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Folder Title:
Visit of Violeta Chamorro 4/17/91 [OA 6897][1]

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THE STATE VISIT
TO
WASHINGTON, D.C.
OF
HER EXCELLENCY
VIOLETA B. DE CHAMORRO
PRESIDENT
OF
THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA

APRIL 15 TO 18, 1991

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

MONDAY
APRIL 15

8:55 am-	Greeted by Assistant Chief of
9:00 am	Protocol Black, Miami
	International Airport, Miami,
	Florida.
9:00 am-	United States Presidential
11:10 am	Aircraft to Andrews Air Force
	Base, Maryland.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

MONDAY

APRIL 15

(Continued)

11:10 am- Greeted by Deputy Chief of
11:15 am Protocol Fitzgerald and
Welcoming Committee, Andrews Air
Force Base.

11:15 am- United States Presidential
11:25 am Helicopters to Washington
Monument Grounds Reflecting
Pool, Washington, D.C.

11:25 am- Greeted by Secretary of State
11:30 am Baker and Chief of Protocol
Reed, Washington Monument
Grounds Reflecting Pool.

11:35 am Arrive Blair House.

Private luncheon, Blair House.

2:45 pm- Meeting with Peace Corps
3:15 pm Director Coverdell, Blair House.

3:30 pm- Meeting with Director de Macedo,
3:50 pm Pan American Health Organization.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

MONDAY

APRIL 15

(Continued)

4:10 pm- Award Ceremony with Members of
4:20 pm Pan American Development
Foundation, Blair House.

4:30 pm- Meeting with World Bank
5:00 pm President Conable, Blair House.

5:30 pm- Welcoming Ceremony and
6:00 pm Presentation of Key to the City
by Mayor Dixon, Mayor's Office,
District Building.

7:30 pm- Dinner offered by President
10:00 pm Chamorro in honor of
Congressional leaders, Blair
House.

Dress: Business suit.

Overnight: Blair House.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

TUESDAY
APRIL 16

7:00 am- Breakfast with Secretary of
8:30 am Commerce Mosbacher and American
business leaders, Blair House.

9:00 am- Meeting with Acting Secretary of
9:30 am the Treasury Robson, Blair House.

9:45 am- Protocolary Session in honor of
10:40 am President Chamorro, to be
followed by Address before
Permanent Council, Hall of the
Americas, Organization of
American States.

11:00 am- Address before Joint Meeting of
11:30 am Congress, Great Hall, United
States House of Representatives,
United States Capitol.

11:35 am- Motor tour of Washington.
11:55 am

12:00 pm- Meeting with President Iglesias,
12:15 pm President's Office,
Inter-American Development Bank.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

TUESDAY
APRIL 16
(Continued)

12:15 pm- Meeting with Nicaraguan bank
12:30 pm staff, Cecilio Morales Room,
Inter-American Development Bank.

12:30 pm- Luncheon offered by President
2:00 pm Iglesias in honor of President
Chamorro, Andres Bello
Auditorium, Inter-American
Development Bank.

2:30 pm- Meeting with Secretary of
3:00 pm Housing and Urban Development
Kemp, Blair House.

3:00 pm- Meeting with Representative
3:30 pm Houghton and New York educators,
Blair House.

4:00 pm- Meeting with Congressional
4:30 pm wives, Blair House.

4:30 pm- Meeting with International
5:00 pm Monetary Fund Acting Managing
Director Erb, Blair House.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

TUESDAY
APRIL 16
(Continued)

6:00 pm- Meeting with Nicaraguan
6:45 pm Community of Washington, Embassy
of Nicaragua.

7:00 pm- Reception, Dinner, and Award
10:00 pm Ceremony offered by National
Endowment for Democracy in honor
of President Chamorro and
President Havel (in absentia),
Presidential Ballroom, Capital
Hilton Hotel.

Dress: Business suit.

Overnight: Blair House.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY

APRIL 17

Private breakfast, Blair House.

10:00 am- Arrival Ceremony with The
10:20 am President and Mrs. Bush, South
Lawn, The White House.

10:25 am- Reception with The President and
10:30 am Mrs. Bush, State Floor, The
White House.

10:30 am- Meeting with President Bush,
10:45 am Oval Office, The White House.

10:45 am- Expanded Meeting with President
11:30 am Bush, Cabinet Room, The White
House.

TBD pm- Events TBD.
TBD pm

2:00 pm- Wreath-Laying Ceremony at Tomb
2:30 pm of the Unknown Soldier,
Arlington National Cemetery.

3:45 pm- Meeting with Vice President
3:15 pm Quayle, Blair House.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY

APRIL 17

(Continued)

3:30 pm- Meeting TBD, Blair House.
4:00 pm

4:00 pm- Meeting TBD, Blair House.
4:30 pm

7:15 pm- Refreshments with The President
7:45 pm and Mrs. Bush, Yellow Oval Room,
The White House.

7:45 pm- Reception, State Dinner, and
10:35 pm After-Dinner Entertainment
offered by The President and
Mrs. Bush in honor of President
Chamorro, State Floor, The White
House.

Dress: Black tie.

Overnight: Blair House.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

THURSDAY

APRIL 18, 1991

7:25 am- Farewell to Blair House staff,
7:30 am Blair House.

7:40 am- Farewell Ceremony with Chief of
7:45 am Protocol Reed and Farewell
Committee, Washington Monument
Grounds Reflecting Pool.

7:45 am- United States Presidential
7:55 am Helicopters to Andrews Air Force
Base, Maryland.

8:00 am- United States Presidential
10:20 am Aircraft to Miami International
Airport, Miami, Florida, and
resume private schedule.

Donna V. 101



return to law

BY MARY JO MCCONAHAY



CINDY KARP/BLACK STAR

*Violeta Chamorro
presides over
Nicaragua as if it
were her extended
family. But the
troubled nation
may need more
than a mother's
healing touch.*

LES STONE/SYGMA

NO, NO, NO, NO," SHE SAYS. Violeta Chamorro is telling me she has had *absolutely not* one difficult moment as president of Nicaragua, the deeply troubled nation she has led for almost a year. But isn't the present moment, for instance — well, a little *difícil*, given that the country is bankrupt, the 14-party coalition she rode to power has bitterly unraveled, some of the 17,000 contras she disarmed last year are threatening to pick up guns again, and 13 months after she defeated Comandante Daniel Ortega at the polls his revolutionary Sandinistas still run the pivotal public labor sector, trade unions, the police and the army?

"Look," she says in a voice as husky as Lauren Bacall's, leaning confidentially across the big, glass-topped desk. She, a photographer and I are the only ones here, and we are all women. She will impart a secret. "Do you know what the most difficult moment is, at least for a woman? It's when one decides that one is going to marry, and begin to live together, and accustom oneself to living in the same bed, man and woman."

Now *that*, she says, is *difícil*.

Holding court: Chamorro meets with impoverished villagers in Nicaragua's Ciudad Sandino, above.



Friends and foes: Chamorro has been seen as a mere figurehead for the Nicaraguan Opposition Union (UNO), the coalition of parties that brought her to power. But she has come to revel in her role as Nicaragua's leader, claiming she is now on "a mission" to help her people. Still, *her decision to seek a rapprochement with former Sandinista leaders like military chief Gen. Humberto Ortega, at right, rather than drum them out of government, has drawn criticism from supporters.*

Doña Violeta, as she is called by everyone from close advisers to political opponents (it means "Lady Violet"), looks cool and at home behind the giant wooden desk carved with the volcanoes of the national seal. We are sitting in her office on the second floor of the cream-colored Casa Presidencial in the center of steamy Managua. Staring up at her from under the plate glass on which she rests manicured hands are colored holy cards — I counted 13 of them — depicting the Virgin Mary as *La Purísima*, the patroness of Nicaragua, as the Mother of Perpetual Help, as the Queen of Heaven and Earth. Another Virgin — as Our Lady of Guadalupe, patroness of the Americas — hangs on the wall along with election-time newspaper blow-ups of victorious Violeta in white. Behind her on shelves, alongside three bibles, two crucifixes, a plaque bearing the prayer of St. Francis ("Lord, make me an instrument of your peace") and a

framed poem by Pablo Antonio Cuadra, is a life-size photo of the president's late husband, *Pedro Joaquin Chamorro*. The crusading newspaper publisher was assassinated 13 years ago, during the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

Pedro Joaquin is her muse, watching over Doña Violeta's shoulder as she works. He was invoked in every speech of hers that I heard in the past year, and is regarded sometimes as a kind of ghostly power behind the throne. "Pedro's flag could not be in better hands," sings Cuadra's poem.

But anyone who thinks that Violeta Chamorro is simply a figurehead for the Nicaraguan Opposition Union (UNO), the coalition that drove the Sandinistas from power, or is simply taking the place of her husband, is dead wrong. To the delight of some supporters — and to the alarm of opponents

PHOTOS BY BLEIBREUS/GMA



"As a mother, I feel with great intensity the obligation to teach while governing, and to govern while forming peaceful hearts. I want to eradicate from Nicaragua everything that smells of death."

and those who deem it unseemly — Doña Violeta has come in recent months to reveal in her role as leader of Nicaragua. Her face gleams when she reminds those around her that the 11 months she has served in office so far are just a warm-up, that she has almost six years to go. Her most emotional moment in the last year, she tells me, was the instant she realized she had been elected president. Don't take that "in the sense of political ambition," she warns. What she means is that in the country's first truly wide-open, secret balloting in 170 years of independence from Spain, she was chosen for "a mission to help these people" in a way they were not ministered to during half a century of dictatorship by the Somoza family and two decades of war that took 50,000 lives. Clearly, being president is heady stuff, even for a well-off widow from a main-line family.

Doña Violeta's enthusiasm may not be in doubt, but what remains agonizingly uncertain is how — or whether — she can hold together this economically crippled and politically volatile country of 3.7 million. Years of war, U.S. embargo and Sandinista mismanagement ruined Nicaragua's economy: The country is \$13 billion in debt and must somehow find \$300 million to pay off overdue interest payments on international bank loans. February's killing of former contra commander Enrique Bermudez outside a hotel in downtown Managua threatened to reopen the wounds of the bitter, 8-year counterrevolution that Chamorro helped bring to a finish shortly after her election. Chamorro is revered as the nation's peacemaker, but it remains to be seen whether she can steer the country through these troubled waters.

Not even official Washington, which bankrolled the contras' bloody crusade against the Sandinistas and cheered her election, knows quite what to expect from this 61-year-old woman who still seems guided more by her roles as wife, mother and conservative Roman Catholic than by that of politician. She remains an adamant foe of Sandinista radicalism, but she has disappointed many of her followers by reaching a rapprochement with Ortega's party rather than trying to crush it.

It is not easy to get a fix on Violeta Chamorro. She is constantly surrounded by advisers, secretaries and spokespeople — several of them family members — ready to intercept any query from the press that Chamorro may not properly handle. (Chamorro's estranged vice president, Virgilio Godoy, calls her ubiquitous extended family a "straightjacket, a kind of corset.") Their fear of Chamorro's tongue is based on a volley of shoot-from-the-hip remarks that have become legendary, such as her infamous re-



Violeta's late husband, newspaper publisher Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, is her muse, watching over her shoulder as she works.

