potential partner for Prince Andrew, whose possible ascension to the throne was now quite remote, given the birth of two sons to the Prince and Princess of Wales. Miss Ferguson may have been technically a commoner, but as a writer for the *London Times* put it, "Some commoners are less common than others."

The official announcement, on March 19, 1986, of the engagement of Prince Andrew and Sarah Ferguson was greeted enthusiastically by the British people. Mindful of the public's interest in the prince and his down-to-earth bride-to-be, the palace agreed to allow television cameras to follow the couple for over three months. The resulting documentary, broadcast in Britain and Canada in the early summer of 1986, served as a prelude to the pair's wedding, with full royal pomp, in Westminster Abbey on July 23, 1986. Two hours before his marriage, Prince Andrew was created Duke of York, Earl of Inverness and Baron Killyleagh. (Duke of York is the title traditionally conferred on a British monarch's second son.) Following a honeymoon cruise of the Azores in the royal yacht, *Britannia*, the Duke and Duchess resumed their official duties and their careers. Andrew officially took his seat in the House of Lords on February 11, 1987.

A handsome, athletically built six-footer with brown hair and intense blue eyes, Andrew is thought by many to resemble his father in looks and temperament. He has a keen sense of humor and is said to do a superb imitation of the stereotypical upperclass "twit." Fond of most outdoor sports, he especially enjoys skiing, sailing, and shooting. In recent years he has devoted much of his spare-time to photography. Exhibitions of Andrew's work have been held at the Hamilton Gallery, in 1983, and at the Royal Albert Hall, in 1986. *Photographs*, a selection charting his progress from a "through-the-window" beginner to what one reviewer called "a very respectable high-amateur status," was published by Hamish Hamilton in 1986. Andrew is patron of the British Schools Exploring Society, the Jubilee Sailing Trust, the Aycliffe School, and the SS *Great Britain* appeal, and in June 1986 he was named a governor of Gordons-toun School.

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Arias Sánchez, Oscar

(ã' ryás)

Sept. 13, 1941- President of Costa Rica. Address: Casa Presidencial, San José, Costa Rica

Oscar Arias Sánchez, president of Costa Rica since May 1986, has assumed the role of peacemaker in strife-torn Central America in his determination to prevent his country—known as the "Switzerland" or "Denmark" of the Americas—from being used as a battleground in the conflict between neighboring Nicaragua's Marxist Sandinista government and United States-supported Contra rebels seeking to overthrow it. Educated in the United States and Great Britain, Arias served with distinction as Costa Rica's minister of planning from 1972 to 1977 and as general secretary of the moderately socialist National Liberation party from 1979 to 1984. As president he has tried to maintain Costa Rica's neutrality, political stability, high cultural level, and relative prosperity, despite serious economic problems. With reference to his country's relationship with the United States, which has contributed more economic assistance per capita to Costa Rica than to any other country except Israel, Arias has

ARIAS SANCHEZ

said: "I value nothing more than friendship—friendship between people, friendship between nations. Friendship implies loyalty, but loyalty is not synonymous with servitude or unconditionality." The Costa Rican president's efforts to end the strife in Central America earned him the Nobel Peace Prize in October 1987.

The scion of one of Costa Rica's most prosperous coffee-producing families, Oscar Arias Sánchez was born in Heredia, near San José, the Costa Rican capital, on September 13, 1941, to Juan Rafael Arias Trejos and his wife, the former Lilian Sánchez. His brother, Rodrigo Arias Sánchez, serves as presidential chief of staff in his administration. His paternal grandfather, Juan Rafael Arias Bonilla, was a prominent legislator and government minister, and his grandfather on his mother's side, Julio Sánchez Lepiz, the founder of the family's coffee-growing enterprise, also served in the national legislative assembly.

After receiving his early education in Costa Rica, at the Escuela República Argentina in Heredia and at the Colegio Saint Francis in Moravia, where he was a member of the soccer team, Arias went to the United States, originally to study medicine at Boston University. While there, he took a great interest in the televised Kennedy-Nixon debates that preceded the 1960 presidential elections, and he decided to make John F. Kennedy, whom he met on Cape Cod, his role model. Returning to his native country, Arias studied with the faculty of law and economic science at the University of Costa Rica in San José, and during his student years there became actively involved in the Partido de Liberación Nacional (PLN). His essay "La Crisis de Berlín," a description of events surrounding the Soviet blockade of the western sector of the German metropolis in 1948 and 1949 as a confrontation between freedom and totalitarianism was written in 1961 for a competition sponsored by the San José newspaper *La Nación*. Published by Luis Alberto Monge and Father Benjamin Núñez in their journal *Combate*, it favorably impressed PLN leaders.

In 1964 Arias met José Figueres Ferrer, the elder statesman of the PLN, and worked with him in organizing study groups dealing with national affairs. During the 1965-66 election campaign, Arias helped the PLN candidate, Daniel Oduber, in his abortive effort to win the national presidency. After completing his studies at the University of Costa Rica with a *Licenciatura en ambas*, Arias went to England to study under a British government grant at the University of Essex and the London School of Economics and Political Science. He returned to Costa Rica in 1969 to write a dissertation about the socioeconomic origins of the Costa Rican political leadership that earned him a doctorate from the University of Essex. It was published in 1974 under the title *¿Quién gobierna en Costa Rica?* From 1969 to 1972, Arias held a professorship in the school of political science at the University of Costa Rica. His book *Grupos de Presión en Costa Rica* (dealing with pressure groups in Costa Rica) was published in 1970 and earned him the Premio Nacional de Ensayo in the following year.

When José Figueres was returned to the presidency of Costa Rica in May 1970 after a twelve-year absence, he invited Arias to join his economic council. In August 1972 Figueres appointed Arias to his cabinet as minister of national planning and political economy, and when Daniel Oduber succeeded Figueres as president in May 1974, he retained Arias in the cabinet post until July 1977. Considered one of the most successful planning ministers in Costa Rica's history, Arias put into effect an elaborate program designed to stimulate national economic growth, technological development, and full employment. Among the cornerstones of his tenure were the construction of the Plaza de la Cultura, a cultural park in the center of San José, and the promotion, in November 1976, of a symposium at which prominent persons in various fields discussed the future socioeconomic and political development of Costa Rica. Its conclusions were published in 1977 in the book *La Costa Rica del año 2000*.

In February 1978 Arias was elected to represent Heredia in the national legislative assembly, where he was a leading critic of the administration of Rodrigo Carazo Odio, the standardbearer of the conservative Partido Unidad Social Cristiana, who was widely regarded as one of the least effective presidents in recent Costa Rican history. In the legislative assembly, Arias introduced various projects to reform the national constitution and to streamline the electoral process. He relinquished his parliamentary seat in May 1981 to take an active part in the campaign of Luis Alberto Monge, who was elected president as the PLN candidate in February 1982. Meanwhile, rising in the ranks of the PLN, in which he represented the more conservative wing, Arias was chosen in August 1975 as the party's international secretary, and in July 1979 he was elected to the top PLN post, that of general secretary, to which he was reelected in June 1983.

In addition, Arias was from 1970 to 1972 a vice-president of the board of directors of the Banco Central de Costa Rica, and he continued to serve as a member of the bank's board until 1977. From 1972 to 1974 he was a member of the *ad hoc* commission of the National University of Heredia; from 1974 to 1977 he was a director of the technological institute of Costa Rica and a member of the national council of university rectors; in 1976 he served on the board of directors of the International University Exchange Fund, with headquarters in Geneva; and in 1977 he was a member of the North-South Roundtable, convening in Rome. Over the years, Arias also took part in a variety of international conferences and seminars dealing with Third World affairs and other matters, and as a leading democratic socialist he represented Costa Rica at various congresses of the Socialist International.

Arias' views on the major issues facing Costa Rica in recent years were outlined by J. S. Fuerst, who interviewed him for *Commonweal* magazine (May 9, 1986). According to Fuerst, "Arias . . . stands for greater equalization of income by in-

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was returned to the presidency in May 1970 after a twelve-year hiatus. Arias joined his economic team in 1971 when Daniel Oduber was appointed president. In May 1974, he resigned his cabinet post until July 1977. His most successful planning effort was the 1975-76 program designed to stimulate growth, technological development, and infrastructure. Among the cornerstones were the construction of the national park in the center of the country, in November 1976, of prominent persons in various fields of future socioeconomic and cultural development of Costa Rica. Its conclusion was published in 1977 in the book *La Costa*.

Arias was elected to represent the national legislative assembly, a vocal critic of the administration, and the standardbearer of the Unidad Social Cristiana, who is one of the least effective political parties in Costa Rican history. In the legislature, he introduced various proposals for constitutional and political reform. He relinquished his post in May 1981 to take an advisory role with Luis Alberto Monge, then president as the PLN candidate. While rising in the ranks of the PLN, he represented the more conservative wing of the party, chosen in August 1975 as secretary, and in July 1979 as PLN post, that of general secretary. He was reelected in June 1983. From 1970 to 1972 a vice-president of directors of the Banco de Costa Rica and he continued to serve on the board until 1977. From 1978 to 1981 member of the *ad hoc* committee of the University of Heredia; he was a director of the technocratic center in Costa Rica and a member of the university rectors; in 1976 he was a director of the International Development Fund, with headquarters in Washington. He was a member of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, convening in Rome. He took part in a variety of conferences and seminars dealing with economic and social matters, and as a socialist he represented Costa Rica at the Socialist Interna-

major issues facing Costa Rica were outlined by J. S. Fuerst, in the *Commonweal* magazine. According to Fuerst, "Arias . . . nationalization of income by in-

creasing real wages, by raising taxes on the middle and upper classes, by enhancing education, health, and housing services, and by intensifying the program of cooperatives—both consumer and producer." But although Arias considers cooperatives an effective alternative course to both private ownership and government enterprise, Costa Rican efforts during the presidency of Monge to transfer unwieldy state-owned enterprises to cooperative sponsorship were hindered by the United States Agency for International Development (AID), which insisted on subsidizing only transfers to private enterprise. "We have got to convince the U.S. that a more extensive use of cooperatives is most important for Costa Rica," Arias told Fuerst. "It is the way to bring grass-roots democracy to people. . . . And it is more efficient than state-owned enterprises."

While rejecting Communist demands for widespread land distribution, Arias believes that farmers and workers could best be helped by such means as wage increases and keeping up the level of farm prices, by the creation of jobs through new developments in agriculture and industry, and by grass-roots participation in decision-making on the local level. He is also a staunch supporter of educational reforms and of cultural exchange programs. "What Costa Rica needs as much as anything is improvement of its education," he told J. S. Fuerst. "We cannot use the U.S. as a guide. . . . We have to have technical vocational schools. We have to combine them with the cooperative movement for a kind of work-study program. Perhaps most of all we need a substantial improvement in the quality of teachers. We must raise salaries, offer more scholarships for foreign study. . . ." Although critical of the Sandinista regime of Nicaragua because of its authoritarianism and its restrictions on civil liberties at home, as well as indications that it was fomenting unrest in Costa Rica through the domestic Communist organization, Arias resisted right-wing pressure to adopt a militant anti-Sandinista stand, and he consistently supported efforts to resolve Central American hostilities through negotiations.

