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OA/ID Number: 13751
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Folder Title:
Visit of Violeta Chamorro 4/17/91 [OA 6897] [2]

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FAX TRANSMISSION SHEET

Managua, Nicaragua

NEW FAX NO. (505)(2) 663861

DATE: April 9, 1991

FAX: 00-1-202-456- 6218

TO: Carol Blymire, The White House - Presidential Speech Staff

FROM: USIS Managua, Sted Howard

SUBJECT: President Chamorro's Inaugural Speech/ Bio data

This transmission consists of 14 pages plus cover page. Please call telephone (505)(2)666-036 if this fax must be retransmitted.

Speech Text: Totals 12 pages, not 27.

Biographic data:

1. President Chamorro
2. Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Cardenal, President Chamorro's late husband.
Note: Bio data provides basic facts and serves to establish him as a figure in recent Nicaraguan history, specifically the struggle against Somoza. A wreath is hung at the street corner in downtown Managua where he was killed in January of 1978.
3. Ruben Dario - a reknowned Nicaraguan poet but of a much earlier era. The national theatre is named in his honor.

Will FAX whatever else we come up with when we have it in hand.

25 de Abril 1990 (Amienelas)

SECRETAR: 042514273292

CORREPTOR: NICARAGUA

SUTTI: 7477 1 OF SEVERAL -- SEANORRO INAUGURAL SPEECH

RTT: PA2514135477 ADV:INCE FYI

SOURCES: MANAGUA DOMESTIC SERVICE IN SPANISH 1753 GMT 25 APR 92
PTTT:

//((IVANGUERAL SPEECH BY PEPISORVIT VICTORIA PARRIOS DE SEANORRO AT
THE HIDOBERTO LOPEZ PEPEZ NATIONAL STADIUM IN MANAGUA -- LIVE))

((TEXT)) DEAR DR. MIRIAM ARZUEBLO, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY; FRIENDS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE SPEECH COURT, AND
THE SUPREME ELECTORAL COUNCIL; DISTINGUISHED PRESIDENTS AND STAFFS OF
SMART AND GOVERNMENT; DELEGATIONS OF FRIENDLY COUNTRIES; GUESTS --
MY FRIENDS -- TO THIS DEMOCRATIC FESTIVITY; MY DEAR FRIEND AND
ESTIMED CARDINAL MIGUEL SPANDO Y BRAVO ((APPPLAUSE)); MY ESTEEMED
DR. VICTORIO GODOY, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA
((APPPLAUSE)); DEAR MEMBERS OF THE JOINT AND INNOVATIVE TRIBUNALS;
COMVANTRO DANIEL CORREA ((APPPLAUSE)); COMPARTICIS PRESIDENT TERRY AND
THOSE WHO ARE LISTENING TO ME OVER THE RADIO AND TELEVISION.
DURING MY ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN, I PROMISED THAT NICARAGUA WAS GOING
TO BE A REPUBLIC AGAIN. ((APPPLAUSE)) TODAY MARKS THE DAWN OF THAT
REPUBLIC THAT WAS BORN FROM THE PEOPLE'S VOTE AND THAT WAS BORN, NOT
FROM SCOUTS AND POLICERS, BUT FROM THE PEOPLE'S FREEST SILENT OF THE
NICARAGUAN SOUL: FROM THE CONSCIENCE. ((APPPLAUSE))

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HOWEVER, FREEDOM ALSO WANTS RESPECT -- RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS! RESPECT FOR THE LAW! RESPECT FOR THE PROPERTY OF OTHERS! RESPECT FOR OTHER PEOPLE'S FEELINGS AND OPINIONS. FREEDOM NEVER IMPLIES A HORROR FATHERLAND OF PEOPLE WHO FEEL ALONE. FREEDOM IS A FATHERLAND OF INITIATIVES AND PLURALISM WITH CITIZENS WHO RESPECT POLITICS AND OPINIONS. MY GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN BLESSED WITH THIS FREEDOM AND RESPECT.

THESE ARE THE VALUES OF FREEDOM AND REASON TO EXIST IN FREEDOM. FREEDOM IS NO GOVERNMENT WITHOUT FREEDOM OR JUSTICE WITHOUT FREEDOM. THERE CANNOT BE ANY NICKERBAGIAN WITHOUT FREEDOM. NATIONAL WITH PLEASE. ((APPLAUSE)) THAT THE VOICE OF CANNONS WILL NEVER, NEVER ROAR AGAIN, AS ONE OF KILLING CHILDREN IN BARRICADES WILL EVER BE FORGOTTEN. CONCENTRATED OUR EFFORTS. THIS IS THE BLESSED NICKERBAGIA THAT INSPIRED THEOLOGISTS THAT DESTROYED THE REALITIES AND WROTE THIS THAT THIS IS THE BLESSED NICKERBAGIA. FREEDOM MEANS AND FREEDOM IS THE BLESSED LAND. ((APPLAUSE))

NICKERBAGIA THAT THE KILLS EXPLORED BY THE DISTANCE ARE SETTING. NICKERBAGIA HEROES WHOSE SIGHTS WERE GAVE TO THEIR LIVES. THIS IS THE NICKERBAGIA THE FIGHT TO LIVE OUT OF MISERY. THIS IS THE BLOOD AND TEARS. WE HAVE REACHED THE PROMISED LAND. THIS IS THE HIS BLOOD NOW TOURISTS. THE PEOPLE'S WERE SPROUTED FROM HIS CAPTAIN, GAVE HIS LIFE FOR THIS REPUBLIC. ((APPLAUSE))

THE REPUBLIC WOULD RISE AGAIN AS A RESULT OF A DESIRE FOR FREEDOM AND JUSTICE. SOME DIED FOR THIS DREAM. OTHERS ENDURED PRISON AND EXILE FOR IT. MY HUSBAND, PEDRO JOSE CHAMORRO, GAVE HIS LIFE FOR THIS REPUBLIC. ((APPLAUSE)) WE HAVE BEEN THE MOST PRESERVATIVE DEMOCRAT ((FOR THE INTEREST)) LATIN AMERICA TODAY. FOR 120 YEARS, WE HAVE WISHED FOR THIS DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC WHERE WE COULD ALL BE FREE AND EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW. WE WOULD WIN A STRUGGLE, BUT THERE WAS ALWAYS A MILITARY AMBITION THAT WOULD SPILL THAT BLOOD. NOW, IT IS APPLIED BEHAVIOR TO BEGIN A REPUBLIC WITHOUT BLOOD, LIKE A NEW REPUBLIC OF JUSTICE AND FREEDOM. THIS IS THE FIRST PART OF THAT SIN.

SERIAL: PA2503274392

COUNTRY: NICARAGUA

STATUS: TALK 2 OF SEVERAL -- CHAMORRO INAUJURAL SPEECH

REF: PA250422722 MANAGIA DOMESTIC SPANISH 251922777

TEXT:

((WHY)) I AM HERE BECAUSE THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE WANTED
 THAT NO MORE KILLINGS BECAUSE OF IDEOLOGICAL OR PARTY BELIEFS.
 COLLUSION AMONG BROTHERS. ((APPLAUSE)) CHOOSING ME WAS THE
 PROSPECT FOR HARMONY. WE CAN ONLY BE FREE IF WE ARE BROTHERS.
 THAT IS WHAT MY MATHEMATICAL INSTINCTS TELL ME. ((APPLAUSE))
 IN SAYING THIS PHRASE SOMETHING TO MIND: MY WIFE HAD A BOAT
 BE USED TO CROSS LAKE NICARAGUA. THE BOAT WAS CALLED SANTA
 LIBERAD. I LIKE TO THINK THAT THE NAME WAS AN OMEN AND THAT THAT
 IS THE NAME OF THE BOAT ON WHICH I WILL CROSS MY TEARS IN
 GOVERNMENT, SANTA LIBERAD. THAT IS NOT NOTHING SAY WATER ME HAPPY
 MEAN PROVIDING THE PRESIDENT WITH A BRIDGE OF PEACE JUST OVER THE
 HORIZON. THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE NICARAGUAN
 RESISTANCE, THE SANDINIST PEOPLE'S ARMY, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
 GOVERNMENT, THESE DEFINITIVE PHRASES. THIS MEANS THAT UNDER THESE
 POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BELIEFS, THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE HAVE A
 MORE PATRIOTIC HEART. WITH THAT HEART WE WILL RAISE OUR HONOR AND
 OUR COUNTRY'S POTENTIALS IN A BEST SHORT TIME. WITH THAT HEART, WE
 SAY: HONOR TO THOSE WHO HAVE FALLEN; HONOR TO THOSE WHO FIGHT AND

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IN THE FIRST FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES, I DEMAND THE GREATEST RESPONSIBILITY FROM THE MEN WHO WILL REPRESENT THE ARMED BRANCH AND THE POLICE. TO THEM AND TO THE JUDGES AND MAGISTRATES WHO WILL IMPART JUSTICE, WE DEMAND THAT THEY NEVER TRAMPLE A LAW OF FREEDOM UNDER ANY GOVERNMENT. ((APPENDIX)) I ASK MY PEOPLE TO BE ON THE LOOKOUT TO ENSURE THAT NO ABUSES ARE COMMITTED. IF EACH PERSON DOES HIS JOB, WE WILL HAVE A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT A STAIN IN WHICH NOT ONLY A FREE CITIZEN, BUT ALSO THE CITIZEN WHO IS IN JAIL, WILL RECEIVE THE MOST EDWANE TREATMENT AND ENJOY EVERY GUARANTEE OF THE LAW.

~~PROMOTE ECONOMIC PRODUCTION TO A MAXIMUM POTENTIAL; THIRD, REDUCE SOCIAL INEQUALITY; AND FOURTH, INSURE IN ALL OUR ACTIONS THE SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION.~~ ((APPENDIX))

~~TASKS: ((APPENDIX)) FIRST, CONSOLIDATE DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES; SECOND, THAT YOU HELP AND SUPPORT ME WITH SOLIDARITY IN THESE FOUR MAIN AGENCIES, DIPLOMATS, ADVISERS, OFFICIALS, EMPLOYEES, ALL FACTORS IN WILL BE AT MINISTERS, DEPUTY MINISTERS, DIRECTORS OF AGENCIES WHO I ADDRESS ALL THOSE WHO WILL HELP ME FOUND A REPUBLIC, THOSE WHO THIS PEOPLE THROUGHOUT HISTORY.~~

~~NONPUBS MORALES, THE PATRIOTIC SPIRIT, AND THE HIGHEST VIRTUES OF AND HIS FITNESS GUIDED BY THE GOSPEL, WHICH IS THE FORCE THAT OUR COUNTRY PRODUCE OF HIS WORK, HIS URBLE VARS, HIS GENEROSITY, PEACE AGREEMENTS. HIS EXCELLENCE THE CARDINAL HAS BEEN A BLESSING FOR UNFINISHED RIGHTS FOR RECONCILIATION, MEDIATOR AND WISDOM OF THE CAPITAL GRAND & BRAVE, OUR MICHAEL ARCHBISHOP. ((APPENDIX)) AN THE HIGHEST RANKING SPIRITUAL AUTHORITY, HIS EXCELLENCE WORTH FORGIVE AND SUPPLY THANK, ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT. TRUMPANT SECTOR OF PEACE. I BELIEVE IT IS A NATIONAL DUTY TO~~

~~DO WITHIN THE SPIRIT OF THOSE AGREEMENTS THAT REPRESENT THE VICTORY. ((APPENDIX)) I CALL ON AMERICANS TO LIVE AND COEXIST WITH HAVE UNDERSTOOD THAT RECONCILIATION IS MUCH MORE BEAUTIFUL THAN GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR THEIR BELIEFS; BUT GRATER HONOR TO THOSE WHO~~

REF ID: A2574212392

COMPTON: NICARAGUA
SUBJ: PART 3 OF SEVERAL -- CHAMORRO INDUSTRIAL SPEECH

REF: PA2574223292 MANAGUA DOMESTIC SPANISH 231753//OF THE LAW.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) I AM GOING TO GRANT BROAD AND UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR ALL COMMON POLITICAL CRIMES AND RELATED CRIMES COMMITTED BY NICARAGUAN INDIVIDUALS AS OF THIS DATE. THIS AMNESTY WILL INCLUDE PERSONS ARRESTED, TRIED, SENTENCED, OR PENDING TRIAL, AND THOSE CAPTURED AND SURRENDERED AND HAVE SERVED THEIR SENTENCES, AND HAVE NOT BEEN FAVORABLE FORWARDED WITH A PARDON. LET THESE BE NO FORGETTING EVER AGAIN. ((APPLAUST)) EL MAN DIVINITY MUST BEING EVEN IN THE MOST REMOTE CELL DURING MY ADMINISTRATION. ((APPLAUST))

IT WILL MAKE DEMOCRACY ADVANCE BY SHADFULLY PROTECTING MILITARISM. ((APPLAUST, SHOUTS)) EVERY CONFLICT IN CENTRAL AMERICA MUST BE SETTLED THROUGH DIALOGUE, ACCORDING TO THE LAW AND WITH FRATERNAL SPIRIT. NOT NEW STAFF IN OUR ECONOMY DEMANDS THAT WE REDUCE ((THE SIZE OF)) THE ARMY ((APPLAUST)) AND REDUCE ITS BUDGET. PRICE IS STILLING THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE'S ECONOMY. ((APPLAUST))

IT MUST WITH THE WEAPONS AND SELL THE MFAI IN THE PD PROGRESS. MAINTAIN FOR APPLICATIONS AND INDUSTRIES AND TURN WITH IS REPUBLICAN PROSPERITY. IS PRESSION OF THE REPUBLIC. I AM ASSUMING TODAY THE SUPREME COMMAND OF THE NATION'S ARMED FORCES ((APPLAUST, SHOUTS

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OF "VIOLETA"). TO FULFILL, BEGINNING TODAY, THE PLATFORM FOR WHICH THE PEOPLE HAVE VOTED, THE ARMED FORCES ARE SUBORDINATED TO CIVILIAN AUTHORITY. ((APPLAUSE, SHOUTS)) TO UNDERSCORE THE CIVILIAN AUTHORITY THAT THE PEOPLE WILL EXERCISE OVER THE MILITARY, I AM ALSO DIRECTLY ASSUMING THE PORTFOLIO OF DEFENSE MINISTER ((APPLAUSE, SHOUTS)) TO PERSONALLY DIRECT THE DEMOBILIZATION AND (DEMILITARIZATION) PROCESSES AND TO END THE WAR. ((APPLAUSE))

WE ARE ENDING MILITARISM AND WAR-MONGERING TODAY ((APPLAUSE, SHOUTS)) TO ESTABLISH A DEFINITIVE, FIRM, AND LASTING PEACE. LOYAL TO MY PRINCIPLES, TODAY I AM ORDERING THE DEFINITIVE SUSPENSION OF RECRUITMENT FOR THE OBLIGATORY MILITARY SERVICE ((APPLAUSE, SHOUTS)) AND DECREED THAT YOUTHS WHO ARE CURRENTLY MOBILIZED BE ALLOWED TO SHORTEN THEIR TIME IN SERVICE AND RETURN TO THEIR HOMES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. ((APPLAUSE, SHOUTS))

WHILE THE DEMOBILIZATION OF THE RESISTANCE FORCES THAT HAS BEEN AGREED TO IS COMPLETED, AS WELL AS THE DEMOBILIZATION OF YOUTHS IN THE MILITARY SERVICE AND RECOVERY OF WEAPONS IN THE HANDS OF CIVILIANS, I HAVE INSTRUCTED ARMY GENERAL HUMBERTO ORTEGA TO REMAIN IN HIS POST. ((APPLAUSE, SHOUTS)) AT THE SAME TIME, GEN. ORTEGA MUST ESTABLISH AN ORDERLY PROGRAM OF REDUCTION OF THE ARMED FORCES AND MUST GUARANTEE SUBORDINATION OF THE MILITARY TO CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES WITH RESPECT FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER.

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(WORD) 051753 DV/MASTER/BS 00012524.258 25/2231Z APR

MAN AND LAND.

THE ATLANTIC AS THEY JOIN IN AN EMBRACE OF RECONCILIATION BETWEEN
ECOLOGICAL, WE WILL ALSO RESPECT THE TIGHT EMBRACE OF THE PACIFIC AND
IT JOURNALISTS AND GRAYERS OF EAST CENTRIES. IN OUR DEFENSE OF
TO GO -- PRESS BATTLE AND BATTLE LANDS THAT HAVE BEEN ADMIRER
RATIONAL PLIKES THAT STANDARDS AND NEGOTIATED OUR CELLPHONES
RECOGNITION TODAY HAS BEEN LOST BECAUSE OF THE ACTIONS OF PAST
IN SUCH A WAY THAT, IN ADDITION TO RECEIVING BENEFITS, WE WILL
RESPECTFUL OF OUR GEOGRAPHY. WE HAVE TO MAKE RATIONAL USE OF OUR
SO THAT WE ARE ABLE TO PROGRESS IN A MANNER THAT IS ORDERLY AND
MATTER HAS BEEN SO SUCCESSFUL WITH US. WE HAVE TO BEHOLD OUR ECOSYSTEM
ORGANIZATION OF W.M.O.C. PARTIAL, AND DEFEND OUR ENVIRONMENT.
DEVELOPMENT AND DEFEND OUR ENVIRONMENT. WE WILL FORM A NEW
ON INDIA, I HAVE TO ADVANCE THAT GOVERNMENT WITH PROMOTE
WE MAY CONSIDER A PROGRESSIVE PACE FOR ALL.