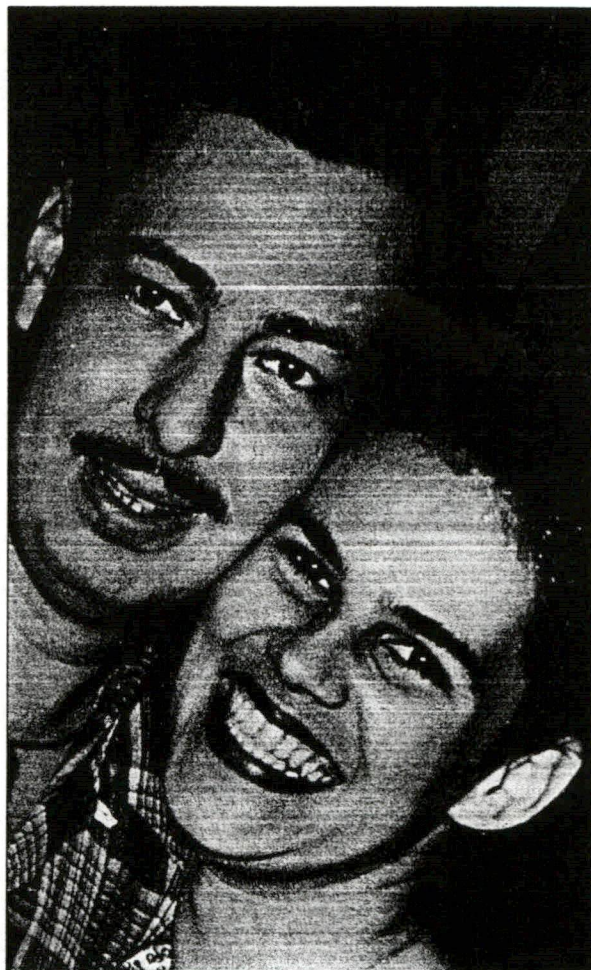


PHOTO COURTESY OF LOU DEAMATIS

joinder to a man who complained things were so bad in Nicaragua that his countrymen might starve to death: "At least they'll die in a democracy," she told him.

In interviews, Chamorro seems to have mastered the art of the evasive reply. Reporters scratch their heads when reviewing their notes, trying to figure out what the question was. "What one or two concrete efforts are you making to move the country out of its economic crisis?" I know I asked.

Answer: "We have to live together to be able to reconstruct, to make Nicaragua a kind of example. This is a beautiful country, with great natural beauty, with volcanoes, a great lake, the fifth-largest lake in the world, I think, where there are *tiburones*, do you know what *tiburones* are? Sharks ... in a lake. Imagine it."

A veteran local reporter who covers Chamorro says, "When I file copy, sometimes my editors accuse me of making fun of her. I have to tell them, 'But that's what she said.'" A European diplomat adds, yes, Doña Violeta is hard to follow, but she generally has something to say and is nobody's fool. Besides, he has developed a method for dealing with her style: "You just let her talk, then later go back over it in your mind and try to figure out what was significant."

She may puzzle reporters, but after starting out as a wooden campaigner afraid to be touched, Violeta Chamorro now appears to have little trouble communicating with ordinary Nicaraguans. "Behave yourselves and don't miss classes," she told children at a recent public appearance in the yard of a Catholic school in Ciudad Sandino, a muddy, working-class settlement 8 miles south of the capital. A boy offered a simple bouquet of soft yellow *timbuque* flowers, and Chamorro accepted a thick sprig of purple bougainvillea from a bandy-legged girl in a torn dress as if it were a spray of long-stem roses. Villagers approached her and made quiet requests only she could hear, and whispered messages that left them and Chamorro smiling. Doña Violeta sat as if holding court, perfectly but not overly made up, looking proper but comfortable in a fern-shaded blouse and tailored skirt of green and violet, her gold locket and cross dangling from her neck and her gold bracelet of astrological symbols glinting in the sun. "Give this woman an appointment, Gloria," she quietly commanded one of her finely groomed, efficient attendants, and Gloria took the name of a humbly dressed woman with few teeth.

In Chamorro's opinion, and that of other

nationally prominent conservative Catholics such as Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, the Sandinista revolution destroyed the country's moral values, and it is up to the new government to help restore them. Schools, for instance, are a priority project, and Chamorro has appointed officials bent on providing what they call "a Christian education."

"Marxist-Leninist training — that's finished too," Chamorro tells me in her office with pride. But some critics charge that Violeta Chamorro is replacing the Sandinistas' ideology with her own, imposing her own heroes and symbols on the Nicaraguan people. Both the Sandinistas and Chamorro tap into what Pablo Antonio Cuadra, the country's living literary institution, described decades ago as "the processional hallmark" of his countrymen: a proclivity for elaborate public mobilizations for faith, an inheritance from the way Spanish missionaries implanted Christianity here 400 years ago.

As often as the Sandinistas invoked the memory of one of their foremost founders, Carlos Fonseca, for instance, Chamorro is invoking the memory of her beloved Pedro

Joaquin. The Sandinistas revered their battle dead as "martyrs" of the revolution, which unnerved purists in this predominantly Catholic country, because the weighty term is properly reserved for one who dies for the faith. Nevertheless, her UNO supporters often call Chamorro's late husband, an articulate critic of the Somoza family dictatorship that began in 1936, a "martyr" to democracy. While Sandinista leaders were hailed at rallies with black-and-red party flags and rousing songs against Yankee imperialism, Chamorro's public appearances feature blue-and-white national banners, blessings by important members of the church hierarchy and the kind of catchy hymns that might be sung at low mass.

Her recent trip to the schoolyard in Ciudad Sandino, where she donated toys provided by newly arrived Taiwanese diplomats, was the kind of well-orchestrated appearance before a friendly audience that Chamorro handles best. But it was clear that she was not simply dangling from someone else's strings. She has the instincts of a natural politician.

Chamorro won points with the crowd by admitting the need for more jobs (unemployment runs as high as 40 percent) and health care (it's an open secret that infant

mortality, polio and malaria are up again now that the Sandinistas' politicized but effective grass-roots public health apparatus has been dismantled). But in more ringing tones, Doña Violeta told the crowd she is daily at work fulfilling her dead husband's wish that "Nicaragua become a republic which is finally fully a republic." Without naming the Sandinistas, who had great support here and renamed the settlement after their own hero, Augusto Sandino, she made sharp references to the ways her administration differs from that of Daniel Ortega. "No more ration cards," she said to applause. She also made sure that the Taiwanese diplomats who accompanied her got credit for the toys. "It's time now to say where things are coming from," she declared, alluding to the controversial aid from Cuba, the Soviets and then-Communist Eastern bloc countries upon which the Sandinistas came to depend.

Doña Violeta broke relations with Beijing and opened them with Taipei at a politically exquisite instant: when National Assembly president Miriam Arguello, a powerful figure in the rival Godoy camp who once also aspired to be president, was discussing new trade deals with Chinese officials in the walled city itself.

As Chamorro made her rounds in Ciudad Sandino, moving to a dusty building site ("I always carry a rag in the car for my shoes," she told me, in the tone of a practical housewife with business commitments) to bless cranes and a skeleton of orange girders that will become a new Catholic church, back in the capital's National Assembly Hall political slaughter was taking place. Among the Doric columns, Sandinista assembly members and the pro-Chamorro faction of the UNO coalition were maneuvering to combine votes to throw Arguello out of her position as Assembly President and ax the super-conservative faction headed by Arguello and Vice President Godoy. The Sandinistas and Violetistas succeeded in killing and burying — for the moment, at least — a common political enemy, while Doña Violeta avoided getting a drop of blood on her hands. What might be counted a weakness in the world of ordinary politics — the fact that Chamorro herself belongs to no political party — is a strength in her case, keeping the president cleanly, sometimes frustratingly, above the fray.

The final chess move that day at the National Assembly illustrates how Nicaraguan government and public life in general continue to be as much a family affair as they were in the past. In Arguello's place, assembly members elected Stanford-educated Alfredo Cesar, who is Doña

Violeta's man, a former Central Bank president and one-time contra political leader. ("I can't believe I found myself voting for someone who should have been a candidate for a firing squad," a Sandinista congressman told me later.) Cesar is a brother-in-law of Chamorro's minister of the presidency and chief of staff, Antonio Lacayo, a businessman widely viewed as the most powerful man in the government. Lacayo is Chamorro's son-in-law, married to her daughter Cristiana, who is a director of the pro-government newspaper *La Prensa*.

Of Doña Violeta's other three children, one — Pedro Joaquín Jr. — was a contra leader, while two others, in a mirror of the greater divided Nicaraguan family, are very prominent Sandinistas: Claudia, a former ambassador to Costa Rica and the wife of a Sandinista leader in the National Assembly, and Carlos Fernando, editor of the opposition newspaper *Barricada*. It is when Chamorro is asked about her family — why there are so many relatives in government, for instance, or especially about her children's divided political allegiances — that she becomes most animated and defensive.

"My family has been united my entire life," she says to me in her office. "It is propaganda to say my four children have been divided. The thing is, they each have different ways of thinking. If you are a mother, you can't say to your daughter all the time, 'Watch out, you're going to fall into that hole!' When one is an adult, he has the right to do what he wants, to think what he wants. But with the enormous difference that the morals and the education we taught my children, this my children cannot forget — in the sense that mother is mother and father is father and the children are the children. My children are *not* divided. There, you can see it in the photo."

It is a recent snapshot taken at a family party, a moment of laughter and gaiety shared by her handsome children and grandchildren. The message is clear: They may have bitter public differences, but blood is thicker than politics. Chamorro tends to see Nicaragua's fractious political scene in the same terms: The country is her extended family and she is determined to keep it together.

In fact, Chamorro's family tree has branches throughout Nicaraguan public life. By blood or marriage, she is related to various officers in the army, now the smallest but probably the fiercest in Central America, led by Gen. Humberto Ortega, Daniel's brother. There are more relatives in civilian government, giving the Chamorro clan the image of a royal family.

"To understand Nicaragua it is important to start with a genealogical tree —

those running things are part of one big family," says a bitter-sounding Vice President Virgilio Godoy, a sociologist who does not come from one of the country's traditional first families, such as the Barrios (Violeta's maiden name) or the Chamorros. "It was that way somewhat with the Sandinistas too, but now it is more condensed, more limited again, with fewer last names. This imposes a certain closing in of the government on itself, so that the vision of reality they have is filtered by this family lens."

Because Chamorro is such a mother at heart, says Godoy, she tends to treat the Sandinistas with kid gloves. This view is also held by many of the country's most important businessmen and by disgruntled ex-contras, who complain that the Sandinistas should have been made to disappear by now instead of being tolerated like errant children. Whether Doña Violeta knows it or not, say these critics (who claim that it is really son-in-law Lacayo who runs the show), this policy of appeasement allows the leftists to fulfill Daniel Ortega's pledge to continue "to govern from below."