Arias relinquished the post of secretary general of the PLN in January 1984 to seek nomination as the party's candidate for the presidency in the national elections scheduled for February 1986. Although the incumbent, Luis Alberto Monge, was one of the most popular presidents in Costa Rica's history, largely as a result of his policy of neutrality combined with his sharply critical attitude toward Nicaragua's Sandinistas, he was prevented by the constitution from running for a second consecutive term. After some interparty factional strife, in which he provoked resentment as an upstart by the party's traditional bosses, Arias was nominated as the presidential candidate at a PLN conference on January 27, 1985. According to James LeMoyné, writing in the *New York Times* (February 4, 1986), Arias "rolled up his usually carefully pressed sleeves and bruised his way through the opposition of the party's aging bosses to win the presidential

nomination. The fight left damaging divisions in the . . . party until the prospect of a likely defeat late in the campaign rallied party leaders behind Mr. Arias."

On the eve of the elections, Costa Rica was plagued by a national debt of some \$4.5 billion that it had accumulated while supporting a welfare state during a period of depressed commodity prices and slow economic growth. Economic collapse was averted only by an infusion of large-scale foreign loans and United States aid. In December 1985 some \$80 million in American and international credits were suspended until Costa Rica fulfilled demands by the World Bank to reduce the number of government employees and to cut certain import taxes, as well as the budget of the National Production Council, which subsidizes basic food commodities. Furthermore, despite an official policy of neutrality, United States-backed Contra forces were operating against Nicaragua's Sandinista regime from Costa Rican soil during Monge's presidency, while American Green Beret troops were training Costa Rica's civil guards. The presence of some 250,000 Central American refugees in Costa Rica, most of them from Nicaragua, was creating further social, health, and employment problems.

Arias' chief opponent for the elections was Rafael Angel Calderon Fournier, a former foreign minister and an unsuccessful candidate in the 1982 presidential election, representing the right-of-center Partido Unidad Social Cristiana (PUSC). At first the two leading candidates appeared to be about equal in strength, and their platforms were similar, both emphasizing economic recovery and the preservation of Costa Rica's traditional neutrality and friendship toward the United States while expressing hostility toward Nicaragua. Adopting the campaign slogan "roofs, jobs, and peace," Arias promised the voters improvements in housing, employment, and social services, and pledged to meet the country's staggering foreign debt without dismantling the welfare state that had given Costa Rica its high standard of living.

In the final weeks of the campaign, Arias gained substantially in the opinion polls after taking a more assertive stance as the "peace" candidate. When Calderon suggested at one point that he favored sending border guards to fight in Honduras in the event that Nicaragua invaded that country, Arias called him a "hawk" who would drag Costa Rica into a war. In response, Calderon asserted that Arias represented a corrupt and complacent ruling party that should be replaced by a new leadership for the benefit of the nation. Shortly before the election, Arias emphasized that Costa Rica was "a welfare state and not a garrison state."

In the elections of February 2, 1986, in which 1,185,222 Costa Ricans—about 80 percent of the eligible voters—went to the polls, Arias emerged as the victor, with 620,315 votes, or 52.3 percent of the total, while Calderon received 542,434 votes, or 45.8 percent. Of the fifty-seven seats in the unicameral legislative assembly, twenty-nine went to the

ARIAS SANCHEZ

PLN and twenty-five were claimed by the PUSC, while the remaining three seats went to leftist splinter groups whose share of the popular vote was less than 2 percent. In his victory speech, Arias expressed satisfaction that the people had "chosen bread" over rifles, and he warned the approximately 3,000 Nicaraguan Contras on Costa Rican soil that he would not allow them to abuse the nation's hospitality or to put its sovereignty at risk.

Sworn in on May 8, 1986 for a four-year term as Costa Rica's forty-seventh and youngest president, Arias declared in his inaugural address: "We will keep Costa Rica out of the armed conflicts of Central America and we will endeavor through diplomatic and political means to prevent Central American brothers from killing each other." Referring to Costa Rica as an oasis of peace and freedom, Arias extolled the virtues of democracy and emphasized the need for Latin American economic recovery and the preservation of Costa Rica's neutrality to the assembled dignitaries, who included United States Vice-President George Bush and ten Latin American heads of state. He pledged to support the so-called Contadora peace treaty, sponsored by Colombia, Panama, Mexico, and Venezuela, which would require democratic elections, demilitarization, and internal reconciliation for all of Central America.

On May 24 and 25, 1986, Arias met with the presidents of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua in a Central American summit conference at Esquipulas, Guatemala to discuss the proposed Contadora peace accord for the region. In their final declaration, the five leaders recognized the need for the Contadora pact to be signed eventually but admitted that fundamental differences on key points remained to be resolved, notably in regard to arms control and limitations on international military maneuvers in the region, and Nicaragua's refusal to sign the pact as long as the United States continued to fund the Contra rebels. At Arias' request, a phrase that described the five signatories as "freely elected by the will of their respective peoples," which he felt did not apply to Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra, was omitted from the final draft. The declaration called for continued dialogue to enhance democracy and pluralism in Central America, to promote regional cooperation for social and economic development, and to establish means for the resolution of differences without outside interference. The leaders also agreed to initiate a Central American parliament.

On the economic front, Arias instituted measures to stimulate the infusion of money from abroad, including a "tax holiday" for foreign investors and the establishment of a free-trade zone near San José, but the national economy continued to be vulnerable. Although Arias resumed making interest payments on the country's foreign debt, which had been suspended by Monge, the expenditures of some \$250 million a year—about 30 percent of export earnings—exceeded what Costa Rica could expect in new grants and loans from

abroad. In September and October 1986 labor unions representing all sectors of the work force, from banana plantation and dock workers to civil servants and schoolteachers, staged massive demonstrations to protest salary increases that fell far short of the double-digit inflation rate. In response, the government called for a "great national pact" to deal with wage problems, but with little immediate effect. Similarly, the government's removal, in July 1986, of subsidies for basic grain products and the imposition of farm price ceilings led to demonstrations by farmers, compelling Arias to reinstate the subsidies in October.

Despite his strong criticism of Nicaragua's Sandinista government, Arias has vigorously opposed United States funding of the Contra rebels, contending that the money could be put to better use in promoting the survival of liberal democracy in Central America by peaceful means. "The more you give to the Contras, the more [Nicaraguan President] Ortega gets from the Soviets," he has said, as quoted by Stephen Kinzer in the *New York Times* (September 16, 1986). His program of "stability with growth and social justice" would, in his view, be impossible to achieve if there was no peace.

As a means of safeguarding his country's neutrality, Arias has moved decisively against Contra activities in Costa Rica. During the summer and early fall of 1986 the Arias government arrested several Contra activists and dismissed government officials who permitted a secret Contra hospital to operate on Costa Rican soil. "We're going to throw them out no matter who they are if we catch them helping the Contras," Arias has asserted. In September 1986 Costa Rican civil guards occupied a secret 6,520-foot airstrip near the Nicaraguan border that was being used for Contra supply flights. It had been built under the supervision of associates of former White House aide Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, who was later dismissed in connection with the Iran-Contra scandals. When in November 1986 Contra leaders met in San José to discuss future plans, Arias denied visas to two of their top men, Adolfo Calero and Enrique Bermúdez, whom he considered military rather than political figures.

At a meeting on February 15, 1987 with the presidents of Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, Arias put forth his proposals for a new regional peace plan for Central America, based on the Contadora proposals but broader in scope. The ten-point plan, described by Arias as a "risk for peace," called for immediate cease-fires in all guerrilla wars in the region—in Guatemala and El Salvador as well as in Nicaragua. All outside military aid to rebel groups would be suspended; there would be a general amnesty; and negotiations between conflicting parties would be initiated. This would be followed by free elections in the region, guarantees for improved human and civil rights, and a general reduction in military forces. In Arias' view, the plan would put the Sandinistas to a test. "If we arrive at an agreement and Nicaragua does not fulfill

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the obligations . . .," he told John Moody in an interview for *Time* (June 29, 1987), "then it will put an end to this ambiguity which has permitted the Sandinistas to receive the support of both democratic and totalitarian governments." Democratic Senator Christopher Dodd of Connecticut, who was present at the initial meeting, termed Arias' proposals "an important first step for the Central Americans to get out of the bleachers and into the playing field in order to begin solving their own problems," and Flora Lewis noted in her *New York Times* column (May 27, 1987) that "the beauty of the Arias plan is that it will clarify the issues so badly muddled by shifting United States policy statements and covert actions."

At first, the Arias plan received wide support, in Latin America, the United States, and Western Europe, and even the PUSC opposition in Costa Rica endorsed it. Nicaraguan President Ortega, after an initial negative reaction, also indicated that he was receptive to it. On March 12, 1987, the United States senate, in a nonbinding resolution sponsored by Democratic Senator Terry Sanford of North Carolina, endorsed the Arias plan by a vote of ninety-seven to one, although Republican spokesmen warned that their support of a negotiated settlement should not be interpreted as abandonment of Reagan administration policies.

Eventually, however, the Arias plan became subject to increasing criticism. On June 17, 1987, Arias was invited to the White House in Washington, D.C. to consult with President Ronald Reagan and other officials in a sixty-five minute meeting that was later described by Costa Rican sources as "sharp, tense, and blunt." Reagan reportedly found a number of "loopholes" in the plan and maintained that it made undue concessions to the Sandinistas. The plan also caused concern in El Salvador, whose president, José Napoleon Duarte, feared that the agreement would force his government to make concessions to imprisoned leftist rebels. Meanwhile, Sandinista spokesmen accused the United States of trying to isolate Nicaragua and to sabotage the possibility of a negotiated settlement. Discussions of the Arias plan at a summit meeting originally scheduled for June 25, 1987 were postponed.

Finally, on August 7, 1987, after some prodding by the Costa Rican president, the five Central American heads of state, meeting in Guatemala City, signed a regional peace plan essentially based on the Arias proposals and scheduled to go into effect on November 7, 1987. At the same time they shunted aside a plan presented three days earlier by President Reagan and Jim Wright, the speaker of the House of Representatives, that placed greater demands on the Sandinistas, imposed a shorter deadline than was provided for under the Arias plan, and left the door open for renewed United States aid to the Contras. Although the Arias plan left some questions unresolved, it was widely hailed as a breakthrough toward peace, and even President Reagan welcomed what he called "this commitment to peace and democracy by the five Central American presidents."

On September 20, 1987, Arias embarked on an eight-day visit to the United States to promote his peace plan, consult with President Reagan and other United States officials, and address Congress and the UN General Assembly. He made no reference to a recent proposal by Reagan to ask Congress for \$270 million in new aid to the Contras but urged his American hosts to "give peace a chance."

Arias received appropriate recognition for his peace efforts when on October 13, 1987, the Norwegian Nobel committee named him the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, citing his "outstanding contribution to the possible return of stability and peace to a region long torn by strife and civil war." Although the award was widely hailed, it was seen as a setback for the Reagan administration, whose continued efforts to aid the Contras now appeared to be doomed.