WE MAY CONSIDER A PROGRESSIVE PACE FOR ALL.
MANNER, I AM GOING TO BE THE NICHOLAS, PARTICIPANTS SO THAT
-- CAPTAINS, WIDOWS, OLD PEOPLE, WAR ORPHANS -- AND IN A LINE
AT GOVERNMENT WILL PROTECT THE PEASANTS, MOST VULNERABLE SECTORS
ORDER TO MAKE OF THE TERRIBLE OCCUPATION OF WAR. ((PLEASE))
TO BECOME OF W.M.O.C. PARTIAL, INSTEAD OF BEING
PROGRESSIVE. WE WILL BE ABLE TO GO IN OR LOOSE. YOURS WILL BE FREE
AND WHAT WE WANT TO HAVE IN OUR
THIS WAYS. BEGINNING WILL BE FREE TO GO TO IN THAT CIVIL
WANT, IN WHICH TYPE OF OCCUPATION THEY BEHAVE, AND NEGOTIATE
WORKERS WILL BE ABLE TO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES AND MORE WHEREVER THEY
WANT BE PRODUCED, AND NEGOTIATE THE PRICE FOR HIS CROSS.
BE ABLE TO DECIDE THAT HE IS GOING TO PRODUCE, TO FROM HE WILL SELL
GREATER ENERGY -- WE ARE GOING TO USE FREEDOM. THE MAN OWNER WILL
RIGHT AND MOST FAVORABLE WAYS TO ENLARGE PEOPLE'S
ACTIVITY. WE ARE GOING TO RECONSTRUCT OUR ECONOMY WITH THE
RELATIONS THAT HINDERED AND SHAGGED ECONOMIC PRODUCTION AND
TO REPAIR THIS CROSS, WE WILL ALSO ELIMINATE ALL CORRUPTIONS AND
SOME CORRUPTIONS, AND SO THAT OUR ECONOMY IS FULLY OPERATIONAL.
THAT NO ONE TAKES ADVANTAGE OF HIS POSITION, SO THAT WE ALL HAVE THE
WITH REGARD TO THIS MATTER. ANY OBSERVED ABUSE MUST BE REPORTED SO
I AGAIN ASK ALL NICHOLAS TO TAKE A CLOSE INTEREST ON ALL ACTIONS
WHAT IS PART OF THE NATION'S CAPITAL. ((PLEASE)) ON THIS MATTER.
PACED AND WITH SO AGAINST THE NATION'S INTERESTS WILL BE REVISIT
I ALSO WANT TO ASK YOU THAT LAWS THAT WERE ESTABLISHED

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ASSOCIATIONS, AND MUNICIPALITIES SO THAT THE PEOPLE WILL HAVE POWER.
DEMANDS. WE MUST STRENGTHEN THE FAMILIES, LABOR UNIONS,
BETWEEN THE COMMUNITIES WHERE THE WORKERS HAVE THEIR NATIONAL
AND WE MUST GIVE THEM THE LIFE TO THE COMMUNITIES SPIRIT. WE MUST
RIGHTS WITH THE EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES. WE MUST CHANGE THIS
COMMITTEES) CONTROL THE POLITICAL CONTROL OF THE PEOPLE.
AND BY AN IDEOLOGY THAT WAS IMPOSED. THE ODS ((SOCIALIST DIRECTION
RESPONSIBILITY IN NICARAGUA WAS ABANDONED BY THE POLITICAL PARTY SPIRIT
ON THE OTHER HAND, THE COMMUNITARIAN SPIRIT THAT WAS DEVELOPING SO
THE WORKER AND HIS FAMILY. ((APPARATUS))
ACTIVE MEMBERS OF WELL-BEING THAT WILL BRING GREATER BENEFITS TO
NICARAGUANS IN AN INCREASINGLY FAIRER MANNER, AND WE WILL TOGETHER WE WILL
TAKE LAWS IN A DEMOCRATIC MANNER, AND WE WILL GUARANTEE ALL
HAVE SUFFERED THE MOST ARE WE PRIVILEGED ONES. WE WILL AMEND THE
PRODUCTION WILL MAINTAIN BENEFIT THE POOREST. ((APPARATUS)) THOSE WHO
I HAVE JUST EXPLAINED, I HAVE PLANS SO THAT THE WEALTHY WILL
INQUALITIES. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THIS, IN ADDITION TO THE MEASURES
((APPARATUS)) THE THIRD TASK OF MY GOVERNMENT IS TO REDUCE SOCIAL

REF: PA2674227292 MANAGUA DOMESTIC SPANISH 251758//MEN AND LAND.
COMM: MANAGUA TAVE 5 OF 5 -- MANAGUA INDIVIDUAL SPEECH
SERIAL: 0.2574224202

UNCLASSIFIED THIS CHINA CHIA 252242Z APR 92

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(0332) 251752 TO/NUMBER-PRICE/RS #PN1200...03E-20/2242Z APR

INITIATIVES, RESPONSIBILITIES, AND PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.
 THE FUTURE TASK IS TO HAVE THE SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION PRESENT
 IN ALL OF OUR ACTIONS. THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK THAT A
 DIVIDED AND IMPOVERISHED NICARAGUA DEMANDS. THE COUNTRY IS FILLED
 WITH DISAGREEMENTS, AND WE ARE LEFT WITH BAD MEMORIES. WE MUST
 OVERCOME THIS SAC HERITAGE FOR THE SAKE OF OUR FATHERLAND AND OF OUR
 CHILDREN. WE MUST BE GREAT AND GENEROUS IN ORDER TO RECONCILE ALL
 NICARAGUANS, ONE AND FOR ALL. THERE WILL BE OUR DIFFERENCES. WE
 WILL RAISE THAT UNIVERSAL FLAG OF PEACE AND HUMANISM.
 IN THE SAME MANNER THAT WE WERE THE REASON FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN
 CONCORDANCE IN THE PAST, WE WILL BECOME IN THE FUTURE A CENTRAL
 AMERICAN UNION SUPPORTING BARRIERS THAT WILL RESISTALIST THE DUTY
 OF ALL CENTRAL AMERICANS, THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COMMUNITY, THE CENTRAL
 AMERICAN COMMON MARKET, THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PARLIAMENT. WE WILL
 ALSO SUPPORT ALL JOINT EFFORTS WHICH WILL UNITE THESE PRACTITIONERS AND
 GREAT FATHERLAND THAT PROCLAIMED A UNITED INDEPENDENCE AS A SIGN OF
 SOLIDARITY AND FRATERNAL DESTINY.
 I HAVE CHOSEN THE MEMBERS OF MY CABINET WITH THE FIRM PURPOSE OF
 IMPLEMENTING THE GOVERNMENT PLATFORM I OFFERED THE NICARAGUANS
 DURING MY PROPOSAL CAMPAIGN, AND OF ARRANGING THE RECONCILIATION
 THAT OUR COUNTRY URGENTLY NEEDS.
 AT THIS MOMENT, I WANT TO PAY HOMAGE TO A GREAT CENTRAL AMERICAN
 WHO DESIGNED THE PEACE PLAN, WHO CHANGED THE WAR SITUATION TO A
 PEACE SITUATION. I AM REFERRING TO COSSA RIGAN OSCAR ARIAS SANCHEZ
 ((APPLAUSE)), WHO RECEIVED THE WELL-DESERVED NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

UNCLASSIFIED THIS CHINA CHIA 252242Z APR 92

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... THE MOST HUMAN IN THE INFORMATION OF THE NICHARAGUAN MAN AS THE
MODERN IN THE ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC ORDER, AND -- SIMULTANEOUSLY
EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY, AN EDUCATION THAT IS THE BEST AND MOST
ESSENTIAL THING THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA SHOULD HAVE
ACHIEVED THE GOAL OF NATIONAL AND GENERAL AMERICAN WILL BE
UNIVERSITY BANKS WITH FRIEND MAN AND HIS RIGHTS. HE WILL STRIVE TO
UPON FREEDOM DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY, NICARAGUA WILL JOIN THE
DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY AS RECEIVED FROM THE WORLD.
US. WE HOPE TO BE BETTER, THROUGH OUR GOVERNMENT ACTIONS, OF THE
KINDS OF ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SUPPORT WITH A REVOLUTION WHICH
WILL HAVE PROVED THEIR GOOD WILL TOWARD NICARAGUA BY GIVING US ALL
PARTISAN FOUNDATIONS -- TO ALL THE COUNTRIES AND FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS
AMERICAN PRESIDENTS. LIKEWISE, MY GOVERNMENT'S POLICY -- WITHOUT
TO MY PROTECTION OF PRESIDENT AMIAS, I ADD THE OTHER CENTRAL
CONSISTENCY AND FREEDOM FOR THE WORLD. I WILL THEN BE A MODEL OF
DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM FOR THE WORLD. I WILL THEN BE A MODEL OF
WHAT ONE DEMOCRACY IS ACHIEVED THE NEXT STEP WILL BE THE COMPLETE
((P. 1))

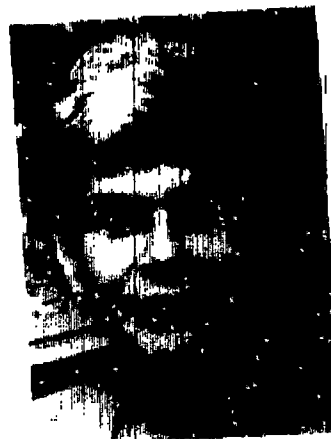
TO: (P. 1)
FROM: (P. 1)
SUBJECT: (P. 1)
DATE: (P. 1)
TIME: (P. 1)

NICARAGUA

Violeta CHAMORRO
(Phonetic: chaMOHRro)

President-Elect (since February 1990)

Addressed as: Mrs. Chamorro



National Opposition Union (UNO) candidate Violeta Chamorro soundly defeated incumbent President Daniel Ortega in an election that received worldwide attention. Her inauguration on 25 April 1990 will end the Sandinista National Liberation Front's more than 10 years in power. Chamorro was a member of the ruling junta of the Government of National Reconstruction, which governed Nicaragua after the Sandinistas overthrew Anastasio Somoza in 1979; she resigned after serving for eight months. Although she heads UNO's 14-party coalition, she does not belong to a political party.

Chamorro is the widow of assassinated newspaper publisher Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, who is widely revered in Nicaragua as a martyr for free expression. Since her husband's death in 1978, she has been coowner and publisher of the opposition newspaper *La Prensa*. She has been a vocal critic of press censorship by the Sandinista regime.

Chamorro was born on 18 October 1929 into a wealthy family that was prominent in the Conservative Party. She attended Spanish-language Catholic schools in the United States for three years. She briefly studied at Blackstone College in Virginia, where she learned secretarial skills. In 1950 she married Pedro Joaquin Chamorro. Her four children are split along pro- and anti-Sandinista lines: Pedro Joaquin, 38, is a former member of the Nicaraguan Resistance Directorate; Claudia, 36, is a former Sandinista Ambassador to Costa Rica; Cristiana, 35, is the editor of *La Prensa*; and Carlos, 33, is the editor of *Barricada*, a Sandinista daily.

Chamorro has traveled in Latin America and Western Europe and has visited Japan and Iraq. She speaks a little English. In 1986 Harvard presented her with an award for conscientious journalism.

9 March 1990

49

TO: SCOWCROFT

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White House Guidelines

FROM: ROY, J

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

By PM NARA, Date 10/29/04

DOC DATE: 06 APR 91
SOURCE REF: 9106056

KEYWORDS: NICARAGUA

VISIT

PERSONS: CHAMORRO, VIOLETA B

SUBJECT: PRES REMARKS FOR DEPARTURE CEREMONY RE PRES 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 2 OF 3



9106056/2
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 departure ceremony for Nicaraguan President Chamorro.

J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As stated.

*CONFIDENTIAL does not
state in statement
and otherwise*

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

Madame President, I want to thank you again for coming to Washington. It was a great pleasure for me to see you again and to strengthen our countries' close and enduring friendship.

Since the last time we met here in Washington, Nicaragua has joined the proud ranks of the world's democracies. In its first year, your administration ended a civil war, restored democratic freedoms to its people, accepted the legislature and courts as equal partners in government and began to address the serious economic crisis you inherited from the Sandinistas.

Madame President, many difficult tasks lie before you. But you are not alone. We helped you before your election and during the past year. We will continue that help in the future. We will encourage other members of the world community to do as much as they can to help you and your country. The democracies of the world will come to your aid, as they will come to the aid of the many, many other countries that also have chosen democracy.

De Toqueville said that a democratic people's "unbounded imagination grows beyond all measure. Democracy opens the future." Madame President, your election sparked the → goal hemisphere's imagination and opened a bright new future for your own country. After the time we have spent together, I am more confident than ever that the Nicaraguan people, under your leadership, will be able to meet the serious challenges before them.

Nicaragua's courage and its love of democracy has earned the respect of the United States and of the world. When you return to Nicaragua, you can tell your people that they can count on the friendship and assistance of the United States as well.

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

Cleared: ARA/P - PPeters *to*
ARA/CEN - PFRomero
PA - MDillen
S/P - VMartinez
C - MFoulon
P - CBlakeman
ARA/FO - JGSullivan
- BARONSON *draft*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9102428
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TO: SCOWCROFT

FROM: ROY, J

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), August 28, 1997
By RAC NARA, Date 10/29/04

DOC DATE: 06 APR 91
SOURCE REF: 9106056

KEYWORDS: NICARAGUA

VISIT

PERSONS: CHAMORRO, VIOLETA B

SUBJECT: PRES REMARKS FOR DINNER TOAST RE CHAMORRO VISIT 15 - 17 APR

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

STAFF OFFICER: PACELLI LOGREF: 9100897 9101047

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



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 dinner toast for Nicaraguan President Chamorro.



J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As stated.

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

We are here tonight in honor of President Violeta Chamorro of Nicaragua. Just over one year ago, this courageous woman captured the hearts of lovers of democracy across the world with her stunning electoral victory over the Sandinistas. Nicaragua joined the growing roll of democratic countries because of her untiring efforts in a difficult election campaign.

President Chamorro, your years at the helm of Nicaragua's only opposition newspaper prepared you to take on that burden. You followed in the footsteps of your husband, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, murdered for his democratic beliefs. He once said that "free expression is not a gift of governments, it is a right of peoples." Under your Government, Nicaraguans again exercise that right without fear.

You gave the Nicaraguan people peace after years of conflict. You ended the military draft that had forced many young Nicaraguans into the army and others into the Resistance, then cut that unnecessary army and reduced its budget. Inspired by your example of courage and promise of assistance, the Resistance laid down their arms and returned to civilian life. We hope that this example can be followed soon in El Salvador and Guatemala.

You face many challenges in the coming years. Nicaragua's economy was devastated and looted over ten long years of misrule. One of the most productive economies in Central America had been reduced to 1940s levels. State controls stifled the efforts of Nicaraguans to raise themselves from poverty.

President Chamorro has embarked on a bold program of free-market economic reforms. Her plan drew praise from international donors when it was presented at the World Bank in Washington last month. We will join with those donors to support her economic reform efforts with our own aid program -- more than half a billion dollars -- and increased opportunities for trade and investment.

With the help of the international community, but most importantly with the faith and support the Nicaraguan people have in their new democratic government, I am confident that she will succeed.

I ask you all to join me in a toast to my friend and colleague, President Chamorro. May Nicaragua find a bright future under her leadership.

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

Cleared: ARA/P - PPeters *Ho*
ARA/CEN - PFRomero
PA - MDillen
S/P - VMartinez
C - MFoulon
P - CBlakeman
ARA/FO - JGSullivan
- BARONSON


soft.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 5, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE AND OEOP PASSHOLDERS

FROM: DEBRA ROMASH 
DIRECTOR
VISITORS OFFICE

SUBJECT: ARRIVAL CEREMONY: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17, 1991
FOR PRESIDENT VIOLETA CHAMORRO OF NICARAGUA

The Official Arrival Ceremony for President Violeta Chamorro of Nicaragua, will be held on Wednesday, April 17, 1991 at 10:00 a.m. All passholders are cordially invited to attend.

Passholders should submit the names, dates of birth and social security numbers of their guests to the Visitors Office. This will be a ticketed event and your guests will need a ticket to attend. **All lists must be submitted to the Visitors Office by 5:00 p.m. on Friday, April 12, 1991.**

The tickets can be picked up at the East Appointment Gate between 12:00 noon and 3:00 p.m. on Tuesday, April 16th.

Those attending the ceremony must arrive at the White House by **8:30 a.m.**, on the day of the event. Gate assignments will be on their tickets. Please remind all ticket holders to bring a form of identification, as security concerns require checking names at the gates.