"They govern from above, not below. This is not a joke," says Godoy. Since Doña Violeta gives him no budget and banned him from quarters in the National Palace shortly after their administration began, this leader of the oldest political party in the country, the Independent Liberal Party, must receive visitors in the stuffy back room of a bleak little party library. For Godoy, clues about the Sandinistas' cunning approach to politics under Chamorro can be found from reading not Machiavelli, but another, more modern Italian: Tomasi di Lampedusa, author of *The Leopard*. Here is young Tancredi, at a critical moment in the historical novel, to his uncle, the Prince: "We have to change everything, if we want everything to remain the way it is." By handing over the presidency to Chamorro, the Sandinistas have made it look as if they are going along with radical change, Godoy says, so that things might stay the same. While retreating to opposition status, they are in effect hanging on to power by maintaining control of the security forces, big state enterprises and trade unions and preventing the new government from imposing serious economic reform. The more he talks, however, the more Godoy seems to be evoking not Nicaragua or even the Two Sicilies, but *Alice in Wonderland*.

"There is a sensation now that there is nothing clear, nothing firm in this country, which therefore gives the sensation of tumbling down a hole. This is all a world of appearances, a little surrealistic. One thing is

what you see, and another thing is what is happening farther below."

Chamorro and the Sandinistas deny they are in league together. Last year, Sandinista-led labor protests turned Managua into a war zone, with smoke from burning tires blackening the sky for days and gunfire emptying the streets. State workers wanted guarantees they would not be fired, and Sandinistas wanted vows that badly needed "structural adjustments" to put the country's economic house in order would not be borne chiefly by their constituency. Others fought back because they were simply fed up with the way Sandinistas could still paralyze the city at will. Chamorro was notably invisible during the worst of those days, but when she emerged it was to offer a plan of "reconciliation," which was formalized in October and has held, guaranteeing social peace for the moment.

She won't call it a "pact," with its devilish ring. "I pact with no one, only with God," says Doña Violeta. But Chamorro's administration backed away from its plan to fire 15,000 state workers, and many of her supporters accused her of caving in to Sandinista pressure.

So far, the Sandinistas have been careful not to overplay their hand. "We aren't the government, we are the opposition," says Rogelio Ramirez, the leader of the Sandinista bench in the National Assembly and the brother of Daniel Ortega's vice president. Ramirez says the Sandinistas remain pivotal, but because they are "institutionalists," they are backing Doña Violeta for the sake of a stable government.

Whether or not they call it a pact, Chamorro's conservative government and the Sandinistas have done what few predicted they could: learned to live together, even if shakily, even if for a short while. Doña Violeta appears to operate with the understanding that she was able to win a free election in part because there was a revolution, because the Sandinistas have been a part of the official picture for a decade and because any attempt to erase them would result in disaster.

When I interviewed Alfredo Cesar last year, while he was helping to manage Chamorro's campaign, he outlined the philosophy which still seems to guide her government: "If we want to make the Sandinistas accept defeat, we can't corner them." Violeta Chamorro doesn't corner anyone. If she could make a holy card of herself like the ones under the glass on her desk, she might call it "Mother of Reconciliation."

"As a mother, I feel with great intensity the obligation to teach while governing, and to govern while forming peaceful hearts," she told a full house of assembly members,

cabinet officials, military brass and diplomats in a January address. "I want to eradicate from Nicaragua everything that smells of death."

"My job is unification, reconciliation. We have to forget about political parties," she tells me in her office. "We're a small country. Everybody more or less knows one another."

Well, not exactly. This may be Chamorro's family myopia talking, because in her circles everybody does more or less know each other. But it is not likely the Chamorros or the Lacayos or the Ortegas know Maria Isabel Chavez, who, along with a dozen neighbors who wanted to complain, stood on the margins of the crowd the day of Doña Violeta's visit to Ciudad Sandino. With Sandinista subsidies gone and no brake on rising prices, they cannot afford to feed their children, they said.

Later, at Maria Isabel's request, I paid a visit to her one-room house, where she lives with her husband and four children. On one bed, feverish 5-year-old Haydee called out for a ball she was apparently playing with in her delirium. A few days later, when I visited again, Haydee seemed in better health, but now she called out for "mi papa," who had taken an hour-long bus ride to the Eastern Market to find medicine because local pharmacy shelves were empty. Maria Isabel's infant boy died suddenly six weeks ago "of a heart attack." Three other children, ages 9, 7 and 3, ran around barefoot, drinking black coffee with plenty of sugar — milk is an expensive dream. Yes, they are poor, said Chavez, but they have work.

She and the 9-year-old take the first bus at 4 a.m. to the Eastern Market to sell bread-and-butter sandwiches, clearing about \$3 and returning at midday. Then Chavez' husband, Jose Rafael, leaves with his wooden tray of cigarettes and chewing gum, making about \$1.60 and returning on the last bus at 10 p.m. Beans, rice, coffee and the wood to cook them cost about \$3 a day. The margin is thin, Maria Isabel admitted, and it disappears altogether on days like this one when a child is sick and neither she nor Jose Rafael can go to work. But how much of Maria Isabel's frustration attaches to Chamorro?

From a rafter laced with cobwebs, Maria Isabel took down a poster bound with an incongruously white shoelace, and unrolled it on her lap. When a child approached, she warned him away: "Leave it alone. It's Doña Violeta."

For Maria Isabel Chavez and many like her, the fact that the country is finally at peace seems to make up for extremely tough times. Maria Isabel's 17-year-old brother, Juan Jose, died early in the contra conflict, and at election time she voted for Chamorro because she lived in terror that two older sons approaching draft age might also lose their lives.

Chamorro is well aware that this is one of

the main reasons for her popularity. "I don't want to boast," she tells me at the Casa Presidencial, "but I ended a war." Actually, the truce between the contras and the Sandinista army emerged from a hard-fought, 4-year regional peace process. But Doña Violeta pledged an end to the draft, and the laying down of arms did come on her watch.

It is the 13th anniversary of the murder of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro and his widow has an extremely busy day: swearing in new cabinet officers, opening a session of the National Assembly, receiving a pledge of loyalty from Gen. Ortega and elite troops who stand before her in a baking-hot plaza with white gloves and sabers, then attending the anniversary mass and, finally, flying to Mexico for a summit of regional presidents.

"If I sweat, I'll stop home and change my blouse," she joked a few days before.

But now Chamorro looks strained, as if the responsibility of it all is real and hard and sometimes cannot be hidden. She stands tight-lipped as Gen. Ortega intones a list of national heroes, including her own husband and a young poet who assassinated one of the Somozas in the 1950s. She does not review the troops; it is not her style.

To reach the mass, she must pass the fading yellow monument to Pedro Joaquin, occupied now by protesting mothers of dead soldiers and veterans on crutches and in wheelchairs and dressed in old fatigues, pleading for their pensions to be restored. "Violeta: Don't be inhumane," reads their banner.

"At the moment Pedro Joaquin was killed, the people of Nicaragua decided for a change," the monsignor is telling a packed congregation with *La Presidenta* in the front row, her most private moments made public. "According to the Catholic Church, politics is the art and science of searching out the common good."

Cristiana Chamorro and Pedro Joaquin Jr. sit in the front row with their mother, along with Cristiana's husband, Lacayo. When the time comes, they join hands and lift them in prayer with the rest of the people in the church. In the second row, Chamorro's Sandinista children, Carlos Fernando and Claudia, look respectful but keep their hands down.

A choir, hidden in the crowd, starts up the "Ode to Joy" with guitar and tambourine. Chamorro closes her eyes and bends forward, hiding her features with one hand for several minutes, sometimes shaking her head back and forth. Then she seems to come back to where her presence is expected, readjusts the weight of a grandson on her knee, lifts her head and begins to sing. ■

Mary Jo McConahay is the Central American editor for Pacific News Service.

NICARAGUA - THE AID PROGRAM

- o The goal of U.S. assistance is to support Nicaragua's transition to democracy and economic recovery. Nicaragua's democratic institutions are new and fragile, and the once-productive economy now operates at 1940's levels.
- o U.S. assistance supports the Nicaraguan government's program to stabilize prices and restore production by reinvigorating the private sector.
- o Since Mrs. Chamorro's election we have pledged \$538.6 million to Nicaragua. Of that total, \$36.6 million was in immediate emergency assistance; a \$300 million Dire Supplemental assistance package was approved for fiscal year 1990; and a \$202 million package for FY 1991.
- o Since April, 1990, the U.S. has signed agreements obligating \$255 million of the fy 1990 \$300 million Dire Supplemental package. \$158 million has been disbursed as of March 4, 1991.
 - \$128 million has been set aside in the Economic Stabilization and Recovery Program to provide balance of payments support for import financing of agricultural/industrial inputs and petroleum in support of Nicaragua's economic reform. \$109 million of this has been disbursed to date.
 - \$50 million has been set aside to contribute to the international effort to clear Nicaragua's debt to the IDB and the World Bank.
 - \$47 million has been allocated for the repatriation of the ex-Resistance and refugees. Over \$37 million has been disbursed and additional funds are being transferred as needed. Approximately 75,000 ex-resistance and their families and up to 35,000 refugees have been repatriated.
 - \$75 million is being used for long-term development projects,
- o The FY 1991 appropriation was for \$202 million.
 - Economic Support Funds (ESF): \$150 million.
 - Development Assistance: \$11 million.
 - PL-480 Support: \$41 million.
- o \$1.1 million in FY 1991 were disbursed recently as our contribution to an international immunization program.
- o Our FY 1992 aid request is \$204 million.
 - ESF: \$150 million.
 - Development Assistance: \$22 million.
 - PL-480 Support: \$32 million.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NSC/S PROFILE
DECLASSIFIED

RECORD ID: 9102428
RECEIVED: 03 APR 91 08

TO: SCOWCROFT

White House Guidelines

E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), August 28, 1997

FROM: ROY, J

By RM NARA, Date 10/29/04

DOC DATE: 06 APR 91
SOURCE REF: 9106056

KEYWORDS: NICARAGUA

VISIT

PERSONS: CHAMORRO, VIOLETA B

SUBJECT: PRES REMARKS FOR ARRIVAL CEREMONY RE CHAMORRO VISIT 15 - 17 APR

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION DUE DATE: 10 APR 91 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: PACELLI LOGREF: 9100897 9101047

FILES: WH NSCP: CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
PACELLI

FOR CONCURRENCE
PRYCE

FOR INFO

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSDAI CLOSED BY: DOC 3 OF 3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



9106056/0
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 6, 1991

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Chamorro Visit: Presidential Remarks

Attached are remarks which may be used in the President's statement at the arrival ceremony for Nicaraguan President Chamorro.

J. Stapleton Roy
J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As stated.

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By *[Signature]* NARA, Date 10/29/04

It gives me great pleasure to welcome Mrs. Violeta Chamorro, President of Nicaragua, to the United States of America for this state visit.

I recall the last time we met here in Washington. Then, President Chamorro, you were an opposition candidate running against the Sandinistas. Though the experts and the pollsters gave you little chance of winning, the people of Nicaragua gave you fifty-five percent of the vote.

You hurt your knee in a fall during that campaign, but even on crutches you stood up for your country and for the democratic values that we all cherish.

You stood up against a military draft that divided the Nicaraguan family and sent thousands of Nicaraguan sons against their will to fight their brothers.

You stood up to end civil war; to heal political wounds; to bring about national reconciliation.

You stood up for farmers and workers whose efforts to better their lot were stifled through a pervasive system of state controls.

You stood up against a regime that denied liberty with the promise of providing social justice, but in fact provided neither justice nor liberty.

You stood up to join the democratic revolution that is still sweeping the world. We are proud to support your democratic government, as we are proud to support all those who have joined the democratic ranks in the past few years.

