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Visit of Violeta Chamorro 4/17/91 [OA 6897] [3]

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3RD STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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European Report

February 16, 1991, Saturday

SECTION: V. EXTERNAL RELATIONS; No. 1653; Pg. 9

LENGTH: 296 words

HEADLINE: EEC/NICARAGUA: VIOLETTA CHAMORRO TRAVELS TO BRUSSELS FOR THE
PREPARATION OF SAN JOSE VII

BODY:

The President of the Republic of Nicaragua, Violetta Chamorro, held talks in Brussels with Commission President Jacques Delors and Commissioner for relations with Latin America, Abel Matutes, on February 15. Mrs Chamorro travelled to Brussels to speak with EEC leaders in preparation for the San Jose VII ministerial meeting that will be held in Managua, Nicaragua, on March 18 and 19.

The announcement several months ago of a support plan for the Andean countries, consisting of the elimination of customs duties on a number of farm products, caused a ruckus in other Latin American countries. Central America, particularly Nicaragua, is in dire straits and would greatly benefit from similar support from the EEC. Mrs Chamorro wanted to meet EEC officials in order to ensure support for this item that, she hopes, will be dealt with at the Managua meeting next month.

Nicaragua is the main beneficiary of EEC aid to the region and got nearly 40% of the 117 million Ecus allocated in 1990 to various economic, commercial, emergency and development aid programmes in Central America. The San Jose IV ministerial meeting decided to set in motion a plan to reactivate intra-regional trade. An initial instalment of 40 million Ecus was committed for the establishment of a clearing house between Central American banks.

In addition, Mrs Chamorro was informed that a 32 million Ecus budget line had just been set aside for the promotion of exports from "structurally deficient" countries in the region - Nicaragua and Honduras. Half of the money will go to Nicaragua to fund exports to the EEC. Moreover, a project to encourage Nicaraguans with higher education diplomas to return to Nicaragua will receive 5 million Ecus. (February 15, 1991 - European Report) (JPD)

1ST STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Times

February 19, 1991, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; WAR IN THE GULF; DESERT DIARY; Pg. A9

LENGTH: 164 words

HEADLINE: CBS crew discussed by Aziz, Gorbachev

BYLINE: FROM WIRE DISPATCHES AND STAFF REPORTS

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

The fate of four missing CBS journalists was raised at yesterday's meeting between President Mikhail S. Gorbachev and Iraq's foreign minister, who promised to take action on the matter, a Soviet official said.

Presidential spokesman Vitaly Ignatenko said, "For the first time we heard from [Tariq] Aziz that he is familiar with the issue, that he is knowledgeable. He has specified the detail that the group of missing [CBS] journalists contained two Latin American journalists, which is true, and one of them is a relative of Violetta Chamorro, president of Nicaragua. "

Mr. Ignatenko did not specify which of the four was related to Mrs. Chamorro.

Correspondent Bob Simon and his three-man crew disappeared four weeks ago near the Kuwaiti border. The first definitive report that they were alive came Friday. Missing with Mr. Simon are London Bureau Chief Peter Bluff, free-lance cameraman Roberto Alvarez and free-lance soundman Juan Caldera.

4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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February 25, 1991, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE A8

LENGTH: 800 words

HEADLINE: Two Murders In Managua;
It's time to end power-sharing in Nicaragua

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Jeane Kirkpatrick, Los Angeles Times Syndicate

BODY:

Two recent murders in Managua, Nicaragua, speak volumes about the politics and government of that struggling Central American republic, where, in spite of having lost the elections in February of 1990, the Sandinistas still control the army, police and courts under the leadership of Army Chief of Staff Gen. Humberto Ortega.

One of those murdered, Enrique Bermudez, was a well-known leader of the Nicaraguan resistance during the days of Sandinista rule. He was a smart, honest military man of humble origins who, with U.S. assistance, largely forged the contra volunteers into a disciplined peasant army that Fidel Castro described as "the determining factor in the [Sandinista] defeat."

Though disdained by some Americans for having served earlier in the army of Anastasio Somoza, Bermudez was widely respected and trusted by resistance fighters as a leader who cared about his country and his men and who would not sell out to the opposition.

This continuing popularity with former resistance fighters was underscored in the weeks before his murder when several groups asked him to represent them in their efforts to persuade the Nicaraguan government to fulfill promises of assistance made at the time the contras gave up their arms.

Bermudez knew that his life was in danger. Last Nov. 21 he wrote to Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo that he had been warned on pain of death to either leave the country or seek asylum in an embassy in Managua. He noted in a letter to the cardinal, "If something were to happen to me, I hold responsible the persons who in collaboration with the Sandinistas are depriving resistance fighters of rights promised to them when they turned in their weapons." Bermudez also informed Nicaraguan Human Rights Commission Chairman Lino Hernandez of these threats.

The week before last, Bermudez was quietly, expertly shot dead as he left Managua's downtown Intercontinental Hotel. In Managua and in Miami, thousands turned out for funeral services.

Word circulated that Bermudez was a victim of one of the irregular armed groups tolerated by Sandinista leaders. As a prominent Nicaraguan told me, the Sandinistas control Nicaragua through four instruments: the army, the police, the judges and the various paramilitary groups of armed civilians.

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Many Nicaraguans resent the continued strength of Sandinistas in the government of President Violetta Chamorro -- none more than the former resistance fighters who exchanged arms for promises from Chamorro's government. Promised farms, they have been given land without access roads or water. Promised security, they have been ambushed and on more than one occasion murdered. They have been the primary targets in Nicaragua's new wave of political violence.

But they are not the only victims. In a context where political violence is tolerated and rights are abused, anyone can become a victim.

In the other murder, a father wrote to the Permanent Commission on Human Rights about his 16-year-old son, Jean-Paul Genie, who was killed on Oct. 28, 1990, after he tried to pass a caravan of vehicles carrying soldiers. His car was riddled with bullets and "he was left alongside the road gasping for breath until he expired from shock and loss of blood," according to the father's letter.

Many eyewitnesses said the perpetrators were soldiers riding in Renegade jeeps of the kind used only by the bodyguards of the Ortega brothers, Humberto and former Nicaraguan president Daniel. One witness stated before civilian authorities of the police ministry that he recognized Gen. Humberto Ortega in a vehicle escorted by Renegade jeeps as it was entering the Managua road 1.5 kilometers from the site of the crime at about 8:42 that same evening.

The government has denied that a military convoy was in the area. No arrests have been made. Declarations of witnesses have disappeared. Others have been changed. The officer originally in charge of the investigation was himself murdered.

The father of Jean-Paul Genie has concluded that, "The criminal laws of Nicaragua, particularly the current military code, force me to think that, even if definite individuals were identified as allegedly guilty, the possibility of obtaining true justice would be remote."

There may be a stronger relation between these two murders than meets the eye. Both are part of a profound deterioration in public order which some Nicaraguans believe is now taking place.

Nicaraguans today have a president of undoubted integrity and personal commitment to democracy. But democracy requires the rule of law, and rule of law requires police and courts that are above politics, not part of it. Sandinista control of these institutions is contributing to disorder. Surely, it is time for Chamorro to reconsider this form of power-sharing.

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: NICARAGUA; MURDER; GUERILLA WARFARE AND INSURGENCY

NAMED-PERSONS: VIOLETTA CHAMORRO; HUMBERTO ORTEGA

14TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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GANNETT NEWS SERVICE

April 19, 1990, Thursday

LENGTH: 223 words

HEADLINE: MACK, MARTINEZ TO GO TO MANAGUA INAUGURAL

BYLINE: JUDI HASSON

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, D.C.

KEYWORD: FL-MACK

BODY:

Florida Sen. Connie Mack and Gov. Bob Martinez will join a delegation headed by Vice President Dan Quayle going to next week's inauguration of Nicaragua's new president, the White House said Thursday.

The 30-member delegation includes members of Congress and other officials who will attend the April 25 inauguration of Violetta Chamorro, who easily beat Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega in February's election.

Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R-Fla., and President Bush's son, Jeb, also will be in the delegation.

David Beckwith, Quayle's press secretary, said members of the delegation were selected because of their interest in the region. Martinez is the only governor invited to join the group.

Beckwith said the upcoming Florida's governor's race had nothing to do with including Martinez in the delegation. Martinez, a Republican, is seeking a second term.

'Florida is the state most affected by events in the region,' Beckwith said.

In a statement, Mack said: 'Chamorro's inauguration will send a strong message throughout the world that the people's right to freedom cannot be denied.'

He added: 'As in Eastern Europe, the freedom movement is taking hold in Latin America. It's only a matter of time before the winds of freedom engulf Fidel Castro.'

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(Judi Hasson writes for Gannett News Service in Washington.)

SUBJECT: FOREIGN COUNTRY; EXECUTIVE; SENATE; TRAVEL

11TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1990 The Times Mirror Company;
Los Angeles Times

April 23, 1990, Monday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 5; Column 6; National Desk

LENGTH: 483 words

HEADLINE: WASHINGTON INSIGHT

BYLINE: From the Times Washington Bureau

BODY:

NEW ENVIRONMENT: When President Bush chose him to head the Environmental Protection Agency, William K. Reilly was considered a nonpartisan, patrician defender of the earth and all its creatures. Conservatives viewed him suspiciously.

No more. Now Reilly is giving sharply partisan stump speeches, winning cheers from audiences, such as the recent Southern Republican Leadership Conference in Raleigh, N.C.

Democratic criticisms, Reilly thundered, are "the actions of a party that doesn't expect to be back in power anytime soon." Bush, he said, is "taking back the issue of the environment and he's driving some Democrats crazy."

QUORUM CALL: Congress can't seem to act on the Administration's \$300-million aid request to help Nicaragua's spring planting. But it's sending the next best thing -- lots of congressmen.

When Violetta Chamorro is inaugurated Tuesday as Nicaragua's new President, at least 25 members of Congress, a half-dozen sub-Cabinet members and dozens of other officials will fly down from Washington, all led by Vice President Dan Quayle. "The limiting factor turned out to be how many people we could fit on Quayle's plane," one official said.

"There is a certain irony" in the failure to pass the aid, a State Department official noted. "Of course, we are confident that Congress will do the right thing . . . eventually, anyway."

BETTER READ THAN RED? Rita Klimova, ambassador of the newly democratic Czechoslovakian government, sends out letters on old embassy letterhead emblazoned: "The Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic" -- with the word "Socialist" crossed out by hand.

YEN TO TRAVEL: President Bush's incessant travels are causing some changes in the White House press corps. With Bush traveling about one day in three, newspapers with only one White House correspondent are having trouble keeping up. Moreover, as the newspaper industry struggles with sharp declines in advertising revenue, many have decided full-time coverage of the President is simply too expensive. Besides, many of Bush's trips simply do not produce any news.

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The net result: roughly a 30% decline in the number of reporters following Bush over the last year. But as American reporters drop off the presidential press plane, some are being replaced by correspondents for Japanese papers: At least three now cover Bush full time.

DELUGE: Unhappy with some details of a new Democratic spending blueprint during a House Budget Committee hearing, Rep. Jack Buechner (R-Mo.) sought to drive home his point by recalling the biblical story of Noah's Ark, in which all the animals went aboard Noah's vessel two-by-two, including a pair of skunks.

"There may be a couple of skunks in this ark," Buechner declared, "but our job is to get it to float. You guys got your way of launching the ark, and we got ours, but the important thing is that the ship of state remain afloat."

SUBJECT: BUSH, GEORGE; ENVIRONMENT; POLITICAL APPOINTMENTS; REILLY, WILLIAM K; SPEECHES; INAUGURATIONS; UNITED STATES -- GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS; UNITED STATES -- FOREIGN AID -- NICARAGUA; CZECHOSLOVAKIA -- GOVERNMENT; GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS; NEWS MEDIA; NEWSPAPERS

7TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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May 2, 1990, Wednesday

SECTION: SECTION I; American News; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 941 words

HEADLINE: Nicaragua rides the roller-coaster as President Chamorro holds vital talks with the Contra rebels

BYLINE: TIM COONE, MANAGUA

BODY:

'Central America's biggest roller-coaster' is about to arrive in Nicaragua according to an advert this week at Managua's amusement park.

It may still be small however in comparison to the bumpy ride facing the new government of President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro.

Mrs Chamorro is today scheduled to hold a crucial meeting with the head of the US-backed Contra rebels, Israel Galeano otherwise known as Commander 'Franklin.'

In the past week since Mrs Chamorro took office, he has been saying from his base in the mountains that he will not order his estimated 12,000 troops to disarm until the Sandinistas controlling the armed forces are dismissed, starting with General Humberto Ortega the former Defence Minister who has been temporarily designated as head of the armed forces by President Chamorro.

On Monday she said 'I understand that in the case of the army, the people and the political sectors that support me want a drastic and immediate change.'

She reaffirmed General Ortega as the army chief though 'to assure unity and discipline within the armed forces, while the demobilisation of the Resistance is carried out, while arms held by civilians are collected and the the military apparatus is substantially reduced. General Ortega will command the army until I decide to dispense with his services, when these tasks I have given him are complied with.'