Oscar Arias Sánchez was married in 1973 to Margarita Penón Góngora, a biochemist who graduated from Vassar College in the United States. Their children are Silvia Eugenia and Oscar Felipe. Described in the *Nation* as "a man of intelligence and enormous pride," Arias has, according to James LeMoyné in the *New York Times*, "some of the reserve and intellectual independence" that is reflected in his British academic training. His published works include *Democracia, Independencia y Sociedad Latinoamericana* (1977), *Los Caminos para el Desarrollo de Costa Rica* (1977), and *Nuevos Rumbos para el Desarrollo Costarricense* (1980), as well diverse articles in periodicals and scholarly journals. "It takes Oscar a long time to make up his mind sometimes," one friend has said of him. "But when he does he's very single-minded."

References: *Christian Sci Mon* p14 My 8 '86; *Commonweal* 113:272+ My 9 '86; *N Y Times A* p3 F 4 '86, A p12 S 23 '87 por; *Nation* 243:698+ D 20 '86; *Newsweek* 105:44+ O 26 '87 por; *Time* 130:44+ O 26 '87 por; *Who's Who in the World*, 1987-88

Ashcroft, Peggy

Dec. 22, 1907 - British actress. Address: b. c/o The Royal Shakespeare Company, Barbican Theatre, Barbican Centre, Silk St., London EC2Y 8BQ, England; h. "Manor Lodge," Froggnal Lane, London N.W. 3, England

NOTE: This biography supersedes the article that appeared in *Current Biography* in 1963.

Indisputably the supreme English-speaking actress of our time, in the view of the majority of theatre critics and historians and most of her colleagues, Dame Peggy Ashcroft has been a dominant force in British theatre for more than fifty years. Acclaimed for her brilliant technique, her emotional

OMIC COOPERATION

)). The OECD was successor of the Organic Cooperation. Its economic and social aid to coordinate and induce to developing E.

N UNITY (OAU).

The y 25, 1963, when 30 ned its charter at a thiopia. The current Morocco, white-ruled ident" South African ibia.

have declared their principles: the sover- n states; noninterfer- rs of member states; and territorial integri- ful settlement of dis- ation, conciliation, or ndemnation of polit- n to the total emanci- n territories; and, fil- icy of nonalignment wers. The headquar- s Ababa. The organi- sting of heads of state, eral every four years. es-general represent and Southern Africa. eological differences ong its members, the al threats to peace. It n Algerian-Moroccan 965 and in Somalia's enya and Ethiopia in able to stop the bitter -1970. The successes l its support of libera- Africa and the cooper- nsored in education, d technology.

lies within the OAU . The first critical is- February of the Saha- ublic (SADR) as the nization. The SADR 976 by leaders of the ent in Western Sahara, claimed and occupied on of the SADR funda- ons and led to the col- ummit in Tripoli, Lib- : to revive the summit i the SADR agreed to ng, but by then a new s leader, Muammar al- at Goukouni Oueddei, president of Chad and ment in the north with

of the SADR, the sum- e 1983 at Addis Ababa. ed the meeting, the ex- reaffirmed. But when t the November 1984 : OAU.

ty remains an elusive uted to the stability of its authority is limited criticize member states

for actions that run contrary to its principles. While the OAU has formally adopted an African charter on human rights, few states have signed it. If the OAU is to be effective in the future, it will have to grapple directly with sensitive questions such as the violation of human rights by its members. See also PAN-AFRICANISM.

PATRICK O'MEARA, *Indiana University*

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS), the intergovernmental organization, established in 1948 under the United Nations Charter, for the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Although Canada, as a member of the (British) Commonwealth, rejected an invitation to join, most of the former European colonies in the Caribbean area that attained independence from 1962 onward have opted for OAS membership. Cuba was suspended from the OAS in 1962.

Pan American Antecedents. Attempts to promote economic, cultural, and military cooperation among Western Hemisphere nations date from the Latin American movements for independence from Spain and Portugal early in the 19th century. The United States identified with the emerging Latin American nations in 1823 in issuing the Monroe Doctrine, which declared the Western Hemisphere closed to further European colonization. Spanish American leaders, while welcoming U.S. support against Spain and its allies, were wary of North American intentions. South American liberator Simón Bolívar envisioned a league of Spanish American republics formed to guard against possible North American aggression as well as for defense against the Europeans. In 1826, Colombia summoned the other Spanish American nations to a conference in Panama (then a Colombian province) but, contrary to Bolívar's wishes, also invited the United States. The U.S. delegation arrived in Panama after the meeting had adjourned, and the Spanish American states that attended—Mexico, Central America, Colombia (including Venezuela and Ecuador), and Peru—failed to ratify the mutual-defense treaty signed at the conference.

Repeatedly confronted with armed incursions by Spain, France, or Britain, Spanish American governments met in several indifferently attended conferences in the half-century following independence but failed to form a mutual-defense system. The United States, after ignoring the British seizure of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands in 1833, reaffirmed the Monroe Doctrine in the 1840's and thereafter sided with Latin Americans resisting European aggression. The U.S. stand precluded further European territorial gains in the Western Hemisphere but did not prevent the United States from seizing nearly half the territory of Mexico in 1846–1848. By 1889, when the United States invited the other nations of the hemisphere to a conference in Washington, the European threat had receded, but Spanish American suspicions of the United States remained active.

Nevertheless, the Washington Conference of 1889–1890 was attended by representatives of all the American republics except the Dominican Republic. While the participants agreed to the creation of a permanent bureau for the collection and publication of commercial information, they would not accept U.S. proposals for a customs union and the establishment of machinery for the settlement of international disputes. The Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, with

OAS MEMBERS

Antigua and Barbuda	Honduras
Argentina	Jamaica
The Bahamas	Mexico
Barbados	Nicaragua
Bolivia	Panama
Brazil	Paraguay
Chile	Peru
Colombia	Saint Christopher and Nevis
Costa Rica	Saint Lucia
Cuba (suspended)	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
Dominica	Surinam
Dominican Republic	Trinidad and Tobago
Ecuador	United States
El Salvador	Uruguay
Grenada	Venezuela
Guatemala	
Haiti	

headquarters in Washington, was redesignated the Pan American Union in 1910, and the Washington Conference became, in retrospect, the First Pan American Conference. Subsequent Pan American Conferences, held during a period of recurring U.S. military intervention in Mexico and the Caribbean, accomplished little.

In 1933, at the seventh conference in Montevideo, Uruguay, the United States finally agreed to a Latin American-backed resolution denying the right of any state to intervene in the affairs of another. This cleared the way for greater cooperation among Western Hemisphere governments during the World War II period. Hemispheric solidarity in the face of extracontinental threats was proclaimed in 1938 at the Pan American Conference in Lima, Peru. Following the Japanese attack on the United States in 1941, most Latin American nations broke diplomatic relations with the Axis powers and, eventually, declared war on them. A postwar conference held near Rio de Janeiro in 1947 resulted in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty), a formal mutual-defense pact that was ratified by all 21 American republics.

Founding of the OAS. The signatories of the Rio Treaty convened in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1948 to establish a comprehensive regional security system under Article 52 of the Charter of the United Nations. Meeting at the behest of the United States at the onset of the Cold War, in a city racked by leftist-inspired rioting, the delegates took a strong stand against "international Communism," which was declared incompatible with inter-American principles. The organization launched at Bogotá was the OAS. From its beginning it was resolutely anti-Communist, and, although its charter proclaimed the equality of states, the OAS could not escape domination by the United States.

The OAS charter, as amended in 1967, provides for a General Secretariat, headed by a secretary-general elected for a five-year term, its headquarters in Washington. Also in Washington is the Permanent Council, on which each state is represented by an ambassador having one vote. The Council is the provisional organ of consultation in case of a threat to peace. Collective action cannot be taken without the approval of two thirds of OAS foreign ministers at a formal Meeting of Consultation. Unilateral action by one state against another, except in immediate self-defense, is forbidden.

The policy-making body of the OAS is the General Assembly, which meets annually, with members represented by foreign ministers or heads of state. The assembly also controls the OAS budget and supervises specialized agencies

concerned with economic and social development and educational, scientific, and cultural exchange. These agencies provide funds for training and research in various scientific and scholarly fields.

The OAS in Action. As a peacekeeping organization, the OAS was effective in ending border hostilities between Costa Rica and Nicaragua in 1948–1949 and 1955 and in arranging a truce in the 1969 war between El Salvador and Honduras. In each case the OAS pressured the belligerents to cease fire and negotiate, and provided truce-supervision personnel. As an anti-Communist alliance, the OAS in 1951 endorsed the UN war effort in Korea and, in 1954, adopted a resolution, which only Guatemala voted against, condemning Communist activity in the Western Hemisphere. This set the stage for the overthrow of the leftist Guatemalan government by a U.S.-orchestrated exile invasion from Honduras.

Cuba defeated a similar U.S.-instigated invasion in 1961. The next year, by a bare two-thirds majority vote, Cuba was suspended from the OAS for declaring itself Marxist-Leninist. Later in 1962 the OAS supported U.S. efforts to force the removal of Soviet missiles from Cuba. In 1964 the OAS ordered diplomatic and economic sanctions against Cuba for providing arms to rebels in Venezuela. The sanctions, which were ignored by Mexico and several other OAS members, were lifted in 1975.

In 1960, OAS sanctions were imposed on the Dominican Republic to punish the rightist dictatorship of Rafael L. Trujillo for fomenting insurrection in Venezuela, but they were lifted after Trujillo's assassination in 1961. In 1965 the United States acted unilaterally in landing troops in the Dominican Republic to prevent a leftist takeover. Consulted after the fact, the OAS approved the North American move and created an inter-American peace force, composed mainly of Brazilians, to replace the U.S. troops. After supervising elections, the OAS force withdrew from the Dominican Republic in 1966.

The OAS intervened in Nicaragua's civil war in 1979 with a resolution calling for the resignation of Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza Debayle. Somoza's fall, shortly afterward, was followed by an intensification of revolutionary conflict in Central America, which the United States blamed on the new Sandinista government of Nicaragua. Lacking convincing evidence of an extracontinental threat to the hemisphere through Nicaragua, the United States was unable to mobilize the OAS against Nicaragua in the early 1980's as it had done against Cuba two decades earlier. Also, the United States weakened its credibility as a champion of hemispheric solidarity by supporting an extracontinental power, Britain, against an OAS member, Argentina, in the 1982 Falkland Islands War.

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ORGANIZATION OF THE PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC), an organization of petroleum-producing countries that control about four fifths of the oil reserves of the non-Communist world. OPEC was founded in Baghdad, Iraq, in September 1960 in response to the practice of international oil companies of lowering crude-oil prices without consulting the Middle Eastern oil states in which they held concessions. The founding members were Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and one country outside the Middle East, namely Venezuela. Their aim was to present a united front in negotiating prices to be set by the companies, as the revenues they received in taxes and royalties were based on these prices.