[President Truman said, "Democracy has proved that social justice can be achieved through peaceful change." Nothing proves that more clearly than the changes that have taken place in Nicaragua since your inauguration nearly one year ago.]

we need to GET ANOTHER quote with

You ended Nicaragua's bitter civil war. Under your leadership, the Nicaraguan Resistance put down its arms and took up civilian pursuits. You drastically reduced the Army and cut its budget, freeing funds for vital social programs.

Under your administration, Nicaraguans enjoy greater freedom than at almost any time in their history. Ordinary people can now speak their minds without fear of reprisals from the state. Nicaragua's National Assembly and Supreme Court are now genuine partners in government, not simply instruments of a ruling party.

You have set out a program of free-market economic reforms so that your people can profit from their own labor and raise the standard of living for all Nicaraguans. Just last month, international donors here in Washington praised your economic stabilization plan and those reforms. We salute your efforts and hope that all leaders of Nicaragua and the world will come with you to bring about these reforms so that all Nicaraguans can prosper.

As you continue to stand up for your country, the United States will continue to stand by you. We pledged 537 million dollars in aid to Nicaragua over your first two years as President. We have joined with other developed countries and the Central Americans in the Partnership for Democracy and Development. Beyond aid, we offer opportunities for trade and investment that will benefit both our countries through ^{The} ~~my~~ Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. We will have many occasions to discuss these programs during your visit.

Madame President, welcome once again to the United States. I look forward to discussing our new friendship in the days ahead.

Drafted: ARA/P - DAGray *AK*
SEARAP 3739 4/4/91 x74727 "VC visit statements"

Cleared: ARA/P - PPeters *AK*
ARA/CEN - PFRomero *ten*
PA - MDillen
S/P - VMartinez
C - MFoulon *gbr*
P - CBlakeman *draft*
ARA/FO - JGSullivan
- BAranson

91 APR 8 P3:08

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 5, 1991

TO: SPEECHWRITING/BETH HINCHLIFFE *CAROL*
FM: *Cathy Fenton* CATHY FENTON, SOCIAL OFFICE, X7064
RE: THANK YOU REMARKS FOR ENTERTAINER
(JOHNNY MATHIS) FOR APRIL 17 STATE
DINNER/NICARAGUA

ATTACHED IS BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON
OUR ENTERTAINER FOR THE APRIL 17 STATE
DINNER. PLEASE PREPARE THANK YOU REMARKS
FOR THE PRESIDENT. WE WOULD ALSO
APPRECIATE RECEIVING A COPY OF YOUR DRAFT.

MANY THANKS.

CC:MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE/FYI



2020 avenue of the stars • suite 410
los angeles, california 90067
(213) 557-1199 • fax (213) 557-9090

JOHNNY MATHIS

Biography

If any performer today deserves "living legend" status, it is Johnny Mathis. It's hard to believe that Mathis, who has been called by many "The World's Greatest Living Romantic Singer," and his velvety-smooth voice have been delighting listeners spanning five decades!

Since first bursting upon the music scene in the mid-1950s, Johnny's consistently high level of performance, both on records and in concert, has been a source of wonder to critics and fans alike. While many of his musical contemporaries find their careers waning, Mathis continues to perform at least 100 live concerts per year, record a minimum of one or two new albums annually, plus record film and TV soundtrack songs and themes, in addition to his numerous appearances on the home screen.

Mathis holds so many records and has set so many precedents, it is hard to know where to begin listing them.

In 1958, a scant two years after they signed him to a recording contract, Columbia Records released his fourth LP, "Johnny's Greatest Hits," and began a "Greatest Hits" tradition copied by every other record company and artist since then. That album would spend an unprecedented 9-1/2 years on Billboard Magazine's Top 100 lists: 470 continuous weeks on the charts, a record that still stands and is duly noted in the Guinness Book of World Records.

Noted record historian Joel Whitburn used Billboard Magazine's weekly charts to compile a list of Top 10 album artists for the period 1945-1972 -- Mathis is only second to Frank Sinatra, who began recording some 13 years earlier than Mathis! The rest of the list, in order: Elvis Presley, Mitch Miller, The Kingston Trio, The Beatles, Mantovani, Herb Alpert, Andy Williams and Ray Conniff! Of that list, it's easy to determine who's still the most active today.

If there was any doubt about Mathis' durability, it was forever banished in 1978 when he charted his very first Number One Pop Single, "Too Much, Too Little, Too Late" (recorded with Deniece Williams), nearly 21 years after his first hit single, "Chances Are," in 1957. Mathis has had as many as three songs in the Top 10 charts at the same time.

John Royce Mathis grew up in San Francisco, California. The son of Clem and Mildred Mathis, he was the fourth of their seven children, and was born on September 30, 1935. When Johnny was a small boy, the large family lived in a basement apartment on Post Street, and it was there that he learned to love music from his father. Clem had worked for a time in vaudeville back in the 1920s, and he always encouraged his children to sing. Thus,

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Johnny started to sing at an early age to please his father, who taught him his first song: "My Blue Heaven." Johnny was eight years old when Clem purchased an old upright piano for \$25 and brought it home, only to discover that it would not fit through the front door. Johnny stayed up all night, watching his father dismantle the piano, get it into the little living room and then reassemble it. After that, Clem would spend his evenings playing the piano and teaching Johnny, who had proven to be the most eager of his children to learn, many songs and routines. Whenever visitors came to the Mathis home, Clem would have his young son sing for them. He could see that adults reacted well to Johnny's singing, and he felt that there was something special about him.

Johnny was 13 years old when Clem took him to see Connie Cox, a Bay Area voice teacher, and asked her for an audition. Johnny sang "On the Sunny Side of the Street" for Connie, and she liked what she heard. She decided immediately to take him as a student, but Clem could not afford to pay for the lessons. Connie made a deal with Clem to teach Johnny in exchange for him performing odd jobs, running errands and tending to her garden. This arrangement lasted for over six years, while Johnny learned vocal scales and exercises, basic fundamentals, voice production, classical music and operatic skills.

Johnny sang in the church choir; he sang at school functions, community events and amateur shows all over San Francisco. In school, Johnny was a good student, he was popular with his teachers and classmates, and was known as "the kid who sings." He was student body president at Roosevelt Junior High School. At George Washington High School, Johnny was very involved with school activities, as well as with sports. He was a member of the school's Executive Council, the Eagle Society, the Glee Club, the school choir, the Letterman Society, the track team and the basketball team. In his senior year, Johnny was elected student body treasurer. Not only was Johnny, as a singer, a very important participant in the various school assemblies, productions and rallies -- he was also the star high jumper and hurdler on the track field. He was a young man in possession of many outstanding talents!

Johnny graduated from George Washington High School in January, 1954, and went on to San Francisco State College, where he began classes with the intention of becoming a physical education/English teacher. While at San Francisco State, Johnny set a high-jump record of 6' 5-1/2" -- which is still on the university's Top 15 list, and was only 2 inches less than the Olympic record of the time. Just as when he was in high school, Johnny's name was frequently mentioned in the sports sections of the Northern California newspapers. He was often referred to as "the best all-round athlete to come out of the San Francisco Bay Area." Johnny was considered to be an Olympic hopeful for the 1956 Games.

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A fellow student at San Francisco State, a young man who played with a jazz sextet, talked Johnny into coming to the nightclub where he worked and joining in at a Sunday afternoon jam session. The club was the famous Black Hawk, and it was co-owned by Helen Noga. The minute Helen heard Johnny sing, she decided that she wanted to manage his career and push him to the top. In early September of 1955, Johnny landed a job on weekends at Ann Dee's 440 Club. In the meantime, Helen had learned that George Avakian, an executive from Columbia Records in New York, was vacationing in San Francisco. She nagged him with telephone calls until he finally agreed to go to the 440 Club and hear Johnny sing. Helen advised Johnny to start his set with a ballad, and he began with the song, "Tenderly." That was all it took for Avakian to offer Johnny a recording contract, and to send the now-famous telegram to his recording company: "Have found phenomenal 19-year-old boy who could go all the way. Send blank contracts."

Avakian left for New York, after telling Johnny that he would eventually send for him. Johnny continued his studies at San Francisco State, and he also gained additional fame as a high jumper. In early 1956, Johnny was asked to attend the trials for the 1956 Olympic teams that would travel to Melbourne, Australia that summer. At the same time, Columbia Records requested that Johnny come to New York to start arrangements for his first recording session. Clem helped his son decide that his future and best interests were with the recording company in New York. And so, Johnny gave up the chance to become a member of the USA Olympic Team in order to record his first album in March, 1956. It was a decision that he would never regret.

The first album was a collection of jazz-oriented renditions of popular standards, and it was titled, "Johnny Mathis: A New Sound in Popular Song." That summer, Johnny was introduced to the music industry at a huge Columbia Records convention -- and his album was released in July, 1956. It enjoyed only moderate success, because jazz vocals albums were simply not good sellers. Nevertheless, Johnny stayed in New York and he began to land bookings at some of the best clubs, like the Blue Angel and Basin Street East. Variety reviewed his early act: "Johnny Mathis is a promising newcomer. The lad from San Francisco is an intense singer with a musician's skill for vocal improvisings that make for an arresting session. Mathis seems to know where he's going, and at this stage of development it's safe to assume that he'll get along nicely."

Soon Columbia Records placed Johnny under the supervision of producer Mitch Miller, who favored using Johnny's voice to sing soft and romantic ballads. At his second recording session, in the fall of 1956, Johnny made two singles in a ballad style, and they were to become among his most popular all-time greatest hits: "Wonderful, Wonderful" and "It's Not For Me To Say."

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Subsequently, MGM Studios signed Johnny to sing "It's Not For Me To Say" in the film "Lizzie," in which he played a tavern piano-bar singer. In 1958, Johnny made another motion picture appearance, this time for Twentieth Century-Fox in the film "A Certain Smile," where he sang the title song in an elegant Paris nightclub scene. Over the years, Johnny's voice has been used in countless Hollywood movies, often to sing the theme song of the film over the credits, other times as part of the story, or for background music to enhance a particular scene or segment.

"Wonderful, Wonderful" and "It's Not For Me To Say" reached their peaks on the Billboard magazine pop charts in July, 1957. These hits were followed by the monumental single "Chances Are" - which became Johnny's first Number One hit by November, 1957. Other hits that followed were "The Twelfth of Never," "Wild is the Wind," "Come to Me," and "No Love (But Your Love)".

Simultaneously, Columbia Records was releasing albums of Johnny singing beautiful and romantic ballads, old standards and the best songs from the Broadway musicals. The albums, like the singles, sold by the millions. In June, 1957, Johnny had gone on network television's top-rated "The Ed Sullivan Show," where he was introduced to the American record-buying public. He quickly became a household name and a national celebrity. In 1958, Columbia Records came up with the idea of putting together an album of Johnny's single hits and calling it "Johnny's Greatest Hits." It was then a new concept, and one that would soon be used very often in the recording industry. "Johnny's Greatest Hits" remained on the Billboard top album chart for an unprecedented 490 consecutive weeks (that's about 9-1/2 years) --

a longevity record that has been included in the Guinness Book of World Records. After all these years, and millions and millions of copies sold, this album continues to be among the most beloved and well-known of this country and century.