Mrs Chamorro confronts resistance on this point not only from the Contras, her erstwhile allies, but also from within the ranks of the UNO alliance whose slate she headed in the March elections. She will have to hold tight to her beliefs.

Her own Vice-president Dr Virgilio Godoy leads the UNO dissidents. The division has become so deep that Dr Godoy is not even being given office space in the 'Casa Presidencial', the presidential administrative offices, and is still waiting to be assigned duties by Mrs Chamorro.

Dr Godoy said last week before departing for a visit to Panama (which raised some eyebrows locally), that the issue is not just General Ortega but concerns the entire armed forces high command.

(c) 1990 Financial Times, May 2, 1990

His hard-line position coincides with that of the Contras, and according to diplomatic sources is also being adopted in private by US diplomats. US economic aid will be vital for the survival of Mrs Chamorro's government.

Mr Jaime Bonilla, a close ally of Dr Godoy said on Monday 'The Government should negotiate with the Contras to reach an understanding.' He accused President Chamorro's key advisors Mr Alfredo Cesar and Mr Antonio Lacayo, of being 'traitors' and of having formed a pact with the Sandinistas.

He said this had produced 'a crisis within UNO which is not yet a split' although he admitted that at least two of the 14 parties in the UNO alliance had separated as a result of the conflict.

Negotiations with the Contras are meanwhile being ruled out in Mrs Chamorro's upcoming meeting with them. Dr Roberto Ferrey, her personal envoy in government dealings with the Contras, insisted this week that no negotiations were being considered. 'The agenda as I understand it is to discuss security guarantees to enable the demobilisation plan to be complied with entirely,' he said. Under an unconditional agreement signed by the rebel leaders shortly before Mrs Chamorro's investiture, they agreed to disarm their troops entirely by June 10th this year.

When asked if the Contras might not eventually be considering a military showdown, despite the agreement, Dr Ferrey replied 'For the moment I believe, and we have discussed this with the Resistance leaders, there is no possibility of them using military pressure to achieve (their) objectives.'

As the June 10th deadline approaches this may well change. UN officials charged with overseeing the demobilisation process say that no rebels have yet handed in their arms inside Nicaragua. Many still remain outside the so-called 'security zones.'

Dr Ferrey's own position is somewhat ambiguous. During a meeting with the Contras last week, he told them publicly that he sympathised with their position regarding the armed forces, thereby directly contradicting Mrs Chamorro whom he represents, and sending a signal to the rebels that they have support within Mrs Chamorro's government.

If she is forced to succumb to the pressure to dispense with General Ortega, and by extension with the high command of the armed forces before the Contra demobilisation plan is completed, she will most likely face a rebellion from the Sandinistas who control the trade union and student movements as well as the military.

As one Sandinista acquaintance said 'We would not then respect our side of the agreements.' Commitments to be a 'loyal opposition' would go by the board.

Apparently in anticipation of this, Dr Francisco Mayorga, the Central Bank president who is coming under a wave of criticism for his brusque 50 percent devaluation of the currency on the parallel market this week signalling 100 percent price rises and an explosion of wage demands from the largely Sandinista-dominated trade unions said 'What happens in the next eight to ten weeks will be the result of a debacle deliberately prepared to cause damage to the image of the new Government.'

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He said 'We do not want confrontation . . . we want to wipe the slate clean and look ahead. But in a climate of tension and attempts to sabotage the economic policy, it is working people who will lose out.'

At the amusement park, poor children beg for money for rides on the dodgems and the big wheel. Soaring prices have made such adventures a luxury. And noone yet knows how much a ride on the roller-coaster is going to cost.

GRAPHIC: Picture, President Violetta Chamorro talking yesterday about the poorstate of the Nicaraguan economy left by the Sandanistas

15TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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APRIL 6, 1990, FRIDAY

SECTION: NEWS MAKERS & POLICY MAKERS

LENGTH: 5736 words

HEADLINE: CB

SPEECH BY

DR. FRANCISCO MAYORGA

CHIEF ECONOMIC ADVISER TO PRESIDENT -ELECT VIOLETA CHAMORRO
OF NICARAGUA

MODERATOR:

EDWARD HUDGINS

THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

214 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.E.

KEYWORD:

HERITAGE FOUNDATION MAYORGA-04/06/90

BODY:

EDWARD HUDGINS: Welcome all to the Heritage Foundation.

Dr. Francisco Mayorga has been the Chief Economic Adviser to Mrs. Chamorro in Nicaragua who, of course -- whose party, UNO, recently won the election. Much to the surprise of nearly everybody except, perhaps, for the Nicaraguan people, over the Sandinista government.

Mr. Mayorga, who has been the Chief Economic Adviser, is the author of a paper -- I believe given to a number of administration officials -- "The UNO Agenda for Economic Recovery." And we suspect that he will play a very active role in the upcoming Nicaraguan government when it -- the government changes, I believe, in April.

Mayorga has had a fairly lively career for such a young man. He worked as a central banker from 1967 to, I believe, 1978. He was active in the anti-Somoza movement and, for about 30 days, I'm informed, was in the Sandinista government. However, it took that short period of time for both sides to discover some fundamental differences and so, after about a month, Mr. Mayorga was no longer in the government.

He has spent most of his time in Managua teaching during that period. He also worked on his doctoral dissertation and submitted his work to Yale University for a Ph.D. in 1986. And his doctoral work was on the economic situation in Nicaragua. He has argued that it was not the US embargo or the contra war that is responsible for Nicaragua's economic situation, but rather the disastrous policies of the Sandinista government.

Without further ado, we will hear from Mr. Mayorga, and then we'll take questions and answers from the audience. Mr. Mayorga.

FRANCISCO MAYORGA: Thanks very much for this opportunity to present the economic perspectives of the elected government of Nicaragua to this audience.

Nicaragua is in shambles. Ten years of internal conflict have destroyed a large portion of the infrastructure. The industry has become obsolete. However, the main cause of our problem has been that the Sandinista regime tried to impose on the Nicaraguan people a system that did not obtain the support of the different sectors of the Nicaraguan society.

They took more than half of the Nicaraguan productive resources and put them

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in state enterprises -- in state farms. Most of those resources are right now lying idle in the hands of state companies. in state of the prices, in state farms. Most of those resources are right now lying idle in the hands of state companies.

As a result of the freezing of most of the economic resources of Nicaragua, the per capita GDP fell from about \$900 in 1977 to about \$300 now. It fell two-thirds. GDP per capita in Nicaragua is now back to where it was before World War II. The average Nicaraguan is eating only two meals a day, mainly as a result of the amount of land that is laying idle in state farms.

Inflation is running rampant, at the rate of 35 percent during the month of March. We expect it to peak again in May, maybe over 70 percent, as a result of recent Sandinista policies. The disequilibria that were -- that the Sandinistas tried to deal with in the last two years have shown up again in different aspects of the economy, such as a black market rate of 120,000 new cordobas versus 46,000 in the official market.

Violetta Chamorro will be assuming the Presidency of Nicaragua in the middle of the planting season. It will be crucial for us to deal with the problems of the economy immediately. We intend to face this situation not by repressing demand any more, as the Sandinista government tried to do in the last two years, but rather by liberating supply. We feel that we can apply two simple principles to let the supply side of the economy begin to recover very quickly. The two principles are economic freedom and economic democracy. By economic freedom we mean moving out of the way very quickly the different controls and regulations that were introduced by the Sandinista regime and that crippled the capacity of private producers in Nicaragua to face the needs of the people. By economic democratization we mean taking those resources that are virtually frozen in the hands of the state and passing them very quickly into productive hands.

This is the plan that we presented to the Nicaraguan people. The Nicaraguan people did not vote for this plan with their stomachs. They voted for this plan and for Violeta Chamorro with their heads and with their hearts. They voted for freedom and for the possibility that the great economic potential of Nicaragua could be really applied to generate some prosperity.

In addition to facing this serious situation in the middle of a planting season, we face other major problems. While our exports are only \$250 million a year, the foreign debt of Nicaragua has reached \$10 billion. So if we had to pay only 2.5 percent on that debt, the interest still will wipe away the entire export revenues of Nicaragua. In order to survive, Nicaragua has been importing something like \$70 million per month on the average, in the last two years. So comparing with exports of \$20 million per month, that leaves a gap of \$50 million per month. That was being filled in the past by donations from the Soviet Union, the Eastern European countries, and Western Europe.

Much of the resources that were provided by the international community to the Sandinista government were literally grants.

So, Nicaragua was getting, through the generosity of the Soviet bloc socialist countries, Western Europe, and other countries around the world, was getting about \$500 million -- 5 [hundred million dollars] to \$600 million per year.

Many of those contributions were given by the international community with the idea that Nicaragua deserved a chance to resolve its problems through peaceful means, that we would be able to find a peaceful solution to our differences.

Thanks to the Arias initiative, the Esquipulas process, and then the bipartisan agreement at the beginning of the Bush administration, the cooperation of President Gorbachev, and the participation of many international actors, we were able to resolve our problems through the ballot box.

Clearly, we received a strong mandate to replace the system that was imposed

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on the Nicaraguan people by the Sandinista party with a new system, that we present as a social market economy. This involves five principles: the principle of liberty; the principle of economic efficiency; the principle of private property; a role of the state in taking care of the more vulnerable sectors of a society and making sure that those sectors have access to resources to have control of their own destinies; and fifth, a subsidiary role of the state in the economy. The state -- the majority of the Nicaraguan people voted for a model in which the state will participate in productive activities only when those activities cannot be undertaken efficiently by the private sector. We intend to face the emergency situation with a strategy that will deal with trying to increase -- to boost agricultural production beginning this year in 1990. We'll try to encourage farmers in Nicaragua to increase the acreages in May so that planting in June can be substantially increased. This will mean that next year we'll be able to harvest more cotton and other crops for exports so that our export revenues will increase a little bit and so that our food production increases and we begin to rely less and less on international charity.

At the present moment there are about 300 -- let's say, 200,000 hectares of the finest land in Latin America in the provinces of Leon and Chinandega, where not a single shot was fired during several years of war, lying idle in state farms. We intend to focus on those 200,000 hectares immediately offering them in lease and giving priority to those who claim that they may have been unjustly confiscated and who will be introducing their claims to the courts. If they prove to be the rightful owners of those lands and the courts says that they were unjustly confiscated, they'll get the land back and they will not have to pay for the rent.

We will give priority to those farmers that in addition to claiming the land as their rightful property sign a commitment indicating that they are willing to reactivate those farms immediately beginning in May or June at the latest.

On the other hand, we intend to deal with the inflation problem. For that purpose we will have the benefit of the end of the military service which will mean the reduction of a substantial part of the defense budget of Nicaragua.

The end of the military service will be the first decree that Violetta Chamorro will sign on April 25th.

Immediately after that, we will make an effort to try to convert the defense -- to gradually convert the defense apparatus of Nicaragua into a productive machine. We cannot fire a lot of soldiers into the streets at a moment when unemployment is 34 percent, when there will be very little opportunity for them to find a productive job. We will make an effort in terms of providing them with land if they want to voluntarily want to leave the armed forces, or with training if they are people who come from the urban areas. In the process, as the private productive activities begin to recover and new employment opportunities begin to emerge, they will have a chance to find better pay in the private sector, in the productive activities.

Concerning the deficit, we intend to deal with it also on the tax side. Fiscal policy will mean that we will lower taxes in order to increase revenues. At this moment, the entire tax structure is completely distorted. Taxes are heavily imposed on local production and they tax more heavily -- local production -- than imports, so that imports are preferred to local products. What we intend to do is lower those taxes in order to make sure that Nicaraguans begin to consume again local products. This will mean a reactivation of local manufacturing and the possibility that new employment opportunities will also begin to emerge in the industrial sector.

We also intend to introduce a monetary reform to try to wipe out the inflationary memory of recent years. But in order to deal effectively, not

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only with the immediate recovery of production, but also with a stabilization of the economy, we will need external support. That is the reason why immediately after we won the election, President-elect Chamorro asked me to travel to Washington to present her plan to the administration and to the leaders of the Congress so that we could set in motion a process through which we would gain not only the political, but the economic support to the United States.

We also traveled to Japan, and from here I'll be going to Europe in order to present her case to different European governments. We will need substantial external support, and what we are trying to say to the international community is that we need disaster relief. The Nicaraguan economy is in shambles. We need to launch a recovery process. We need, of course, to bring immediate alleviation to the suffering of those sectors of the society that have had the largest share of the burden of this unjust situation that we've been growing through in the last 10 years.

If we are able to do that, and at the same time we have a chance to boost production, we believe that beginning in 1991, the Nicaraguan requirements for foreign assistance will gradually begin to diminish. At the same time, we will ask the international community to help us to clear the arrears that we face in the multilateral organizations. That amount, something in the order of \$250 million at this moment, and that combined with future debt payments that come due, will be in the order of \$300 million by the end of this year. We will need to clear up those arrears to become eligible again to get concessional financing for our reconstruction program.