Passholders will not need a ticket.

Staff is reminded that the gold rope areas, surrounding the podium, **are for special ticket holders only**; guests of the Administration. Guests for that area must be cleared through the Visitors Office.

Thank you for your attention to the above guidelines.

TUESDAY

TO: CAROL
FROM: BETH
SUBJECT: HEAD HOLY NICARAGUAN HONCHO

Hi. A few specific questions:

~~1. Could you xerox the section in Fodor's on Nicaragua (history, background, character, etc.)~~

2. Could you call someone (perhaps the Nicaraguan desk at the Library of Congress) and ask:

--best Nicaraguan poet, essayist, etc. to quote (and sample quotes);

--particularly important person from history to mention (make sure is politically in tune with Violeta)

--patron saint of Nicaragua (I think it's "La Purisima")
-- what does that mean/stand for?

3. Could you find out (Nicaraguan Embassy?):

--have the President and Violeta met? Any anecdotes

--particularly well-known anecdotes revealing her character

--can you find out the poem she has in her office (it's one by Pablo Antonio Cuadra -- apparently a modern-day one)

--some of her best quotes (from speeches, etc.)

--what's the most important thing she stands for?

--what's the most important thing to her (e.g. religion, family, etc.)

4. What are the country's seal, flag, symbol, ^{motto}~~quote~~, etc.?

our
emb.
there

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

22ND STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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Defense & Foreign Affairs Weekly

March 5, 1990



SECTION: LEADERSHIP PROFILE; Volume XVI, No. 9; Number 372, Third Series; Pg. 7

LENGTH: 299 words

HEADLINE: Violetta Barrios de Chamorro, President-elect of Nicaragua

BODY:

Violetta Chamorro was born in 1929, the daughter of a US-educated cattleman and a member of the Nicaraguan rural elite. After three years of college in Texas and Virginia, she married Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Cardenal of Managua, son of a newspaper owner and member of one of Nicaragua's most well-known families. Although both Mr and Mrs Chamorro came from the upper class -- the social level with the greatest support for the Somoza dictatorship -- Mr Chamorro was ardently anti-Somoza and used his publication, La Prensa, as a forum for opposition to the Government. His career was Violetta Chamorro's introduction to politics. Pedro Chamorro was assassinated in Managua on January 10, 1978, by still unknown assailants, and his assassination served as the catalyst for a popular uprising against the Somoza Government. When the Sandinista guerillas forced Somoza's departure in July 1979, Violetta Chamorro was part of the five-member revolutionary ruling group, along with future President Daniel Ortega Saavedra. However, she became disillusioned with the Sandinista movement within a year and resigned, returning to La Presna and remobilizing the contra opposition forces, but now against the ruling Sandinistas. Her family remains split between sandinista supporters and contras, with two of her four children among the leaders of the Sandinista movement. Violetta Chamorro formed the National Opposition Union (UNO) -- a coalition of 14 opposition parties -- in the summer of 1989 as an alternative to the Sandinista Government. In the February 25 vote, proclaimed free and fair by the many international opposition groups in Nicaragua for the elections, the UNO won a decisive victory over the Sandinistas, and Violetta Chamorro became President of Nicaragua.

TO: CAROL
FROM: BETH
SUBJECT: HEAD HOLY NICARAGUAN HONCHO

Hi. A few specific questions:

1. Could you xerox the section in Fodor's on Nicaragua (history, background, character, etc.)

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--best Nicaraguan poet, essayist, etc. to quote (and sample quotes);

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--some of her best quotes (from speeches, etc.)

--what's the most important thing she stands for?

--what's the most important thing to her (e.g. religion, family, etc.)

4. What are the country's seal, flag, symbol, quote, etc.?

5. Copy of Quayle's remarks from Inauguration

(Jeb Bush: (305) 536-3744)

Phil Peters
State
Aronson's Press man
647-4726(7)

cons. maybe

NICARAGUA QUESTIONS

✓ What is the best Nicaraguan poet/essayist that we could quote?

Nat'l poet ~~is~~ Ruben Dario

-- Is there an important person in Nicaraguan history to whom we could make a reference? Someone who is politically in tune with President Chamorro?

Sandinista (not a communist)
↓ gave Marxists a brush off
1980's
← he was Nationalist, so is she.

-- Who is the patron saint of Nicaragua? President Chamorro talks about "La Purisima" in the Parade article. What is that??

Virgin Mary as purest of all...

-- Have the two Presidents met? ~~she met him as a candidate~~ last Sept. at Sum. Children

-- Any anecdotes or funny/poignant stories between the two of them?

Met at U.N. (call Bill Pryce) ask about anecdotes

She gave POTUS a plaque of a gun used by contras 
Bernie Aronson's got one, too.

✓ Country's motto/Campaign motto?

-- Country seal/flag/symbol

will fax

Toast - let's talk about her place in history
Democracy.
Latin Am.

figure of hist. → peacemaker & great liberator

-- What is the most important thing she stands for?

Remove tensions
and causes
of tensions

reconciliation
takes great courage to do this.

+ kids/family
are divided

↓ something she knows
well how to do.

-- What is most important to her? Family? Religion? Country?

all equally important

-- What is the poem she has in her office by Pablo Antonio Cuadra?

LA Times article described it
a month ago

↓
Grand old man
of La Prensa
↓
wrote it about her.

gun anecdote
stuff

BP

You've done so much to
bring peace - got them to
lay down weapons -
I cherish the knife
you gave me to
symbolize this
peace-making
effort.

BP
We stand
behind you.

Research Memorandum

United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of Research



March 27, 1991

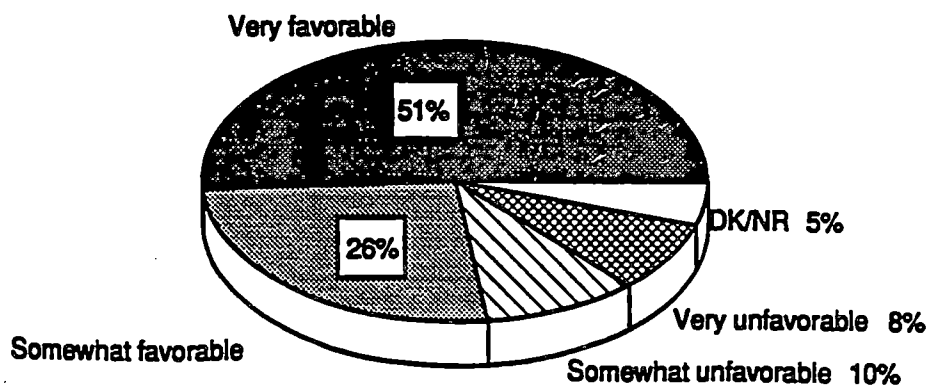
NICARAGUAN SUPPORT FOR CHAMORRO IS SOLID

This report is one of a series based on a USIA-commissioned survey in Nicaragua using a representative, nationwide sample of 1200 adults aged 18 and up. Face-to-face interviews were conducted between January 7 - 13, 1991 by Doxa, a Venezuelan polling firm which correctly gauged pro-Chamorro opinion prior to the Nicaraguan presidential elections of February 1990. Companion reports cover other aspects of Nicaraguan public opinion, including attitudes toward the Sandinistas and Contras, and perceptions of the overall social, economic, and political situation.

KEY FINDINGS:

- Nicaraguan support for Violeta Chamorro is undiminished; the President is endorsed by three-quarters of the Nicaraguan public (77%). Half have a very favorable opinion of Chamorro.
- Six-in-ten view both the UNO coalition and the Chamorro Cabinet favorably. The UNO rift between conciliationists and hardliners appears to have had little impact on Chamorro's grass-roots support.
- Almost two-thirds of Nicaraguans are pleased with Chamorro's handling of the Presidency. Reasons most often cited for satisfaction are her termination of the war and the abolition of Sandinista rule. Opinion is divided on whether she has been "too weak" (44%) or "about right" (41%) in her approach to the Sandinistas.
- Chamorro's reform efforts are applauded by two-thirds or more of the population. However, a majority oppose her efforts to reduce the size of the public sector.

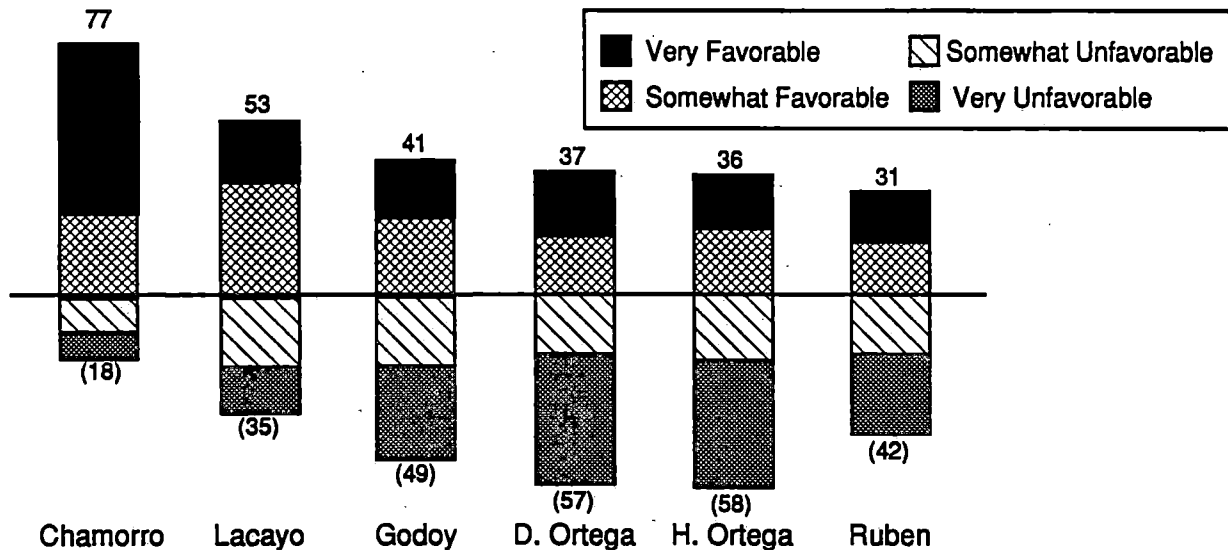
Figure 1: Opinion of President Chamorro Widely Favorable



Endorsement of Chamorro Remains Widespread

A broad sector of the Nicaraguan population continues to endorse both Violeta Chamorro and her administration, contrary to the expectations of many that the failure to fully address critical problems had weakened public support since the February, 1990 election.¹ Three-fourths of the population (77%) have a positive opinion of Chamorro (half view her very favorably). Both lesser and better educated Nicaraguans agree in this assessment; more surprisingly, half of the Sandinista partisans also hold favorable opinions of the President. This level of approbation equals that accorded Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo and exceeds Chamorro's election vote by twenty percentage points (Table 1A,1B, Figures 1,2).²

Figure 2: Opinion of Chamorro Remains High;
Cabinet Members, FSLN and Contra Leaders Are Less Esteemed



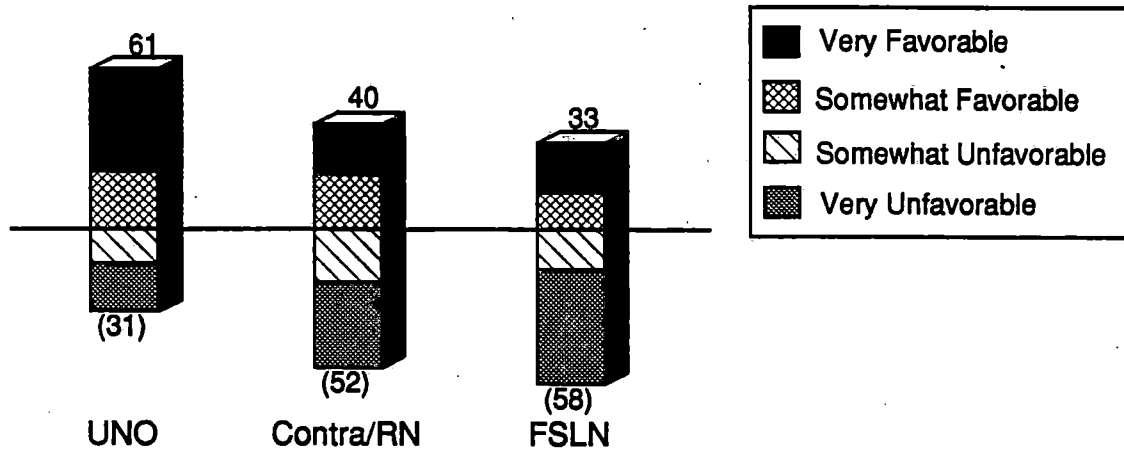
Majorities Approve Both Cabinet and UNO

Solid majorities of Nicaraguans also endorse both the ruling UNO coalition and the Chamorro Cabinet as a whole (61% and 62%). While Sandinista supporters are less likely to hold a positive opinion of UNO, almost one-in-two views the Cabinet favorably (48%; Tables 2A, 2B, Figure 3).

1. February 25, 1990 Presidential election results: Chamorro 55%, Ortega 41%.

2. For purposes of clarity, this report refers only to two political groups, the self-identified members of UNO or its coalition parties and the self-identified Sandinistas. (A third group, those describing themselves with no party affiliation or as "Independents," are included in the tables.) Only two educational groups, those with no education and incomplete primary school and those with a completed high-school education or more, are discussed as well. See footnotes to Tables 1A and 1B for fuller descriptions of these groups.

Figure 3: UNO Enjoys Wide Support; Majorities Reject FSLN, Contras



UNO Split Reduces Popularity of Contenders But Has Little Impact On Party Support

The rift which has developed in the UNO coalition between those supporting conciliation toward the Sandinistas as advocated by Chamorro's close advisor Antonio Lacayo, and those preferring the hardline non-concessionary approach to the FSLN promoted by Vice-President Virgilio Godoy may be a factor behind the relatively modest levels of support enjoyed by both (53% approval for Lacayo, 41% for Godoy; Table 1A, Figure 2). However, only about a third of the Nicaraguan population (36%) views one man favorably and the other unfavorably, indicating that public opinion has not polarized. One-in four (26%) has a favorable opinion of both men, while an almost equal number views both men with disfavor (22%; Table 1C).³

Chamorro's Presidency Earns High Marks For Ending War, Sandinista Rule

In addition to the wide personal endorsement given President Chamorro by the Nicaraguan public, six-in-ten (63%) specifically express satisfaction with the way Dona Violeta has handled the job of president. As expected, self-described Sandinistas are more than twice as likely as the general public and four times more likely than government supporters to be critical of Chamorro's presidency. The higher-educated sector of society is also somewhat more likely to express disfavor (Table 3).

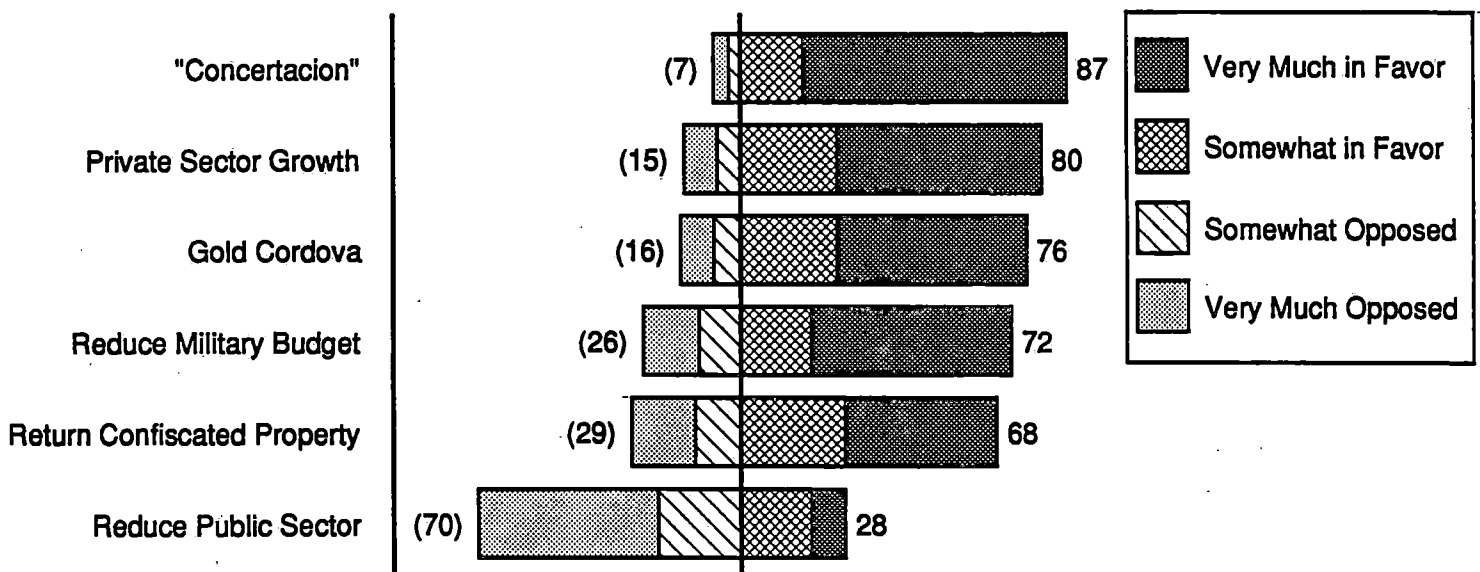
3. The final days of campaigning for the office of National Assembly President took place during survey fieldwork and was heavily covered in the news media. Both factions of UNO had candidates for the position: the pro-conciliation Lacayo faction, represented by Alfredo Cesar, prevailed with the help of the Sandinista bloc votes. As Table 1A reveals, Cesar also receives mixed opinions from the public.