In late 1959, Johnny recorded another song that became synonymous with the name of Johnny Mathis: "Misty." It, too, was a great hit for Johnny, and has remained an audience favorite throughout his career. As his fame progressed, Johnny was spending most of the year either in the recording studios making albums and singles, or performing in all of the important concert halls in every corner of the United States. He was in great demand on records as well as on stage, and he was as popular with adults as he was with teenagers. It was often noted that Johnny Mathis became popular among teenagers in the era of rock and roll without ever singing a rock and roll song. Although Johnny's contemporaries were such rock stars as Elvis Presley and Ricky Nelson, he was voted the Number One Male Singer for the year 1960 in a major United States poll conducted among teenagers. By 1961, Johnny had performed on tour in Australia and in Great Britain, where he was received with tremendous enthusiasm by sold-out audiences. Johnny continued to make guest appearances on all of the musical/variety television

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shows of the time: "The Perry Como Show," "The Patti Page Show," "The Pat Boone Show," and many more. Johnny set house records at all of the celebrated nightclubs in which he appeared, and his performances were known as "The Mathis Magic."

By 1958, Johnny had left San Francisco along with his managers, Helen and John Noga, and he shared a home with them in Beverly Hills. The Nogas guided Johnny's early singing career with a shrewd and competent hand, and they treated him as a son. But in 1964, Johnny and the Nogas severed ties and contracts. Johnny moved into a home in the Hollywood Hills, one that was originally built by Howard Hughes, and where Johnny still lives today. The Nogas had always conducted business matters from their home, but Johnny wanted his new residence to be a private place. He established Jon Mat Records, Inc. to produce his recordings, and Rojon Productions, Inc. to handle all of his concert, theater, club and television appearances, and all promotional and charity activities. His new manager and business partner became Ray Haughn, who helped guide Johnny's multifaceted activities until his untimely death in September, 1984. Since then, Johnny has taken full personal responsibility for his career, operating from impressive offices located in the Burbank-Toluca Lake area of Los Angeles.

Johnny has remained with Columbia Records throughout his recording career, with the exception of a three-year period from 1963 to 1966 when he recorded with Mercury Records. During the middle 1960s, Johnny performed and toured extensively, here and overseas, with the groups of young people called The Young Americans and Our Young Generation.

Johnny has been awarded over 60 gold and platinum records for his outstanding worldwide sales, not only in the United States, but also in Great Britain, Australia and France. Johnny was awarded gold records for his earliest hits, like "Chances Are," and then in 1963 for the albums "Johnny's Greatest Hits," "Warm," "Merry Christmas," "Swing Softly," "More Johnny's Greatest Hits," "Open Fire, Two Guitars," "Heavenly," and "Faithfully." Since Johnny made his first recording in March, 1956, he has released nearly 100 albums, and about as many singles, in the United States alone -- and scores of additional albums in foreign countries. Johnny is truly an international superstar, having performed in North America, South America, Europe, Australia and the Far East. Johnny has been a frequent guest on all of the well-known talk shows of the day -- on "The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson" alone, he has guested at least 50 times since 1962.

Johnny's accomplishments are numerous and varied. In June, 1972, he was awarded his own star on the famous Hollywood Walk of Fame. Joel Whitburn, the Billboard charts expert, has come up with several interesting statistics based on his research. According to Whitburn, Johnny is one of only five recording artists from 1955 to the present who have had Top 40 hits

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spanning each of the last four decades. (The other four are: Elvis Presley, Paul Anka, Neil Sedaka and Cliff Richard.) According to Whitburn, Johnny ranks as the third biggest album artist of the 1955-to-1985 era -- behind Elvis Presley and Frank Sinatra, and just in front of the Beatles. Of these artists, only Johnny is still making albums regularly. In 1978, Johnny made a duet recording for the first time, when he teamed up with singer Deniece Williams for the song "Too Much, Too Little, Too Late." It became a Number One hit record for them in June of the same year. Eventually, they recorded a single called "Without Us" that is the theme song for the television hit comedy series "Family Ties." Since then, Johnny has recorded duets with several other female vocalists, among them Dionne Warwick, Gladys Knight and Jane Olivor.

Johnny's long singing career has been marked by many highlights. In April, 1978, he sang for the British Royal Family at a Common Performance held at the London Palladium. In 1972, Johnny attended the Summer Olympics in Munich, Germany as a guest of the Olympic Committee, sixteen years after having been invited to compete in the 1956 trials. In December, 1971, he was elected Grand Marshal of the festive Hollywood Christmas Parade. In June, 1973, Johnny sang at the White House State Dinner held in honor of the President of Liberia. He sang songs nominated in the "Best Song" category for the 1957, 1961, 1971 and 1978 Academy Awards. In July, 1981, when Johnny was celebrating his 25th anniversary as a recording artist, the City of Hope-Music Industry Chapter paid tribute to him at a gala dinner held at the Century Plaza Hotel, where he was presented with the "Spirit of Life" award. In April, 1987, Johnny sang for President and Mrs. Reagan at a White House State Dinner held in honor of the Prime Minister of Japan.

Still very much an athlete, Johnny is ever health-conscious and stays in excellent physical condition. He enjoys cooking his own meals and he exercises daily. He loves golf and plays nearly every day. In 1985 and 1986, Johnny hosted his own golf tournament, the Johnny Mathis Seniors PGA Classic, held in Los Angeles. At San Francisco State, a track event named after him, the Johnny Mathis Invitational Track & Field Meet, has been held annually for more than a half-dozen years. Johnny usually takes time from his busy schedule to attend the meet, where he can reminisce about his own days on that field.

Johnny Mathis is basically a modest and private person. He started out as a little boy singing mostly to please his father, whom he loved and considered his best friend. Now the years have passed, and Johnny sings mainly because singing is his life. He was never interested in celebrity status; he wanted simply to be a singer of good songs and to sing them well. Nevertheless, he has enjoyed his singing career and the accompanying opportunities to do the many things that otherwise might not have been possible. Johnny has traveled the world, visited marvelous and

(more)

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exotic places, met fascinating people, and played golf on the best courses!

Johnny's singing voice and style have been described by hundreds of reviewers and writers over the years. Thousands of words have been written about Johnny's superb artistry and musicianship, his stunning song interpretations, his incomparable phrasing and articulation, his brilliant microphone technique, his remarkable professionalism, his impeccable and youthful appearance, his shy and innocent charm. Columnist Rona Barrett called Johnny "the most romantic singer of our time." It has been said that Johnny sings right from the heart, from deep within his soul, that he gives a song his all, that he projects a warm, sincere and sensitive personality through his incredibly beautiful sound. The perpetual admiration of Johnny's millions of fans everywhere, and the repeated standing ovations that he receives from his audiences throughout the world, attest to the truthfulness of these well-deserved descriptions. Johnny Mathis is a man with true class -- and his music is timeless.

#

Program

10:00 a.m. President Chamorro arrives

at The White House where she will be greeted by

The President and Mrs. Bush, The Vice President and

Mrs. Quayle, a Representative of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,

a Representative of the Diplomatic Corps, and other officials.

Honors will be rendered:

Druffles and Flourishes,

Mail to the Chief,

A 21-Gun Salute,

The National Anthem of the Republic of Nicaragua, and

The National Anthem of the United States of America.

President Chamorro will inspect the Troops.

Musical Troop in Review:

President Bush will welcome President Chamorro.

President Chamorro will speak.

10:25 a.m.

The President and Mrs. Bush and President Chamorro will receive members of the Welcoming Committee in the Cross Hall.

10:30 a.m.

President Bush and President Chamorro will meet in the Oval Office.

*Customs Observed
at
The White House
During Honors*

Welcome to The White House.

It is customary for all present to stand when Honors are rendered.

All those in uniform execute a military salute.

During the National Anthems Americans not in uniform place the right hand over the heart. When a hat is worn by a gentleman it is removed and held over the heart.



*The President
of
The United States of America
and Mrs. Bush
will greet
Her Excellency
Violeta B. de Chamorro
President
of
The Republic of Nicaragua*

*10:00 a.m.
Wednesday, April 17, 1991
at The White House*

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 APR 10 P5:24

DATE: 4/10/91ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4/12/91 11:00 a.m.SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL CEREMONY FOR PRESIDENT CHAMORRO

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☐	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	ROGICH	☒	☐
BRADY	☐	☒	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☒	ROGERS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☒	☐	SNOW	☒	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☒	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 11:00 a.m., Friday, April 12, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
91 APR 10 PM 4:52 April 10, 1991 5 p.m.
CHAMARR Draft One

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL CEREMONY FOR PRESIDENT CHAMORRO
Wednesday, April 17, 1991 10 a.m.
South Lawn

It gives me great pleasure to welcome to the United States a woman of courage; a leader of conviction; a person of morality and vision -- Mrs. Violeta Chamorro, President of Nicaragua.

We stand here at the White House almost a year to the day after that extraordinary moment when you stood at Managua's National Stadium to be sworn in as your nation's first freely elected President. bio 4/25/90
Sted Howard

What a moment that was. In you we saw the exhilarating victory of democracy -- of that glorious new breeze that in one amazing year swept out oppression and dictatorship from Prague to Managua. SNOW 89

In you we saw your nation's peacemaker -- the person who would close the books on 11 years of cruel civil war.

In you we saw the symbol of national reconciliation -- with the inner strength and resolve to turn the face of your country toward the path of healing.

In you we saw what your countrymen saw when they voted in their first fair, open election -- the person who inspired her people to believe in the triumphant return of peace and freedom.

On that Inauguration Day we saw Violeta Chamorro, candidate of compassion -- become Dona Violeta, leader of vision.

And on that day you closed a painful chapter in your nation's history. And you began to forge a new one. Your beautiful land of ~~[country's motto]~~ had been exhausted by strife.

Embittered by corruption. Numbed by grief. Starved and impoverished by a cynical and mismanaged regime.

But you are the leader who once said: "As a mother, I feel with great intensity the obligation to teach while governing, and to govern while forming peaceful hearts." And you have begun to bring life and dreams back to your people -- in your "mission to help them," as you call it. Secure in peace, your courageous countrymen are showing they're ready to dig in and work hard, to reap the benefits of free government and free enterprise.

Following the course of your slogan: "Yes, we can change things" -- your reforms are practical. Privatization. (State USIA) P.4

Restoration of democratic liberties. Economic reconstruction. (State USIA) P.4

Guarantee of property rights. Reallocation of military funds to vital social programs, like education. (State USIA) P.4

But your reforms are also visionary: The restoration of moral values and human dignity. The importance of an inheritance for your children of reconciliation and respect. And the belief in the goodness of a people that still turns for guidance to its patron saint -- "La Purisima."

And your reforms -- your "new sun of justice and freedom" -- bring hope to the watching world. For with the democratization of Nicaragua, we are one crucial step closer to the incredible goal of becoming this world's first fully free hemisphere.

Dona Violeta, I am proud to stand with you -- and our nation is proud to stand by you. We're offering \$537 million in aid over your first two years as President. And we've joined with

over 500 million

Image P.25
3/24/91

Phil Peters
PennKemble
+ est.
USIA
P.4

Bill Pryce

David
Pacelli
r 3000

other developed countries and the Central Americans in the Partnership for Democracy and Development. Beyond aid, we're offering opportunities for trade and investment that will benefit both our countries through the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative.