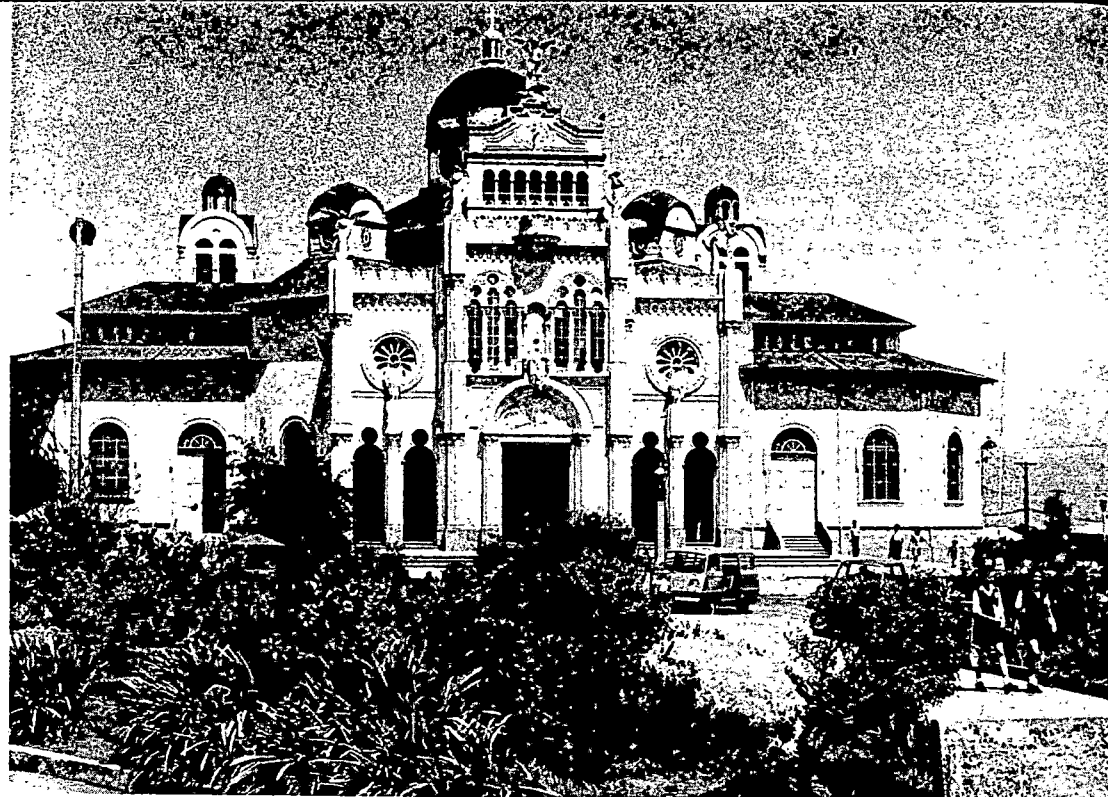
The membership was raised to 13 in the early 1970's with the admission of Algeria, Ecuador, Gabon, Indonesia, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates. The oil states moved rapidly toward control of their oil resources by various means, including nationalization. With the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli October War in 1973, the states terminated OPEC's policy of negotiating price increases with the companies, and thereafter prices and production goals were established by the OPEC nations unilaterally.

However, continuing unity proved difficult to achieve, and OPEC was only intermittently successful in establishing firmly unified prices. In fact, at times OPEC barely survived total disintegration because of internal differences between revolutionary Iran, which came into existence in 1979 with the overthrow of the shah, and OPEC's leading producer, the conservative kingdom of Saudi Arabia; and between Iraq and Iran, which began a long, drawn-out war in 1980. But the greatest strain on the organization was created by the worldwide economic slump that deepened in the early 1980's. When the demand for oil dropped as the world's economies faltered, OPEC attempted to hold oil prices up by setting production quotas for its members. These were ignored by Iran among others, and impoverished Nigeria sold its oil considerably below OPEC's officially pegged price in order to hold its share of the market. In spite of these strains the form, if not the substance, of OPEC endured.

ORGANIZED LABOR. See LABOR UNION.

ORGANOMETALLIC COMPOUNDS, 6r-gə-nō-mə-tal'ik, chemical compounds in which metals typically are bonded to organic molecules. A common and exemplary organometallic compound is tetraethyl lead, $Pb(C_2H_5)_4$, the antiknock compound still used in some gasolines. It contains four organic ethyl groups, CH_3CH_2- , each attached by one of its carbon atoms to a central lead atom. This bond between a carbon atom and a metal atom is what characterizes most organometallics.

After the discovery of organoarsenic compounds by Robert Bunsen in 1841, organometallic chemistry became a rewarding area for investigation. It made possible precise determinations of atomic weights and contributed significantly to the understanding of chemical bonding. The development of organomagnesium derivatives as intermediates in chemical syntheses, for which Victor Grignard received the Nobel Prize in 1912, had a manifold effect on the growth of organic chemistry. (See GRIGNARD REAGENT.) In 1951 the disclosure of "sandwich"



SHOSTAL ASSOCIATES

Cartago's Basilica of Our Lady of the Angels is dedicated to the patron saint of Costa Rica.

were literate. Subsequently, however, several educators became president. Their zeal in increasing the education budget and importing new teaching techniques led to much progress.

The government estimates that more than 90% of the people over 10 years of age are literate. At the same time, it has acknowledged that functional literacy may be only about 70%. Both figures are high for the Western Hemisphere.

Primary and secondary education are free, and the first nine years of instruction are compulsory. The leading institution of higher learning is the University of Costa Rica, in San José, which has been an innovator in educational methods.

4. Government

The military, the church, and other power groups have little special influence in Costa Rican government. Furthermore, the president does not ride roughshod over Congress, and the parties operate within a context of free elections and legitimacy. A notable feature of the constitution is that it outlaws a standing army.

Elections for the presidency, for the legislature, and for the offices of municipal officials take place (at the same time) every four years. Unless the leading presidential candidate gets over 40% of the vote, a runoff election is required, with all contenders eliminated except the two who received the largest number of votes. A president cannot serve consecutive terms but may run again after being out of office for two terms.

The national legislature, the Chamber of Deputies, is a unicameral body elected under a system of proportional representation by party lists. Seats are apportioned among the provinces according to population.

Political participation is widespread. Illiterates have the right to vote, women's suffrage was

introduced in 1949, and voting is mandatory (although not usually enforced). Campaigning is vigorous, and the personality feuds, memories of the 1948 civil war, and a general interest in politics make most of the citizens political participants. An electoral court helps to guarantee free elections.

5. History

More than a half century passed between Costa Rica's discovery by Columbus in 1502 and the beginnings of its settlement by Spanish immigrants, some of whom filtered south from Nicaragua. The settlers soon discovered that the 30,000 or so Indians who occupied the area could not be made to work on large estates. The Indians fled to the mountains and if they were captured they were shipped to Panama or to the mines of Peru.

The settlers therefore had to cultivate their own small plots. Since most of the Indians were gone, no large *mestizo* population emerged among the whites. Cut off by the surrounding mountains from contact with the outside world, the farmers, who had congregated mainly on the Meseta Central, spent the long colonial period in economic isolation and intellectual darkness. The roots of subsequent Costa Rican democracy have been traced to this period of isolation and poverty.

The 19th Century. In 1821, with little excitement and no bloodshed, Costa Ricans declared their independence from Spain. In 1822-1823 the country was a part of the short-lived Mexican empire of Agustín de Iturbide. Then for 15 years it was a member of the independent United Provinces of Central America. In 1838, Costa Rica became a separate republic. The new state was threatened in 1856 by the Tennessean adventurer William Walker and his "filibusters," who seized neighboring Nicaragua with the in-

tion of creating a vast Central American slave state. But by May 1857 these invaders were defeated through the combined efforts of Costa Rica and other Central American nations.

Politics in Costa Rica from 1838 to 1889 was neither democratic nor orderly. The country had several dictators, and seven of its first 25 governments came to power by violence. Even such elections for the presidency as did take place were not genuinely competitive. However, the dictators were seldom the crude, illiterate despots that plagued other Latin American nations during that era. They were usually civilians who governed in a reasonably restrained manner for short periods of time and who occasionally contributed to economic development.

The Modern Era. The free election of 1889 established a democratic pattern that endured until the mid-20th century with only one interruption, the dictatorship of Federico Tinoco Granados in 1917-1919.

In March-April 1948, however, a major upheaval occurred. This was a civil war triggered by irregularities in the February elections, in which former president Rafael Calderón Guardia had been defeated by Otilio Ulate Blanco. After Congress annulled the election, Col. José Figueres Ferrer, a backer of the winning candidate, led a force of insurgents against Calderón Guardia's supporters and the small government army of outgoing president Teodoro Picado Michalski. The war was settled after six weeks of fighting, which produced 1,500 casualties. Figueres then headed a junta government, which ruled from May 8, 1948, until Nov. 8, 1949, when Ulate was finally installed as president.

A new constitution introduced in 1949 provided for a better balance between the president and the legislature. In 1951, Figueres organized the National Liberation Party (PLN), which enriched Costa Rican political life by setting an example in organization, planning, and vigor that other parties tried to emulate. Through free elections from 1953 onward, the PLN usually held power, with Figueres himself serving as president in 1953-1958 and 1970-1974. Opposition parties, in coalitions, won the presidential office several times. In general, PLN presidents stressed social reform and government participation in economic activities, while the others were less inclined to restrict free enterprise. All governments were moderate, committed neither to an unchanging society nor to revolutionary Marxism.

Related to the 1948 civil war were two small-scale invasions of Costa Rica (December 1948 and January 1955) by Nicaragua-based rebels. Both of these operations raised a threat of direct hostilities between Costa Rica and its northern neighbor, but in each case the dispute was peacefully resolved through the intervention of the Organization of American States.

Relations with Nicaragua became strained again after the establishment of the radical leftist Sandinista government in that country in 1979. The problem concerned the use of Costa Rican territory by Nicaraguan guerrillas for operations against the Sandinista regime. In 1983 the Costa Rican government reaffirmed the nation's traditional neutrality and made clear its intention to deny bases in Costa Rica to anti-Sandinista military forces. In 1987 a broad peace plan proposed for troubled Central America by President Oscar Arias Sánchez was accepted by the governments

of all five countries in the region. Later that year Arias was named recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize.

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COSTAIN, kos'tān, **Thomas Bertram** (1885-1965), Canadian-American editor and author. He was born in Brantford, Ontario, on May 8, 1885. After a successful editorial career in Toronto with *Maclean's* magazine (1910-1920), Costain left Canada in 1920 for the United States, where he became a citizen and worked as fiction editor of the *Saturday Evening Post* from 1920 to 1934.

Costain's first historical romantic novel, *For My Great Folly*, about the English pirate John Ward, was published in 1942. Among his most popular books were *The Black Rose* (1945), an adventure story of the 13th century, and *The Silver Chalice* (1952), a romance centered on the Holy Grail. His novels are packed with fast-moving action and carefully researched detail.

Other works by Costain are the 4-volume *Pageant of England* (1949-1962), a history of the Plantagenets; *Son of a Hundred Kings* (1950); *The Magnificent Century* (1951); *The White and the Gold: The French Regime in Canada* (1954); *The Tontine* (1955); *The Three Edwards* (1958); and *The Last Love* (1963). He died in New York City on Oct. 8, 1965.

COSTELLO, kos-tel'ō, **John Aloysius** (1891-1976), Irish political leader, who was prime minister of Eire when it was formally proclaimed a republic in 1948. Costello was born in Dublin on June 20, 1891. Like Eamon de Valera and William Thomas Cosgrave, he was educated by the Christian Brothers but then attended Trinity College, Dublin—as few Catholics did at that time. He was called to the Irish bar in 1914 and to King's Inn, Dublin, 10 years later.