Probed for the principal reason for their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with her efforts as President, twice as many of those satisfied cite either the fact that she ended the decade-long civil war (31%) or that she abolished the Sandinista government (36%) as mention any other reason. Motives for dissatisfaction center on the perception that she has not fulfilled her campaign promises (28%), is indecisive (25%), or that the economy has not begun to improve (23%). The lesser educated are almost three times more likely to be concerned about the economy as the better educated, who in turn are most likely dissatisfied with her indecisiveness; Table 4).⁴

Reform Efforts Are Also Widely Endorsed

A series of reform initiatives undertaken by President Chamorro to address critical economic and social issues is also firmly endorsed by the Nicaraguan public. Large majorities approve her efforts to achieve a reconciliation between all socio-political sectors ("concertacion;" 87%), her promotion of private sector growth (80%), the introduction of the dollar-based "gold" cordova (76%), the reduction of the military budget (72%), and the return of confiscated properties to previous owners (68%). Only Dona Violeta's effort to reduce the size of the public sector is opposed, indeed by a significant majority (70%; Table 5, Figure 4).

Figure 4: Support for Chamorro Reforms is Widespread



4. Inflation reached over 10,000% during the past year and 30-40% are unemployed. Interviewing took place well before the initiation of new economic adjustment measures on March 3, 1990.

But Opinion Is Mixed On Chamorro's Policy Toward The Sandinistas

Notwithstanding the broad expressions of support for President Violeta Chamorro personally, for her handling of the presidency, and for her reform efforts, as many Nicaraguans criticize her concessionary approach to the Sandinista opposition as approve. Asked specifically for their opinion on Chamorro's dealings with the Sandinistas, better than four-in-ten (44%) say that Chamorro has been "too weak" on issues involving Sandinista prerogatives. Almost as many (41%) believe her conciliatory efforts to have been "about right," reflecting the belief that her working-arrangement with the Sandinistas is the best approach. Less than one-in-ten believes Chamorro has been "too strong" with the Sandinistas (most of these are FSLN partisans). Most opinions of weakness are heard within the President's own coalition party: two-thirds of UNO supporters say she has been weak, a figure which echoes the repeated assertions from some UNO factions that it is the Sandinistas, through control of the army and the strong FNT labor union, rather than the Chamorro/UNO administration, which in effect runs Nicaragua. An identical number of Sandinistas, not surprisingly, expresses satisfaction with the Chamorro approach (Table 6).

Prepared by: Nancy C. Llach (619-5111)
Approved by: Ronald H. Hinckley, Director of Research

M-45-91

HOW THIS POLL WAS TAKEN

This survey of Nicaraguan public opinion was conducted by means of face-to-face interviews with 1200 adults, aged 18 and older, residing nationwide (except in the Atlantic Coast areas -- 6% of total population). Fieldwork took place January 7 -13, 1991, with the Office of Research receiving full tables on February 21.

Survey questions were written by the USIA Office of Research and translated by the contractor, with the analyst's final approval. Sample construction and fieldwork were performed by DOXA, C.A. of Caracas, Venezuela, one of the few firms to successfully tap the majority pro-Chamorro support prior to the February, 1990 elections. Nicaraguan interviewers and supervisors conducted interviewing after extensive training by the contractor in the presence of the analyst.

The nationally-representative sampling design combined several probability selection methods, including stratified, systematic random, and quota selection by age and sex to ensure distribution according to the demographic profile of the population. Ninety-five times out of one hundred, results from samples of this design and size will yield results which differ by no more than approximately 3 percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained were it possible to interview every adult in Nicaragua. The comparison of smaller subgroups will increase the margin of error (for example, the margin of error for self-defined Sandinistas is 5 - 7%). In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting a survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the results.

TABLE 1A: OPINION OF VARIOUS POLITICAL LEADERS

Question: I have a list of names of some political leaders from Nicaragua and other countries. As I read them, I would like you tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of each. First of all, [xxxxxx] -- do you have a very favorable opinion, somewhat favorable opinion, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of this person, or don't you know who he is?

	<u>Total Public</u>			<u>Politics^a</u>		
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Unfavor</u>	<u>DK/NR</u>	<u>Gov't</u> (333) (favorable only)	<u>Sand</u> (223)	<u>Ind.</u> (617)
a. Miguel Obando y Bravo	76%	21%	4%	90%	48%	77%
b. Antonio Lacayo	53	35	12	62	44	50
c. George Bush	49	41	11	73	18	45
d. Daniel Ortega	37	57	6	18	86	32
e. Virgilio Godoy	41	49	10	59	18	37
f. Carlos Andres Perez	64	15	21	77	58	57
g. Ronald Reagan	28	60	13	42	9	25
h. Fidel Castro	29	61	10	13	70	24
i. Violeta Chamorro	77	18	5	89	51	79
j. Humberto Ortega	36	58	6	15	81	32
k. Tomas Borge	31	62	8	10	80	25
l. Alfredo Cesar	38	42	20	52	27	32
m. Commandante Ruben	31	42	27	47	14	27

^a For purposes of clarity, the tables and report refer only to three of Nicaragua's expressed political groupings. "Government" includes all respondents who identified themselves as members or supporters of either UNO coalition parties (Conservative (6%), Liberal (7%), Christian Democrat (3%), or Social Democrat (3%)) or UNO itself (9%). "Sandinista" refers to respondents who identified themselves as Sandinistas (18%). Self-described UNO partisans are likely to have as many males as females (although the Nicaraguan population is more heavily female, 53%; the Sandinistas are about 55% male), older, more religious and less educated, but equally as urban and as likely (or unlikely) to live in "luxurious," "modest," or "poor" housing as their Sandinista counterparts. A large plurality (46%) of respondents did not identify their party preference, preferring instead to call themselves "Independents" or as having "no affiliation." (The six percent of the population that did not answer the political affiliation question is also included in this sector.) Analysis reveals that approximately 70% of this group can be classified in the Chamorro camp based on their other attitudes, while somewhat less than 20% hold views similar to those of the Sandinista group. Demographically, the "Independent/None" group closely mirrors the general population, save for a tendency to be slightly more female, less educated, and poor. It may be assumed that those who have identified themselves as having none or an independent affiliation either do not consider themselves members of a specific party (party identification is not required at registration), or have some concern at expressing opposition sentiment held over from the Sandinista period.

TABLE 1B: OPINION OF PRESIDENT CHAMORRO

Question: I have a list of names of some political leaders from Nicaragua and other countries. As I read them, I would like you tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of each. First of all, [xxxxxx] -- do you have a very favorable opinion, somewhat favorable opinion, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of this person, or don't you know who he/she is?

i. President Chamorro

	Total <u>Public</u> (1200)	<u>POLITICS</u>			<u>EDUCATION^a</u>	
		<u>Gov't</u> (333)	<u>Sand</u> (223)	<u>Ind.</u> (617)	<u>None/sm Prim'y</u> (417)	<u>Sec. & Above</u> (289)
Sample Size:						
Very favorable	51%	47%	4%	25%	31%	23%
Somewhat favorable	26	32	22	41	36	30
	---	---	---	---	---	---
Subtotal favorable	77	79	26	66	67	53
Somewhat unfavorable	19	13	31	18	18	22
Very unfavorable	15	5	40	11	12	20
	---	---	---	---	---	---
Subtotal unfavorable	34	18	71	29	30	42
Don't know/no response	3	2	1	4	4	3
	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total:	100%	99% ^b	98%	99%	101%	98%

^a For simplification, only two educational groups are included in the tables. "None/some primary" includes those Nicaraguans with no formal or incompleting primary school education. "Secondary and above" includes those respondents with completed secondary school or higher education. The excluded middle group includes those with completed primary and some high school education; attitudes almost invariably fall between those of the other two groups. Generally, the higher educated sector is younger and more predominantly male than its less educated counterpart. It is sixteen times more likely to live in a "luxuriously" appointed house, five times more likely to possess an automobile and a refrigerator, almost twice as likely to own a television (86% of the higher educated own sets), and half again as likely to live in an urban rather than a rural area. It may be assumed that opinions of the higher educated sector reflect relatively closely the opinions of Nicaraguan "elites."

^b Totals may not add to 100% due to rounding.

TABLE 1C: DISTRIBUTION OF FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE OPINIONS OF
MINISTER LACAYO AND VICE-PRESIDENT GODOY

Total Public:^a

		<u>OPINION OF LACAYO</u>	
		Favorable	Unfavorable
<u>OPINION</u>	Favorable	26%	12
<u>OF</u>			
<u>GODOY</u>	Unfavorable	24	22

^a Figures total 84%. The table excludes Don't Know/No response data (16% of total public responded Don't Know/No answer to one or both questions on these two men). Favorable/unfavorable figures do not sum to those given in the larger table due to the exclusion of cases giving DK/NA responses on the second person. Further breakdowns are available in the Office of Research upon request.

TABLE 2A: OPINIONS OF VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Question: Now I would like to ask your opinion about different institutions and organizations which are active here in Nicaragua. As I read their names, I would like you tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of each. First of all, [xxxxxx] -- do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of this institution, or don't you know what it is?

	<u>Total Public</u>			<u>Politics</u>		
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Unfavor</u>	<u>DK/NR</u>	<u>Gov't</u> (333) (favorable only)	<u>Sand</u> (223)	<u>Ind.</u> (617)
a. United Nations	84%	7%	9%	90%	80%	81%
b. The Army	45	50	4	30	84	42
c. COSEP (Private sector)	46	32	23	62	22	45
d. OAS	79	11	10	88	73	75
e. FNT (Sand. labor)	45	43	13	32	80	40
f. Contra/Resistencia Nacional	40	52	8	60	14	39
g. Catholic Church	78	17	5	89	62	79
h. Constitution of the Republic	72	14	14	82	76	64
i. National Police	58	35	7	53	72	55

TABLE 2B: MORE INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Question: Here are some more names -- please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of each of these, or tell me if you don't know what it is.

	<u>Total Public</u>			<u>Politics</u>		
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Unfavor</u>	<u>DK/NR</u>	<u>Gov't</u> (333) (favorable only)	<u>Sand</u> (223)	<u>Ind.</u> (617)
a. The National Assembly	79%	12%	10%	87%	75%	75%
b. UNO	61	31	9	81	21	63
c. Sandinista Youth	27	65	8	12	73	19
d. DGSE (State Security)	29	59	13	21	58	23
e. Cabinet of Ministers	62	25	13	73	48	61
f. Judicial system	65	20	16	74	65	60
g. CTN-A (Indep. Labor)	44	30	26	59	38	36
h. FSLN--El Frente	33	58	8	13	81	28
i. Rural Police	43	37	21	59	28	39
j. FMLN (Salv. guerrilla)	22	46	32	10	58	16

TABLE 3: OPINION ON CHAMORRO'S HANDLING OF THE JOB

Question: Dona Violeta has been President for about nine months now. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way in which she has handled the job of President? Are you somewhat or very [satisfied/dissatisfied]?

	Total Public (1200)	POLITICS			EDUCATION	
		Gov't (333)	Sand (223)	Ind. (617)	None/sm Prim'y (417)	Sec. & Above (289)
Sample Size:						
Very satisfied	28%	47%	4%	25%	31%	23%
Somewhat satisfied	35	32	22	41	36	30
Subtotal satisfied	63	79	26	66	67	53
Somewhat dissatisfied	19	13	31	18	18	22
Very dissatisfied	15	5	40	11	12	20
Subtotal dis'fied	34	18	71	29	30	42
Don't know/no response	3	2	1	4	4	3
Total:	100%	99%	98%	99%	101%	98%

TABLE 4. REASONS FOR SATISFACTION/DISSATISFACTION WITH CHAMORRO PRESIDENCY

Question: What is the principal reason for your satisfaction/dissatisfaction with Dona Violeta's presidency? [OPEN- END]

Those Satisfied with Chamorro's Handling of Job in T. 3 (63% of total public):

	<u>Public</u> (756)	<u>POLITICS</u>			<u>EDUCATION</u>	
		<u>Gov't</u> (266)	<u>Sand</u> (54)	<u>Ind.</u> (408)	<u>None/sm</u> <u>Prim'y</u> (272)	<u>Sec. &</u> <u>Above</u> (155)
Sample Size:						
Abolished Sand- ista gov't	36%	34%	22%	39%	33%	30%
Ended war, Disarm- ament, Peace	31	29	37	31	34	37
There is Liberty, Democracy	14	17	12	12	13	14
Is accomplishing what promised, way of governing.	12	12	15	12	11	10
Econ. reforms	3	2	7	3	4	2
Others	1	1	2	1	2	1
Don't know/no response	4	4	5	3	3	7
	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total:	101%	99%	100%	101%	100%	101%

Those Dissatisfied with Chamorro's Handling of Job in T. 3 (34% of total public):

	<u>Public</u> (405)	<u>POLITICS</u>			<u>EDUCATION</u>	
		<u>Gov't</u> (59)	<u>Sand</u> (160)	<u>Ind.</u> (181)	<u>None/sm</u> <u>Prim'y</u> (121)	<u>Sec. &</u> <u>Above</u> (123)
Sample Size:						
Has not kept pro- mises, don't support policies	28%	22%	32%	25%	29%	29%
Does not govern well, indecisive	25	29	30	21	15	37
Economy has not improved	23	27	18	27	33	12
Sandinistas in government	8	17	4	9	6	11
Bourgeois gov't, Yankee puppet	5	3	8	3	3	7
Others	5	2	5	7	4	4
Don't know/no response	5	0	3	8	9	1
	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total:	99%	100%	100%	100%	99%	101%

TABLE 5: OPINION ON PRESIDENT CHAMORRO'S REFORM EFFORTS

Question: I will read a list of some reforms that Dona Violeta wants to implement. Please tell me how much you favor or oppose each of them. For example, are you in favor of or opposed to reducing the number of people working for the government? Is that very much [in favor/opposed] or somewhat [in favor/opposed]?

	<u>Total Public</u>		
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK/NR</u>
a. Reducing number of people working for the government	28%	70%	3%
b. Returning some properties confiscated by the Sandinistas to their previous owners	68	29	3
c. Reducing the military budget	72	26	4
d. Promoting growth of private sector	80	15	6
e. Introducing "gold" cordova	76	16	8
f. Promoting the "concertacion" between all sectors to reach agreements on necessary decisions	87	7	6

TABLE 6: OPINION ON PRESIDENT CHAMORRO'S DEALINGS WITH THE SANDINISTAS

Question: In your opinion, has Dona Violeta been too strong, too weak, or about right in her dealings with the Sandinistas?

	<u>Total Public</u> (1200)	<u>POLITICS</u>			<u>EDUCATION</u>	
		<u>Gov't</u> (333)	<u>Sand</u> (223)	<u>Ind.</u> (617)	<u>None/sm Prim'y</u> (417)	<u>Sec. & Above</u> (289)
Sample Size:						
Too strong	8%	2%	22%	6%	5%	15%
About right	41	30	62	41	41	45
Too weak	44	65	13	43	47	35
Don't know/no response	6	3	3	10	7	4
Total:	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%	99%

**STATEMENT TO THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS
OF THE
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
March 13, 1991**

PENN KEMBLE
*Senior Associate
Freedom House*

I have just returned from a visit to Nicaragua as a member of a *Democracy Commission* organized by the Puebla Institute, a human rights organization based in Washington. This Commission had the co-sponsorship of Freedom House, of the Americas Society and of the American Institute for Free Labor Development of the AFL-CIO. Its members spanned a range of U.S. and Latin American figures who have had substantial experience with Nicaraguan issues, among them former Speaker of the House Jim Wright, and the Peruvian author, Mario Vargas Llosa. (A full list of the participants is attached.)

This Commission was able to conduct extended conversations with a remarkably broad and distinguished range of Nicaraguan leaders. It has not yet had time to distill out of the large mass of information and diverse opinions presented to it a consensus view on what is happening in Nicaragua, or on recommendations for the policy of the United States Government or the programs of private organizations. So what I can offer this hearing are simply -- and this should be stressed -- my own assessments of the situation in Nicaragua today.

It is a situation that is not easily grasped, nor is it one that invites simple responses from those of us who consider ourselves to be friends of that long-suffering country.

Any visitor to Nicaragua is reminded of the physical and spiritual damage that was done by decades of dictatorship and civil war, compounded by earthquakes, hurricanes and the other misfortunes that have earned Nicaragua the epithet "pais maldito" -- cursed country.