Most of all, we're offering something from our hearts to your proud country -- your blue and white Nicaragua where as your National Anthem says: "the ~~cannons will never, never roar again.~~ ^{voice of the no longer roars.}" We're offering our respect, our admiration, and our friendship.

As your nation reinvents itself under your leadership, the world shares the view of Nicaraguan poet Pablo Antonio Cuadra, who wrote about your late husband Pedro -- tragically assassinated for the pure passion of his political idealism. Cuadra said of you: "Pedro's flag could not be in better hands."

Dona Violeta, Madam President, your nation could not be in better hands. We salute you. God bless you, and your proud and courageous land.

#

OK line, we hate Yankees, enemies.
has Nat'l Anthem sd in the TGardner
past yr.? <sup>new
anthem</sup>

David
Pacelli

3/24/91
Image
p. 26

Image
3/24/91
p. 24

Bill
Pryce

✓
(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
April 10, 1991 11 a.m.
CHAMTOAST Draft One

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST FOR PRESIDENT CHAMORRO
April 17, 1991 7:15 p.m.
State Dining Room

✓

It is a distinct privilege for Barbara and me to salute this evening an extraordinary woman of honor, passion and courage. With the greatest admiration we welcome to our nation's home, Nicaragua's President, Violeta Chamorro.

We honor her as the visionary who is forging a future of peace and dignity for her beleaguered land. As the leader who ended a bitter civil war, and who replaced a dehumanizing regime. As the President whom history will acclaim as the liberator of not only her country's government -- but also of its spirit.

Her people call her Dona Violeta -- a name of affection and respect. As I've come to know her, I've understood. For she personifies the blend of resolve and compassion that inspires a nation to become the best it can be.

I'll tell you something that impresses me tremendously. Not only is she working resolutely to bring about tangible reforms of democracy and opportunity -- but she has also embarked on what she terms a quest to restore moral values. What a powerful goal in this age. The most important goal there is.

Under the courageous and idealistic example of President Chamorro, Nicaragua is rediscovering the meaning of its coat of arms -- the beautiful symbol embossed in the center of its flag. A triangle for equality. A rainbow for peace. And a shower of light -- for liberty shining throughout the land.

Flags & Arms
across the
World
P.158

Liberty that's embodied by Violeta Chamorro -- and by her late husband and inspiration, Pedro. He used to own a boat he named "Santa Libertad" -- St. Liberty. Well, the world now watches as his widow steers her own "Santa Libertad" -- her ship of state, bound for a bright horizon that promises freedom, respect and dignity for every person in her land.

~~On a shelf in President Chamorro's office is a plaque of a prayer she tries to live by. A prayer that reminds me of her. The words are by St. Francis. "Make me an instrument of peace. Where there is hatred, let me sow love... Where there is despair, hope. Where there is darkness, light... For it is in giving that we receive; [and] it is in pardoning that we are pardoned."~~

Dona Violeta -- you are an instrument of peace. Through your goals of reconciliation and liberty, you bring vision to your nation and hope to the world.

To your health, Madam President -- and to that of your proud and courageous land.

#

not on shelf. on a prayer card between the desk and glass on top of desk...

of Assisi

Chamorro
Traug.

Barlett
am. Quo
p. 138

Nicaraguan Embassy

"National Reconciliation"

↓
campaign theme

Sped Howard

State Dept.

↑
Hansen's press person

in Nic. embassy during campaign thru last summer

Phil Peters

647-4726, 024723

Cultural
Affairs/
Information
Officer

4/2/21

For your discussion

Pete Remond, contacted
the various documents
regarding Nicaragua-

Jim Clark

647-4975

Office of State

Office of Central

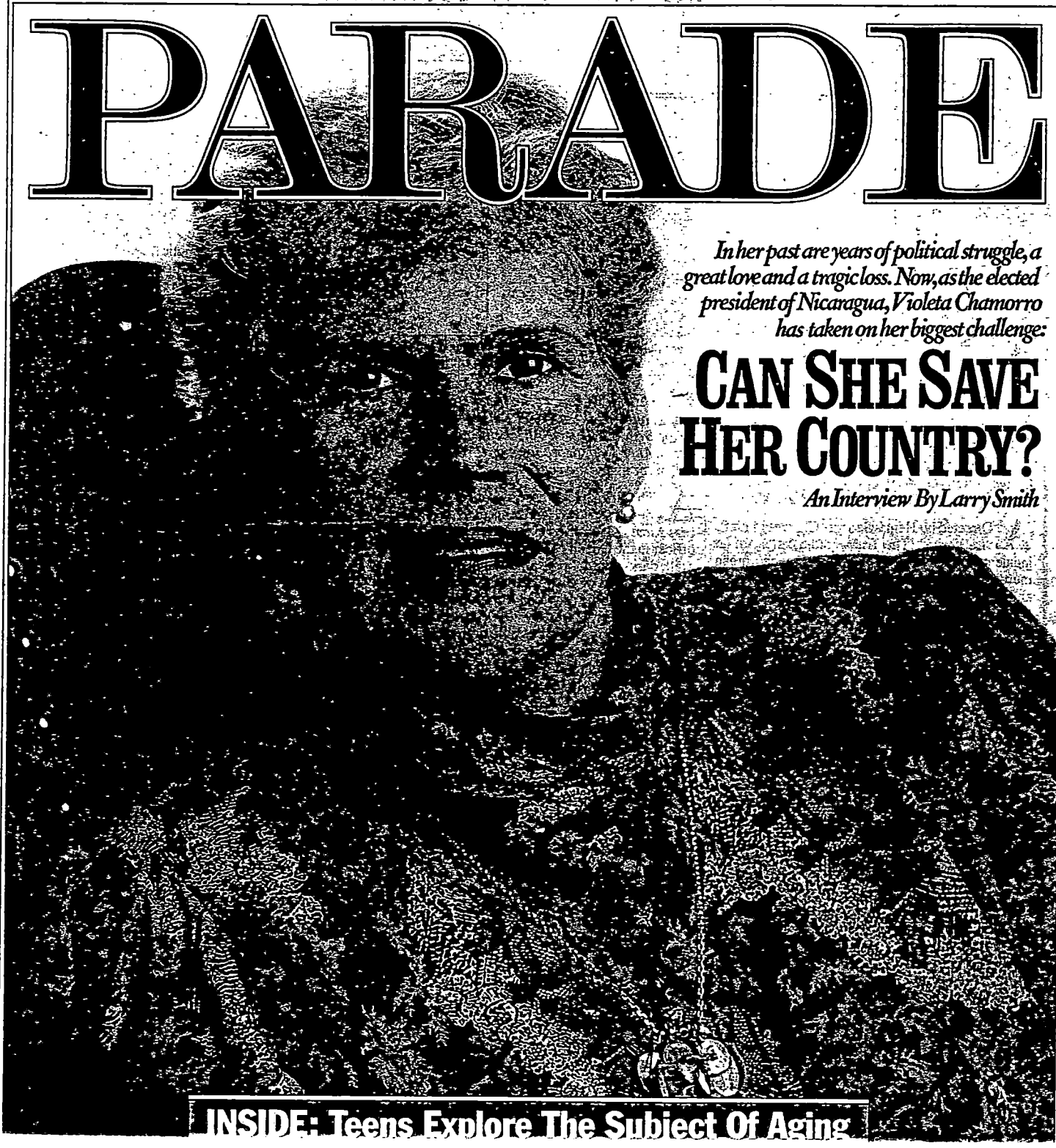
American Affairs

Gerard
McClulloch

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1991

The Washington Post

PARADE



In her past are years of political struggle, a great love and a tragic loss. Now, as the elected president of Nicaragua, Violeta Chamorro has taken on her biggest challenge:

CAN SHE SAVE HER COUNTRY?

An Interview By Larry Smith

INSIDE: Teens Explore The Subject Of Aging

Photocopy-Preservation

VIOLETA CHAMORRO stopped her six-vehicle caravan three times to get out and greet the people. She was on a hair-raising pell mell drive to Juigalpa, in Nicaragua, to accept from the army a small military base for use as a school or clinic. Wherever she stopped, the people thronged her Land Cruiser, crying out slogans of victory—women, men and children touching, embracing her, waving signs, giving her flowers, a tortilla, asking for help. She calmly worked her way through the crowds—smiling, talking, referring inquiries to aides, circling the vehicle—all the time with almost no sign of security officials. Mrs. Chamorro, the president of this nation, clearly enjoyed it all.

The next day in her office in Managua, when I suggested that the response of the people must have been gratifying, she shook her head and declared, "No. *Somos el pueblo. We are the people.*"

Mrs. Chamorro's implausible rise to become the head of her country followed years of struggle against first the right-wing Somoza dictatorship and then the leftist Sandinista regime—years of humiliation and insult, years of great love and tragedy turning on the 1978 assassination of her husband, Pedro, a crusading newspaper editor. Even today, she is but a housewife, they say, a figurehead, an admirable, even noble, widow—but, still, a woman who knows nothing about running a country. I had come to Nicaragua to try to understand this extraordinary woman, and I sensed, after we got to know each other a little, that the place to begin was with her husband.

The day Pedro Chamorro was shot dead in his car by three men on a Managua street corner, Violeta Chamorro was in Miami, shopping in Jordan Marsh for a trousseau for her daughter, Cristiana.

Her husband's brother Jaime found her, she recalled: "'Violeta, we have to go home,' he said. 'I just had a phone call and heard Pedro had an accident.' I told him, 'No. *Lo mataron. They killed him.*'"

Her opponents say she is but a housewife, a figurehead. But Nicaragua's Violeta Chamorro, facing a disintegrating economy, still talks like a determined leader.

"We are the people!" On the road to Juigalpa, Violeta Chamorro, with a bouquet of flowers, gets a big hug as she stops her caravan to talk with and touch fellow Nicaraguans.



'I Had To Be Strong From The Beginning'

A N I N T E R V I E W B Y L A R R Y S M I T H

COVER PHOTOGRAPH BY EDDIE ADAMS

PAGE 4 • FEBRUARY 17, 1991 • PARADE MAGAZINE

Photocopy-Preservation

He said, 'No, he's in a delicate situation.' But I said, 'No. They killed him.'"

"So I went looking for Cristiana," she added. "I told her, 'Hurry up, let's go. Your father has been killed.' I felt he had been killed. Jaime knew but didn't want to tell me. And when I went out into the lobby of the hotel, I saw two men crying, and I asked, 'They killed him, didn't they?' And they said, 'Yes.'"

"I had to be strong from the beginning. At his funeral, people were screaming and yelling, and I asked them not to scream. I asked, 'Why don't we sing the national anthem? Because Pedro died for his country.' And that is why I carry him here, in this locket around my neck. And that is why I call him 'my Christ,' in my heart of Nicaragua."

The Sandinista rebellion, powered by Pedro Chamorro's murder, gained the popular support it needed to dump the Somozas and take over in July 1979. At first, Mrs. Chamorro was part of this new government under Daniel Ortega, but she soon found she didn't like the way that was going and quit. She took over her husband's newspaper and fought the government for nine years.

When the country's first free elections were held last February, she surprised the world by defeating Ortega.

The president's office, she discovered, had been stripped of most furnishings by the Sandinistas. "What I found here," said Doña Violeta, as she is called, "was one old desk—I tore my dress on it the first time walking by—and a little table with four rocking chairs." The chairs, she recalled, were painted violet, an insult to her. "I hated it," she said. "You know why? Because this was done with bad intentions. When I came into this office, I was so shocked, my first thought was, 'This is Pennsylvania Station!'"