We have divided our economic program in three phases. The first phase is emergency, the phase in which we need disaster relief, but not simply in terms of the kind of things that you give to a place that has been washed or wiped out by a hurricane or something like that, but disaster relief that acknowledges a need to take advantage of the planting season, of this opportunity to boost agricultural production.

The second phase will be the recovery and the structural -- the restructuring of our economy. We will begin immediately to try to put in place the institutions and mechanisms that will be necessary for us to transfer in an orderly way the resources that remain frozen in the hands of the state into productive hands. This democratization of the economy will probably take place in the course of the next two or three years. It will have to be carefully dealt with, especially because this involves more than half of the productive resources of the Nicaraguan society -- several billion dollars worth of land, industrial equipment, transportation equipment, and so forth.

In the last part of Mrs. Chamorro's term, we will try to set the basis for Nicaragua to be able to grow in a sustained way and also to develop a new type of society. We envision a society that is productive and efficient but it -- that it is also equitable.

Much of the wealth of the country was concentrated in the hands of a few tens of families in Nicaragua before '79. In the last ten years, those resources and other resources were put under the control of nine persons, of nine comandantes. Never before in the history of Nicaragua were the resources worse distributed than in the last ten years. What we intend to do is to distribute them in a very democratic way so that Nicaragua sets the basis to start building a society that is, as I was saying before, not only more productive and efficient but also more just, more ethical and more humane.

These are my introductory remarks, and I would be delighted to enter now questions and answers.

MR. HUDGINS: Thank you very much. (Applause.)

What we'll do is go on up until just before 1:00, and then we have to whisk our guest off to a lunch. I'm going to start as the moderator, take the

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moderator's privilege of asking the first question.

One of the problems that most Socialist regimes have had in reforming their economies, whether in Eastern Europe or in Latin America, is the existence of large bureaucracies with people depending on the government for their incomes and so forth. This, of course, is one of the great barriers to economic recovery, not only the money spent but the damage that such bureaucrats do. You face a very difficult situation since the people in power now are not exactly of your political persuasion.

How do you plan to approach this difficulty of a bloated government bureaucracy that's taking up a lot of resources and potentially that can block economic reforms?

MR. MAYORGA: I think that's a very good question. Undoubtedly, we'll have to deal with some rigidities in this respect. However, what we intend to do to start with is to allocate those resources that will be available for private industry and private commerce in such a way that we give priority to bureaucrats who want to leave the government in order to set up their own businesses.

(Laughter.)

But we believe that eliminating controls and regulations will also provide a wonderful opportunity for many bureaucrats to become entrepreneurs. At this moment, for instance, there is a parallel market for foreign exchange that works very inefficiently. There are only two exchange houses controlled by the government. There are long lines there, you know, trying to buy (to any ?) exchange, and the bureaucratic procedures are very slow.

If we, for instance, eliminate the circulation, and as we unify the exchange rate, allow the foreign exchange market to work, if we allow private exchange houses, you know, to simply buy and sell at whatever the going rate, the going exchange rate may be, we believe that many of the employees of this bureaucracy not only find the wonderful opportunity to set their own exchange houses and have their little businesses, but that they will in turn hire some of those people who are unemployed in their little exchange houses, in such a way that we will not only have an impact in terms of deregulating, as well as reducing the bureaucracy, but at the same time we'll be able to generate more jobs in the private sector.

MR. HUDGINS: Questions and comments -- start here.

Q (Off mike) -- you said that you're not going to throw anybody off the land. What are you going to do to support small farmers and support agriculture producers? What's your attitude toward the collective enterprises?

MR. MAYORGA: We have a commitment not only to respect the land that has been loaned by the Nicaraguan Sandinista state to the peasants, but also to make it their rightful property. The first thing that we'll do is to try to convert what the peasants call in Nicaragua the "papelucho," that little piece of paper into a property title, so they have -- so they are sure that they will be able to inherit the property to their children.

Of course, we'll have to go into the structure of agrarian -- of the agrarian reformed bureaucracy to review very carefully. We intend to make a special effort not only to provide the seeds, the fertilizer, and the access to credit that will be necessary for those peasants to really begin -- become really active in production, we intend to set up programs dealing with technical assistance and -- but we feel that the main thing that we can do about the peasants, the small farmers, the medium-sized farmers in Nicaragua -- and by the way, let me tell you that yesterday I was discussing the issue of Nicaraguan development with a few colleagues here, and I was telling them that in Nicaragua we are pretty arrogant because we sometimes call ourselves "farmers" when by comparison with your farmers we would be peasants, even the larger farmers that operate right now in Nicaragua you might consider sometimes rich peasants.

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But the best we feel we can do for them is to be able to buy the inputs from whomever sells them, those inputs at the low cost without the imposition on the part of the government to buy the input from the government agency, and the freedom for them to sell their crops at the price that they deem right and not at the price that was being set in a very unjust way by the government in the last ten years, in such a way that the government was consistently confiscating the product of their effort.

We believe that -- and they have told us very clearly, that if we fulfill this commitment of ours to allow them to go to the marketplace and sell their crops to whomever is willing to pay the highest possible price for it, they will increase their acreages.

Q The -- you mentioned -- the moderator mentioned the problem of an existing bureaucracy, but there are other problems that third world nations have encountered when they've tried to restructure their economy into a market system. And I'm talking about the problems that Argentina and the Philippines' Corazon Aquino have encountered, and that is monopolists -- state monopolists' control over economic functions -- importing, exporting, sales, manufacturing. In the Philippines, for example, there is one man who controls the sale of air conditioners in the entire country.

Do you have -- do you have a cleaner slate than they do in this respect?

MR. MAYORGA: Yes, we have a big constitutional wall in the sense that, according to the constitution, the state has the monopoly of foreign trade and the financial sector.

However, the Sandinistas were -- decided to concentrate this monopoly of trade on a few items that are very important for the Nicaraguan economy, such as coffee -- coffee, bananas and fertilizer for imports. In -- (inaudible) -- risk, they decided to provide licenses as a delegation of the state monopoly. What they intend to do is claim that that is a precedent and that we will be licensing of this monopoly of the state to anybody who wants to come in and set up a little shop to buy coffee and sell it abroad -- to -- (inaudible) -- and so forth.

So, the constitution will remain there with the principle there that we'll be delegating it in a very little way.

The same will happen with the financial system. According to the constitution, it is a state monopoly; we will license that.

MR. HUDGINS: (Inaudible.)

Q I was struck by hearing that so many of your goals for your economic reform sound familiar to many of the successes that we've seen in Chile in the last few years, and I hope that if your officials working with you are interested that, to the extent that our Agency for International Development is administering our US foreign aid program, that foreign aid program, that you will request that some of the AID funds be used, if you so desire, to send some of your officials to Chile to work with them and learn from some of their success stories. Of course, what I mean is the successful slashing of the debt and debt equity swaps, and doing it in such a way that there are numerous methods by which they've made it -- cut the inflationary problem that sometimes comes with the equity swaps and from swapping and from government enterprises and to get this -- the privatization in there and successful use of employee ownership in the privatization and -- also you mentioned the desire to target your social programs more strictly in the poorest of the poor, and that's another thing they've done so well.

MR. MAYORGA: I'll comment briefly on your comments. We try to take advantage of the very good lessons that have been produced not only in Chile, but also in Bolivia, in Costa Rica concerning export through promotion of diversification. We're also aware of the fact that there were some lessons of how not to do

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things in Chile, such as the financial sector liberalization. We know that there were many bankruptcies in Chile several years ago after the liberalization. And something like that also happened in Costa Rica. We want to learn from all possible places how to do things well and how not to do things badly.

MR. HUDGINS: Okay, I think it's you next.

Q Would you happen to have some figures on how much land is the public -- area de propiedad publica and how much is cooperatives, how much is these titles that were handed out and how much is private. Do you happen to have those?

MR. MAYORGA: Let me tell you, there are figures available concerning that. It may be possible that something like 20 percent of the total land -- agricultural land of the country -- is in state farms, for instance.

Q In the ATP, and that's form of Somoza's properties influence?

MR. MAYORGA: No. It is a little more complicated than that. You see, the Sandinistas first confiscated Somoza and his allies, and then continued to confiscate larger farmers, then went on with medium-sized farmers, and they made even some progress with the smaller farmers, so that at some point in time more than 50 percent of the arable land of the countries was in the hands of the government.

Then, they began to revert it -- convert this process after 1984. In November '84, they made a strategic switch to a process in which they began to distribute land to the peasants, but the difference, these figures have to be analyzed very carefully, because while they were giving away to the peasants third-rate land and second-rate land, they kept in state farms the finest lands of the country. So the real potential, in terms of the flatlands, the rich flatlands of the Pacific, for instance, is extraordinary, because most of those flatlands are in state farms. That's why the figures -- with those figures, the world statistics are not a clear indication of the real potential.

But there is another thing. I often hear and sometimes am able to confirm that those statistics do not -- are not very accurate, sometimes, because the Sandinista government has been very careful in the sense of keeping secret a lot of economic information, but also because sometimes they don't know what they have. You see, Mr. Willock (ph) is the largest landowner in Latin America. He doesn't know what he has. He doesn't know the farms. He doesn't know how many tractors are there in the state farms. He doesn't know how many trucks. And they didn't know -- they don't know how much fertilizer may be available in the state farm warehouses.

Of course, they are sometimes a little confused about the situation. For instance, there was a technical economic mission visiting Nicaragua in recent days. And the authorities of the Sandinista government told them that when we arrive in the government we will find the warehouses full of fertilizer, the silos full of foodstuffs, full of grain, that there will be enough oil, you know, to run the country for several months after April and that we will find maybe \$150 million, \$180 million in cash in the central bank. (Laughter.) And of course, those are very encouraging news, but after 10 years of dealing with them I have serious doubts that that -- that what they tell us will be the case.

Q (Off mike) -- these papeluchos you talked about, that these were the titles that were handed out amid much fanfare and so forth.

MR. MAYORGA: Maybe 25 percent of the land in the country.

Q Those are conditional titles, aren't they? Like, one thing is you have to belong to the Sandinista Peasant Union and things like that.

MR. MAYORGA: Yes.

MR. HUDGINS: Let me get one over here.

Q What manufacturing sectors may be targeted for investment in Nicaragua?

MR. MAYORGA: Excuse me, I didn't hear you.

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Q What manufacturing -- you said -- well, what manufacturing sector may be -- (inaudible) -- or targeted for -- (off mike)? What industries?

MR. MAYORGA: You mean on the part of the private sector?

Q Yeah. Yeah. You mentioned one -- (off mike).

MR. MAYORGA: We have to revamp all of our agribusiness industry. We'll have to go and check on what the status of the different plans -- state plans may be. We don't know. We are working in the dark. Sometimes we feel that there are industries that could be reactivated quickly, but there are some government technicians who come and tell us, "If you begin reactivating that plant it will fall off in pieces because it is in very bad shape." We don't know. We know that the cement plant hasn't been subjected to any major maintenance for several years. It is working at a very low capacity. Construction sector needs will be great. We might -- you know, there is these mines of cement; there might be a possibility to put together a new cement plant very quickly in the future. But we do not have a specific assessment of the different investment needs for different sectors, and I doubt very much that the outgoing government has one. It will be up to the private sector to go in and explore these issues very carefully and get the right information.

MR. HUDGINS: Let me go back here.

Q Francisco, what has happened to the Eastern European groups that were in Managua? There was a Bulgarian group there that was pickling little -- beef, corn and things for export. Are they still there?

MR. MAYORGA: Yes, they are still there. They are not doing very well, but they are learning. (Laughter.) They are more enthusiastic now than they were before. Something that's very important about the Eastern European countries, the Eastern European missions in Nicaragua, when they became Central European -- East to Central European at the end of last year -- (scattered laughter) -- many of them were visiting us, very quickly, and hoping that there will be an opportunity to convert aid into trade, given the fact that they realized that they couldn't possibly continue to help Nicaragua in the way that they were doing before. But at the same time, they said that it would be very good if they could learn from our own process and establish new ways of cooperation in our respective countries and peoples.

Last year, there were several missions from the Soviet Union trying to make contact with the private sector of Nicaragua to explore the possibility for joint ventures. When this news leaked, the Sandinista government expressed their concern, and they stopped these missions and these initiatives, so we were theirs, out in the cold.

In recent days, the Soviet officials that were in charge of those initiatives said that they were hoping that the new government wouldn't restrict them to continue in this way.

Q I read somewhere that you were planning on making a normal cordoba equal to the dollar, and I'm wondering whether you still plan on doing that, and if you have any ideas on how to go about --

MR. MAYORGA: Yes, we are still planning on how the new cordoba at par with the dollar, and we are planning to keep it there at a fixed rate for many years in the future. We might surprise you and -- but we think we'll be able to do it. It will be a tough task to put it in place and to keep it there. You see, we have studied very carefully the monetary dynamics of Nicaragua, the cause of inflation over the year, the fact that the Nicaraguan economy is highly seasonal.