Although Costello took no part in the Easter Rising in 1916, he defended some of those who did. He was not involved in the Anglo-Irish war (1919-1921), but on the establishment of the Free State he became assistant attorney general (1922-1926) and then attorney general (1926-1932). In 1933, Costello entered the Dail (parliament) as a Fine Gael (United Ireland) member for Dublin. When de Valera resigned the premiership in 1948, Costello took his place, serving in 1948-1951 and 1954-1957. His most notable accomplishment was the Republic of Ireland Act (December 1948), which established Eire as a republic outside the British Commonwealth. He died in Dublin on Jan. 5, 1976.

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN, *University of Washington*

COSTUME. See CLOTHING; COSTUME, ACADEMIC; COSTUME, RELIGIOUS; COSTUME, THEATRICAL; DRESS; and separate articles on various types of clothing, such as GLOVE, SHOE.



HOSTAL ASSOCIATES

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 America. In 1838, Costa
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 er and his "filibusters,"
 g Nicaragua with the in-

Wash → San José 2000 air miles

Statue in front of airport
dk green bronze w/ machete
in hand

GB here 4 years ago

Costa Rican elections in Feb. - 3 weeks before
inaugural in May Nicaragua
2 parties get 90% of vote

National Theater built 1890-97

tan stone

beaux art style

inside - gold-leaf prunable pillars

libre FOB - downstairs

upstairs - tons of gold ornamentation - like

ceiling - paintings of
angelic musicians

Versailles

Book - The Costa Ricans by Richard Biesanz

conference room - about 60' x 150'

olympic silver medalist - home pool visible
from conf. room

A BICENTENNIAL MINUTE

In this bicentennial year of our glorious Constitution, many people have wondered, "What is an appropriate way to celebrate the signing of a document?" It just doesn't seem like having a parade, or shooting off fireworks is enough. So I started thinking about the what the Constitution that I've sworn to uphold so many times really means.

One day last spring, I traveled to Annapolis for the commencement ceremonies of the Naval Academy. The graduation date of those midshipmen came only _____ days after the tragedy that befell their comrades on the USS Stark.

And when I listened to those newly commissioned ensigns and second lieutenants take their oaths of office, one phrase struck me, as I looked out over that sea of white caps and uniforms: "to defend the Constitution ..."

And I thought, "What a contrast to the types of governments that have ruled so many of the nations and empires over the centuries -- and even today. The soldiers and sailors of centuries past swore their allegiance to defend a king, or an emperor, or a dictator. The communist nations ask their soldiers to defend a party or a particular regime.

But America asks its sons and daughters to defend a document -- a piece of paper that sets forth our most cherished ideals: representative democracy, freedom of speech and thought, equal justice under the law.

Those young men and women, standing in ranks on the fields of Annapolis, had pledged to fight -- and even die -- to protect the freedoms and rights set forth in our precious Constitution.

There are millions of men and women all over the world who are denied by their governments their God-given rights to freedom, justice, and the opportunity to build a better life for themselves and their children and families. We do our Constitution no greater honor than to attempt to extend freedom and democracy to those oppressed people who do not now enjoy its manifold blessings.

Our Constitution still stands as the greatest experiment in self-government the world has ever known because "We the people" grant power to our government, and not the other way around. And our Constitution will remain standing only to the extent we stand committed to defending it, and to spreading its light of liberty throughout the world.

I've sworn an oath to defend our Constitution many times: as a pilot in the Navy, as a Member of Congress, as an Ambassador, as Director of the CIA, and as Vice President of the United States. There's one more oath of office I'd like to take. The president's most sacred duty is to "defend the Constitution," and you have my solemn pledge to do that with every ounce of strength I possess.

THE ECONOMY

The Democrats say it's just a matter of time before we have another recession. Well, I'll tell you exactly what time the next recession will start -- right after a Democrat gets in the White House and starts raising taxes!

I could stand here and tell you all the statistics that describe this administration's record of economic success. I could talk about the longest peacetime expansion in over 100 years -- low inflation -- low mortgage rates -- full employment in many areas. You can see the progress Republicans have made: when you get your paycheck, when you go to the grocery or gas station -- when you go to buy a new home. But I know the American people aren't going to elect a president based on the past. They want a president who will keep the economy growing for another four years, and I know how, because we've done it before!

* * * * *

ON TAXES

The question of raising taxes is as simple for me to answer as it is for President Reagan. There is no faster way to kill economic growth and cause a painful recession than by raising taxes. I don't think the Democrats in Congress have ever understood that, and I don't think their presidential candidates ever have either -- from Walter Mondale, to the seven dwarfs they have running this year!

I want to make it clear: I'm running for president because I want to lead America forward, and keep the Democrats from taking it backward.

What it comes down to is this: Congress doesn't produce anything; it doesn't create any wealth in this country. Only individuals, by working and investing, create wealth, and make an addition to the economy. The question each one of you needs to answer before you vote is, "Who knows how to best spend the money you earn? You, or Congress?" I think you do; the Democrats in Congress think they do. They want to increase taxes and spend the money on their pet projects and their special interests. I think your money is best left in your pocket -- to spend on the things you want -- on the things your children need.

Every time Congress raises taxes, they raise spending. We need to stop this wild federal spending. And if Congress won't do it, give me a line item veto, and I'll do it for them.

* * * * *

ON THE DEFICIT

People say politicians don't have much of a sense of humor, (and for the most part they're right!). But the funniest thing I've seen in the last couple of years is the Democrats in Congress trying to blame the deficit on President Reagan. That's like trying to blame insomnia on Johnny Carson! (OR) That's like trying to blame the Great Flood on Noah!

Congress is the one that appropriates every dollar of the federal budget -- not the president. (If the president could spend any money without Congress' approval, don't you think he'd keep funding the freedom fighters in Central America, rather than have to beg Congress for more money each year?)

The Democrats in Congress have fought this administration's attempts to cut wasteful spending -- pork barrel spending -- at every turn. If the Democrats want to get serious about the deficit, they already have the power in Congress to cut it. But until they stop jacking up the deficit -- putting America deeper in debt -- they ought to stop complaining about it.

* * * * *

ON TRADE

Free trade must be the policy of this country. We need a president with the diplomatic experience to get other countries to pursue policies of free trade. The Democrats' solution to the trade deficit is protectionism. But protectionism is only fool's gold. It won't open markets abroad, it only closes our choices here at home. We must follow the path of free trade, or we risk the prospect of no trade -- no trade at all.

ON BEING A PREPPIE

Some people kid me about my background, about being a preppie. I don't think being a preppie ever helped me except when I joined the Navy.

I was going through processing, and just before the doctor checked my eyesight, he asked me what I'd like to do in the Navy. I said, "Be a pilot."

The doctor said, "OK, you've got it!"

I said, "Just like that? Don't you want me to read the chart on the wall?"

He said, "Son, one look at how your tie matches your watchband, and I know you're sure not color-blind!"

* * * * *

BLASTS AT CONGRESS

President Reagan often talks about a "shining city on a hill." He's talking about America, but sometimes I think there's some folks up on Capitol Hill who think he's talking about them! It's time Congress starts serving the American people and not the other way around.

I think it's about time Congress cut the federal budget and left the family budget alone!

* * * * *

ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COMMUNISM

Democratic nations, we all know, don't relish or seek confrontation or conflict. Nor are we interested in power over others. Our love of peace is not a quality to be ashamed of. Rather, it's a blessed result of our democratic values and commitment to freedom.

But as it happens, we face an adversary that considers our decency and democratic values as weakness. To them, struggle, violence, and power over others is vital to success. The modern Soviet regime has been ideologically driven to expand its global reach, not shrinking from the use or threat of force.

There are some who believe that in this contest between East and West, the West is likely to lose. They expect the democracies to grow tired of the necessary sacrifice and ultimately to give way, step by step, to the political or military drive of the totalitarians. Those doubters have little confidence in our will, our perseverance.

Yet anyone who looks back over the last 40 years will see that we have stood our ground. We have maintained our alliances, our defenses, and our economic preeminence, and above all we have kept the peace.

-- Vice President Bush at Annapolis, 5/20/87

ON THE APPEAL OF DEMOCRACY

This past year I attended the inauguration of President Arias of Costa Rica. The ceremony was held in a stadium that was filled to capacity with celebrating Costa Ricans. The delegation from each country walked into the arena behind its own flag. The representative from Nicaragua preceded me into the stadium, and was met with whistles and catcalls. I have to confess that at the time I felt a certain apprehension at what I might encounter when I walked in.

this is a visit - a first step - a beginning new decade new century now presented

open arrival stadium kids not troops

Yet when the U.S. delegation came in behind our flag, people rose to their feet and the stadium erupted into cheers. They were cheering for the Stars and Stripes; they were cheering for democracy; and they were cheering for the friendship between our two countries. I was deeply moved, and I was proud.

-- Vice President Bush at
San Antonio, Texas, 3/23/87

4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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MAY 9, 1986, FRIDAY, AM CYCLE

LENGTH: 606 words

DATELINE: SAN JOSE, MAY 9

KEYWORD: CENTAM-INAUGURATION

BODY:

NINE LATIN AMERICAN PRESIDENTS ENDED A REGIONAL SUMMIT MEETING WITHOUT REACHING AN EXPECTED CONSENSUS ON HOW TO GIVE IMPETUS TO AMBITIOUS PEACE PROPOSALS FOR CENTRAL AMERICA.

FOLLOWING HIS INAUGURAL CEREMONY YESTERDAY, COSTA RICA'S NEW PRESIDENT, OSCAR ARIAS SANCHEZ, MET NINE OTHER LATIN AMERICAN PRESIDENTS IN A SUMMIT THAT WAS BILLED AS A NEW FORUM FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE TALKS BACKED BY THE SO-CALLED CONTADORA GROUP.

BUT THE MEETING, WHICH INCLUDED THE PRESIDENTS OF ARGENTINA, COLOMBIA, ECUADOR, URUGUAY, PANAMA, EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS AND GUATEMALA AND COSTA RICA, APPEARED TO PRODUCE LITTLE MORE THAN A TRIBUTE TO COSTA RICAN DEMOCRACY.

THE LATE-NIGHT SUMMIT HELD AFTER THE INAUGURAL CEREMONY, WAS EXPECTED TO HAVE PRODUCED A JOINT STATEMENT AIMED AT BREATHING NEW LIFE INTO FALTERING PEACE PROPOSALS MADE BY CONTADORA -- A GROUPING OF PANAMA, MEXICO, COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA WHICH SINCE 1983 HAS LED EFFORTS FOR REGIONAL PEACE.

NO JOINT DECLARATION WAS ISSUED, HOWEVER, AND EVENTS THAT OCCURRED ON THE SIDELINES OF THE HEAVILY PUBLICIZED SUMMIT DREW MORE ATTENTION THAN THE PRESIDENTIAL MEETING ITSELF.

VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH, REPRESENTING THE UNITED STATES ALONGSIDE THE NINE VISITING LATIN AMERICAN PRESIDENTS AT YESTERDAY'S INAUGURATION, USED THE OCCASION AS A FORUM TO CRITICIZE THE RULING SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT IN NICARAGUA.

AT THE SAME TIME THE CONTADORA GROUP ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE CONDEMNING FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND CALLING FOR AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE SUPPORT OF IRREGULAR FORCES FIGHTING IN THE REGION.