Nicaragua, which has nearly 4 million people, is roughly the size of Arkansas. It is beautiful but poor. The countryside along the road followed by Mrs. Chamorro's caravan was marked by makeshift homes, curious children, men on horseback herding stolid, long-horned cattle, and oxen with crude yokes pulling old wagons with wooden wheels.

Managua, the capital—its center destroyed by a 1972 earthquake and never rebuilt, partly because it lies on a fault line—everywhere looks like the outskirts of some other town. A great cathedral stands in ruin, and horses graze on the boulevards. Eight hundred thousand people live there.

The problems confronting the country are enormous: It is broke, with a total debt of roughly \$13 billion, and \$300 million must be found to meet overdue interest payments on international bank loans. Inflation, even while it has been drastically reduced from previous years, still

verges on the absurd: A \$28 lunch in Managua cost me 101,821,000 córdobas. Help for health and education are two of Mrs. Chamorro's most desperate concerns. She also must balance the demands of the 14-party UNO coalition that elected her with those of the opposition Sandinista Party. She must find land for the 21,000 Contras, or "resistance fighters," who laid down their arms last summer, and provide severance pay, employment and land for thousands of Sandinista soldiers being cut loose by the shrinking army.

It has been suggested in published reports that Mrs. Chamorro's govern-

ment in stabilizing the economy and slowing the rate of inflation. Clearly, the legitimate question emerges as to whether Mrs. Chamorro's government can, in fact, survive the growing economic pressures.

"Many people said that I will quit," Mrs. Chamorro told me, "and that I am *buena para nada*—good for nothing. But I will not quit. The way I am and the way I express myself may not be the way the politicians do it, but I have an enormous faith in the people working around me."

"I send a message not just to the American people but to the whole democratic

course, it's not possible to do everything overnight. We don't have a magic wand. We inherited from the Sandinistas a bad government—or rather, lack of government—headed by Daniel Ortega, who was not elected through a popular vote."

"But I repeat: I have faith in God and the people of the United States, of Europe, of people from all over the world, that they will help this country."

She pointed with pride to the total freedom of expression in Nicaragua now, even including the freedom to criticize her, adding that "this doesn't mean they will make me nervous or worried."

Two major airlines resumed flying to Nicaragua during my stay there, and Mrs. Chamorro cited as signs of stability Nicaraguans returning home from exile and visits by potential investors.

She spoke often of her concern for education and health. "I am not embarrassed to say we need everything—we need pencils in the schools, the hospitals need everything from syringes to paint. I don't know how the Sandinistas managed to clean out all the hospitals and the whole country."

Asked about the strikes that had beleaguered the country, she responded, "Pero, mi señor! But sir—we are a beginning democracy. If there were not strikes, this would not be a democracy. Not only that," she added with a smile, "but we have so many strikes

that I'm thinking about establishing a park for strikers."

She dismissed concerns about Gen. Humberto Ortega, Daniel's brother and the head of the Sandinista army, whom she has kept on as chief of the military. "Everybody's worried about Humberto Ortega," she said, "but he is there while I consider it convenient to have him there. When I change my mind, he will go, just as anybody else can be removed. It's just a matter of asking him to resign." She added that she would continue to press for reductions in the army.

Mrs. Chamorro's home, which is walled off from the street, is airy and spacious, with a large atrium full of plants and trees. Raymundo, a bright-green parrot, squawks in a cage. There is a bust of her husband. Relics of his life, including the clothes he wore the day he was shot, fill a cabinet in a nearby study.

Parked outside is the car he drove that day. His motorcycle is there also. Mrs. Chamorro displays these things in an off-hand manner and remarks cheerfully, "I don't know why I keep them."

Asked if they had ever talked about what might happen to him, she replied, "When you run a paper under a dictator-

continued



Violeta and Pedro Chamorro in 1957, after their daring nighttime escape to Costa Rica by rowboat.

ment had weakened its position in recent months by giving in to demands of the Sandinista unions and others in order to maintain the social order. "We float together or we sink together," said Enrique Dreyfus, the Nicaraguan foreign minister, "and the boat is taking on water." However, he also noted: "We have the love for democracy, freedom and a better standard of living—that's a good motivation!"

A few weeks ago, half a dozen representatives of the international financial institutions to which the \$300 million is owed visited Nicaragua to assess its prog-

I think problems can be solved through dialogue, looking for solutions, but I want no intervention and no interference—from nobody!

world, and my message is that I was elected through a secret ballot for the first time in the life of Nicaragua. I want the world to see that we are in the process of changing from a dictatorship to a democracy.

"I accepted the presidency of this country to change it and to leave a good inheritance for the young people. My campaign was based on reconciliation and forgiveness—for all Nicaraguans. Of

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CHAMORRO/continued

ship, it's very difficult and dangerous. We talked about death at night, when we were lying in bed after praying. He would tell me, 'Violeta, I feel I'm in danger of being killed. I think they will try to kill me.' But I would tell him, 'No, no. I think I would rather go myself, because it's not easy, the load that is going to fall on me.' We would speak about this in our room—never in front of the kids. We talked about it many times. 'If I go away first,' I would say, 'you get married immediately, as soon as you're throwing the first shovelful of dirt on my coffin.' And he'd say, 'If I die, and you get married, I'll come back to haunt you.'" She laughed.

Then came the shock of his death. "But, well, it was not really a surprise," she said. "I felt a premonition in my heart, and in my head." If she is in Managua, she takes flowers to his grave on the 10th of each month. He was shot Jan. 10, 1978.

The Chamorros' four children themselves perhaps symbolize the divisions that beset the country, yet Mrs. Chamorro has found a way to hold them together. The eldest, Pedro Joaquín, 39, a former Contra leader, has been appointed Nicaragua's ambassador to Taiwan. Claudia, 37, who is married to a Sandinista, was an ambassador to Costa Rica under Daniel Ortega. Until January, Cristiana, 36, was editor of *La Prensa*, the newspaper that opposed the Somoza regime under her father's stewardship and fought the Sandinistas when her mother was editor. Since replaced, Cristiana now sits on *La Prensa*'s board of directors. She also is the wife of one of her mother's principal ministers. A second son, Carlos Fernando, 35, is also a newspaper editor, but he runs *Barricada*, a leading organ of the Sandinistas.

Carlos Fernando said in an hour-long interview that the roles of both the Sandinista Party and *Barricada* were being redefined under the new constitutional government and that there was "a growing awareness" in the party that it "must contribute to the stability of the country." As principal accomplishments of the Sandinistas, he cited redistribution of land—the breaking up of the great estates and ranches—along with gains in health and education. He contended that the major social and economic achievements of the Sandinistas were disrupted by the Contra war (1982-90). Sources in the U.S. State Department maintained that lands were seized without compensation to the original owners; that education, while it was made available to far larger numbers than before, had a strong political bias; that foreign debt was ignored while the Sandinistas grossly mismanaged the country, advancing themselves at the expense of others.

Carlos Fernando cited "the continuity" his mother maintained in the process of ending the Contra war as her most positive achievement but said she needed a "consistent social emergency plan, and that I don't see—not even now."

Mrs. Chamorro said the government needed money—especially the \$300 million to catch up with the overdue interest payments—to accomplish anything. Enrique Dreyfus, her foreign minister, emphasized: "We can't restructure, can't get the economy going, can't rebuild the infrastructure without loans, which are stalled by these arrears. We need emergency funds to get hold of things, to renew the government, which the Sandinistas left in a helluva mess."

He added: "The future of this country is trade, not aid, but to get there we have to have aid."

As for Mrs. Chamorro, Dreyfus cited "three tremendous assets: charisma, a great feminine intuition, and she has great humility." He told how she disliked uniforms and protocol and chose to go through customs like everybody else. He also said she had the good sense to surround herself with good leaders, even if that included himself. "Some say we're just a bunch of technocrats," he observed, "but that's baloney."

Mrs. Chamorro comprehends some English, but most of our discussion was through the interpreter Eduardo Baez. Despite the vividness of her recollections and all the signs of her husband at home and in her office, she appears anything but morbid. She is 61 years old and she has osteoporosis, a weakening of the bones, diagnosed seven years ago. She takes medication regularly, and she speaks confidently of her ability to com-

plete the six years remaining in her term. Asked if she felt resentment over the often dominating role the United States had played in Nicaragua over the years, she declared, "That's history! During those times, I wasn't born yet. Now that we are grown-ups, I don't want any intervention in my country. I think problems can be solved through dialogue, looking for solutions, but I want no intervention and no interference—from nobody!"

She would welcome aid, however, from anybody. She told how, when she visits Mikhail Gorbachev this year, she plans to ask if he wants all the Soviet tanks and helicopters brought to Nicaragua in the Sandinista years. "If Gorbachev says, 'You can do whatever you want with them,' I will sell or trade them for computers for schools," she declared.

On a visit to New York last fall, she said, "I had a chance to see Don George Bush, and I gave him an AK-47 (assault rifle used in the Contra war). He said, 'I'm going to take it as a souvenir and put it in Camp David.' I said I'd like more help from the U.S. He asked me what I wanted. I said at least \$200 million in 1991, '92 and '93. I can see he has sympathy for Nicaragua."

Asked why she gave Bush the rifle, she said, "This is just a present I give now to all the heads of state." She gave one to Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, secretary-general of the UN, and she planned to take one to Gorbachev also.

She told how President Oscar Arias

Sánchez of Costa Rica witnessed the burial of 60,000 rifles in a big hole in downtown Managua earlier that week. "We placed a plaque and a few rocks, and we will build a monument to peace in that place," she said. "And he was given a present... Well, another rifle."

Of Fidel Castro, she declared, "Él no me gusta! I don't like him! I think that señor is falling, little by little. Those poor people that live on that island, the ones that escape, they have to swim their way out, because they are surrounded by water."

In Nicaragua, on the other hand, where the economic pressures are as threatening as the new freedoms are inspiring, she noted: "Before, it was one person who decided everything, who managed everybody, and a fly could not fly and a cat could not walk without asking permission from the dictator. Now that we are making democracy, it's completely different." She compared the situation to Spain after Franco: "There's an explosion, we could say, a certain excess of liberty. After 50 years, *la gente*—the people—now want everything to be done quickly."

Amid all the needs and strikes and economic woes and criticizing and even shooting strife, the people of Nicaragua do appear tired of war and eager for a better life. At times it grows very tense, but it seems clear that, although her ministers may run the country, Mrs. Chamorro seeks to lead it.

I asked her about fear. "I have never been afraid!" she told me. "Never!"

So, did I understand Mrs. Chamorro after five hours of talking and watching her interact with the people? I thought of a story she had recounted the day before:

Years ago, long before he was slain, Pedro Chamorro—following another brush with the Somoza regime—was taken out of jail and flown to southern Nicaragua, where he was confined to the town of San Carlos. Violeta joined him there. Prior to a daring, nighttime escape in a rowboat, she recalled, he told her, "Violeta, I can't be here. I will escape this country, and you have to return to Managua to be with the children."

But she resisted this. If she did what he was suggesting, she explained, she would have to seek asylum in an embassy. The children, she assured him—two of whom she had left with her mother and two with his—would be fine. She wanted to be with him.