And maybe I would like to take advantage of this question to mention a couple of points concerning the Nicaraguan economy. You know that the Sandinista regime was trying to solve the problem of the inflation in '88 and '89 and that they failed. They did everything according to the book, and they failed. They got

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very good advice from a permanent American professor of the MIT faculty, but they failed.

They didn't recognize the nature of the economy concerning the seasonality factor. The Nicaraguan economy is highly agrarian. The rainfalls arrive in May. We plant in May. We harvest in December. It makes a great difference for the functioning of the economy, the timing of any economic measures.

When you devalue, say, in November, you give a windfall to the farmers, because they hold the inventories of the economy. The inventories of the economy in November are in the bushes, are in the little cotton plants, are the little red fruit in the coffee trees, the bananas, and so forth. So they get a windfall. But they harvest, the crop moves immediately in the hands of the industries, the trading companies, and so forth. And if you devalue by the same amount in February, you give the windfall to those companies, at the expense of the farmers who at that moment don't have real inventories but have cash in their pockets. So clearly, the timing of a specific economic measure is crucial as to the effects, the impact that they will have in the economy.

Let me go a little further into this issue. You see, this aspect of seasonality is very seldom recognized by economists in other countries. But I used to -- I'd like to use this example: The Nicaraguan economy is pumping like a heart, every year it's beating. If a surgeon takes a scalpel and makes an incision on the heart at the moment when the heart is closed, makes a small incision and sets in a looped tube, he can then continue to operate without any problem. But if the same surgeon takes the same scalpel and makes the same incision at the same point of the same heart, but at the moment when the heart is expanding, you might get the heart to explode. This is very important.

We are getting into the conscience (?) of the government a little late, as to the moment in which you have to set in motion the process of stabilization. If we have, you know, external support, we should be able to deal with the problems in the course of the following few months, because that is precisely when the nature -- the seasonal nature of the economy will give us the room necessary to operate.

MR. HUDGINS: Let me get you and then I'll go for one more in the back.

Q You mentioned the 200,000 -- (off mike) -- acres of the finest land that is still owned by the state, that you plan to return to that to its rightful owners. How much of that land had been originally controlled by the few families that controlled all the land in Nicaragua, most of it before the Sandinistas came into power. Do you plan to return it to those families, or --

MR. MAYORGA: Much of that land was owned by medium-sized owners. There may have been a few larger farms that belonged to the wealthiest families of Nicaragua. If that was the case, those are probably the most productive farms. They must have been modern farms. They may be running relatively well, although to a high degree inefficiently in state bureaucrat's hands.

We will not object to anybody who claims to be the rightful owner of a piece of land on the basis of their original wealth, but we will demand these two things: First, that they reactivate the lands immediately, and second, that they pay their taxes.

MR. HUDGINS: We have time for one more quick question.

Q Perhaps you've touched on this, but do you presume that the confiscation of property was legal or illegal? How will you handle that in the future?

MR. MAYORGA: Decree Number 3 was signed by Mrs. Chamorro when she was a member of the Junta. Decree Number 3 says that all property belonging to Somoza, his family, and his associates, was to be confiscated.

On the basis of Decree Number 3, an old man, a physician, who, being very well known by his honesty, was asked in '77 to run a hospital in my home town, was confiscated his home and a small farm, claiming that being the director of a

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hospital in a province was being associated with Somoza. That was a very clear injustice.

After that, Decree Number 33 gave the right to confiscate other properties with political criteria and the government also introduced the principle that those who have left the country and have been away for six months should be confiscated immediately, as well. We believe that those were unjust confiscations.

MR. HUDGINS: Okay. I'm afraid -- sorry we've run out of time. I thank you all for coming. (Applause.) It's been a very interesting talk. Thank you, Mr. -- (applause) -- and we will be having refreshments outside for those of you who want to stay around a few minutes.

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The Associated Press

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March 13, 1990, Tuesday, PM cycle

SECTION: Business News

LENGTH: 944 words

HEADLINE: Bush Lifts Trade Sanctions Against Nicaragua

BYLINE: By JIM DRINKARD, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: U.S.-Nicaragua

BODY:

President Bush today lifted a five-year trade embargo against Nicaragua and asked Congress to provide \$300 million quickly to help speed the transition to democracy. He said the funds should come from the Pentagon budget.

Bush also renewed his call for \$500 million in assistance to Panama, where an American invasion force installed a new government last December. He said both Central American nations "need our help to heal deep wounds" after years of political and economic struggle.

Bush's 45-minute news conference was the first time in 10 days the president Bush had met with reporters. In fielding numerous questions, he said:

-He remains opposed to higher taxes and Social Security limitations to eliminate the budget deficit. But he said he was "prepared to negotiate" with congressional Democrats over a deficit-cutting plan.

-"Every president" wants to see interest rates lower, but he denied the existence of a "bubbling war" with Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve.

-Appealed to major league owners and ball players to settle their labor dispute "so the American people can hear that cry 'play ball' again."

The president opened his news conference by announcing that he had lifted the five-year trade embargo that former President Reagan had imposed against the Sandinista government of Daniel Ortega.

Ortega was defeated in last month's elections by opposition candidate Violetta Chamorro. Ortega told Vice President Dan Quayle in Chile on Monday that he would abide by the results of the elections and permit an orderly transition to democracy.

Bush called for creation of a "Fund for Democracy" to assist Nicaragua and Panama.

The Associated Press, March 13, 1990

The president never mentioned the Contras, the rebels who received millions of dollars from the United States during the Reagan administration. But his aid request includes about \$45 million to help pay costs of relocating some 10,000 Contra rebels and tens of thousands of family members from camps along the Honduran border to homes inside Nicaragua.

Bush urged Congress to speed the aid on its way by April 5 and to assist the administration in identifying Pentagon programs that could absorb the needed reductions "without having an unacceptable impact on national security."

At another point, however, he said he was prepared to submit a list of suggested Pentagon cuts on his own. "It will be done like that," he said, snapping his fingers for emphasis.

Bush's plan for aid to Panama has been bogged down in Congress over the issue of which programs would lose money to finance the assistance.

Bush called Mrs. Chamorro on Monday to brief her about the aid package, a source said.

The president paid tribute to the extraordinary worldwide move toward democracy in 1989, and said the drive for freedom "leaves us with a new challenge, how best to support newborn democracies."

"These nations need our help to heal deep wounds," he said.

On other topics, Bush responded with a blunt "no" when asked whether he would freeze Social Security benefits or raise taxes to reduce the federal deficit. A senior House Democrat made such proposals last weekend as part of a comprehensive deficit-cutting plan.

Bush said his administration had an encouraging response to the plan by Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., because it showed "evident goodwill." He said that despite his distaste for some specifics, he was "prepared to negotiate" with Congress to reduce the deficit.

"There's a lot of things that I'm not for that are in his proposal. A lot including taxes," the president said.

On a sensitive economic issue, Bush also declined to be drawn into speculation about whether he would reappoint Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve, whose term expires next year. Some members of the administration have said Federal Reserve concerns about inflation have kept interest rates relatively high.

"Look, every president would like to see interest rates lower, there's no question," Bush said. "There's no bubbling war with Alan Greenspan." He said such disputes over economic policy are common in every administration.

Asked about the major league baseball dispute, Bush said, "Yes I'm a ball fan and I want to go to the opening game some place," he said. But he quickly added he didn't want to have the federal government intervene in the decision by owners to lock players out of spring training camps.

The Associated Press, March 13, 1990

Even before Bush formally unveiled the Nicaragua aid package, there was support in Congress for the assistance.

"After 10 years of trying to destroy Nicaragua, we do have a responsibility to help democracy," said Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee that doles out foreign aid.

"I may well agree with whatever the president's policy is there. But I don't think it is wise to be raising expectations by promising money we don't know whether we have," Leahy said.

Included in Bush's proposed Nicaraguan aid package is \$60 million for critical agriculture, petroleum and medical supplies; \$10 million for emergency employment programs; \$50 million to help Nicaragua pay off debts to the International Monetary Fund and other financial institutions; \$75 million to help support Nicaragua's currency as part of economic restructuring; \$60 million for infrastructure projects including major bridge highway, school and hospital repairs, as well as the \$45 million for the repatriation and resettlement of the Contras.

The White House said \$21 million left over from programs to assist the Contras and monitor the Nicaraguan elections would be used for emergency aid to Nicaragua while the larger package goes through Congress.

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Newsday

February 28, 1990, Wednesday, NASSAU AND SUFFOLK EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 17
Other Edition: City Pg. 31

LENGTH: 731 words

HEADLINE: Chamorro Advisers Set U.S. Talks

BYLINE: By Pat Wechsler and Saul Friedman. Newsday Washington Bureau

DATELINE: Washington

KEYWORD: VIOLETTA CHAMORRO; NICARAGUA; ECONOMY; PRESIDENT; UNITED STATES;
AID; GEORGE BUSH

BODY:

Economic advisers from the newly elected Nicaraguan government of Violeta Chamorro are scheduled to meet Monday in Washington with an interagency task force set up by the Bush administration to deal with the weak Nicaraguan economy.

The Nicaraguans - led by chief economic adviser Francisco Mayorga - are likely to ask for substantial aid, an immediate end to the U.S. trade embargo and a restoration of lending by multinational financial institutions, such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and International Monetary Fund, said Dario Moreno, an expert on U.S.-Nicaraguan relations based at Miami's Florida International University.

After his visit to Nicaragua last week, Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-Brooklyn) said he expected the Nicaraguans to request between \$ 200 million and \$ 300 million in aid directly from the United States.

While the administration has said it expects to lift the five-year-old trade sanctions soon, officials concede that to raise enough economic aid, which analysts project should reach at least \$ 1 billion, a united effort of European allies and Japan will be necessary. Moreover, one senior State Department official, paying tribute to the Soviet Union's support of the election process in Nicaragua, suggested that Soviet aid also may play a role.

"We want to move as quickly as possible to support the new democratic government . . . [but] the U.S. can't supply all the needs," said the State Department official, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "I would not be surprised if Mrs. Chamorro was happy to receive economic assistance from whatever generous sources might want to provide it," he added, apparently referring to the Soviet Union, which supplied Nicaragua about \$ 1 billion annually through 1988 and between \$ 700 million and \$ 800 million last year.

Experts are not certain how much Soviet support can be counted on. There are questions about whether the Soviets will continue to donate \$ 100 million in oil to the Nicaraguans annually; the possibility of U.S. contributions from its own oil reserves has been raised by members of Congress.

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Nicaragua has been cut off from traditional international economic monitors, such as the World Bank and IMF, since 1984, when it defaulted on its international loans, and lending was suspended after the Reagan administration put political pressure on the multilateral institutions. Although precise figures are uncertain, experts concede that the plight is desperate.

"Foreign debt is simply astronomical," said John Williamson, senior fellow at the Washington-based Institute of International Economics. "They owe the Soviets, they owe the banks and there will almost certainly have to be some restructuring of that situation before anything happens."

The Nicaraguan economy, primarily based on sales of coffee, sugar, cotton and bananas, is estimated to be one-third the size it was when the Sandinistas took over in 1979. For Nicaragua to regain its 1979 standard of living, Larry Birns, director of the Washington-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs, estimated that the national economy would have to grow at 5 percent a year for the next 20 years.

"This, of course, is ridiculous with coffee prices depressed and cotton prices slumping," Birns said. "We have been supplying hundreds of millions in aid to neighboring nations, like El Salvador, and they still have negative growth rates. How is Mrs. Chamorro going to thrive on private investment?"

Moreover, the United States will be placed in a politically tight spot if it is required to rebuild the Nicaraguan sugar industry, which, before the 1985 U.S. trade embargo, competed head-to-head with sugar producers in other Latin countries, as well as with sugar producers in the southeastern United States.

Despite the seeming readiness of Congress and the administration to help, congressional sources expressed some concern. One source pointed out that the Bush administration has still not sent Congress legislation authorizing money for Panama.

Many in Congress and the administration believe that the United States owes a special obligation to Nicaragua, since it was American money that funded the contras for eight years and U.S. sanctions that helped cripple the economy. "Its inconceivable to me that we can't find the money," Solarz said yesterday. "All we have to do is cancel one B-2 bomber."

36TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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Los Angeles Times

November 9, 1989, Thursday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 15; Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 462 words

HEADLINE: NICARAGUA'S OPPOSITION CANDIDATE AT WHITE HOUSE;
ELECTIONS: BUSH ASSURES VIOLETA CHAMORRO OF WASHINGTON'S SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC
GOVERNMENT.

BYLINE: By DAVID LAUTER, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

~~Nicaraguan opposition candidate Violeta Barrios de Chamorro met for half an hour with President Bush on Wednesday and asked for American financial assistance for her country, if she wins February's presidential election.~~

Chamorro, the U.S.-backed candidate in the race against Nicaragua's Sandinista President Daniel Ortega, is on a tour of the United States and Europe to seek campaign funds and support.

"In a clean, fair election, Ortega is not going to win," she told reporters after meeting with Bush. "I believe (the elections) are going to be clean and fair, because that's what the Nicaraguan people want."