When the Chamorro government took office almost a year ago after Nicaragua's very first democratic election, it became the custodians of a nation in rubble. Actually, it was not rubble alone: the wreckage of Nicaragua was still inhabited by a well-organized and heavily-armed political/military force, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The first thing to be said about Nicaragua is that many Americans probably had naive ideas about how rapidly the reconstruction of the country could proceed. We are, in particular, inclined to underestimate the damage inflicted on societies by repressive regimes which intrude into every aspect of economic and social affairs, as was the case with the Sandinistas, and has been the case in Eastern Europe.

For example: the \$300 million U.S. assistance program put forward just after the Chamorro/UNO victory last year seemed to some of us to treat Nicaragua as if it were a *tabula rasa*: a clean slate on which the new government and its international supporters could readily lay down a functioning parliamentary government and free market economic

system. Our plans failed to take into account how much work remained to be done to clean the Nicaraguan stables of the residues of Sandinista rule.

When Dona Violeta Chamorro took office last April there were two large armies in that small country: a Sandinista Army, linked organically to the ruling party, of some 80,000 members, and a resistance force of close to 15,000. The Sandinista Front directly controlled economic activities accounting for more than 40% of the nation's Gross Domestic Product. The educational system of the country was officiously managed by the FSLN, whose "new math" involved teaching sums with diagrams of grenades and assault rifles. The courts, the police, the Army, much of the media, many labor organizations and much of the social and cultural life of the country -- all were run with the heavy hand of the Sandinista Party.

It is helpful to remember the state of the democratic movement in Nicaragua. Many of the country's educated and progressive-minded citizens were gone: killed, exiled, or escaped. The opposition parties and civic organizations that remained were stunted caricatures of what they dreamed of becoming, and they were deeply divided -- not least of all by constant machinations of the FSLN. Even the resistance movement, as some of us who supported it regularly complained, never developed a serious political capability.

The impressive victory won by the Chamorro campaign was therefore more a wave of revulsion against the experience of Sandinista rule than a popular affirmation of the programs and leadership offered by the UNO coalition. When the new government assumed office it had no cohesive constituency and no organized political machinery on which to base an administration.

Against this background, where do things stand today?

The picture is a mixed one. The new government can claim some very significant accomplishments. But there is also a gloomy side. In fact, it seems warranted to worry that the new government is fast approaching a moment of great decision: unless it pulls itself together and embarks on a new course within the next few months, it could forfeit its achievements and its promise, letting Nicaragua slip back into darkness, and dimming democratic hopes elsewhere in the region.

What have been the main accomplishments? They ought not to be underestimated.

1. Large-scale military conflict has ended. The size of the Sandinista Army has declined considerably, and the contra forces have been disbanded. This is not a nation in civil war.
2. There is freedom of expression: a free press, freedom to organize politically, free speech, etc.
3. According to Lino Hernandez, director of the Permanent Commission on Human Rights, the general atmosphere of intimidation and the state of siege upon basic human rights that characterized the Sandinista years have ended.
4. The schools are no longer operated by zealous Sandinista partisans, and pidgin Marxist-Leninism is no longer inflicted upon the pupils. The new Minister of Education is Humberto Belli, who is vastly transforming the school curriculum.

5. According to Jose Espinosa, the hard-charging President of the independent CUS labor federation, trade union rights are generally respected.
6. Some significant steps have been taken toward a free market economy.

In the light of such impressive accomplishments, why is it that so much anxiety has arisen about the future of a democratic Nicaragua?

This anxiety, it perhaps should be said, is not something generated by obsessives who will not sleep until the last Sandinista lies with a stake through his heart. Consider these recent statements by a range of observers:

Mark Uhlig (The New York Times, February 3, 1991)

Mrs. Chamorro's government remains a thin, ineffective veneer over a still formidable Sandinista-controlled army and police apparatus.

James LeMoyne (The New Republic, March 18, 1981)

The elected Chamorro government gets to call itself the government. But the Sandinistas control the Army; the police; the secret police; the courts; most public cars, houses, factories and farms they looted, stole and occupied in their decade-long squandering of Nicaragua's resources.

Paul Berman (The Village Voice, March 5, 1991)

. . . (T)he Sandinista People's Army is a supremely efficient organization with no great history of faulty discipline. The SAM missiles are some of its fanciest weapons. Could twenty-eight of these be shipped to El Salvador without General Ortega's approval? Isn't it possible that General Ortega was conducting his own foreign policy of military aid, hoping for a Salvadoran guerrilla victory that might tip the balance of power in Central America

Archbishop Obando y Bravo (Interview with Radio Nicaragua, Sept. 13, 1990, in FBIS, Latin America, Sept. 14, 1990)

. . . I would say that right now the FSLN is running the country. . . . What is lacking in Nicaragua is a state of law. Without a state of law, people are insecure and without any direction.

Our Commission heard comments such as these during our visit from a number of Nicaraguans, many of whom proved their integrity and democratic commitment over decades of opposition to dictatorship. Here, in summary form, are the principal matters that concern them:

1. The Political Crisis

At present, executive authority in Nicaragua is, as a practical matter, in the hands of Mrs. Chamorro's energetic son-in-law, Antonio Lacayo (her Minister of the Presidency), and a small circle of family and friends. Even before last February's election, Mr. Lacayo

advanced the idea that Nicaragua could not progress unless an understanding could be reached with the FSLN. His view was not the view put forward by the UNO coalition in the electoral campaign, but it was not without some justification: Nicaragua had to achieve some kind of peace and civic tolerance, and the FSLN, unlike the contras, was not disarmed under the Esquipulas Accords. Mr. Lacayo's approach came to be the strategic premise of the new government.

But the Sandinistas have exploited Mr. Lacayo's generosity to maintain a paradoxical position: they have one foot inside the democratic framework, and one foot planted solidly outside it. They hold a significant bloc of votes in the National Assembly, and, as noted above, they have not given up their hold on most of the institutions of the state and economy.

Where it is possible to maintain this influence through legal means, the Sandinistas accept the law. Where other means must be employed, they are. Many rural areas are still run by the local Sandinista Army comandante, who rules by edict and fear. Factories and even whole departments of government are controlled by Sandinistas supporters masquerading as trade unions, who use threats and violence to terrorize their fellow workers. The Sandinistas have seized many farms, businesses and other economic assets, and use threats and their control of the security and justice forces to deny the rightful owners any recourse.

The enduring power of the Sandinistas is compounded by division and weakness in the democratic camp. The UNO coalition began breaking up even before last year's election campaign was over. Many of the parties in the UNO coalition are fractious fiefdoms, maintained chiefly to keep some personality at the political gaming table. Even Nicaraguans who do embrace the democratic ideal have had little chance to test their beliefs in practice: politics is still understood as a process of personal negotiations and deals in which the broader public has little role.

2. The Economic Crisis.

As is the case today in much of Eastern Europe, political uncertainty is the decisive obstacle to economic revival. For many of us, this turns long-established habits of thinking upside down. We believed that first you got the economy going, and then conditions would ripen for political reform. (Our foreign aid programs still reflect this conception.) But in Nicaragua, politics seems to hold the key to economics.

One year after the democratic revolution there is still virtually no private investment in Nicaragua, foreign or domestic. As was the case in the years after Somoza's downfall, Nicaragua is living on foreign aid. (Francisco Mayorga, former President of the Central Bank, estimates that foreign assistance income amounts to one third of the Nicaraguan gross domestic product -- more than all of its export earnings.)

One anecdote explains why. A group of prospective investors went to Nicaragua with our Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) in June, 1990 to look at possible investment opportunities. While they were in Managua several Sandinista labor front organizations seized major government ministries, and the police were unwilling to move them out. The government was in fact obliged to yield to the demands these pseudo-strikers were making guarantees of wage and employment levels. End of OPIC investment story.

Nicaragua is certainly suffering economically, and needs foreign aid for humanitarian reasons. But we ought not to imagine that under present circumstances we are "jump-starting" an economy or "priming the pump" of private enterprise, or fulfilling any other such development clichés. The engine of the Nicaraguan economy is still run largely by the Sandinistas, and they are still stripping the parts and siphoning out the gas.

For example, we were told by several experts on finance and commerce that the banking and credit system is still controlled by Sandinista loyalists -- both for commercial and agricultural lending. And the loans are highly politicized.

CONAP -- a conglomerate of some 25 state corporations which in turn controls another hundred or so companies -- is dominated by the Sandinistas. These companies still oversee as much as 40% of domestic production, and are the main recipients of foreign credits and guarantees. They are vastly overstuffed, inefficiently managed, and consistently looted -- I do not think the word too strong -- by their managers.

In banking and commerce as well as in government, Nicaragua lacks mechanisms for audit and control. Efforts by foreign lenders or donors to improve accountability often meet indignant objections from the managers of agencies and businesses. In addressing these objections it is well to remember that when the FSLN left power last year, the country's important financial records were all destroyed. It has been estimated that \$24 million was stolen from the Central Bank alone. There is a need for tough fiscal controls.

Even the non-profit sector -- groups which present themselves as cooperatives, service organizations, charities, etc. -- is made up in the main of Sandinista-controlled or influenced organizations. These ostensibly non-government organizations must be licensed by the National Assembly, where the FSLN is a partner in power.

Finally, personal property itself is not yet secure in Nicaragua. Because the entire civil and legal system was undone and semi-reconstituted during the ten years of Sandinista government, claims can be made against any buyer or owner of property by anyone who believes he has sufficient clout with the court or the recorder of deeds to muscle through his claim. In a predominantly agricultural country, this has especially devastating effects.

There are, of course, other dimensions to the economic problem of Nicaragua. The new government has been struggling to reduce the deficit, to hold inflation down, to carry out currency devaluations, etc. Some of these efforts have been competently and even courageously managed. But so long as the foundations of the economy are undermined by the tunnels and sinkholes of the Sandinistas, it is hard to see how even the best technical corrections can have much effect.

3. Security fears:

The tenacity of the Sandinistas and the tendency of the Chamorro government so far to yield to them has stirred protest in Nicaragua. There are many Nicaraguans who fear that the FSLN will respond to this protest with violence: the assassination of political leaders and the repression of workers and campesinos with mob violence, the military, or the police. The recent murder of Col. Enrique Bermudez by someone who showed professional skill and the shooting of Jean Paul Genie, allegedly by members of General Humberto Ortega's personal guard, both have wide significance for this reason. Both these cases raise the issue of whether any justice can be found when there is suspicion that high FSLN authority may be implicated. These cases also present powerful deterrents

to skilled Nicaragua workers who may be thinking of returning home, and to prospective foreign investors.

There are also regular reports of Sandinista Army violence against political opponents in the countryside, who are always described as former contras even though that may not be so.

The Sandinista Army is one of the grotesque anomalies of Nicaragua today. Our group held a long discussion with General Ortega, who today is the pre-eminent Sandinista leader. Although he spoke eloquently of his intention to "professionalize" the military, and vowed his subservience to democratic authority, at the same time he explained a role for the military in Nicaraguan society that went far beyond defense. The military is still remarkably large -- at least 28,000 persons -- for a country that faces no serious foreign threat. It still is providing support to guerrillas and who knows what other forces abroad. Its finances raise eyebrows: it is widely believed to be the major conduit for cash payments to the FSLN political leadership.

The Chamorro government has sought a pact with General Ortega, even protesting when the U.S. government urged Soviet leaders to reduce their assistance to the Sandinista Army. Mark Uhlig reported in *The New York Times* last January 15 that the Chamorro government has even ". . . made a series of secret payments to the army that have amounted to as much as several million dollars a month above its formal budget. . . ."

It is difficult to understand this toleration of a military establishment that has no defense purpose, is a voracious consumer of resources, pursues its own foreign policy, and even its own domestic policy. Some observers have suggested that Mr. Lacayo, the framer of this relationship to the military, is simply following the established pattern in Central America, where civilian authorities tread warily when they are in the neighborhood of the *cuartel*. But there might be some concern that he is in fact creating an example that the military in other countries will want to follow.

The Popular Sandinista Army is no traditional Latin military establishment. It has considered itself to be a central agency of a social and economic transformation rejected by the Nicaragua people. There is reason to worry that if the Chamorro government should fail, the Sandinista army and General Ortega may feel compelled to step in not only to "maintain order," but to indulge their grander designs.

What should the United States do now?

I believe we should be very generous in giving Nicaragua foreign aid. The country is suffering, and there are many reasons why the United States should not allow Nicaragua to sink.

But even as we are generous, we should be very firm -- much more firm than we have been so far. And we should not only be firm ourselves. We should use our new international influence with our friends among other donor countries and with the international financial institutions to establish a strict regime for the administration of foreign assistance to Nicaragua.

Some of the considerations that should be taken into account are:

- Foreign assistance should be channeled to a diversity of institutions in Nicaragua. Funds that are simply funneled in through the top are too subject to being skimmed or diverted for unsavory political purposes, and will not produce the economic revival they are intended to stimulate. It is probably gratuitous to tell members of Congress that our public has a limited enthusiasm for foreign aid. If the hundreds of millions we are spending in Nicaragua do not create any capacity there for self-sustaining economic growth, it will not be easy to keep the aid flowing. Nor should it be. There are too many other deserving uses for our aid funds in today's world, and we cannot allow Nicaragua to become an unhealthy example that other recipient countries may be tempted to follow.
- Far greater attention should be given to assistance programs that respond to the political basis of Nicaragua's problems. I understand that AID is currently developing a more careful and well-funded program for political development in Nicaragua, and that the National Endowment for Democracy and its affiliates are planning further efforts of their own. Nothing is more essential than a strengthening of Nicaragua's independent political parties, free media, business and professional associations, free trade unions, and the array of non-government institutions that form the infrastructure of democratic life. Municipal government is a strong check on the central authorities in Nicaragua, and should be strengthened. It is also very important in the present climate to provide the means for vigorous oversight in human rights.
- Donors should insist on changes in the Sandinista Army and police. Non-Sandinistas should be integrated into the command structures of both institutions, and those most identified with the Sandinistas should seek new careers. The Army should be brought under the control of a civilian authority that would strictly oversee both the disposition of military supplies and all its financial affairs.

These kinds of changes could reverse a drift which, if it continues, will soon carry Nicaragua past the point of no return. The Nicaraguan public seems to be drifting back toward the old habits of passivity and cynicism. "Haitian-ization" was a word we heard.

But I have not given up hope for the brave and intelligent men and women who helped make Nicaragua's remarkable revolution. They need our help -- and sometimes our advice. Because of pressures they face to appease those at home who have contempt for democracy, we need to apply some counter-pressures from the other side. Now is the time to do it.

There is a legitimate argument about whether the new Nicaraguan government ought to have followed the Lacayo policy of cooperation with the Sandinistas in the past. But it is difficult to see how that policy can bring any real benefits in the future -- and the costs it imposes are becoming clearer every day.

The greatest of these costs is disillusionment among Nicaraguans toward the democratic idea. The most disheartening aspect of a visit to Nicaragua is to find that there is no broad, organized community of democratic sentiment and activity to provide a counterbalance to the lingering influence of the Sandinistas. To forego the work of creating and sustaining such a community for a relationship with the leaders of the FSLN is to give up your birthright for a mess of pottage.

There is much talk in Managua about how the FSLN will soon split, or wither away. There maybe some individuals in the FSLN who can play a useful role in rebuilding Nicaragua. But, as an institution, that seems unlikely. Given what has been happening in the world, and in the rest of Central America, the FSLN looks more and more like the political party of

the living dead. One hopes they will quietly wither away; one worries that Nicaragua itself may wither along with them.

The U.S. has successfully pursued a bi-partisan policy in Central America in recent years. A policy of strict conditionality, generous aid, and active engagement in strengthening Nicaragua's democratic institutions is one that should attract bi-partisan support today. Some of our friends in Nicaragua may chafe at such pressures. But I believe that, in the end, they will thank us for them. We should always remember the situation they are in is one that -- because of our naiveté about the Sandinistas, our confusion about the relationship between political and economic development, and our historic fickleness and unreliability toward Nicaragua -- we helped to create.

THE DEMOCRACY COMMISSION

1. Dr. Mario Vargas Llosa, Peruvian author
2. The Honorable Jim Wright, former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives
3. Gustavo Gorriti, Peruvian author
4. Larry Harrison, retired career AID officer, and author on Nicaragua and other foreign policy issues
5. Victor Meza, Honduran scholar and Nicaraguan expert, Director of the Centro de Documentacion de Honduras
6. Dr. Susan Kaufman Purcell, Vice President of Latin American Affairs, Americas Society
7. Robert Leiken, Visiting scholar at Harvard Center for International Affairs, author on Nicaragua and other foreign policy issues
8. Diputado Luis Marcial Ojeda, Venezuelan Congressman, Partido Accion Democratica, Leader of Telephone Workers Union
9. Diputado Rodolfo Seguel, Chilean Congressman, Partido Democrata Cristiano, Director of Metal Workers Union
10. William Doherty, Director, American Institute for Free Labor Development, AFL-CIO
11. Penn Kemble, Senior Associate, Freedom House
12. Nina Shea, Human rights lawyer, President of Puebla Institute

drugs, hunger, homelessness, and so many other social problems can be driven from every community if every community cares enough to light the candle of hope.