AT A NEWS CONFERENCE AT THE END OF HIS ONE-DAY VISIT HERE, BUSH SAID NICARAGUA'S FAILURE TO SEND A HIGH-LEVEL DELEGATION TO PRESIDENT ARIAS' INAUGURAL UNDERLINED A GROWING ISOLATION OF THE SANDINISTAS FROM THEIR U.S.-BACKED NEIGHBOURS.

NICARAGUA WAS REPRESENTED AT ARIAS' INAUGURATION ONLY BY ITS AMBASSADOR TO COSTA RICA.

BUSH REPEATED THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S PLEDGE TO SUPPORT THE CONTADORA PROCESS. BUT WHEN ASKED BY REPORTERS ABOUT CONTADORA'S REPEATED CALL TO END OUTSIDE SUPPORT FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN INSURGENTS, INCLUDING THE U.S.-BACKED NICARAGUAN REBELS CALLED CONTRAS, BUSH SAID, "THE SUPPORT WE GIVE TO THE CONTRAS IS TO GIVE DEMOCRACY A CHANCE."

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THE CONTADORA'S PROPOSED PEACE TREATY FOR CENTRAL AMERICA WOULD ALSO BAN THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN MILITARY ADVISERS AND THEIR BASES IN THE REGION.

ASKED IF THE UNITED STATES WAS PREPARED TO WITHDRAW ITS MILITARY ADVISERS FROM THE REGION, PARTICULARLY FROM HONDURAS WHERE THEY DIRECT FREQUENT MANOEUVRES NEAR HONDURAS' BORDER WITH GUATEMALA, BUSH SAID, "I CAN'T COMMENT ON A HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION ABOUT AN AGREEMENT THAT WE HAVEN'T SEEN."

NICARAGUA HAS SAID IT WILL REFUSE TO SIGN THE CONTADORA AGREEMENT UNLESS THE UNITED STATES FIRST AGREES TO STOP BACKING THE CONTRA INSURGENCY.

SOURCES CLOSE TO ARIAS, WHO ASKED NOT TO BE IDENTIFIED, SAID THE NEW PRESIDENT PROPOSED AT THE SUMMIT MEETING THAT THEY ENDORSE A COSTA RICAN STATEMENT CALLING FOR THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF NICARAGUA WITHIN TWO YEARS.

THE STATEMENT INCLUDED A CALL FOR REFORMS OF NICARAGUA'S CONSTITUTION AND NEW ELECTIONS TO CHALLENGE THE SANDINISTAS' HOLD ON POWER, ACCORDING TO THE SOURCES.

BUT AS THEY EMERGED FROM THE SUMMIT MEETING THE PRESIDENTS SAID NO SUCH JOINT STATEMENT HAD BEEN PROPOSED.

THEY SAID THE MEETING HAD BEEN AIMED SOLELY AT EXCHANGING POINTS OF VIEW ON THE CENTRAL AMERICAN SITUATION AND THE PROSPECTS FOR REACHING A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS.

PRESIDENT ALAN GARCIA RETURNED TO PERU ALSO ATTENDED THE INAUGURATION BUT RETURNED HOME BEFORE THE SUMMIT MEETING BEGAN.

13TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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MAY 8, 1986, THURSDAY, AM CYCLE

LENGTH: 254 words

HEADLINE: VICE PRESIDENT BUSH MEETS WITH LATIN AMERICAN LEADERS

DATeline: SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA, MAY 8

KEYWORD: CENTAM-BUSH

BODY:

U.S. VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH MET THIS MORNING WITH NINE LATIN AMERICAN PRESIDENTS ON HAND HERE FOR THE INAUGURATION OF COSTA RICA'S NEW PRESIDENT, OSCAR ARIAS SANCHEZ.

BUSH, WHO ARRIVED HERE AT DAWN, HOSTED A BREAKFAST AT THE RESIDENCE OF U.S. AMBASSADOR LEWIS TAMBS FOR THE PRESIDENTS OF ARGENTINA, COLOMBIA, GUATEMALA, HONDURAS, ECUADOR, EL SALVADOR, PANAMA, PERU AND URUGUAY.

AFTER THE BREAKFAST BUSH, ACCOMPANIED BY A LARGE CONTINGENT OF U.S. AND COSTA RICAN SECURITY AGENTS, THAT LED TO THE RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT-ELECT ARIAS FOR PRIVATE TALKS THAT LASTED SOME 55 MINUTES.

ARIAS' HOME WAS SURROUNDED BY PLAINCLOTHES SECURITY GUARDS AND COSTA RICAN TROOPS BRANDISHING M-16 RIFLES. A HELICOPTER CIRCLED OVER THE RESIDENCE WHILE BUSH MET INSIDE WITH ARIAS.

WITH BUSH WERE ELLIOT ABRAMS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, AND U.S. SPECIAL ENVOY PHILIP HABIB. BUSH, WHO RETURNS TO WASHINGTON LATE TODAY, WAS EXPECTED TO FOCUS IN TALKS WITH REGIONAL LEADERS ON THE CONTADORA GROUP'S CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE INITIATIVE.

THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT PARTICIPATE DIRECTLY IN THE CONTADORA PROCESS -- SPONSORED SINCE JANUARY 1983 BY MEXICO, COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA AND PANAMA -- BUT AMERICAN SUPPORT OF NICARAGUAN REBELS HAS BEEN A KEY ISSUE IN THE PEACE PROCESS.

NICARAGUA HAS SAID IT WILL REFUSE TO SIGN THE CONTADORA GROUP'S PROPOSED PEACE TREATY AT A MEETING SET FOR JUNE 6 IN PANAMA CITY UNLESS THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION FIRST AGREES TO STOP SUPPORTING THE NICARAGUAN REBELS KNOWN AS CONTRAS.

62 THE BULLY PULPIT

The highest form of self-government is the voluntary cooperation within our people.

Herbert Hoover
Fourth annual message, Congress
December 6, 1932

Democracy is not a static thing. It is an everlasting march.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Speech, Los Angeles, California
October 1, 1935

Democracy is a harsh employer.

Herbert Hoover
Comment, former secretary
C. 1936

My anchor is democracy—and more democracy.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Speech, Roanoke Island, North Carolina
August 18, 1937

We must be the great arsenal of democracy.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Fireside chat
December 29, 1940

There is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. . . . They are: equality of opportunity for youth and for others; jobs for those who can work; security for those who need it; the ending of special privilege for the few; the preservation of civil liberties for all; the enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Four Freedoms Speech
January 6, 1941

The democratic aspiration is no mere recent phase of human history. It is human history.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
January 20, 1941

Yes, the decisions of our democracy may be slowly arrived at. But when that decision is made, it is proclaimed not with the voice of one man but with the voice of one hundred and thirty million.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
White House Correspondents Association Dinner
March 1941

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected.

Harry S. Truman
Speech to Congress requesting aid for Greece and Turkey
March 12, 1947

Hitler learned that efficiency without justice is a vain thing. Democracy does not work that way. Democracy is a matter of faith—a faith in the soul of man—a faith in human rights. That is the kind of faith that moves mountains—that's the kind of faith that hurled the Iron Range at the Axis and shook the world at Hiroshima. Faith is much more than efficiency. Faith gives value to all things. Without faith, the people perish.

Harry S. Truman
Address, St. Paul, Minnesota
October 13, 1948

There isn't a word in the English language that has been so severely abused during the last ten years as the word democracy.

Harry S. Truman
Statement
March 20, 1949

Any system of government will work when everything is going well. It's the system that functions in the pinches that survives.

John F. Kennedy
State of the union address
January 14, 1963

CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

IN THE NAME OF THEIR PEOPLES, THE STATES REPRESENTED AT THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES,

Convinced that the historic mission of America is to offer to man a land of liberty, and a favorable environment for the development of his personality and the realization of his just aspirations;

Conscious that that mission has already inspired numerous agreements, whose essential value lies in the desire of the American peoples to live together in peace, and, through their mutual understanding and respect for the sovereignty of each one, to provide for the betterment of all, in independence, in equality and under law;

Confident that the true significance of American solidarity and good neighborliness can only mean the consolidation on this continent, within the framework of democratic institutions, of a system of individual liberty and social justice based on respect for the essential rights of man;

Persuaded that their welfare and their contribution to the progress and the civilization of the world will increasingly require intensive continental cooperation;

Resolved to persevere in the noble undertaking that humanity has conferred upon the United Nations, whose principles and purposes they solemnly reaffirm;

Convinced that juridical organization is a necessary condition for security and peace founded on moral order and on justice; and

In accordance with Resolution IX of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, held at Mexico City,

HAVE AGREED
upon the following

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.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Revised 9/29/89 5:15 pm

PRE-ADVANCE PARTICIPANTS FOR COSTA RICA

OCTOBER 2 - 3, 1989

(C-9, #1683)

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William Slade, Assistant to Mr. Robles

[373] July 8

Public Papers of the Presidents

the people for what you have done and what you are going to do. And I wish you God-speed as you seek to multiply those achievements in the days ahead.

President Somoza, I know how proud you are of the rural electrification program that we announced yesterday. I know what it will mean to the families who live on the farms and in the rural villages.

Among the great assets of your country, Nicaragua, President Somoza, few are so important as the character, the experience, the personality, and the good judgment of the man that you have sent to Washington as your ambassador. Twenty-five years ago, your ambassador, on July 8th, went to Washington and he is now the dean of the am-

bassadorial corps. He is the dean of all ambassadors in our Capital. I want to pay him very special tribute here in his homeland, and to you, Mr. President, for this envoy to the United States and to the world, our cherished friend, Ambassador Sevilla-Sacasa.

Mrs. Johnson and I want to thank you for the opportunity to visit your lovely land—even for so brief a time.

Hasta la vista, and muchas gracias, mis amigos.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:05 a.m. at the airport in Managua, Nicaragua. In his opening words he referred to Anastasio Somoza Debayle, President of Nicaragua. Later he referred to Dr. Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa, Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States.

LBJ

374 Remarks Upon Arrival at San José, Costa Rica.
July 8, 1968

President Trejos, my fellow Presidents, ladies and gentlemen:

President Trejos, Mrs. Johnson and I are very pleased to be able to return your visit to our country and to pay our respects to the citizens of Costa Rica.

A long and splendid tradition enriches Costa Rica—a tradition of democracy, created at the ballot box; of social justice, preserved and extended through democratic government; and of order and peace between citizens.

Like President Trejos, I am a former schoolteacher. Both experiences—as teacher and as a public servant—have convinced me that the best hope of progress for any people lies in the widespread opportunity of good education.

Costa Rica has set an example for all of Latin America in providing that opportunity. This is a nation in which the schoolhouse is the center of national life—where there are

more teachers than policemen, and where scholars are often statesmen. I understand that Costa Rica has invested 43 percent of each tax dollar in education. I know that is an investment which will continue to pay the greatest dividends to this nation and pay dividends to this entire region.

You have also set an example with the number of women holding high office in your Government. I am trying to do the same in the United States. We need womanpower in the pursuit of our national goals.

At their meeting in San Salvador during the last few days, the leaders of Central America committed themselves to new efforts to insure greater regional cooperation. They pledged increased educational, social, and economic progress within their own countries.

I am confident that Costa Rica, with its long tradition of responsible government and educational opportunity, will be a leader in

translating the commitments of San Salvador into actual accomplishments. And you may be very sure that the people of the United States will continue to meet their pledges of friendship and support for your efforts.