In a statement issued after the meeting, White House spokesman Roman Popadiuk said that Bush would "assist in Nicaragua's reconstruction" if Chamorro wins. The only specific step the statement mentioned was an end to the trade embargo that the Reagan Administration had imposed on Nicaragua.

Bush assured Chamorro that "he's very much willing to support a democratic government in Nicaragua with all he can do," said Chamorro's campaign manager, Antonio Lacayo.

The Administration has been centering its Nicaraguan policy on Chamorro and her campaign. Administration officials say that they are encouraged by high voter registration figures in Nicaragua and have been pushing efforts to provide support to the opposition campaign. Last month, for example, Bush won congressional approval for \$9 million to be spent on the elections. So far, however, the money has not been sent to Nicaragua.

The meeting came on the eve of a meeting planned at the United Nations today in which representatives of the Nicaraguan government will meet with leaders of the Contras to discuss a resumption of the cease-fire that Ortega ended late last month.

Bush Administration officials have been pushing for a renewed end to the fighting, saying that they fear Ortega could use the warfare as an excuse to cancel the elections. Ortega has blamed the fighting on the Contras, saying that rebel attacks on Sandinista soldiers were endangering the election.

(c) 1989 Los Angeles Times, November 9, 1989

At the State Department, spokesman Richard Boucher on Wednesday urged the Sandinistas to resume the cease-fire.

"If the Sandinistas are truly interested in peace and national reconciliation as they claim, the (U.N.) meeting could have a positive result, one that ends the fighting and moves the peace process forward," Boucher said.

Neither U.S. officials nor Chamorro, however, were willing to respond to one of Ortega's chief conditions for resuming the cease-fire -- an agreement by the Contras to disband their military forces before the elections. White House spokesman Popadiuk repeated the Administration's longstanding position that any demobilization must be a "voluntary" decision by the Contras.

GRAPHIC: Photo, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro AL STEPHENSON

CHAMORRO, VIOLETTA BARRIOS; BUSH, GEORGE; POLITICAL CANDIDATES; NICARAGUA -- ELECTIONS; UNITED STATES -- FOREIGN RELATIONS -- NICARAGUA; ORTEGA, DANIEL

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USA TODAY

February 26, 1990, Monday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 304 words

HEADLINE: Nicaragua elections 'look fair'

BYLINE: Johanna Neuman; Juan J. Walte

DATELINE: MANAGUA, Nicaragua

KEYWORD: VIOLETA CHAMORRO

BODY:

President Bush opened the door Sunday to a "better climate" for relations with Nicaragua as voters here chose between the ruling Marxist Sandinista regime or a U.S.-backed coalition.

President Daniel Ortega, who has run Nicaragua for 10 years, took an early lead over challenger Violetta Chamorro de Barrios of the United National Opposition party.

There were no reports of violence or irregularities as voters waited hours to cast ballots.

Former U.S. Attorney General Elliot Richardson, head of the U.N. observer mission, said after polls closed: "Things have been going very smoothly. So far they look fair."

Pre-election polls indicated voters were split over both candidates' big negatives:

- Ortega was saddled with a faltering economy.
- Chamorro was forced to defend U.S. support for the contras waging war against the Sandinistas.

Final results are expected to be in today.

Bush's comment at a news conference was his clearest signal of a possible thaw.

"If these elections are certifiably free and fair, whoever wins the election will find a better climate in which to improve relations with Nicaragua," Bush said.

But he said "what follows on ... freedom of the press, freedom of institutions, freedom to protest, freedom to speak your mind, is also important."

(c) 1990 USA TODAY, February 26, 1990

The White House cast doubts on an NBC News report that the process already is under way, with State Department officials talking with Ortega about an end to U.S. economic sanctions if the election is fair.

Although saying there was no deal, White House spokesman Roman Popaduik said: "Of course we talk to them, we have an embassy, we talk to them every day.

"But the president laid down our policy and we haven't changed from that. We'll have to see what the elections are like before we even consider any normalization."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO; color, Pool photo via AP (Daniel Ortega, daughter Camila)

CUTLINE: ONE FOR THE PRESIDENT: Daniel Ortega, who has been Nicaragua's leader for 10 years, holds daughter Camila as he receives his ballot in national elections Sunday. He took an early lead.

SUBJECT: FOREIGN COUNTRY; ELECTION

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1990 The Times Mirror Company;
Los Angeles Times

September 15, 1990, Saturday, Orange County Edition

SECTION: Calendar; Part F; Page 2; Column 2; Entertainment Desk

LENGTH: 494 words

HEADLINE: LOW TURNOUT GETS SYMPOSIUM CANCELLED;

POETRY: THE CSUF EVENT, AT WHICH NOTED FOREIGN POETS WERE TO HAVE ADDRESSED THE ISSUE OF FREE EXPRESSION, WAS CALLED OFF WHEN ONLY FOUR PEOPLE SHOWED UP FOR IT.

BYLINE: By RICK VANDERKNYFF, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: FULLERTON

BODY:

In much of the world, the right to freely express ideas is a precious -- and elusive -- commodity. But as some leading poets from Latin America and Canada discovered Thursday at Cal State Fullerton, the U.S. guarantee of free speech does not guarantee an audience.

A symposium scheduled for noon was cancelled when it drew all of four people from a campus of more than 25,000 students.

"For the first time," quipped Nicaraguan poet and journalist Pablo Antonio Cuadra, "the poets were in the majority."

The symposium was part of La Terra Nova 1990, a weeklong series of readings and symposiums that started Monday as part of the ongoing Los Angeles Festival and moved to Orange County on Wednesday.

Wednesday readings, held at three locations in the county, also were plagued by lower-than-expected attendance and organizational problems. Program coordinator C. George Peale, an associate professor of Spanish at CSUF, said he had been led to expect "a couple hundred people" at a reading in Santa Ana that only drew about 70. Readings in La Habra and San Juan Capistrano had audiences of 40 and 20, respectively.

A Thursday evening lecture by Cuadra at CSUF drew a sparse crowd, about 50. La Terra Nova closed Friday with a series of student poetry workshops.

"This is just baffling," Peale said after canceling the Thursday symposium. He said the event had been well-publicized in local newspapers and the campus' Daily Titan.

The symposium, titled "Writing on the Pacific Rim," was to have addressed the issue of free expression in the poets' home countries -- and, by extension, recent controversies over censorship and artistic freedom in the United States.

Participants were to have included Cuadra, Veronica Volkow (from Mexico), Eduardo Mitre (from Bolivia), Alfonso Barrera Valverde (from Ecuador), Juan Gustavo Cobo Borda (from Colombia), Daphne Marlatt (from Canada), Blanca Varela (from Peru) and Carlo Illescas (from Guatemala).

(c) 1990 Los Angeles Times, September 15, 1990

Because of his links to the right-wing Cristiani government, the original inclusion of poet David Escobar Galindo had been criticized by the Los Angeles Salvadoran community. But Galindo eventually dropped out to take part in Salvadoran peace talks this week.

Cuadra would not guess why the symposium drew so poorly but said: "It would be pitiful if people didn't come for political reasons. It would be killing the basis of American freedom."

Canadian Marlatt said that while the small audience for her Wednesday reading in San Juan Capistrano initially was disappointing, ultimately "the feeling was very good." Still, she said she was very disappointed by the turnout for the symposium.

"I can't believe, given all the promotion they had, it was just a case of people being too busy to come," she said. "I have my private guesses (about the turnout), but I'm not a citizen of Orange County."

She said the turnout for Los Angeles events was generally stronger, with packed rooms for some of the readings.

GRAPHIC: Photo, Nicaraguan poet Pablo Antonio Cuadra ; Photo, Mexican poet Veronica Volkow
ROD BOREN / For The Times

SUBJECT: POETRY; POETS; AUDIENCES; FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION; CONFERENCES;
CENSORSHIP; ARTS; APATHY

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1990 The Times Mirror Company;
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September 14, 1990, Friday, Orange County Edition

SECTION: Calendar; Part F; Page 26; Column 1; Entertainment Desk

LENGTH: 671 words

HEADLINE: CELEBRATING MODERN POETS OF THE AMERICAS;

READINGS: SEVERAL LATIN AMERICAN POETS SHARED SELECTIONS FROM THEIR WORKS IN THREE ORANGE COUNTY CITIES. THE RECITALS ARE PART OF A WEEKLONG FESTIVAL ORGANIZED BY CAL STATE FULLERTON.

BYLINE: By JANICE L. JONES

DATELINE: SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

BODY:

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 Blood Girl knew this history. The maiden bravely asked, 'Why can't I know this tree's miracle?' And she jumped over the oppressor's words of warning and approached the tree. She approached the tree so that the myth could bring us together in its image. Because the woman is the freedom that provokes action. And the hero is the unhindered will."

-- From "The Calabash Tree"

by Pablo Antonio Cuadra

Quito Downs, a writer and artist who lives in El Toro, grew up in Nicaragua during the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Debayle. As a teen-ager, he voiced his discontent by writing letters to the editor of La Prensa, the country's only independent newspaper. Several of the letters were published, but Downs left Nicaragua before he got to meet the editor, Pablo Antonio Cuadra, an internationally known poet and journalist who was imprisoned twice by Somoza.

Downs was among the first to arrive to hear Cuadra, now 78, and other poets give recitals Wednesday night at the San Juan Capistrano Regional Library.

Cuadra, who combines the pre-Mayan myths of his homeland with the modern folklore of Central American Indians, read three poems, including "The Calabash Tree," dedicated to Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, the publisher of La Prensa whose assassination in 1978 was a catalyst for the 1979 Sandinista revolution.

Cuadra originally was a Sandinista supporter but became disillusioned with the movement's policies and eventually backed the Contras. In retaliation, the Sandinistas shut down La Prensa for 15 months in 1986-87.

He said that the new government -- headed by Chamorro's widow, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, who defeated Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega in the February presidential election -- presents another opportunity for Nicaragua to achieve democracy. The Nicaraguan people, he said, have always loved freedom, but in the past, totalitarian governments have risen from the very revolutions that promised a better life.

(c) 1990 Los Angeles Times, September 14, 1990

Cuadra hopes that this time it will be different, since more countries are turning to democracy. The Eastern Europeans, he said, have helped pave the way.

Cuadra was a member of the 1920s' Vanguard literary movement, which sought to create a poetry indigenous to Nicaragua, free from European influences imposed by Modernism. He was influenced by the poet and revolutionary Augusto Cesar Sandino, who fought off a U.S. Marine occupation of Nicaragua during the 1920s and 1930s.

Cuadra stepped down recently from his position as editor of La Prensa but still edits the newspaper's literary supplement.

Colombian poet Juan Gustavo Cobo Borda also read Wednesday, along with Daphne Marlatt of Canada. The readings were part of La Terra Nova 1990, a weeklong festival organized by Cal State Fullerton to celebrate contemporary poetry of the Americas. The festival is a co-production of the Los Angeles Festival and the 1990-1992 Orange County Festival of Discovery.

While Cuadra, Cobo Borda and Marlatt read in San Juan Capistrano, Guatemalan poet Carlos Illescas read at the La Habra Library along with Peruvian poet Blanca Varela. Veronica Volkow of Mexico, Alfonso Barrera Valverde of Ecuador, Gonzalo Rojas of Chile and Eduardo Mitre of Bolivia read at the Corbin Center in Santa Ana.

The lineup, selected by organizers Florinda Mintz and Paul Vangelisti, drew criticism from the Southern California Salvadoran community because it originally included David Escobar Galindo, a Salvadoran poet linked to the right-wing Cristiani government. Galindo eventually canceled so he could attend the United Nations peace talks that resumed this week.

"We never meant to offend anybody," said Mintz, an Argentine writer who lives in Santa Ana. "The goal was to bring the poets here as individuals and artists, as world citizens."

The festival closes today after an all-day student poetry workshop at Cal State Fullerton.

GRAPHIC: Photo, Colombian poet Juan Gustavo Cobo Borda discusses his works. ; Photo, Daphne Marlatt of Canada also participated in the readings. ; Photo, Pablo Antonio Cuadra was formerly editor of Nicaragua's La Prensa. KARI RENE HALL / Los Angeles Times

SUBJECT: POETRY; FESTIVALS

5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1990 The Times Mirror Company;
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September 12, 1990, Wednesday, Orange County Edition

SECTION: Calendar; Part F; Page 2; Column 6; Entertainment Desk

LENGTH: 236 words

HEADLINE: 3-DAY POETRY FESTIVAL OPENS

BYLINE: By RICK VANDERKNYFF

DATELINE: FULLERTON

BODY:

Pablo Antonio Cuadra, poet and editor of Managua's daily newspaper La Prensa, will offer "A Nicaraguan Poet-Journalist's View of Current Events in Central America" on Thursday night at Cal State Fullerton's University Center.

The 7:30 p.m. talk in Titan Hall will highlight "La Terra Nova -- New World Poets, New World Visions," a three-day poetry festival opening today. Additional events are:

Today

* Noon -- Bilingual poetry recital, Cal State Fullerton Little Theatre.