God bless each and every one of you for what you're doing, setting an outstanding example for our great country. And God bless the United States of America. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 12:07 p.m. outside the home of Foster Webster, chairman of the Oakwood Beautification Committee. He referred to William J. Bennett, Director of National Drug Control Policy. At the conclusion of his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Remarks to the Council of the Americas May 22, 1990

Thank you for that welcome, and thank you, Secretary Baker. Jim Baker's just back from a very interesting and highly significant trip to the Soviet Union, which I'm sure you've all read about. From my standpoint, it went very well indeed. I think he's done a lot of clearing the way for what I hope will be a highly successful meeting with Mr. Gorbachev not so many days away from now. I want to thank him. Normally, he's not awake this close to his jet lag recovery—it takes him a little longer—but he was looking forward to being here. But he had a tough and grueling trip, and it's still, I'm sure, on him. But I thank you very much for being here today.

To David Rockefeller, my friend and the chairman of the Council of the Americas, I want to thank you. David came to see me a while back and told me of the emphasis that he felt should properly be placed on Central America, South America—the Americas—something he's stood for for a long time. But I will address myself to some of those concerns in a minute. But I want to thank him. I want to thank Ambassador Landau and Kim Flower; and, of course, pay my respects to my trusted right arm in the White House in foreign affairs, General Brent Scowcroft, who is head of the National Security Council; to Bernie Aronson, for

whom I have great respect and with whom I personally work very closely on a lot of these matters—he, Jim and I and Brent—matters affecting our common interests here today.

I am pleased once again to speak to this most influential group, pioneers, if you will, in the private-sector effort to expand trade investment between the United States and Latin America. I'm delighted to address this gathering after what has been a remarkable year of change.

I told a group out in Oregon yesterday, I can't think of a more fascinating time in the recent history of our country, certainly in the Nuclear Age, to be President of the United States. Over the past 12 months, it sometimes seemed that the eyes of the world rest solely on Eastern Europe, on the miraculous transformation that's taken place there. Our friends in Latin America have watched these historic events unfold with inspiration, certainly with awe, but also, I know, with an unmistakable sense of anxiety—and it was this that David was talking to me about—concern that our active involvement in Europe will mean a decline in the United States interest in Latin America.

I'm here today to assure you, just as I've assured the many Latin American leaders with whom I've met, that the events of the past year have increased our interests in this region, strengthened our desire to forge a new partnership with the growing forces of freedom in Latin America, because the fact is, the great drama of democracy is unfolding right here in our own hemisphere. Think about the tremendous gains made for freedom just this past year. When I spoke here last May, the people of Panama were preparing to go to the polls, even as the dictator of Panama was preparing to steal the election. And in Nicaragua, civil war raged, the Sandinistas ruled, and the brave men and women of the Nicaraguan opposition were just beginning the long campaign that led to this year's great victory for democracy.

In Central America—Nicaragua and Panama; in South America—Paraguay and Chile. All across the Americas, today more people live under freely elected governments than ever before; and we are closer

than ever before to the day when all the people of the Americas, North and South, will live in freedom. Even in Haiti, the scene of so much human suffering and anguish and turmoil, the provisional government has now announced its intention to hold free elections. This Thursday, I will be meeting with the new leader of Haiti, where we're sure to discuss ways that we can support democracy in Haiti.

In all of Latin America, only Cuba remains—Castro's island—isolated, totally out of step with the democratic tide. But today we're celebrating the anniversary of Cuban independence. And let me say with certainty that even in Cuba the dream of democracy can only be pushed back a little, only deferred; it will never be destroyed.

As we in the United States welcome our Central and South American neighbors into the ranks of democracy, we must offer them our help and something more: we must offer them our respect, the respect due one free nation from another, and the outstretched hand of partnership.

I've been working with Jim and Brent and others to strengthen our ties. Just this year alone, I've met with Presidents Barco [Colombia], Paz [Bolivia], and Garcia [Peru], at the Andean drug summit in Cartagena. It was a good meeting, incidentally. Here in Washington, I've hosted Presidents Carlos Andrés Pérez [Venezuela], Paz Zamora, Cristiani [El Salvador], and Endara [Panama], Collor de Mello [Brazil], Calderon [Costa Rica], and Callejas [Honduras], and Prime Minister Manley [Jamaica] as well. And in each case, I've come away from our talks with a strong sense of optimism, and I believe every one of those leaders left the White House knowing that the U.S. is engaged as never before in the future of this hemisphere.

While from country to country conditions differ, we know now that our challenge is to consolidate democracy and accelerate development. That means advancing the intellectual revolution now sweeping Latin America, a movement away from stale statist doctrines; away from dictatorships of the right and the left; toward democracy, free government, free enterprise; toward the true political and economic empowerment of the people themselves.

That means encouraging, for the first time in many cases, genuine free market reform. Even in the countries that claim no kinship with communism, true free enterprise did not exist. In practice, economies were often organized to ensure the prosperity of the people in power, not to open an avenue toward upward mobility for anyone ready and willing to work.

Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto describes the maze of bureaucratic barriers that stood in the way of the entrepreneur and stifled economic growth in his country. De Soto also shows how much Lima, Peru's capital, owed its economic vitality to what he calls the informal sector, the thousands of individual and enterprising individuals doing business without the consent of the state. De Soto's prescription, and mine—is to free this economic force, unleash the million sparks of energy and enterprise, let the incentive of reward inspire men and women to work to better themselves and their families.

Already, Latin America is discovering this path. In Brazil and Bolivia, in Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico, Costa Rica, and Jamaica, free market reforms are going forward, creating space for private initiative to take hold and flourish. And as they succeed and as they reap the rewards that will follow this—I would say what will certainly be a painful transition—these nations will bring others along in their wake.

We in the United States must do all we can to ensure the future of free markets in the Americas because our nation has a stake in the economic health of this hemisphere. We know that since the late seventies Latin America's share of all U.S. trade dropped from 10 percent of all U.S. exports down to 7 percent. And yet last year, for the first time ever, two-way trade between the United States and Latin America topped \$100 billion. As that trade continues to grow, so will the link between our prosperity and the prosperity of our Latin American partners.

Let me provide just a few statistics to drive home this point. Last year the Colombian economy grew 3 percent; U.S. exports to Colombia rose 9 percent. Mexico's economy grew 3 percent, and U.S. exports to that country climbed 21 percent. In Chile, with

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In Chile, with

an overall growth rate of 10 percent, U.S. exports increased by triple that rate—more than 30 percentage points.

The most effective way to ensure expansion of trade between the United States and Latin America is for all countries of the hemisphere to support a successful Uruguay round. The ambitious agenda in the Uruguay round, including proposals for significant multilateral tariff reductions, will benefit our Latin American trading partners. We are committed to the expansion of trade and investment liberalization, and we seek Latin American support for these very important objectives. In addition, the strengthened debt strategy launched last spring has reinvigorated market-oriented economies and reinvigorated the reforms in Latin America. These economies help provide the needed foundation for democracy itself.

That's why I'm so pleased to report on the progress we've made this past year under the Brady plan. Mexico, Venezuela, Costa Rica have all reached agreements with their creditors on ways to reduce their debt, ways to complement their efforts to restructure their economies along free-market lines, because in the long term, the free market remains the only path to sustained growth.

We all know the private sector plays a crucial role. Taking advantage of new investment opportunities is good for business; but at this critical moment, there's something beyond the bottom line, something that can't be measured simply in terms of GNP. The role the Council of the Americas can play—expanding trade and strengthening the private sector—that role contributes not just to economic growth but to the growth of democracy itself.

Now, there is, of course, an important role for government to play as well, especially during the difficult days of transition from dictatorship to democracy. That's why, frankly, I've called on Congress to provide \$800 million in emergency economic aid to Panama and Nicaragua. We have a big stake in this. This aid is critical.

A little over a week ago, I received a letter from President Chamorro, Violeta Chamorro, just 3 weeks into her term in office, telling me that Nicaragua was bankrupt. And yet, for more than 2 months now,

this emergency aid has been bogged down on Capitol Hill. To give you an idea of the magnitude of this problem, in March I requested \$800 million for Panama and Nicaragua, asking that this bill be finished on April 5th—April 5th. It's now May 22d, and the funds for Panama and Nicaragua have been reduced by \$80 million, even though \$1.4 billion in extra spending has been added to this legislation. Finally, it appears the Congress may act this week on this vital measure. For the people of Nicaragua and Panama, meanwhile, democracy hangs in the balance.

So, let me again say to the Congress: The fate of freedom rests in your hands. Do the work of democracy and pass this emergency aid package now.

Today I began by speaking about the changes that have riveted world attention on Europe. Part of the power of the story is that it can be told in intensely personal terms, as the story of the dissident playwright who is now President or of the electrician who came to symbolize his people's hopes for freedom. Democracy's advance in Latin America has produced its share of heroes, and today I'll close with three from one country alone, Latin America's newest democracy, Nicaragua.

For 4 years, beginning in 1979, the year the Sandinistas took power, Enrique Dreyfus was head of Nicaragua's Supreme Council of Private Enterprise, a private-sector group in many ways similar to this one. His criticism of Sandinista rule put him on the Sandinista black list and landed him in prison. Today, with the Sandinistas swept from power, Enrique Dreyfus is not just free from persecution, he is Nicaragua's new Foreign Minister.

In 1985 members of the Sandinista internal security force beat Sofonias Cisneros for criticizing the way the Sandinistas had politicized the schools. Today Mr. Cisneros is Minister of Education.

And on July 10th, 1988, opposition leader Myriam Arguello was beaten, taken from her home in the middle of the night by Sandinista police, tried, and sentenced to 6 months in prison. Today Myriam is President of Nicaragua's freely elected National Assembly.

These three stories underscore in personal terms the truly revolutionary political change that's taken place not just in Nicaragua but across the Americas, change that proves beyond doubt that the day of the dictator is over and democracy's day has come.

For our part, we in the United States must do all we can to help secure for all the Americas the freedom, the peace, and the prosperity we enjoy. Please, keep up, more now than ever, your important work in guaranteeing that democracy succeeds in this precious hemisphere of ours. Thank you for what you're doing, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in the Loy Henderson Conference Room at the Department of State. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of State James A. Baker III; George Landau, president of the council; Ludlow Flower III, managing director of the council and vice president of the Americas Society; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and Bernard W. Aronson, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Killing of Palestinian Laborers in the Israeli-Occupied Gaza Strip
May 22, 1990

The President wishes to extend his sympathies to the families of the Palestinian workers who lost their lives in the tragic killings in Israel on Sunday, May 20. The President is also deeply troubled by the violent aftermath to these deaths. Besides expressing condolences to the families of all those who have lost their lives amidst the subsequent violence, the President calls upon the Israeli security forces, as well as others, to act with maximum restraint. Additional bloodshed and loss of life will only compound the tragedy.

It is not enough, however, to deplore what has happened and to call for restraint. It is essential to address the political issues

that lie at the core of the region's strife. Based on experience, we believe that violence in the Middle East will continue and possibly grow so long as there is an absence of a promising peace process that nourishes hope among Israelis and Palestinians alike.

The United States remains committed to promoting such a political process. We believe that the initiative of the Government of Israel, which the United States has been trying to implement, offers the best path to a negotiating process that would protect Israel's security, further the legitimate political rights of Palestinians, and bring about a broader reconciliation between the State of Israel and its Arab neighbors. We look forward to the quick emergence of an Israeli government that is capable of making decisions on issues of peace and is committed, just as we are, to moving ahead on the peace process.

Statement on Signing the Biological Weapons Anti-Terrorism Act of 1989
May 22, 1990

I am pleased today to sign S. 993, the "Biological Weapons Anti-Terrorism Act of 1989." This Act will impose new criminal penalties against those who would employ or contribute to the dangerous proliferation of biological weapons, and it will add teeth to our efforts to eradicate such horrible weapons. I salute the bipartisan consensus in the Congress that has demonstrated its support for this humanitarian objective and the leadership's commitment to our shared goal of destroying forever the evil shadow these weapons have cast around the world.

The United States has renounced these weapons, as have all civilized countries, by joining the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972. Scrupulous compliance with the obligations of that Convention and similar prohibitions against the use of chemical weapons are essential to the security of all mankind. I call upon the leaders of all nations to join us in our drive to rid the world of biological and chemical weapons and to do everything in their power to stop the proliferation of these weapons of mass destruction. We must halt and reverse the

are doing. One of the Governors encouraged me in the meeting in there to encourage the people of this country to support State and local initiatives that have to do with making the educational system better. And certainly, I am prepared to do that, just as I am grateful to the Governors for their participation in setting these goals.

In the coming months, we'll work together with Congress on legislation to increase flexibility in Federal funding in return for enhanced accountability. And you, the Nation's Governors, have committed to break the bureaucratic shackles that smother innovation and stand guard over the status quo. Although the Federal Government traditionally has a limited role in education—and we all respect and acknowledge that it is the dynamism at the State and local level that achieves excellence—I promise you that this administration is determined to walk with you every step of the way.

When I next meet with my Cabinet, many of whom were with us there in Charlottesville, I'll ask each to work with our domestic policy adviser to devise strategies that can support your efforts and those of your communities in helping to achieve these goals. I will work with you to establish a bipartisan group to ensure that proper and constructive measurements of our educational performance are developed where they don't already exist. And this group is going to report to me each year on the progress we make.

And I'm calling on America's private sector to be a third party in this enterprise. We need to know from them what the workplace will need and expect of our citizens in the 21st century. And we need their talent and their commitment to help move this reform effort forward. And finally, I will do everything I can to provide the national leadership and energy to keep education in the forefront of America's domestic agenda.

The work ahead will not be easy. We're traveling uncharted waters. And never before have we as a nation set such goals for education. And never before have the Nation's leaders stepped forward to say we are willing to be held accountable for the results of this process. And never before have the President of the United States and the Governors joined together in a partner-

ship and a long-term commitment on a single issue.

If we can accomplish just one thing today—and it may be the simplest and yet most valuable of all—it is to send a message to parents, teachers, community leaders, and every other American: These goals are not the Governors' goals. They're not the President's goals. They are the Nation's goals. And we are rejecting the status quo, raising our sights, investing our faith in the American people. And so, today I hope the Governors and the Cabinet will join me in extending a challenge to all Americans to adopt these goals as their own and to take aim now at the year 2000 and to enlist every ounce of American innovation, energy, resolve in the effort to achieve these education goals and prepare this nation for the challenges of a new century.

Thank you all very, very much for your superb cooperation.

Note: The President spoke at 11:59 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. Prior to his remarks, the President met with members of the association in the Blue Room.

Statement on the Election of Violeta Chamorro as President of Nicaragua February 26, 1990

In this remarkable year of political change, democracy won another victory yesterday. I am most pleased that there has been a free and fair election in Nicaragua and that the results are being accepted by both sides.

I am sending messages to Mrs. Chamorro congratulating her on her victory and to President Ortega congratulating him on the conduct of the election and his stated willingness to abide by the results. The United States looks forward to working with Mrs. Chamorro's new government in support of her stated goals of national reconciliation and economic reconstruction and with President Ortega in helping ensure a peaceful transition of power. I have talked this morning with Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez, and we agree completely on the need to help all parties in Nicaragua to

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achieve a peaceful reconciliation and transfer of power.

We also congratulate the international observer delegations whose activities, which took place at the request of the Sandinista government, helped ensure an open and safe electoral process. There were many, but I want to mention delegations led by former President Jimmy Carter and former Governor Dan Evans, the United Nations delegation led by former Secretary Elliot Richardson, and the OAS [Organization of American States] delegation led by Secretary General Baena Soares.

We hope that all sides in this hotly fought contest will extend the hand of reconciliation and cooperate together in rebuilding their country for the good of all Nicaraguans. There is space in a democratic Nicaragua for the expression of all political points of view. We also hope that the ceasefire will be reestablished immediately and respected by all sides. Given the election's clear mandate for peace and democracy, there is no reason at all for further military activity from any quarter.

We are confident the international community will strongly support the results of yesterday's elections and will join in the effort to help all Nicaraguans to rebuild their country.

Executive Order 12704—Amendments
to Executive Orders Nos. 11830, 12367,
and 12692
February 26, 1990

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, as amended (29 U.S.C. 701 *et seq.*), the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App.), and the Small Business Act, as amended (15 U.S.C. 631 *et seq.*), and to reflect developments in connection with Executive Orders Nos. 11830, 12367, and 12692, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Amendments to Executive Order No. 11830, as amended, "Enlarging the Membership of the Interagency Committee on Handicapped Employees." Sec-

tion 1, subsection (11) of Executive Order No. 11830, as amended, is revised to read "Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities (Ex Officio)." A new section 2 shall be added to Executive Order No. 11830, as amended, which shall read as follows: "**Sec. 2.** The Interagency Committee on Handicapped Employees shall also be referred to as the Interagency Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities."