Thank each of you for coming out here to greet us today, to greet the President of Guatemala and his First Lady; the President

of Honduras and his First Lady; and to say a greeting to Mrs. Johnson, my daughter, and myself.

Hasta la vista—adios.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. at El Coco Airport in San José, Costa Rica. In his opening words he referred to José Joaquín Trejos Fernández, President of Costa Rica.

375 Remarks Upon Arrival at San Pedro Sula, Honduras. July 8, 1968

President López, President Mendez, ladies and gentlemen:

I am very happy to be in Honduras where friendship is an honored creed, and regional unity a historic legacy.

The great men of your history dedicated their lives to unity of the Americas. We profit from their teachings and experiences.

Del Valle said the effects of a "Great Federation" of American nations would be "impossible to imagine." We Presidents have met these last few days to improve your common market and to strengthen our interdependence—things that once seemed impossible.

We discussed our differences and our misunderstandings. But they seemed very small when compared with the benefits of our union.

As del Valle said: "One hundred thousand elements working at diverse moments have but the effectiveness of one." Your five nations—through unity—are five times stronger. Together, and with the help of your friends, you can defeat poverty, hunger, ignorance, and oppression in Central America.

During the past few days that I have spent with your distinguished President, President López, he has told me of Honduras' achievements under the common market, the Alli-

ance for Progress, and the Central American Bank for Economic Integration.

He has talked to me about your primary school enrollment and the fact—and it is an important fact—that it has doubled; that your Congress has passed a modern civil service law; that this fine airport has been constructed and added; and you are now getting a new pulp and papermill industry.

These great accomplishments must give us the courage to draw more closely together to challenge other impossibles.

We are taking important steps this weekend in our meetings and in our deliberations toward bringing a greater degree of unity to Central America, and a stronger tie of friendship among the neighbors here in Central America together, and their neighbor in the United States of America.

As we take these important steps toward unity, let us all resolve to push ahead.

We have so much to do and so little time to do it in.

When we travel across the countries that we have visited today, and we see the poverty, and we see the little children who are in need of education, and we see the fathers who are in need of jobs, and we see the transportation road networks that are yet to be built, and we see the educational facilities that have not yet been completed, we all wish that

mutual prosperity—and we will go forward.

To handle the liquidity crisis, we have agreed that the International Monetary Fund resources should be increased. We have also proposed a special borrowing arrangement to make sure that the IMF will have adequate funds to carry out its function.

The leading developing nations should all enter the world trading system as full partners. Then they can share more fairly in the gains from trade and, at the same time, assure more fully the obligations of the trading system. All we ask is that we examine together the mutual trading gains that can be achieved through reciprocal action.

I have enormous confidence in the methods that have brought unprecedented benefits in the past. We must improve the mechanisms for the settlement of trade disputes to take economic quarrels out of the political arena and base resolution of conflicts on criteria we all respect.

We must complete unfinished business—trade in agriculture, which has resisted liberalization in the postwar years, and agreed rules on safeguards in the event of injury that provide for transparency and equity.

And we must look forward to the emerging challenges of the 1980's, such as trade in high technology products and processes—processes, then, to devise rules will ensure we do not impede the growth potential of the technological revolution.

Finally, let us remember that just as progress is impossible without peace, economic growth is a crucial pillar of peace, beckoning with brighter horizons all who dream of a better life.

To deter aggression the United States

must and will remain militarily strong. When I met with His Holiness Pope John Paul II, I gave him the pledge of the American people to do everything possible for peace and arms reduction. For the sake of the children of the world, we're working to reduce the number and destructive potential of nuclear weapons. We're working to end the deadlock between Israel and her Arab neighbors, and we're working, as you are, to preserve the peace in this hemisphere.

When Pope John Paul visited here in 1980, he said to young Brazilians, "Only love can build." Well, from the moment we arrived in this land of spectacular beauty and unbounded energy, we have been touched by the special warmth of the Brazilian people.

We've come to know the heart of Brazil. We will say goodbye knowing her heart is strong, her heart is true, her heart is good. Brazil will build. You will grow. And by your side will be the United States—your partner in the New World, a partner for progress, a partner for peace. *Estamos com o Brasil e não mudamos.*

Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 4:20 p.m. in the auditorium of the Palácio dos Bandeirantes. Prior to his remarks, he met with Governor Jose Maria Marin of São Paulo.

Following his remarks, the President attended a reception for the businessmen and then left São Paulo for the return trip to Brasília. He remained overnight at the Palácio da Alvorada. On the following morning, he left Brasília and traveled to Bogotá, Colombia.

Remarks to the People of Costa Rica

December 3, 1982

I'm happy to accept President Monge's invitation to see Costa Rica. I know your country has long been a model for peace, democracy, and economic progress in the Western Hemisphere.

Last month, President Monge spoke at

the Conference of Free Elections in Washington about democracy. He made all of us who are committed to freedom very proud. "Democracy," he said, "has no universal formulas, like those of totalitarian philosophies. Its strength is that it allows free

people to find their own solutions. As free people, we are not compelled to accept the one candidate offered to us by a small group claiming exclusive knowledge of the destiny of an entire nation. We, the voters—free citizens—make this decision.”

Today the countries of Central America face enormous challenges: economic recession, social injustice, and the cynical efforts of outside powers to impose nondemocratic systems of government on them. But I'm confident we have the will and the ability to overcome these challenges.

The most promising formula for peace and security for the nations of Central America was proposed at the meeting of democratic nations in San José in early October. It offers terms for a peace that can be verified without fear of violation. It stresses the importance to peace of democratic institutions. I'm convinced, as I believe most of you are, that democracies find it easier to live in peace with each other.

In facing the economic challenges, the countries of this hemisphere have begun a cooperative effort to address the pressing needs of the Caribbean Basin. Part of the

United States contribution to this effort—\$350 million in emergency economic assistance—is already in place. I'm asking the Congress to give priority consideration to the other main features of our program—open access to our markets for the products of the Caribbean and Central America, and incentives for American investment in the region.

I believe we all have a crucial stake in this venture. Democracy, and even our independence as free nations, are vulnerable to economic recession. By cooperating together, we can offer real hope for sustained growth to our peoples.

I have met with President Monge twice. From these meetings I know we share the conviction that it's through freedom and democracy that economic progress and social justice have their best chance to work. I look forward to visiting San José and to having the opportunity for further discussions with your President.

Note: The President's remarks were taped on November 22 at the White House for later broadcast on Costa Rican television.

Statement on Departure From Brazil

December 3, 1982

I leave Brazil impressed and reinvigorated. I have felt the warmth and energy of the Brazilian people and their dedication to peace and freedom.

My meetings with President Figueiredo and his ministers were successful in spirit and substance. We conducted serious discussions about the international systems of trade and finance and the difficulties both our countries face in this period of slow economic growth around the world. We discussed the importance of trade and free markets to bring lasting growth. For my part, I've gained a deeper understanding of Brazil's perspectives.

President Figueiredo and I resolved to find mutually acceptable solutions to those areas where we have differences, and to remain open to possibilities for new cooper-

ation, especially in the areas of scientific and military industry. I leave confident that Brazil, like the United States, has the skill and determination to work its way up to renewed growth and prosperity. When I arrived here I reminded President Figueiredo of the old saying, "Nothing stops Brazil," and now I know it's true.

We considered the threats to peace in the hemisphere and in the world, the dangers of a nuclear arms race, the crisis in the Middle East, and prospects in southern Africa. I confirmed our intention to maintain a strong defense as the best assurance of peace for us and our friends.

I made clear to President Figueiredo our desire to continue close consultations with him. Of course, there are issues on which we have differences. But our mutual inter-

Remarks at the Signing of the United States-Costa Rica Extradition Treaty in San José

December 4, 1982

I don't know how long he's going to talk.¹ I, of course, could not understand without interpretation, but I was informed that he was expressing the Communist viewpoint. And I think, again, a tribute to democracy—he was allowed to do so here in this democracy. We wouldn't be allowed to do so in a Communist country. [Applause] Thank you. Thank you very much.

I hope he'll forgive me, but a refugee from the Soviet Union told me of a story that was widespread among the people of Moscow. And what they told each other in a line of humor was that if an opposition party should be allowed in the Soviet Union, they would still be a one-party country, because everyone would join the opposition. [Laughter]

But, Mr. President, and you ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for your gracious welcome. From the schoolchildren who greeted me at the airport last night to you distinguished leaders gathered in this beautiful hall, the people of Costa Rica have extended to our party open-hearted and generous hospitality. I know you're world-famous for this, but I feel so very much at home here. I hope that ours is a special bond.

I'm especially grateful for the opportunity to renew the personal dialog with President Monge, a distinguished statesman committed to the democratic ideals I share. Americans and Costa Ricans—we are all of the New World. Our people live the peaceful revolution of democracy, secure under the rule of law and prospering through economic freedom. But there are outsiders who would exploit our rich, new world by un-

dermining the democratic systems that make us free.

We of this hemisphere must stand together so that we can continue to improve the quality of life for our people. We must be strong enough, our people prosperous enough, and our democracy stable enough to remain independent, at peace, and free.

Now, there are many who speak of democracy and pluralism and of their respect for the rule of law. But as a Costa Rican President of the last century, José Joaquín Rodríguez, said, "I am not impressed by hearing proclamations of great principles. What I admire is the men who know how to put them into practice." Well, Costa Rica is a proud example of a free people practicing the principles of democracy. And you have done so in good times and in bad, when it was easier and when it required great courage.

Your commitment to freedom was evident last February when, as every 4 years, you elected a new government. In October, you led the region's democracies toward recognition of principles for a lasting, humane peace in Central America. And just last month, President Monge spoke eloquently in Washington about democracy and of the commitment of all democratic nations of the region to an Elections Institute, an advisory body to assist other countries in developing the practice of democracy and which will be a specialized branch of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights in San José.

Costa Rica's foundation of democracy and law, as President Monge said in Washington, is your guarantee of peace. He put it this way: "Violence, war, and guerrillas lose their support when the people enjoy free elections and when their vote is respected." James Fenimore Cooper, an American writer of our frontier, said much the same when he suggested that "the man who can right himself by a vote will seldom resort to a musket."

President Monge and I have met three

¹ Following the signing of the treaty, President Monge spoke, and President Reagan was to respond. Before the President could begin, however, the leader of the Peoples Revolutionary Movement, a member of the Legislative Assembly, interrupted the proceedings by reading from a letter he had written.

times this year, and I've learned from him and from the record of this country the depth of Costa Rica's dedication to the founding principles of Western civilization. And I've learned of the significant progress toward democracy elsewhere in Central America.

Today, Central America faces renewed challenges to its self-determination as agents of unrest seek to impose new forms of the imperialism and tyranny that we threw off so many years ago. These counterfeited revolutions also threaten the prosperity that is the legacy of peace in this beautiful land. The future challenges our imagination, but the roots of law and democracy and our inter-American system provide the answers we seek.

In your efforts to bring new opportunity, stability, and peace to the region, the Costa Rican people can be very sure you will have the steadfast support of the people of the United States.

The only real route to peace, to lasting peace, is the well-chartered course of Costa Rica—commitment to democracy, rejection of extremism and the force of arms, and respect for human rights and the rule of law. It also includes reliance on international law such as the Rio Treaty, essential to your national defense and fundamental to our common security. Our new bilateral extradition treaty, President Monge, is indicative of our joint commitment to the rule of law.