* 7:30 p.m. -- Recital with Veronica Volkow (Mexico), Eduardo Mitre (Bolivia) and Alfonso Barrera Valverde (Ecuador) at the Corbin Center, 2215 W. McFadden Ave. in Santa Ana.

* 7:30 p.m. -- Recital with Juan Gustavo Cobo Borda (Colombia), Pablo Antonio Cuadra (Nicaragua) and Daphne Marlatt (Canada) at the San Juan Capistrano Library, 31495 El Camino Real.

* 7:30 p.m. -- Recital with Blanca Varela (Peru) and Carlo Illescas (Guatemala) at the La Habra Library, 221 E. La Habra Blvd.

Thursday

* Noon -- Bilingual symposium with all the poets, "Writing on the Pacific Rim," in the Cal State Fullerton Little Theatre.

* 2:30 p.m. -- Informal reception and conference with Daphne Marlatt, Blanca Varela and Veronica Volkow at the Cal State Fullerton Women's Center.

Friday

* 9 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. -- Poetry workshops on Cal State Fullerton campus.

Admission for all events is free. Information: (714) 773-3534. RICK VANDERKNYFF

6TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1990 The Times Mirror Company;
Los Angeles Times

September 5, 1990, Wednesday, Home Edition

SECTION: View; Part E; Page 1; Column 6; View Desk

LENGTH: 919 words

HEADLINE: A POET RETURNS TO HIS MUSE;

LITERATURE: NICARAGUAN EDITOR PABLO ANTONIO CUADRA HAS GIVEN UP JOURNALISM AND IS REFOCUSING HIS ATTENTION ON POETRY. HE WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE LOS ANGELES FESTIVAL THIS WEEKEND.

SERIES: Festival '90 A Celebration of Asian, Pacific, Latino art and culture.

BYLINE: By KEVIN BAXTER, TIMES STAFF WRITER

BODY:

A small wooden sentry stands guard near the front door of Pablo Antonio Cuadra's home in Managua's exclusive Las Colinas neighborhood. The statue, carved at the art commune of Solentiname, center of Nicaragua's cultural renaissance, depicts Jonah in the belly of a whale.

"For me," Cuadra explains, "it represents the Resurrection of Christ."

But for others, the statue is just as likely to symbolize the resurrection of Cuadra. After a decade of fighting the censors and cultural hierarchy of Nicaragua's deposed Sandinista government, Cuadra, who many consider to be one of the most important literary voices of the 20th Century, is returning to his poetry full time.

The Sandinistas' defeat in last February's national elections ended a bitter period in Cuadra's life. As editor of La Prensa, Nicaragua's supermarket tabloid-style afternoon newspaper, Cuadra directed a fierce campaign against the government. That led to tight censorship and eventually a yearlong publishing ban of La Prensa, and a short period of self-exile for Cuadra. But it also produced a presidential victory for Violetta Barrios de Chamorro, the paper's publisher.

And after that final victory, Cuadra, 78, stepped down as editor to become an adviser to La Prensa, freeing valuable time for poetry.

"I feel more free now," he said. "Journalism and poetry are not good friends."

Cuadra will demonstrate the fruits of that new-found freedom this weekend in the Los Angeles Festival. Cuadra and Peruvian poet Blanca Varela, whose work offers a similar attack on the powerful, open the La Terra Nova 1990: Pacific Poetry Festival at 8 p.m. Saturday at Occidental College's Keck Auditorium.

Cuadra may be finished with journalism, but it's unlikely he's through with politics. Inevitably, Nicaragua's writers have always found themselves drawn into their country's turbulent politics and Cuadra's career certainly offers no exception.

(c) 1990 Los Angeles Times, September 5, 1990

He began writing during the charged atmosphere of the 1920s -- when U.S. Marines occupied Nicaragua -- and he soon became active in the political and cultural projects of la Vanguardia. The movement -- whose ranks included poets Jose Coronel Urtecho, Joaquin Pasos and Octavio Rosas -- was deeply influenced by European fascism and fervently backed the U.S.-imposed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Garcia.

Stylistically, poets of la Vanguardia were influenced by fledgling trends in North American literature. The result -- a poetry built around conversational language, free verse, dialogue and satirical humor, among other devices -- is a distinctly Nicaraguan poetry.

"We were never a group of provincial poets writing about church steeples," Cuadra told cultural historian Steven White. "We wanted to see what was going on in the world, assimilate it, and then create our own poetry. And we did that instinctively."

Among those most inspired by the new approach was Cuadra's cousin, Ernesto Cardenal, perhaps the most widely read Nicaraguan poet since Ruben Dario.

But by 1934, when "Poemas nicaraguenses" ("Nicaraguan Poems"), Cuadra's first collection of poems, was published, the author was already beginning to question the political orientation of la Vanguardia. Three years later, Cuadra was jailed by Somoza for demonstrating against the dictatorship.

Whether by choice or by circumstance, Cuadra has never strayed far from politics since. Jailed twice and continually harassed by the government during the Somoza family's 33-year reign, Cuadra worked clandestinely with the Sandinistas during the Nicaraguan revolution. But shortly after the guerrilla army came to power, Cuadra found himself again leading the opposition, only this time he was tilting at a different windmill.

The one constant since his break with la Vanguardia, Cuadra insists, has been his promotion of Nicaraguan nationalism, democracy and self-determination. But he has insisted on doing so outside the rigid constraints of party politics.

"You need freedom to create," he says. "When an artist uses (partisan) politics in his work, he makes propaganda. And when an artist does that, he loses the ability for self-criticism."

"The artist and the poet must become personally engaged in the political struggle but he must not compromise his art."

Which is not to suggest that Cuadra's poetry is apolitical; indeed, many of his poems are just the opposite. In an early work, "Poem of the Foreign Movement in the Jungle," Cuadra rails against the U.S. occupation of Nicaragua, a nationalistic stand he repeated a few years ago in "The Calabash Tree."

But there are other themes and inspirations, as well. An enthusiastic student of Nicaraguan history and indigenous culture, Cuadra has compiled an extensive collection of books on ethnography and archeology. He is also widely read in mythology and linguistics and speaks fluent French. He may be the closest thing Nicaragua has to a Renaissance man -- and each of these interests have made their way into his poetry.

9TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1990 The Times Mirror Company;
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March 31, 1990, Saturday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 9; Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1332 words

HEADLINE: MANAGUA COMING TO TERMS WITH PAST, FUTURE;
NICARAGUA: AN EARTHQUAKE AND AN INSURRECTION FORCED CHANGES ON THE CAPITAL.

BYLINE: By MARJORIE MILLER, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: MANAGUA, Nicaragua

BODY:

Ask anyone in Managua for directions to "the little tree" and they will point confidently to a downtown intersection with a service station, Roco's Bar and the ruins of a two-story house, but no tree.

Never mind that the tree has been gone for 17 years, that when city workers dug it up to pave the streets after the earthquake it was no longer a little tree but a great big tree, an Indian laurel.

"It's a point of reference," said Rene Cano, 66, who has run the service station for 30 years. "For everyone, this corner is the little tree."

The invisible tree is the key to many Managua addresses, including Cano's -- "five blocks down from the little tree and one block to the lake." But Cano cannot fathom a stranger's interest in the tree and, furthermore, he considers it one more example of how little foreigners understand his country.

Another example, he says, is the fact that multitudes of observers on hand for last month's presidential election failed to foresee the sweeping opposition victory.

"You have to know the idiosyncrasies of the Nicaraguan people," Cano said.

Right. Except that this is like trying to understand Managua, which is hurtling through change at lightning speed while holding onto its past by means of landmarks that ceased to exist long ago.

The earthquake of Dec. 22, 1972, leveled Managua. Seven years later, the Sandinista guerrillas led a popular insurrection that brought down the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, and this was followed by the Contra civil war.

After a decade of revolution and civil war, Nicaraguans booted the Sandinistas out of office in an election that was one of the Sandinistas' greatest achievements -- the first free and competitive election in the country's history.

All those changes notwithstanding, younger generations still refer to Cano's corner as "where the tree used to be." They say it's down the street from Las Delicias del Volga, a cantina that is also gone.

(c) 1990 Los Angeles Times, March 31, 1990

For 10 years, the Sandinistas' battle cry was "Free Fatherland or Death," and that is what they taught in Managua schools. Sandinista Youth spent their summers in the countryside picking coffee and teaching adults to read.

Now, under the new government of the National Opposition Union (UNO), children are to learn that free enterprise is the law of the land.

"The law of supply and demand is like the law of gravity," UNO leader Carlos Hurtado said in the flush of victory. "It is inexorable."

But even gravity is sometimes different in Managua, where the four points of the compass are "up, down, to the lake and to the mountains." On any given block, up may be downhill, and the lake may be nowhere in sight.

How is an outsider to understand this?

Easy, says Maria Elena Castro, a resident of the neighborhood known as July 19th: "Down is where the sun sets, and up is where it rises."

After their triumph, the Sandinistas renamed many of Managua's streets and neighborhoods to honor the heroes, martyrs and battles of their uprising. July 19th, for example, is the day they celebrate their rise to power. Under the Somozas, the July 19th neighborhood was called "The Redeemer."

Those who oppose the Sandinistas have steadfastly refused to accept the new names, so that many places have two names. Castro calls the square in front of the crumbling Metropolitan Cathedral the Plaza of the Revolution, but her anti-Sandinista husband calls it the Plaza of the Republic.

They both know what they are talking about. And by means of these labels, any Nicaraguan can identify which side of the political landscape they occupy.

Castro wonders whether the new government will try to erase the Sandinista names.

"I think they should stay the same," she said, "because this was a historic process. These people spilled their blood, and that cannot be in vain."

Her husband said, "I think they should go back to the way it was before the revolution."

Before the revolution, Managua had the Anastasio Somoza Garcia National Baseball Stadium, named for Somoza's father. The Sandinistas renamed the stadium after Rigoberto Lopez Perez, a tailor and poet who assassinated Somoza Garcia and was killed in the process.

Names, according to the opposition's premier poet, Pablo Antonio Cuadra, are not all that important, but monuments are. The government of President-elect Violeta Barrios de Chamorro plans to build two monuments, Cuadra said, one to Gen. Augusto Cesar Sandino, who fought off a U.S. Marine occupation of Nicaragua in the 1920s and 1930s, and another to poet Ruben Dario. They are Nicaragua's political and cultural heroes.

Although they take their name from Sandino, the Sandinistas never put up a statue of him, Cuadra noted. Instead, they erected a towering statue of a

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muscular worker raising an AK-47 rifle overhead. The opposition refers to it disparagingly as "the hulk." Even Sandinistas privately malign the oeuvre that they feel obliged to defend in public.

"That statue should remain as a monument to July 19th," Cuadra said. "The less a civilization tears down its statues, the more it advances. If people always took down their monuments, you'd never have a Paris or a Salamanca."

Cuadra does not pretend to compare Managua to Paris, calling Managua "the ugliest city in the world . . . a volcano with a black hole in the middle."

Definitely, the city is diffuse, divided by blocks of overgrown lots and the rubble of buildings that crumbled in the earthquake. Every lamppost and wall is a chaos of political graffiti and campaign banners. Thin palm trees bend and whip in the wind.

The new government, Cuadra says, must call an urgent meeting of builders, urban planners and seismologists to construct a post-earthquake, post-revolutionary Managua.

"You cannot govern from a disperse city that is without syntax," he said, with distaste. "You end up with disperse, dehumanizing politics. It leads to mental disorganization."

Indeed, there is a maddening quality to Managua. Streets that are paved are potholed; the rest are dirt. Water is scarce and electric power is erratic, as is the telephone system. But the inconveniences are tempered by the character of the Nicaraguans.

Most Managuans are poor. Men push carts, and horses pull them. As in any Latin American city, a gaggle of little boys surrounds any car stopped at a traffic light. They reach in with long and grubby arms, not to steal a purse but for the thrill of sounding the horn.

In neighborhood after neighborhood, Managuans gather at the end of the day in the living rooms and on the front porches of their one-story houses. In high-back rockers called "little grandmothers" they debate television soap operas and national politics with equal fervor.

Nicaraguans do not always tell outsiders exactly what they think -- as in whom they think they will vote for. But the language they use can serve as a guide to their politics.

Sandinistas frequently use the word *companero* -- companion -- an affectionate term for anyone from a lover to an army buddy to a waiter in a restaurant.

The opposition, on the other hand, is enamored of the word *fanatic*, by which they mean Sandinista, and for which they have created a verb, to *fanaticize*, which is what they insist the Sandinistas have done to Nicaragua's youth.

Sandinistas call the opposition *burgueses* -- bourgeoisie. They prefer army fatigues and tropical guayabera shirts, but Chamorro's American-educated preppie crowd is expected to bring back the suit and tie. Already, upper-class women are chattering about the floor-length dresses they will wear to the inauguration.

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Few Nicaraguans are willing to predict what other changes the new government will bring. Businessman Pablo Vijil hopes to lure a pizza chain to Managua. The elimination of a U.S. trade embargo lifts an economic cloud from Managua, but Vijil is not expecting a flood of new investment.