Sec. 2. Amendment to Executive Order No. 12367, as amended, "President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities." Section 3(b) of Executive Order No. 12367, as amended, is revised to read as follows: "Any administrative support or other expenses of the Committee shall be paid, to the extent permitted by law, from funds available to the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, as determined by the agreement of those agencies."

Sec. 3. Amendment to Executive Order No. 12692, "Continuance of Certain Federal Advisory Committees." Section 1(a) of Executive Order No. 12692, which continues until September 30, 1991, the Advisory Committee on Small and Minority Business Ownership, is hereby revoked. The remaining sections 1(b) through 1(k) are relettered sections 1(a) through 1(j).

George Bush

The White House,
February 26, 1990.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:45 p.m., February 26, 1990]

Remarks Announcing the Publication
of the Guidebook "Growing Up Drug
Free: A Parent's Guide to Prevention"
February 26, 1990

The President. Thank you, all of you. And welcome, all of you, and welcome to the White House. We are here, as Secretary Cavazos, our outstanding Secretary of Education, said, to unveil this little book. And I must say I cheated; I saw it ahead of time. [Laughter] I saw it when we were walking

MURIE FIRESTONE
SOCIAL SECRETARY
THE WHITE HOUSE
(202) 456-6235

FROM: MAXINE SIBLEY

THANKS FOR YOUR 3-25-91 FAX,

1. AIR TRANSPORTATION

IT WAS MY UNDERSTANDING AIR FARES ARE \$1168.00
PER PERSON, PER BRITISH AIR AS OF TODAY - ARRIVAL TIME
FOR MR. MATHIS ON BA #189 IS NOW 3:45 PM.
BA #217 FOR PARTY OF 7 IS THE SAME AS PREVIOUSLY
ADVISED; 3:15 PM - DULLES

2. PERFORMANCE } TOLD TRACY FOR REHEARSAL

PROGRAM WILL BE;
CHANCES ARE
MISTY
WELCOME HOME/TWELFTH OF NEVER
99 MILES (FROM L.A.)
MAY THE GOOD LORD BLESS AND KEEP YOU

JOHN MATHIS
PROGRAM

YOU SHOULD HAVE RECEIVED BIO INFORMATION UNDER

Sobre este árbol escribo:

"*Crescentia cajeate*"
 "*Crescentia trifolia*"
 "Xicalli" en nahuatl
 jícaro cabane o
 de las casacas maces;
 fascículos bellas
 hojas de un diseño sacrificial,
 memorial de mártires,
 "árbol de las calaveras."

Esta es la planta
 que dignifica a tierra de los llanos.
 Su fruto es el vaso del indio
 Su fruto es el gualal o la jícara

— la copa de sus bebidas —

que el campesino adorna con pájaros incisos

— porque bebemos el canto —

Su fruto suena en nuestras fiestas en las maracas y los sonajos

— porque bebemos la música —

Ya desde antiguo en el dialecto maya de los Ch'oles

la palabra "Rach" significaba indistintamente

—canta entre los rios— jícara o cabeza

— porque bebemos pensamiento —

Por los señores de las Tinieblas

los que censuran:

dijeron: "Que nadie se acerque a este árbol,"

"Que nadie se atreva a ingerir de esta fruta

Y una muchacha de nombre Iguañe supo la historia.

Entonces ella, brava valor y dije:

— ¿por qué no voy a ingerir el fruto de este árbol?

Y saltó sobre la prohibición de los opresores

Y se acercó al árbol.

Se acercó para que el mundo nos congregara en su imagen:

porque la mujer es la libertad que inicia

el mundo, la vida madura sin tabas.

On this tree, I write:

Crescentia cajeate
Crescentia trifolia
 Xicalli in the Nahuatl tongue
 the calabash tree
 with leaves like crosses
 fasciculate, beautiful
 leaves with a sacrificial design,
 a memorial to martyrs,
 "the tree of skulls."

This is the plant
 that gives dignity to the plains
 Its fruit is the Indians' cup

The campesinos call its fruit *el gualal* or *la jícara*

the cup of a poor man's drink

and carve birds on it for decoration

because we drink it

The fruit rattles in our fiestas as maracas and sonajos

because we sound the drums

Since ancient times, in the dialect of the Ch'oles

the word *Rach* meant both

calabash and "head" (just as it does for us)

because we drink thought

But the lords of Darkness

the censors

said, "Let no one approach this tree

Let no one dare pick this fruit

And a girl whose name was Iguañe knew that history

The matter, bravely asked,

"Why can't I know this?"

And she jumped over the oppressors' words of warning

and approached the tree.

She approached the tree so that the world

could bring us together in its image

because the woman is the freedom that awakes a man

and the new is the mind that I will

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—¡Ah! —exclamó ella— ¿He de morir o de vivir si como uno de estos frutos?

Entonces habló el fruto, habló la cabeza que estaba entre las ramas:

—¿Qué es lo que quieres?

¿No sabes que estos frutos son las cabezas de los sacrificados?

¿Por ventura los deseas?

Y la doncella contestó: —"Sí los deseo!"

—"Extiende entonces hacia mí tu mano!" —dijo la cabeza—

Y extendió la doncella su mano

Y escupió la calavera sobre su palma

y desapareció al instante la saliva y habló el árbol:

—"En mi saliva te he dado mi descendencia.

Porque la palabra es sangre

y la sangre es otra vez palabra

Y así comenzó nuestra primera civilización.

—Un árbol es su testimonio—

Así comienza, así germina cada vez la aurora

como Escala, la doncella

como Escala, el fruto del árbol

como Escala, el árbol que

los gemelos inventores del Maíz:

el pan de América, el grano

con que se amasa la comunión de los oprimidos.

"Ah!" she exclaimed. "Will I live or die if I pick this fruit?"

Then the fruit spoke, one of the heads among the branches spoke:

"What do you want?"

Don't you know that these are the heads of the sacrificed?

Could it be that you want them?"

And the maiden replied, "Yes, I want them!"

"Then you must reach out your right hand!" said the head

And the maiden reached out her hand.

And the skull spit on her palm.

The saliva disappeared at once and the tree spoke:

"In my saliva, I have given you my ancestry.

Because the word is blood

and blood is once again the word."

And this is how our first civilization began.

—A tree bore witness—

This is how the dawn begins and germinates each time

like Blood Girl, the maiden who beget

Humanity, the fruit

from the head's courage

They were the twins who invented Corn—

the bread of America, the grain

that becomes the communion of the oppressed.

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join the Socialist International in the future. So, they are going to have to do well in this test, because if they choose to intensify the violence, this would be seen by qualified observers who would report it to European committees of solidarity and to the Socialist International.

Ramirez: Godoy Creates 'National Crisis'

PA27809257990 Managua Sistema Nacional de Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 29 Sep 90

[From the independent newscast "Extravision"]

[Statement by former Vice President Sergio Ramirez in Managua on 27 September—recorded]

[Text] I have a report from United Press International which says that tomorrow the vice president of the Republic is preparing to enter by force, according to his own statement, the presidential palace to take charge of the presidency, which is being denied to him. I consider this a national crisis. Perhaps tomorrow...in a violent way...I do not know how they [not further identified] will, or if they [not further identified] will, let the vice president enter the presidential palace. We must prepare for a situation like that. I have in my hand a press agency report with his statements. This is a crisis in the country.

Chamorro's Governing Authority Defended

PA2809053890 Managua Sistema Nacional de Television Network in Spanish 0400 GMT 28 Sep 90

[From the independent newscast "Extravision"]

[Text] The National Opposition Union Political Council is meeting tonight to discuss the decision of Vice President Virgilio Godoy, who will try to assume command of the country tomorrow in President Chamorro's absence. Engineer Alfredo Cesar, who is close to the president, said that this decision can be revoked by the president from New York.

[Begin Cesar recording] My position is that President Chamorro can be the president from wherever she is. There is no law which says otherwise. There is, however, a constitutional mandate that can be interpreted in different ways. Legally, I believe, therefore, that as long as she does not specifically appoint anyone to act in her absence, she is president of the Republic. In my opinion, she could annul any action that is carried out in her name. [end recording]

Chamorro Addresses UN General Assembly

PA2709235290 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 1454 GMT 27 Sep 90

[Speech by President Violeta Chamorro at the United Nations General Assembly in New York—live]

[Text] UN General Assembly president, friends heading the various delegations, my dear UN Secretary General

Mr. Perez de Cuellar, and honorable delegation members: I recall that the United Nations was formed 45 years ago to replace weapons with farming tools. We Nicaraguans are making the United Nations dream become a reality. The Nicaraguan people voted for peace on 25 February, with the support of the United Nations.

This date marks a splendid moment in our history. After half a century of oppression, the Nicaraguan people refused to be prisoners of killings and disappearances. The release of thousands of Nicaraguans at the electoral precincts changed. It became a vigorous cry that rejected violence and supported civic and peaceful ways to solve social conflicts and political differences. Nicaraguans voted for the current government, which I am honored to preside over. In this way, Nicaragua joined all the other countries that have chosen freedom.

The United Nations guaranteed our elections—the only truly free elections held in Nicaragua in its 169 years as a republic. I, like many other Nicaraguans of my generation, had the opportunity to vote freely for the first time. In the name of all Nicaraguans, I sincerely thank this world forum, all the other international organizations, and the nations that supported our desire to attain freedom. You have made it possible for Nicaragua to begin a new era after 25 February.

In only five months we have attained peace. We have successfully managed to demobilize and disarm 21,000 Nicaraguan resistance members. In less than five months we have substantially reduced the Nicaraguan Armed Forces. The Army that previously had 96,000 men now has 34,000 members. We have also managed to remove weapons that were previously in the hands of civilians. More than 18,000 rifles that were held by political sectors have been buried under cement.

We are also promoting negotiations for the limitation and reduction of weapons and soldiers. On this matter, Nicaragua has set the example by destroying weapons, which I have delivered to the UN General Assembly president today. We view the disarmament agreements reached by the United States and the USSR as a constructive humanitarian step.

But there is something else, Mr. President. Today I would like to proclaim democracy as a heritage of humanity. The possibility, however, of losing the democracy that has cost Nicaragua so many sacrifices must be viewed with deep concern. We must start a process that will effectively bring peace and democratic stability to all of Central America. If we do not consolidate peace and if we lose democracy, Mr. President, we would be erasing one of America's achievements. From this forum, therefore, I call all world democracies to make a commitment to Nicaraguan democracy. Nicaragua had never enjoyed the freedom and respect for human rights that it has experienced in the five months that this new government has been in power.

In Nicaragua, the Nicaraguan people are no longer afraid of living in their fatherland; in Nicaragua, people are no

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longer afraid of working; in Nicaragua, people are no longer afraid of criticizing the government; and in Nicaragua, people are no longer afraid of producing.

Small peasants, industrialists, and merchants may freely sell and buy their goods in the marketplace. Parents are no longer afraid for their children. In Nicaragua, people are no longer afraid to study, and people are no longer afraid to think differently. There is no fear about the future. In Nicaragua people are not afraid of peace. Quoting the words of His Holiness Pope John Paul II, promoting development is the new meaning of peace today. On behalf of all Nicaraguans, I can announce to this world forum today that the Nicaraguan people have faith in God, in freedom, in democracy, in our fatherland, in ourselves, and in all sister nations that have given us their support and understanding.

There is something even more important, Mr. president. My fatherland, Nicaragua—besides following the trends of the democratic changes in the world—is the new fruit of a regional movement, which the United Nations promoted with creativity and innovation. I have the honor of representing my country in a special year in modern history. Nicaragua is firmly determined to remain free of hegemonic interests. Nicaragua, as a member of the Nonaligned Movement, will assume the challenge of overcoming the ideological barriers that have separated us.

Nicaragua condemns the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and supports the UN Security Council's resolutions. We also welcome the release of Nelson Mandela and support the end of racism and apartheid. The reunification of the German peoples is significant for my government, and it constitutes a vivid example of reconciliation. My dream is a unified Central America; a demilitarized Central America; a free Central America; a Central America in permanent dialogue; and a Central America making progress.

We hope the world shares and continue to support the efforts for a democratic and demilitarized Central America free from all kinds of military presence. We hope to proclaim this part of the world as a zone of peace and cooperation some day. It is time to say enough of violence and arms buildup. It is time to work for the supremacy of civilian society over weapons. No Central American must bow his head or humiliate his dignity before the strength or coercion of weapons or dictatorships.

We have begun the great revolution of nonviolence; the civic and democratic revolution of votes; and the revolution of respect for man and his dignity, his freedom, and his rights. We believe the understanding among nations is a means of achieving international reconciliation. This revolution, which is uniting Central America even more, is making progress toward a political integration through the creation of the Central American Parliament.

We aspire to the creation of a Central American economic community. We have agreed on a joint strategy that will allow our economies to participate competitively and establish a significant economic action plan for the region. We cannot reduce ourselves to our regional sphere. An Iberoamerica was the goal of Bolívar, and it is the name of our greater community. Nothing great has been accomplished in our America if our America is not united. Our great revolutions were made with the awareness of that unity, which is reborn again today with the conquest of democracy. Only in that community of regions will we have the power to solve the common and grave problems, such as the foreign debt, and have our economy participate on the international market.

We are small and poor; Mr. president, but our ideals give us stature. The national reconciliation that we seek in Nicaragua and the international reconciliation in the world has no other objective than to strengthen the state of law. The smaller and weaker a country is, like ours, the more it knows and feels the human value of the law. In this sense, and on behalf of Nicaragua, I proclaim our firm decision to support the decade of international law.

Mr. President, Messrs. Delegates, allow me to return to the urgent present day demands and then turn to the encouraging prospects for the future. When honoring our sex, it has been said that a woman is the guardian angel of the present. This means that a woman knows that the future is based on the present. Undoubtedly, we Nicaraguans have opened paths of peace and democracy.

Nicaragua faces a situation today that is similar to what many countries confronted at the end of World War II. We understand that independence is fundamental and it is the starting point for reactivating our economy through a national and socioeconomic agreement. We Nicaraguans—workers, businessmen, and the government—initiated that process on 20 September. This is a new style of government in Nicaragua. We recognize and assume the responsibility that is needed to carry out adjustments and changes that will make our economy viable. This effort must be complemented, however, with international cooperation, including the granting of preferential treatment.

We understand international cooperation not as a substitute for our own efforts, but as a necessary element to achieve a sustained development, based on our effective integration into international trade. To support our democracy is to extend the borders of liberty and justice worldwide. Those who have understood it this way, realize that the democratization of Nicaragua and its economic recovery are a necessary and significant factor in consolidating peace in the region. On this point, I want to emphasize that supporting the integration of thousands of Nicaraguan refugees, the displaced, the demobilized Nicaraguan resistance, and soldiers affected by the Army reduction represents a crucial task for the future of peace and democracy in my country.

FBIS-LAT-90-189
18 September 1990

CENTRAL AMERICA

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Finally, on the large foreign debt burden shouldered by our countries, diverse initiatives and strategies have signified, in some cases, a real advancement. We view with optimism President Bush's Initiative for the Americas, which is based on proposals on trade, debt, and investments. It should be carefully reviewed by our countries. Our efforts, however, are not enough. It is necessary for the international community to make a greater contribution so that we can better handle the heavy foreign debt burden.

If the international community makes a greater contribution, our countries can then channel their financial resources toward the urgent, economic and social needs that they face. I think that the renegotiation of the debt, under beneficial terms for the Central American countries, should be viewed as a moral issue. It should not be viewed from the prism of economic interests, but as a necessary condition so that many countries can resolve the painful crisis of development, which affects us all. Only if this happens will we be able to create and bequeath a fairer and more stable world to the men and women of tomorrow, who are the children of today, our children, our grandchildren, and other children like them, for whom we must struggle, and as my husband Pedro Joaquin Chamorro used to say, even die for. In that sense, we express our determined support of the world summit for children.

Mr. President, messrs. delegates, Nicaragua is like a rock placed by geography and history in the middle of the American world. The political and social winds and all the universal currents lash out against that rock. All of our heroes have struggled against empires and against invading forces. The destiny of our nationality overflows our borders. That is why, if there is a country that has solidarity, deep solidarity with this organization, it is my fatherland. Do not leave us alone. Thank you very much. [applause]

Panama

Oil Negotiations With Venezuela, Mexico Reported
PA2709180790 Panama City Radio KW Continente
in Spanish 1200 GMT 26 Sep 90

[Report on news conference by acting Commerce and Industries Minister Roberto Alfaro with unidentified reporter; place and date not given—italicized passages are recorded]

[Text] Acting Commerce and Industries Minister Roberto Alfaro has reported that Panama is currently negotiating with the Venezuelan Government to find a solution to the problem of Panama's oil supply and to fix the price per barrel of crude oil. Roberto Alfaro discussed the meeting between the Commerce and Industries Minister Juan Chevalier and the Venezuelan Government.