What we strive for is a hemisphere where the future is determined not by bullets but by ballots, a hemisphere of countries at peace with themselves and one another and at peace with the world. The peace we've known has been a precious asset for the Americas. Instead of allocating a great share of their resources on military spending, the developing countries of this hemisphere have invested in the future. And this has been no accident. From the Pan American Union to the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro and the Organization of American States, this hemisphere has been in the forefront of multilateral, international cooperation. No other region of the world can match our record.

These are not mere words. We have, and will continue to practice, what we proclaim.

The United States will continue to support the new democratic institutions in Honduras and the developing democratic processes of El Salvador. Any nation destabilizing its neighbors by protecting guerrillas and exporting violence should forfeit close and fruitful relations with the people of the United States of America and with any people who truly love peace and freedom.

The meeting of democratic nations here in San José on October 4th showed us anew the way toward peace and stability. We applaud the Costa Rican Government for that initiative and for its continued leadership in this regional democratic effort. We join you willingly. Democratic states have a unique role in the moral history of the world, because our governments are accountable to the governed and are less likely to abuse their own citizens or to attack their neighbors.

The principles of the San José Final Act provide a reciprocal, just, and verifiable basis for peace. I call on all states in this region to join in this process of genuine, peaceful reconciliation. In that same spirit, we must also work together to solve the serious economic problems jeopardizing social and political progress.

Central America recorded impressive economic growth in the 1960's and during much of the seventies. This was particularly true in Costa Rica, where hard work and neighborly cooperation in the Central America Common Market paid major dividends. Now those gains are threatened by worldwide recessions, threatened here in Costa Rica and, indeed, throughout the hemisphere.

In order to overcome the recession, we must lay the foundations in each of our national economies for noninflationary, sustained growth. To do this we will need the kind of commitment and determination Costa Rica is showing. Self-discipline is necessary, too. So, too, is mutual accommodation. Borrowers must move to restrict their deficits, but it's just as important that lenders not withhold new funds from countries which adopt effective stabilization plans. Lenders and borrowers must remember that each has an enormous stake in the other's success.

Similarly the integrity of the world trading system must be preserved, so it can serve once again as the great engine of growth. Closed markets must be carefully opened. Open markets must be shielded from protectionism. Our challenge is to make our trading and financial relationships remain a source of prosperity and strength; not become a source of discord and disagreement.

The debt problems facing many nations today are imposing, and we must act together to ensure that we have the tools to deal with them. The resources of the International Monetary Fund are one of the most important of these tools. To assure the adequacy of the IMF resources, the United States has proposed that in addition to an increase in the IMF quotas, there should also be a special borrowing arrangement to meet the demands that may be placed on the IMF where countries need assistance as they seek IMF funding. Those able to do so must act to provide bridging funds.

With regard to the Caribbean area, the United States Congress already has approved the first stage of our strengthened commitment to economic recovery: a supplement to our vigorous economic assistance effort in the Caribbean Basin, bringing to nearly \$1 billion the total aid for fiscal year 1982. Our request to the Congress for future aid to the region will also reflect this new, high priority. But the other elements of the program are even more crucial. Investment incentives and duty-free access for most of your products will encourage increased production and stimulate more jobs.

This Caribbean Initiative is not a charity program. We will grow and prosper together to the direct benefit of the workers and enterprises in both of our countries. As I speak here, our Congress has reconvened in Washington, and the trade and investment portions of the Initiative are high on their agenda. From the heart of Costa Rica's remarkable democracy, I appeal directly to the legislative leaders of my country to act quickly and responsibly on this most important legislation. Together, we can attack the social and economic injustices which lead to dissatisfaction and support for radical solutions. And, just as Colombia has already

joined the original Nassau four, I call on other developed countries—all of them—to contribute to our efforts.

Earlier this year in Washington, there was an exhibit of pre-Columbian art from Costa Rica. The title of the show was, "Between Continents—Between Seas." Well, this was fitting. But Costa Rica and Central America as a whole are now caught between something else—a struggle of ideas between the violence of false revolutionaries and the reaction of false conservatives. You will always be between continents and seas. But to live peacefully and democratically will require the continued courage and commitment of all the Americas.

I am confident that, together, we will achieve in practice the goals that we have together proclaimed: a Central America where not just some but all countries are democracies, where institutions are based on free and regular elections in an atmosphere of political reconciliation within each state; a Central America returned to the path of substantial economic and social development; a Central America at peace with itself and the world; a halt to foreign support for terrorist and subversive elements working toward the violent overthrow of other governments; an end to arms trafficking, the importation of heavy weapons, and the buildup of armaments and forces beyond that required for legitimate defense; and under fully verifiable and reciprocal conditions, the withdrawal of all—I repeat—all foreign military and security advisers and troops from Central America; in sum, a Central America that lives by the principle of nonintervention, where disputes are settled peacefully and where respect for human rights and the fundamental freedoms of speech, assembly, and religion are as alive and well as they are in the Republic of Costa Rica.

My government will give you and your neighbors the full support of the United States. Our commitment to the Rio Treaty and to the principle of collective security will remain a basic tenet of our policy. Together, we will work toward the economic growth and opportunity that can only be achieved by free men and women. We will promote the democracy that is the founda-

tion of our freedom and stand together to assure the security of our peoples, their governments, and our way of life.

In this way, the land between the continents and between the seas will achieve the vision of another President of Costa Rica. Juan Mora dreamed that this land be "content in peace . . . and its children cut one more ear of corn each day, and cry one tear less."

Thank you very much, and *Dios les ben-*

diga y Dios bendiga a Costa Rica. God bless you; God bless Costa Rica.

Note: The President spoke at 11:16 a.m. in the National Theater to members of the Legislative Assembly and their guests.

Earlier in the morning, President Reagan and President Luis Alberto Monge Alvarez met privately at the Casa Presidencial. They then met together with their delegations.

Toasts of President Reagan and Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge Alvarez at a Luncheon Honoring President Reagan in San José

December 4, 1982

President Monge. In his few hours among us, President Reagan and his illustrious committee will have had the opportunity to prove the sentiments and affection of the people of Costa Rica towards the people of the United States of America and towards himself as a representative.

To the President of the Costa Ricans, it is enough to bring us here close to the heart of his people to find a road of loving communication open to the people of the United States of America and with the citizens they chose to represent them by free vote to guide their destinies. And for President Reagan, it has been enough to be faithful to the sentiments of love of liberty that characterizes his people, to the profound democratic vocation of the Costa Rican people.

In the first 7 months of my mandate, this is the third time that we meet and reaffirm the ample areas of agreement in the fulfillment of our duties towards our respective peoples. Costa Rica has been a firm democratic ally of the United States of America, in Central America, and in the Caribbean. Other support it received in the past damaged its image. The permanent position of Costa Rica in favor of democracy and against all despotism of any ideological side gives an extraordinary moral force to this small country without an army. We believe we deserve more, and more permanent

support on behalf of the American democracy.

True, the relationship with our country has been respectful without the incidents and accidents that have been registered in other sister nations. This historically explains that in the collective Costa Rican conscience, the anti-American trauma will not develop. But judging by the official visit of the President of the United States of America to Costa Rica, we feel that the significance of this alliance was not founded on misjustice.

In reality we can only recall three official visits by Presidents of the United States in the 161 independent years of the life of Costa Rica: President Hoover, during the second administration of President Cleto Gonzales Viquez from 1928 to 1932; President Kennedy in 1963, during the administration of President Francisco Orlich; and now you, President Reagan, who does me the honor of this visit at the beginning of my administration, now that we confront threats to liberty and peace in Central America and the Caribbean area.

I would like to believe that with your administration, President Reagan, the moral force represented by Costa Rica has begun to be justly appreciated despite its small size, poverty, and lack of an army in this struggle of people for peace and liberty. I would like to believe that you understand

the urgency of adequate cooperation to overcome the crisis and to defeat poverty.

President Reagan, you are among friends willing to cooperate in every action in favor of liberty, justice, and peace.

Thank you very much.

President Reagan. Mr. President, first on behalf of those who are with me today from our country, let me thank you and the people of Costa Rica for your hospitality.

Last month in Washington President Monge warned against the arrogance of any leader who believes that his own political formulation is perfect. And as our fellow citizens often let us know, none of us is perfect. But the basic value of the democratic societies that we represent are far more perfect than those of any other form of government. Our dedication to freedom, our respect for human rights, our adherence to the rule of law are far superior to the totalitarian rule that others would impose in the name of the false revolutions. Theirs are hollow promises and empty rhetoric.

We celebrate today our commitment to freedom and to peaceful political reconcili-

ation. I particularly want to reaffirm to all of you the pledge that my administration has made to the economic well-being and security of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. We know that political principles and collective security are not served by unstable economies.

Our Caribbean Basin Initiative offers a realistic foundation on which to build increased trade between our countries—trade that will benefit all our citizens. This evening I'm returning to Washington, where I will continue to press for quick congressional action on the important trade and investment provisions of the initiative.

In that spirit of mutual commitment, may we rise now in a toast to President Monge, to Costa Rica, and to liberty.

Note: President Monge spoke at 12:37 p.m. at the Casa Presidencial. He spoke in Spanish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Following the luncheon, the two Presidents participated in a departure ceremony at Juan Santamaria Airport, and President Reagan traveled to San Pedro Sula, Honduras.

Remarks Following a Meeting With President Roberto Suazo Córdova of Honduras in San Pedro Sula December 4, 1982

President Suazo and I have just completed a very useful exchange of ideas on the full range of bilateral issues and regional problems that confront our two democracies. In this, our second meeting this year, we have continued the close consultation that we began in Washington last July. This has given our dialog continuity and enabled us to analyze these problems in greater detail.

I have expressed my administration's support and my nation's admiration for President Suazo's efforts to ensure, for the Honduran people, the benefits of a democratic government elected on the principles of the rule of law. President Suazo has made it clear to me that there will be no retreat

from that noble principle.

We are in agreement that we must work together to oppose those who seek to disrupt the promise of economic progress and political stability that is the legacy of peace in the Americas. My administration is convinced that through cooperation and solidarity, our governments can protect our democratic institutions and free-market economic systems from the counterfeit revolutionaries who seek to destroy growth and impose totalitarianism on free people.

We will cooperate in every way we can with Honduras and the other democratic governments of Central America to further our common objectives.

It's a pleasure to be here, and our only

Letter from Simon Bolivar to Jose San Martin -- June 1822

"United in heart, in spirit, and in aims, this continent must overlook the petty quarrels of the revolution and raise its eyes instead to peer at the centuries which lie ahead. It can then contemplate with pride those future generations of men, happy and free, enjoying to the full the blessings that heaven bestows upon this earth and recalling with thanks in their hearts their protectors and liberators of our day."

Source: Selected Writings of Bolivar, Vol. 1 1810-1822
Compiled by Vicente Lecuna, Edited by Herald A. Bierck,
Jr. 1951, p. 330.

Selected ~~Writings~~ writings of Bolívar v. 1 1810-1826
ed. comp. Vicente Lecuna
ed. Herald A. Bierck, Jr. 1951.

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P. 330.

June 1827

To the