"Expectations will not necessarily coincide with reality," he said. "There are many unknowns."

GRAPHIC: Photo, Before election, opposition supporters climb Sandinista monument referred to as "the hulk." CHRIS VAIL / For The Times

SUBJECT: MANAGUA (NICARAGUA) -- HISTORY; EARTHQUAKES -- NICARAGUA; SANDINISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT; NICARAGUA -- REVOLTS; MEMORIALS; NICARAGUA -- GOVERNMENT; NICARAGUA -- CULTURE; NICARAGUA -- POLITICS

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The San Francisco Chronicle

APRIL 12, 1990, THURSDAY, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: DAILY DATEBOOK; Pg. E4

LENGTH: 570 words

HEADLINE: A Look at Nicaragua Through Poets' Eyes

BYLINE: Judy Stone, Chronicle Staff Critic

BODY:

A revealing portrait of Nicaraguan life emerges through the diverse voices of its poets in "Azul," an unusually eloquent documentary that opens today at the York theater.

Although it was made by Roland Legiard-Laura long before the recent election, in which the Sandinista government was voted out, the poetic film evokes the strains that have shaken Nicaragua from the time the U.S. Marines occupied the country (1912-1933), through the Somoza family dictatorship and the revolutionary movement that overthrew it.

As the camera ranges over the mountains and valleys of the country, professional and nonprofessional writers from every walk of life express their feelings in their poems and in interviews: a soldier on border patrol, a "macho" prisoner and his female "critic," women who believe in the revolution and those who lost faith in it, men in the Sandinista government and those who disagree with politicized art.

CREDIT TO DARIO

Although the esthetic and political attitudes of these writers vary, they agree that poet Ruben Dario (1867-1916) was one of the creators of the modern Nicaraguan nation. (The title "Azul" (blue) is taken from a book of Dario's poems.) Dario was to the Spanish-speaking world what Poe, Whitman and Ezra Pound were to the English-speaking world in terms of their ground-breaking styles.

Poet Ernesto Cardenal, the Sandinista minister of culture, points out that Dario also was an important influence on General Augusto Sandino, who led Nicaraguan fighters against the Marines and was killed in 1934 on orders of Anastasio Somoza, then head of the National Guard.

Those battles inspired Pablo Antonio Cuadra's 1934 "Poem of the Foreign Moment in the Jungle": "I must make something of the mud of history / dig in the swamp and unbury the moon / of my forefathers. Oh! uncoil / your dark fury, hypnotic snake / sharpen your obsidian claws, black tiger / rivet your incandescent eye, there! / In the heart of the jungle / 500 North Americans . . ." (The poems are in Spanish, but they inevitably lose something in the English subtitled translations.)

Today, Cuadra, who was opposed to the Sandinista government, says, "The nation of Nicaragua flies with two wings: one of political sovereignty, the other of cultural sovereignty. The hero of political sovereignty is Sandino,

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and the hero of cultural sovereignty is Ruben Dario. If you clip the wing of culture by taking away freedom of expression, the bird cannot fly. Its future will be clipped. The bird of Nicaragua needs two wings to fly.'

POEM OF LOVE AND LONGING

Two sides to one man's personality are expressed by Tomas Borge, former minister of the interior. He believes that 'poetry is fundamentally subversive, for taking power . . . and for keeping power.' Yet when he was in prison under Somoza and deprived of conjugal visits, he fantasized about them and wrote a lyric poem, full of love and longing.

Ligia Guillen, who left Nicaragua in 1981, took issue early on with Cardenal's statement that the artist or intellectual who was not with the revolution was against it. 'That's a dictatorial way of treating creative people,' she declares.

On the other hand, Daisy Zamora felt privileged to have lived during the anti-Somoza revolution, but says sadly, 'We don't know how this is going to turn out, do we? Because we're under attack, because we have so many economic problems . . .'

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, Ruben Dario, poet influenced rebel leader Augusto Sandino

MOVIES; REVIEW

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7TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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September 5, 1990, Wednesday, Home Edition

SECTION: View; Part E; Page 1; Column 6; View Desk

LENGTH: 919 words

HEADLINE: A POET RETURNS TO HIS MUSE;

LITERATURE: NICARAGUAN EDITOR PABLO ANTONIO CUADRA HAS GIVEN UP JOURNALISM AND IS REFOCUSING HIS ATTENTION ON POETRY. HE WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE LOS ANGELES FESTIVAL THIS WEEKEND.

SERIES: Festival '90 A Celebration of Asian, Pacific, Latino art and culture.

BYLINE: By KEVIN BAXTER, TIMES STAFF WRITER

BODY:

A small wooden sentry stands guard near the front door of Pablo Antonio Cuadra's home in Managua's exclusive Las Colinas neighborhood. The statue, carved at the art commune of Solentiname, center of Nicaragua's cultural renaissance, depicts Jonah in the belly of a whale.

"For me," Cuadra explains, "it represents the Resurrection of Christ."

But for others, the statue is just as likely to symbolize the resurrection of Cuadra. After a decade of fighting the censors and cultural hierarchy of Nicaragua's deposed Sandinista government, Cuadra, who many consider to be one of the most important literary voices of the 20th Century, is returning to his poetry full time.

The Sandinistas' defeat in last February's national elections ended a bitter period in Cuadra's life. As editor of La Prensa, Nicaragua's supermarket tabloid-style afternoon newspaper, Cuadra directed a fierce campaign against the government. That led to tight censorship and eventually a yearlong publishing ban of La Prensa, and a short period of self-exile for Cuadra. But it also produced a presidential victory for Violetta Barrios de Chamorro, the paper's publisher.

And after that final victory, Cuadra, 78, stepped down as editor to become an adviser to La Prensa, freeing valuable time for poetry.

"I feel more free now," he said. "Journalism and poetry are not good friends."

Cuadra will demonstrate the fruits of that new-found freedom this weekend in the Los Angeles Festival. Cuadra and Peruvian poet Blanca Varela, whose work offers a similar attack on the powerful, open the La Terra Nova 1990: Pacific Poetry Festival at 8 p.m. Saturday at Occidental College's Keck Auditorium.

Cuadra may be finished with journalism, but it's unlikely he's through with politics. Inevitably, Nicaragua's writers have always found themselves drawn into their country's turbulent politics and Cuadra's career certainly offers no exception.

(c) 1990 Los Angeles Times, September 5, 1990

He began writing during the charged atmosphere of the 1920s -- when U.S. Marines occupied Nicaragua -- and he soon became active in the political and cultural projects of la Vanguardia. The movement -- whose ranks included poets Jose Coronel Urtecho, Joaquin Pasos and Octavio Rosas -- was deeply influenced by European fascism and fervently backed the U.S.-imposed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Garcia.

Stylistically, poets of la Vanguardia were influenced by fledgling trends in North American literature. The result -- a poetry built around conversational language, free verse, dialogue and satirical humor, among other devices -- is a distinctly Nicaraguan poetry.

"We were never a group of provincial poets writing about church steeples," Cuadra told cultural historian Steven White. "We wanted to see what was going on in the world, assimilate it, and then create our own poetry. And we did that instinctively."

Among those most inspired by the new approach was Cuadra's cousin, Ernesto Cardenal, perhaps the most widely read Nicaraguan poet since Ruben Dario.

But by 1934, when "Poemas nicaraguenses" ("Nicaraguan Poems"), Cuadra's first collection of poems, was published, the author was already beginning to question the political orientation of la Vanguardia. Three years later, Cuadra was jailed by Somoza for demonstrating against the dictatorship.

Whether by choice or by circumstance, Cuadra has never strayed far from politics since. Jailed twice and continually harassed by the government during the Somoza family's 33-year reign, Cuadra worked clandestinely with the Sandinistas during the Nicaraguan revolution. But shortly after the guerrilla army came to power, Cuadra found himself again leading the opposition, only this time he was tilting at a different windmill.

The one constant since his break with la Vanguardia, Cuadra insists, has been his promotion of Nicaraguan nationalism, democracy and self-determination. But he has insisted on doing so outside the rigid constraints of party politics.

"You need freedom to create," he says. "When an artist uses (partisan) politics in his work, he makes propaganda. And when an artist does that, he loses the ability for self-criticism."

"The artist and the poet must become personally engaged in the political struggle but he must not compromise his art."

Which is not to suggest that Cuadra's poetry is apolitical; indeed, many of his poems are just the opposite. In an early work, "Poem of the Foreign Movement in the Jungle," Cuadra rails against the U.S. occupation of Nicaragua, a nationalistic stand he repeated a few years ago in "The Calabash Tree."

But there are other themes and inspirations, as well. An enthusiastic student of Nicaraguan history and indigenous culture, Cuadra has compiled an extensive collection of books on ethnography and archeology. He is also widely read in mythology and linguistics and speaks fluent French. He may be the closest thing Nicaragua has to a Renaissance man -- and each of these interests have made their way into his poetry.

(c) 1990 Los Angeles Times, September 5, 1990

With his thick-rimmed glasses, gray hair and mustache, Don Pablo Antonio -- he prefers the traditional formal address -- even looks the part of an intellectual, or college professor, which he has been at various times in his life.

And despite some impressive -- and unlikely -- political victories, Cuadra insists his most lasting contribution to Nicaragua has been his poetry.

"The poet creates the language of the future," he says. "Art is one of the messages that transcends the human condition."

GRAPHIC: Photo, PABLO ANTONIO CUADRA Nicaraguan poet and former editor

TYPE: Series

SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES FESTIVAL; FESTIVALS; ARTS -- NICARAGUA; POETS; POETRY; WRITERS; NICARAGUA -- POLITICS; JOURNALISM; CUADRA, PABLO ANTONIO

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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February 7, 1991, Thursday, FINAL

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8; ZONE: M

LENGTH: 928 words

HEADLINE: Sandinistas reportedly in joint-rule accord

BYLINE: By Nathaniel Sheppard Jr., Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: MANAGUA, Nicaragua

BODY:

Moderate forces in the new civilian government and in its predecessor, the Sandinista Front, have worked out a secret agreement on joint rule in the country, political sources say.

The arrangement, under which most major political decisions are to be made through a process of compromise, has angered the ideologically rigid left wing of the Sandinistas and the right wing of the U.S.-backed government, according to some involved.

The Sandinistas, who ruled Nicaragua for 10 years, were defeated in elections last February by a political coalition headed by now-President Violetta Chamorro and known as UNO.

Sources in and close to the government said UNO's lack of political experience and inability to organize a loyal grass-roots support network had left officials no choice but to seek the cooperation of the Sandinistas.

"They (the Sandinistas) showed they were in position to make good on their promise to rule from below by pulling Sandinista unionists off their jobs in May and July," said a foreign diplomat. "It is not a well-kept secret that they (the government) must placate the Sandinistas on most of the major decisions they make."

A Sandinista official said the new arrangement was "implicit but not explicit. There is a strong lobby in the Legislative Assembly; we have established control over certain key agencies, including the military, and have five Sandinista ministers in government.

"If Chamorro wants something, she has to negotiate it with us," he said. "If she does not there could be a social explosion."

The official said the Sandinistas were instrumental in the government's ability to hold a week of national dialogue last year. "The trade unions were not going to participate," the official said. "But the leadership, after certain promises were made in meetings with the government, told them to cool it and not disrupt the meetings."

The Sandinistas' coziness with the government is reflected in the new appearance and softer tone of Barricada, the Sandinistas' official newspaper.

(c) 1991 Chicago Tribune, February 7, 1991

Its logo of a soldier behind sandbags aiming an AK-47 has been replaced by a 10-gallon hat symbolizing Augusto Sandino, the Nicaraguan revolutionary who inspired the Sandinista movement. A recent front-page editorial explained that the paper would take a more cooperative posture toward the government and toward rebuilding the destitute nation.

Government officials refused to be interviewed on the subject, but Sandinistas expressed contrasting views on the desirability of the new arrangement.

"We say officially that there is no co-government but that we have some influence in government because we are the best organized political party," said Luis Carrion, a ranking Sandinista official.

"We have high-level contacts with the government fairly regularly in which we tell them our point of view or they ask our view on things they plan to do," he said. But "sometimes they pull off things without telling us or the Legislative Assembly in advance."

Pressed for details, Carrion said meetings are held at least twice a month. The Sandinistas usually are represented by former President Daniel Ortega, Sergio Ramirez, Jaime Wheelock and Carrion. Government representatives include Antonio Lacayo, minister of the presidency; Carlos Hurtado, minister of government; and Alfredo Cesar, assembly president, Carrion said. Ramirez was Ortega's running mate in the February elections.

Lacayo, to whom Carrion referred as "the prime minister," is widely regarded as the most powerful political figure in the government, even more powerful than his mother-in-law, the president, who often is not present at key planning meetings.

Asked what role Chamorro had in the governing arrangement, Carrion said, "She affixes her signature to every agreement."

Conservatives in the government, led by Vice President Virgilio Godoy and Managua Mayor Arnoldo Aleman, oppose the agreement with the Sandinistas. They have called for the resignations of Lacayo, Hurtado and others involved.