[Alfaro] Minister Chevalier met today with Venezuelan Energy and Mines Minister Celestino Armas. They discussed the possibility of reaching some agreements on the purchase of oil at a special price and in quantities that will satisfy the needs of the nation. Minister Chevalier seemed rather optimistic during the telephone conversation we had today. He has a second round of talks tomorrow with Minister Armas, however, and we think that a formal agreement with Venezuela will be reached during this round, the results of which the minister will discuss on the morning of 27 September. For this we will invite the press to be at the airport so that we can give you that information.

Minister Roberto Alfaro discussed the specific negotiations that Juan Chevalier is proposing in Venezuela:

[Alfaro] We cannot ask Venezuela for the 24,000 barrels, of course, but we are asking if to guarantee us at least 12,000 barrels, which is half or 50 percent of that. On the other hand, we are, of course, trying to get a fixed price. We hope it will be no higher than \$21, but any limit on or below \$28—which is what we have been paying for the latest shipments—would be very beneficial for Panama and would prevent us from having to increase any costs for the consumer up until 31 December 90.

Lastly, the minister talked about the relations between Mexico and Panama. He referred to a meeting with the Mexican oil minister.

[Alfaro] We have been buying from Mexico, but Mexico has not given us any purchasing guarantees yet; perhaps in November it will. We have a trip planned for Minister Chevalier within one or two weeks perhaps. He will meet with the Mexican energy minister to see if we can reach an agreement with Mexico that is similar to the one we reached with Venezuela.

[Reporter] Political circles have said that the problem of the price of oil in Panama has been politicized. What can you tell us?

[Alfaro] I do not know in what sense it has been politicized. We are working in a very technical manner and very much in line with the decisions made by the Cabinet and the president of the Republic. I do not think there has been anything political about that.

Nicaraguan National Anthem

Hail to thee, Nicaragua. In your land
the voice of the cannon no longer roars,
nor does the blood of our brothers stain
your glorious bicolored banner.

Shine bright the peace under your sky,
nothing will tarnish your immortal glory;
that work is your noble distinction
and honor your triumphant lesson.

the need for education

peacemaker in LA, changing tides, overcoming guerrilla warfare to become great leader

stress we support her, time to stand behind country, prove democracy works -- is fair way to run, etc.

Inaugural Address:

- "a new sun of justice and freedom"
- Republic rose again -- result of desire for Democracy, dream
- the Blue and White Nicaragua where "the cannons will never, never roar again
- respect
- we can only be free if we are brothers
- boat -- Santa Libertad
- triumphant return of peace
- to live together
- 1) consolidate democratic liberties; 2) promote economic production; 3) reduce social inequality; 4) spirit of reconciliation (instill)
- human dignity
- ending militarism
- definitive, firm, and lasting peace
- community spirit
- reconciliation: most important task for divided and impoverished Nicaragua
- courageous; idealistic, open-minded people

(Ruben Dario -- "Ode to Theodore Roosevelt," classic of cultural nationalism; best Sp-Am modernist poet

TOAST:

- her place in history; peacemaker and great liberator
- Democracy in Latin America
- symbol of democracy and peace; free elections;
- boat, ship of state
- reconciliation
- human dignity
- education and moral values in a Nicaragua where liberty and human rights
- trust her people
- our deep regard for you and your efforts to carry on the tradition of your husband

TWO THEMES: free and fair elections; movement of freedom and democracy throughout world (hemisphere)

--problem of securing property rights; break from intellectual imperialism toward capitalism
--population demoralized by private property confiscated (now do bare minimum of work, wait for handouts or hand-me-downs)
--no one will work hard unless have confidence in secure property rights
--government's privatization efforts
--Latin America's newest democracy

--almost a year to the day when took power (April 25) --

--people cast their ballots for peace and freedom
--a woman of great moral courage, an inspiration to the people of her nation
--close a painful chapter in its history and begin a new story, a new life in democracy
--in N., the real hard work is just beginning. For the past decade, that nation has experienced terrible starvation and deprivation. And its energies were consumed, just eaten up, in that bitter civil war; its economy slowly strangled by a system of central control and mismanagement. Those days really have ended with the return of democracy.
--there's a new sense of confidence in N. -- people ready to roll up their sleeves and ready to turn things around, to build the institutions of free government and free enterprise and then create a climate for growth, to plant the seeds of peace and prosperity.

--free and fair election
--stated goals of national reconciliation and economic reconstruction
--her reforms supported

--Dona Violeta (Lady Violet)
--first time someone elected by secret ballot in history;
country's first truly wide-open, secret balloting in 170 years;
--chosen for "a mission to help these people"
--the nation's peacemaker
--(when we toast you, we toast ...)
--on a quest to restore moral values -- especially through schools -- how similar are our goals
--blue-and-white national banners -- what stand for?

--"my job is unification, reconciliation"
--country finally at peace -- struggling now to learn to live in it

--politics: the art and science of searching out the common good (reword and paraphrase)

--met with Bush November 1989, D.C., as candidate (and apparently also in NYC in fall of 1990)

--college in Texas and Virginia;
--Pedro assassinated 13 years ago

--campaign based on reconciliation, forgiveness; and leave good inheritance for the young people and the future

--total freedom of expression
--six more years

--"explosion of liberty" -- in her words: "a fly could not fly without asking permission from the dictator."

--1957 escape to Costa Rica in rowboat
--likes prayer of St. Francis -- has in her office
--Pedro: crusading newspaper publisher;
--"As a mother, I feel with great intensity the obligation to teach while governing, and to govern while forming peaceful hearts."

--1502, Columbus first sighted shore

--Ruben Dario, poet

--ended a war that claimed 50,000 lives -- now reinventing the nation with ideas

--(TOAST: 456 words)

--National Reconciliation -- campaign theme
--Pablo

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Europe out of that surplus pile to Egypt. And if you keep on selling them on credit, the arms that we have, you're going to keep on creating wars in the Third World and other nations.

The President. One of the—

Q. Mr. President, would you do this at the microphone, please?

Q. Thank you.

The President. This is a departure. One of the things that is part of the negotiations on CFE is destruction of weapons. And we're talking about significant numbers. And I had a meeting yesterday with Jim Woolsey, our CFE negotiator, and he was spelling out for me just the mechanical difficulties of doing this.

But nevertheless, we are determined that that will be the approach that is taken with these massive numbers of weapons. We still have security needs that we feel are enhanced by transfer of military equipment, sales of military equipment to friendly countries. So, the policy will remain as it is, but we will go forward with the destruction where that is a part of the policy.

Thank you all very much.

Note: The President's 40th news conference began at 9:18 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

**Letter to the Speaker of the House
and the President of the Senate
Transmitting the Executive Order
Terminating the National Emergency
With Respect to Nicaragua**

March 13, 1990

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Enclosed is a copy of an Executive order that I signed today terminating the national emergency with respect to Nicaragua.

Sincerely,

George Bush

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate. The President referred to Executive Order 12707, which appears on page 402.

**White House Fact Sheet on Economic
Assistance for Nicaragua**

March 13, 1990

The President has proposed the following economic assistance program for Nicaragua:

Immediate Actions

The President has determined that the February 25, 1990, democratic election in Nicaragua has ended the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States previously posed by the actions and policies of the Sandinista government. Accordingly, the President has terminated the national emergency with respect to Nicaragua and lifted all economic sanctions, including the trade embargo.

Twenty-one million dollars of existing funds will be used to provide emergency assistance, including food through PL 480, to support the democratic transition and aid in the repatriation and reintegration of the resistance and refugees.

We have begun to take steps necessary to restore Nicaragua's sugar quota and to assist the Government of Nicaragua to become eligible for preferential treatment under the Generalized System of Preferences and the Caribbean Basin Initiative, as well as the facilities offered by the Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

Request to Congress for FY 90

The President has requested that Congress approve a FY 90 supplemental appropriation of \$300 million for economic assistance to Nicaragua. The objective of these funds are to support the Chamorro government in its efforts to democratize, demobilize, and develop, and for the private sector to restore the productive capacity of Nicaragua's economy. The funds will be used to:

- Restore productivity by providing critical agricultural supplies (seeds, fertilizer, equipment), petroleum, and health inputs (approximately \$60 million);
- Fund emergency employment programs (approximately \$10 million);
- Provide for the repatriation and resettlement of the resistance and refugees (approximately \$45 million);

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- Provide technical assistance in restructuring the economy (approximately \$1 million);
- Help clear arrears of \$234 million to the international financial institutions (approximately \$50 million). These funds would be disbursed as part of multilateral efforts to clear the arrears and would be linked to a sound economic policy framework supported by the IMF [International Monetary Fund];
- Provide balance of payments support to restructure the economy (approximately \$75 million); and
- Help fund development projects (approximately \$60 million). Activities would include support for democratic institutions, repair and maintenance of basic infrastructure, education, and health.

Request to Congress for FY 91

The President intends to submit to Congress a separate request for approximately \$200 million in economic assistance to Nicaragua in FY 91. Details of this assistance will be announced later.

Source of Funds

The FY 90 supplemental request to Nicaragua will be offset from the Department of Defense budget. The President is requesting Congress approve the FY 90 funds for Nicaragua, along with his January 25 request of \$570 million for Panama and refugees, by April 5, 1990.

Remarks Following Discussions With President Joaquim Alberto Chissano of Mozambique

March 13, 1990

President Bush. Mr. President, it was a great pleasure to meet with you here at the White House, sir, as our very special guest. More than 2,000 years ago a prophet once said, "There are four things that can never be recaptured: the spoken word, the sped arrow, time past, and the neglected opportunity." This afternoon, President Chissano and our delegation had a very productive

meeting and a very engaging working lunch. We used those opportunities to discuss important bilateral matters, including America's strong endorsement of the Government of Mozambique's political and economic reforms. We spoke openly and frankly, and I told President Chissano that he has our strong support as he undergoes these reforms.

These reforms have enhanced the ties which link Mozambique and the United States, strengthening rights central to America: the right to vote and to own property, the right to worship as we please and to be free of violence. These reforms have buoyed the Mozambique peace process, which we amply discussed today. They have also meant more liberalization and privatization, and led Mozambique to accept the economic rehabilitation program supported by the International Monetary Fund, the IMF. For that, Mr. President, I salute you. Yet we look forward to even further reforms. So, we talked today of common concerns, like refugee issues and Mozambique's humanitarian concerns—the crisis there in humanitarian concerns, I might add.

We reviewed ongoing developments in the southern region of Africa and explored new ways to propel the trend toward political solutions and regional cooperation. In all of this, we pledge our assistance to help meet Mozambique's humanitarian and development needs, for we've seen your government take significant steps to heal divisions which threaten your nation. And we urge all parties to talk at the earliest opportunity so as to avoid further suffering.

Like many of your counterparts, President Chissano, your government has in recent years begun to open up the economy to market forces and to open up the political process, allowing a freer flow of ideas. As we've learned around the world, democracy and development are directly related; each encourages the other. So, we commend you for taking steps toward democracy parallel with those steps toward economic reform.

Mr. President, ours is the chance to act not merely for Mozambique or any single country but rather all of Africa, helping democracy enrich a continent and your continent enrich the world. Now, there's an an-

27TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Times

February 27, 1990, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part F; COMMENTARY; EDITORIAL; Pg. F2

LENGTH: 802 words

HEADLINE: Nicaraguan renaissance?

BODY:

"If I voted for the Front [Sandinistas], I'd be voting for things to be more expensive every day. I'd be voting to send my kids to military service." In two simple sentences, Ramon Mendoza, truck driver from Managua, expressed the sentiment of at least 55 percent of the Nicaraguan voters who went the polls on Sunday. Given the chance, they gave Comandante Daniel Ortega "la bota." Violetta Chamorro, social democrat, is now the president of Nicaragua.

The question for Mrs. Chamorro, and in turn for the U.S. policymakers who supported her election effort, is how they will shape the future of Nicaragua not only to secure the best interests of the Nicaraguan people, but also the best interests of the United States in Central America. Notwithstanding shrill propaganda to the contrary, the two are not mutually exclusive, but inextricably woven together. Both objectives are within reach, provided a few issues are resolved as quickly as possible.

Though Comandante Ortega promises to respect the election results, saying that, "Thousands and thousands of Nicaraguans gave their vote to the political force which I consider should start governing Nicaragua as from 25 April 1990," he must breathe life into that pledge by relinquishing control of the military, secret police and other security forces with which he imposed "Sandinismo." Afterward, he and his comrades should have the choice of participating in the country's political process legally and peacefully or leaving the country forever.

Mrs. Chamorro, backed by advice from American military authorities, must civilianize the Nicaraguan armed forces, then scale them back to a size consistent with the country's security needs. She can start by appointing a non-partisan defense minister who could immediately dismantle, for instance, the 12 surface-to-air missile sites in Punta Huete that U.S. intelligence authorities discovered within the last two months. To diminish the ambition of Sandino revanchists in her army, Mrs. Chamorro should ask veteran soldiers from the Nicaraguan Resistance to enlist in the new Nicaraguan army. Lastly, she must toss out of Managua the FMLN communist guerrillas waging war against neighboring El Salvador. Nicaragua's role as a godfather of subversion in Central America must end.

Mrs. Chamorro also faces the unenviable task of rebuilding the Nicaraguan economy, which has been wracked by inflation running at an unbelievable 36,000 percent, burdened by a \$6.9 billion debt load and smashed by war damages totalling some \$15 billion. She must dismantle the huge Sandinista bureaucracy and de-nationalize the country's industry, which would boost production of its main exports: coffee, cotton, meat, sugar and shellfish. She must adopt free-market economic principles, which means creating real money, inviolable

(c) 1990 The Washington Times, February 27, 1990

property rights and courts that enforce just laws.

For its part, the United States certainly should provide some kind of assistance, although it must not be used to subsidize the time-honored Central American traditions of corrupt officialdom and land reform, a euphemism for taking one person's property and giving it to someone else. Furthermore, U.S. assistance must not be used as an excuse to delay the economic reforms that will draw international investors to the country. The more private business Nicaragua attracts, the less money U.S. taxpayers must contribute to its economy. Countries that haven't learned this lesson have been on the dole for 30 years, and Nicaragua should not become one of them. U.S. policy-makers should impose a limit on the amount of aid they contemplate giving Nicaragua, a country imbued with core Western values, that ought to allow it to become a regional economic power and a liberal democracy without an unending flow of largesse.

It took a decade of war, an internal struggle against Sandinista apologists on Capitol Hill, five counterfeit peace agreements and 1,000 election observers to force Daniel Ortega to put his rule up for a vote. He lost. The United States now has an opportunity to cinch our strategic interests on the Central American isthmus vis-a-vis the Panama Canal and the guerillas subverting El Salvador. That requires a commitment to enforce the results of this election. Meanwhile, Fidel Castro ought to be able to read the handwriting that has appeared on the Central American equivalent of the Berlin Wall, and if he can't, his Soviet subsidizers should explain it to him. They can heed the message written there this weekend by the Nicaraguan people, or they can wait until the wall falls on top of them.

In any event, Mrs. Chamorro can justifiably assert that her fellow citizens have "shown that they want to live in democracy, in peace and in freedom." Her people have spoken.

4TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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May 22, 1990, Tuesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Business News

LENGTH: 393 words

HEADLINE: President Says U.S. Should Encourage Free Markets

BYLINE: By CHRISTOPHER CONNELL, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Bush-Latin America

BODY:

President Bush said Tuesday the United States "must do all we can" to encourage free market development across Latin America to consolidate democratic gains in the region.

Calling Cuba the hemisphere's lone holdout, Bush said, "We are closer than ever before to the day when all the people of the Americas, North and South, will live in freedom."

The events of the past year - including the demise of dictatorships in Panama, Nicaragua, Chile and Paraguay - have "strengthened our desire to forge a new partnership with the growing forces of freedom in Latin America," he said.

Bush, addressing a U.S. business group interested in promoting Latin trade, said, "We in the U.S. must do all we can to ensure the future of free markets in the Americas, because our nation has a stake in the economic health of this hemisphere."

Two-way trade between the United States and Latin America last year topped \$100 billion for the first time, he said.

"Our challenge is to consolidate democracy and accelerate development," Bush told the Council of the Americas.

On this anniversary of Cuban independence from Spain, Bush took a slap at Fidel Castro's "isolated" island, which he called "out of step with the democratic tide."

"Let me say with certainty that even in Cuba, the dream of democracy can only be pushed back a little, only deferred. It will never be destroyed," Bush said.

Many Latin nations have held free elections in the past year, including Nicaragua, where Sandinista President Daniel Ortega lost to opposition leader Violetta Chamorro, and Chile, where the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet ended after 17 years.

The Associated Press, May 22, 1990

"All across the Americas, today more people live under freely elected governments than ever before," said Bush.

"The U.S. is engaged as never before in the future of this hemisphere," he said.

Bush also made a pitch for his \$720 million emergency aid package for Panama and Nicaragua.

"Finally, it appears the Congress may act this week on this vital measure," said Bush, who first sought the money in March. "Let me say to the Congress: The fate of freedom rests in your hands. Do the work of democracy and pass this emergency aid package now."

The Council of the Americas, founded by banker David Rockefeller in 1965, consists of nearly 200 U.S. companies with interests in Latin America and the Caribbean.