"I don't want you coming with me," he repeated, "because you have to take care of the children. And, besides, women get nervous."

"But I said, 'Sorry. Now you will know who I am.'"

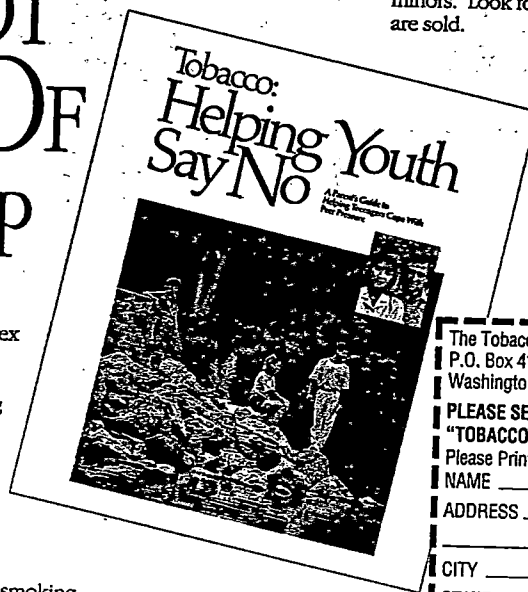
For more information, write to: Joaquín Gómez, Director of Humanitarian Assistance, Embassy of Nicaragua, Dept. P, 1627 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

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12

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Central America Moves Toward Capitalism

By DAVID ASMAN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A Soviet knock-off of a Toyota land cruiser stands before a tiny one-bedroom house rented by an employee of a state-owned company. The employee's salary comes to less than \$50 a month. How could she afford a four-wheel drive vehicle? "Oh, it was quite cheap." How cheap? "It cost \$300."

The car is obviously worth 30 times that much. But the woman got the land cruiser after the Sandinistas lost last year's elections. Then, the party "sold" property to its supporters. The car became a piece of what's now called the *Pinata Sandinista*—the plethora of goodies that tumbled from the Sandinista "animal" after it cracked.

The headlong rush by Sandinista Party members to claim their piece of the pinata—whether cars or luxury homes or a piece of land in the countryside—is just one example of the greatest problem facing this new democracy: the establishment of clear property rights based on market incentives. The problem of securing property rights is not limited just to post-Marxist Nicaragua. Neighboring El Salvador is also struggling to strengthen property rights, weakened after U.S.-financed experiments in land reform and state confiscations of banks and industries. Both countries are attempting to make a break from an intellectual imperialism that has proved as harmful to their economic and social structures as any armed invasion.

Lawless Confiscations

During the 1980s, experts as diverse as Swedish economists, Soviet planners and land reform specialists for the U.S. Agency for International Development descended upon Central America with plans to "democratize" these countries. To be sure, the degree to which these policies were applied differed radically—from lawless confiscations by the Sandinista police apparatus, to the more subtle coercion of socialist "land reformers" in El Salvador. However, they usually ended up meaning the same thing: putting private property in the hands of the state or government-appointed caretakers. Billions of dollars in aid—El Salvador received about \$3.5 billion in the last decade and Nicaragua received about the same per capita from the Soviet Union—worsened the problem by turning the countries into weakling welfare states.

The devastation is drastic in Nicaragua. Eleven years of rule by a government that didn't hesitate to confiscate private property under the slimmest of pretexts has led to a loss of confidence on the part of producers—from the poorest *campesinos* to big-time investors. The Sandinistas are out of power, but this history has demoralized the population. Says ophthalmologist Emilio Alvarez: "Now they do a bare minimum of work and wait for handouts or So-

viet hand-me-downs. No one will work hard unless they have confidence in secure property rights."

The case of a Managua soft drink company is typical. Ramiro Cardenal is part owner of a bottling plant that had the Coca-Cola franchise in Nicaragua for 30 years. The plant was confiscated by the Sandinistas in 1983 because the plant's general manager, Adolfo Calero, joined the opposition. At that time, the plant boasted three production lines capable of producing between 10 and 12 million cases of Coke a year.

By the time President Violeta Chamorro's government returned the bottling plant to Mr. Cardenal's family in September, the plant's machinery was in such a state of disrepair that its annual produc-

tions."

In Nicaragua, the task of fixing such problems has been very difficult. Sandinista militants—backed by the Sandinista-controlled army—continue to try to sabotage the government's privatization efforts. This is why President Chamorro was at first reluctant to challenge Sandinista claims to state property and authority, a position that has created much rancor among her supporters.

In the year since they were voted out of office though, and as their financial and political support groups have dried up, the Sandinistas have become ideological orphans. For the first time in a decade, the hippie "Sandalista" internationalists, who once flooded the nightspots in Managua, are virtually gone. They have been re-

dence," says Mr. Cardenal, part owner of the Coca-Cola bottling plant. "And it takes a long time to build it up again." Nevertheless, he and his backers have invested \$4 million in improving operations, and in one year they hope to be back to 1983 levels of production. "It's amazing how much cooperation we have received from the employees and the unions. In fact, we've been doing so well that the workers at the Pepsi plant are now calling for the old owners to come back."

In El Salvador, change has come somewhat more easily. The free-market reforms ushered in since President Cristiani's election two years ago include privatization of state enterprises, offering land titles to cooperative farmers and privatization of the banks. They have led to an agricultural and industrial boom. Most important, they have begun to restore confidence in market forces.

Connie Orellana worked her way up as an assistant in a butcher shop 40 years ago to become owner of three modern supermarkets in San Salvador. "I was able to start my business based on my abilities as a businesswoman," she says. "But after the government took over the banks, only supporters of the government [of the late President Napoleon Duarte] received loans. Now that the banks are being privatized, other hard-working risk takers will be able to start enterprises again."

Supply-side Model

What is perhaps most important about all the free-market changes in both countries is that they are essentially home-grown initiatives. While support from international financial institutions has been welcomed, the Salvadorans and Nicaraguans no longer feel bound to follow someone else's advice. Says Chamorro economic adviser Haroldo Monteleague: "Nicaragua is going to follow a supply-side model. The IMF doesn't always agree with us. They thought our idea of anchoring the currency to the dollar was silly. But now it's the free-market Central Americans who are advising the internationalists."

There is still a rough road to be traveled before these countries prosper. El Salvador's Marxist guerrillas are still causing mischief and the Sandinistas are hanging on to their pinata. But what has been defeated is the notion that government knows how to control the market better than its citizens. This is a defeat not merely for the Sandinistas and the Salvadoran Marxists, but also for all the state interventionists from the outside who can no longer use Central American countries as their ideological test tubes.

Mr. Asman edits the Journal's Americas column.

During the 1980s, experts descended upon Central America. Their plans usually ended up putting private property in the hands of state-appointed caretakers.

tion capacity was down to 2½ million cases. Its stock of 150 delivery trucks had been reduced to 40. Yet the number of employees remained relatively constant, which naturally led to cost overruns.

During the Sandinista years, operating debts for this and 80 other confiscated companies were covered by government-owned banks. "Loans were immediately approved for these companies even if they were terribly run," says Raul Solorzano, a board member of the government-commission that now manages state-run companies. As the Sandinistas printed more money to pay off these debts, the resulting hyperinflation helped reduce Nicaragua from the bread basket of Central America to the poorest country in the hemisphere.

The stories of what happened to confiscated properties in El Salvador are much the same. Following a 1979 U.S.-supported coup, once profitable farms, banks and export companies were turned into debt-ridden shells after they were stripped from their owners and placed in the hands of bureaucrats or peasant cooperatives. The military officers who carried out these confiscations acted in conjunction with AID economic advisers, who felt that these "reforms" would head off a Marxist revolt.

As in Nicaragua, El Salvador's state-financed industries and farming co-ops required bailouts by state-run banks (underwritten by an obliging Uncle Sam). These banks then became nests of corruption. "If you wanted to put a lot of people behind bars," said President Alfredo Cristiani in an interview three weeks ago, "you just have to look at the credits and bad debts and see all those people who were given money based solely on their political con-

placed by well-dressed Nicaraguan teenagers who have returned with their parents from Miami to start a new life. (Minister of Education Humberto Belli estimates that 12,000 families have returned to Nicaragua from the U.S.)

The Sandinistas have lost much of their political punch as well. Strikes initiated last week by Sandinista-affiliated unions to protest the most recent package of economic reforms failed to attract the support of similar strikes six months ago.

President Chamorro's government has now begun in earnest with the task of liberalizing the economy. The issue of freeing capital from government control is made complicated because government ownership of the National Bank of Nicaragua and the Bank of Popular Credit is written into the 1985 constitution. But there is nothing to prevent the startup of new, private banks. "The state banks will have to compete with the new ones," says Central Bank president Raul Lacayo. "And the government banks will have no competitive advantage. If they make bad loans, they will be decapitalized. All banks must adjust to the same financial criteria."

On the monetary front, a major devaluation of the local currency, the cordoba, set the stage for the Chamorro administration's decision to anchor the cordoba to the dollar. It is hoped that anchoring the currency and halting monetary growth will restore confidence in a currency that holds the world record for instability (at the time of the last devaluation, the cordoba was trading at 25 million to one dollar).

But are all these measures leading to a return of confidence in property rights? "It takes only seconds to destroy that confi-

Photocopy-Preservation

Craig Kelly - desk officer Nic. (State)
647-2205

→ her campaign -- people would ride on
horseback for days to come see her
in one of her rallies.

→ evoke her extreme popularity

Ven. poll - ^{appr.} rating 77%

maybe compare ratings

20520

Phil Peters (Aronson's press aide) 647-4726

- she ~~is~~ was elected
term ends in '96 w/out re-election
both terms end in '96, presuming he'll
win in '92
- ^{some of her} at campaign rallies - some of her coalition
leaders punched out some of
her campaign advisors.
- family has holiday dinners like everyone
else. They drop political beliefs to be
together as a family.
unity above everything else.
- She's been underestimated. ~~"Camp for Zuk's"~~
Dec. '89 broke kneecap
out of commission for Zuk's.
Came back for last 6 weeks. - campaigned on
the back of a pickup truck.

No one thought she'd get nomination.

She did.

→ Once she did, no one thought she'd win.
knee break
She did.

When she won, they thought she
couldn't govern.

She can

etc. . .

✓ ~~Teb's office~~ --

~~no~~ ~~Amb. Reed 647-4543 or Wm. Black, asst. chief of pr.~~

^{NA} Sted Howard - Embassy Managua

Baker's Ofc. ~~647-4910~~; 5299 (Caron Jackson) spoke w/ Marilyn

Mary Masserini State Press Ofc.

↓
in Protocol Ofc.

647-1685

sp? ↓
Val Martinez
647-~~3168~~
3168

→ she & her govt. are trying to be in middle
Somosa Sand. — confrontation
policy of submission

friendship & cooperation

officially has imag. new era

grew up on farm

horse rider — on new horse new era

US so far bringing NTC closer to
high economic prospects

Purissima - Immaculate
Dave Ricci at NSC for anecdotes

Camp slogan → "Yes, we can change things"

To Carol

Date 4/11 Time 5:40

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M David Pacelli

of _____

Phone 3860

Area Code	Number	Extension
TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message Can answer
questions on Nicaragua

Operator



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Bill Pryce
x6942

Sr. Director of
Latin Am. Affairs

VP remarks @ Cham's inaug.