Many Sandinistas also bristle at the power-sharing arrangement and derisively refer to the Sandinista participants as "social democrats."

"There are two problems with this arrangement," said Francisco Lopez, a Sandinista founder who heads the National Institute for Social and Economic Studies. "It makes it appear that we have reneged on the revolutionary principles we spent 11 years fighting for, and we begin to help justify all the mistakes this government is making.

"We also run the risk of demobilizing the very sectors which were the key to our support. We lose the perspective of an organization working at the public level and start negotiating the problems of our country at the highest levels of leadership," Lopez said.

"This co-government idea developed during the period of transition for the new government. It is a social democrat-style not viable among the bases of Sandinista support - women, workers' groups, small industry, intellectuals and

(c) 1991 Chicago Tribune, February 7, 1991

artisans," Lopez said.

"In theory those involved in co-government say 'We are Sandinistas and have the people's interest at heart,' " said Norma Cuadra, a Sandinista activist. "In practice we haven't seen this. Decisions are made at the highest levels.

"There is currently a class struggle within the movement between the working class and the elite. The elite, or social democrats, agree with the elitist end of UNO that neoliberalism can solve the country's problems," she said. "They are the same as the technocrats in UNO but less brutal in their decisions."

NICARAGUA; PROFILE; GROUP; OPPOSITION; GOVERNMENT; MILITARY; NAMELIST

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3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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March 4, 1990, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

NAME: Violeta Barrios de Chamorro

CATEGORY: Politics and Government (Foreign)

SECTION: Section 4; Page 3, Column 1; Week in Review Desk

LENGTH: 1188 words

HEADLINE: THE WORLD; Nicaragua's Family History: An Insider's Tale;
The Chamorro Saga Began Long Ago, But as for the Ortegas . . .

BYLINE: By ARTURO CRUZ Jr.; Arturo Cruz Jr., who is writing a history of
Nicaragua, is a former Sandinista and a former contra.

BODY:

IN his moment of defeat after the election last week, President Daniel Ortega Saavedra of Nicaragua gave a concession speech. Then he went to the house of Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, almost like a neighbor in distress coming to seek solace. "Come in, my little father, because I love you," the handsome woman was quoted as telling the man she had just defeated in the race for president.

A curious scene, given the decade's rages. To understand it you have to understand who the Chamorros are and who the Ortegas are and that Nicaragua's history is largely a history of families.

Dona Violeta, as the new President-elect is known, is rightly described as an aristocrat. But aristocracy does not mean the same thing in Nicaragua as in other Latin countries. Dona Violeta is closer to the people than her skeptics would like to believe. She is a devout Catholic. She keeps alive the memory of her murdered husband. In fact, she talks to her late husband every night.

The voters related to her campaign style more readily than to the Madison Avenue techniques of Daniel Ortega, whose international notoriety made him less appealing to many Nicaraguans than to the Hollywood crowd. (The man he helped to overthrow in 1979, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, liked to be recognized among foreigners, too, but his orientation was East Coast - West Point, to be precise.) When the Nicaraguans chose Mrs. Chamorro, they were choosing a symbol of their country. But it is necessary to start at the beginning.

In the days of Spanish colonization in the early 1800's, Nicaragua was a forgotten province, rich in land and with relatively few people. From time to time a boat would put in at the mouth of the San Juan River on the Atlantic coast. This river linked the port to the Great Lake, on the shores of which sat (and still sits) Granada, home of the Chamorro family.

The boat came bearing liquor from Peru, guitar strings, and news of the world. Granada had two or three "commercial" families who dealt in contraband. The other great clans raised cattle. The Chamorros were among them, hard-working folk of rustic habits, possessing land but little cash. At great sacrifice they sent one of their own, Pedro Jose Chamorro, to study in far-off Guatemala.

(c) 1990 The New York Times, March 4, 1990

There, he had a son with an Indian woman.

With independence in 1821 came the first civil war. Don Pedro sought refuge in Managua, where he died. His widow had to take the charity of her late husband's illegitimate son, who was summoned from Guatemala to run the family business.

In one of those mythic twists of Nicaraguan history, Jose Fruto Chamorro, a mixture of dispossessed Indian and white landowner, founded a dynasty and became the first Chamorro to become president. For Don Fruto, the country was like a family: it needed a firm but affectionate father. Perhaps he lacked brilliance, but no one doubted his character. Nicaraguans say that if he had been alive when William Walker arrived in the 1850's, the American adventurer would never have seized temporary control of Nicaragua.

The country enjoyed 30 years of peace in the second half of the 19th century. Many who governed were relatives of Don Fruto, and Nicaragua saw the advent of railroads, telegraphs and good roads. Schools were built and coffee was introduced. All this without a buildup of foreign debt and without a political life disfigured by violence and corruption. The country lived in splendid isolation from the revolutions that swept other Central American lands.

Aristocracy Without Luxury

The aristocracy was never wealthy enough to indulge in a life of luxury. The landowners seemed almost small tradesmen compared with their counterparts in El Salvador and Guatemala, who grew wealthy on coffee, and indolent and arrogant by exploiting the abundant and docile labor force. With time the Chamorros became an aristocratic family, but from the beginning they could not deny their partly Indian origins, and they slept in hammocks and ate the same diet of tortillas, rice and beans as their workers. It was only later that such people learned more refined habits, after the arrival of French and Italian immigrants. Then came the Liberal Revolution in the early 1900's, and a challenge to the landed aristocracy by the new families like the Somozas and the Ortegas. The upstarts' victory meant an end to republican institutions. The times turned against Don Fruto's relatives; they suffered exile, imprisonment and economic ruin. (Two Chamorros led the country for a time: a pompous intellectual and a caudillo whose courage in facing bullets was legendary.) In the 20th century the Chamorros would be out of power more often than in - whether the triumphant adversary was named Zelaya, Somoza or Ortega. There was a certain repetition. Every new family that seized power set about reorganizing the state, establishing its own bureaucracy, widening the circle of new rich, refounding the army, putting warships on both coasts. Each new clan sought to draw legitimacy and self-esteem from its recognition by foreigners and, in the case of the Somozas, from the accumulation of wealth.

The most notable Chamorro of this century was Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Cardenal: proud of his heritage, a man of character, heir to the newspaper La Prensa, which was founded by his father. His quarrel with the Somozas led Don Pedro Joaquin to admire Sandino, and to pay for his opinions with jail, exile and eventually his life. It led him to travel to Cuba to ask Fidel Castro for the means to set up his own guerrilla army. Later, in the early 70's, he went to Chile during the rule of Salvador Allende Gossens, whence he returned unimpressed with the "Leninist delirium" sweeping that country. But he also returned convinced that his own Conservative Party had to be made into a

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vehicle for introducing social democracy.

Pedro Joaquin Chamorro eventually married Violeta Barrios, who was from a land-owning family in Rivas. Like most Nicaraguan women, Violeta lived for her husband and her children, despising politics and hoping for the fall of the Somozas. Her husband was killed in 1979.

Today, she is about to govern Nicaragua. Those who say that Dona Violeta has no social conscience are ignorant of the legacy of her husband. They forget that more than 40 percent of the best land in the country is in the hands of the Sandinista state, and that there is reason to think that Dona Violeta will really divide these lands among the rural population - the equivalent of turning Manhattan Island over to the homeless. One problem she faces is more uniquely Nicaraguan, namely whether in running the country she will choose only members of her family. (In this regard the Ortegas were entirely traditional, with one brother running the Government, the other, the army.) Dona Violeta depends heavily on her older son, her older daughter, on her son-in-law, on the sister of her son-in-law, on the husband of the sister of her son-in-law, and the brother of the husband of the sister of her son-in-law. Her challenge will be to go beyond matters of family, and govern for the benefit of all.

GRAPHIC: Photo: Young couple: Violeta Barrios de Chamorro with her husband, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Cardenal (Sygma/Jason Bleibtreu)

LEVEL 1 - 29 OF 35 DOCUMENTS

Public Papers of the Presidents

White House Statement on the President's Meeting With
Violeta Chamorro

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 667

May 5, 1989

LENGTH: 271 words

The President today met with Mrs. Violeta Chamorro, publisher of the Nicaraguan newspaper La Prensa. Mrs. Chamorro is in Washington at the invitation of the National Endowment for Democracy. Mrs. Chamorro and La Prensa have become symbols of freedom of expression and the struggle against tyranny and dictatorship throughout Latin America, beginning with the struggle against the Somoza government.

During the meeting, the President expressed his deep regard for Mrs. Chamorro and of her unceasing efforts to carry on the tradition of her assassinated husband over the last 10 years in the face of Sandinista harassment and intimidation. The President told Mrs. Chamorro that he shared her

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 667

and intimidation. The President told Mrs. Chamorro that he shared her disappointment and concern that the new media law promulgated by the Sandinistas does not guaranteed the free functioning of the media and unrestricted political expression. The new law gives the Ministry of Interior wide latitude for prosecuting and publishing the media for such ill-defined concepts as violating "national integrity" and for publishing "injurious, defamatory and false news." Rather than relaxing existing controls and increasing freedom of expression, the law is a more systematic compilation of existing restrictions and sanctions.

The Sandinista media law, as well as the recently approved electoral law, do not comply with the letter or the spirit of the Esquipulas and El Salvador agreements signed by Central American leaders. The President and Mrs. Chamorro expressed their hope that international leaders would use their influence to persuade the Sandinistas to fulfill their commitment.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 471

voice of its publisher, Violeta Chamorro, who makes it clear that on the subject of freedom the press can never be agnostic. She said: "Without liberty of the press, there is no representative democracy nor individual liberty nor social justice, only darkness, impunity, abuse, mediocrity, and repression."

Well, that's the choice we face: between the light of liberty or the darkness of repression. When, after terrible voyages of sickness and hardship, our ancestors first spied Liberty's torch, they knew that light shone for them -- "those huddled masses yearning to breathe free." For those who've known only the bitterness of want and oppression, that torch burns especially bright.

Today the light of freedom is our sacred keepsake, the promise of America to all mankind. We must forever hold its flame high, a light unto the world, a beacon of hope that extends beyond this harbor, all the way to the jungled hills of Nicaragua, where young men are fighting and dying today for the same liberties we hold dear, all the way into the hearts of people everywhere who fight for freedom.

Thank you all. God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 4:59 p.m. in the Great Hall on Ellis Island. In his opening remarks, he referred to Dr. Billy Graham, nationally known

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 35 DOCUMENTS

Public Papers of the Presidents

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Liberalization
of Trade and Investment With Nicaragua

26 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1780

November 8, 1990

LENGTH: 246 words

President Bush today signed a Presidential proclamation designating Nicaragua as a beneficiary of the trade measures provided for in the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act. Nicaragua's participation in the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) benefits will give Nicaraguan businesses duty-free access to the U.S. market for a wide range of goods and will prompt growth in Nicaragua's export sector, which is critical for its economic recovery program.

In recognition of the disastrous economic situation which the democratically elected government of President Violeta Chamorro inherited, President Bush has determined that it is in the national interest to waive the statutory requirements that a lengthy review of worker rights in Nicaragua be conducted

26 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1780

before CBI benefits are extended. Nevertheless, we are satisfied that the Nicaraguan Government complies with the criteria of the law and that there is labor freedom in Nicaragua. Today the Nicaraguan workers are free to organize, the press is uncensored, political activity is unrestricted, and religious activity is free from government interference. This is in strong contrast to the record of the previous government.

By promoting increased trade ties between the United States and Nicaragua, President Bush's action is yet another sign of the new, friendly relationship between our two countries. The United States reiterates its strong support for the democratically elected government of Nicaragua.

26 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1533

26 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1533

October 5, 1990

LENGTH: 1182 words

September 29

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the National Security Council picnic at Fort McNair.

Later in the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to New York City. In his suite at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, President Bush held bilateral meetings with:

- President Cesar Gaviria of Colombia,
- Prime Minister Salim al-Huss of Lebanon,
- President Violeta Chamorro of Nicaragua,
- Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada,

26 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 609

April 20

The President announced that the Vice President will head a Presidential delegation to the inauguration of Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro on April 25. The following Members of Congress and distinguished citizens have been named to the delegation:

- Mrs. Quayle
- Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN)
- Senator Chris Dodd (D-CT)
- Senator David Durenberger (R-MN)
- Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT)
- Senator Connie Mack (R-FL)
- Senator John McCain (R-AZ)
- Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI)

26 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 609

Senator Harry Reid (D-NV)
Senator Terry Sanford (D-NC)
Gov. Bob Martinez of Florida
Representative Rod Chandler (R-WA)
Representative Mickey Edwards (R-OK)
Representative Jim Slattery (D-KS)
Representative Tom Tauke (R-IA)
Representative Anthony Beilenson (D-CA)
Representative Henry Hyde (R-IL)
Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)
Representative Cass Ballenger (R-NC)

26 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 609

Representative Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV)
Representative Bob Dornan (R-CA)
Representative Steve Solarz (D-NY)
Paul Coverdell, Director of the Peace Corps
Ambassador Joseph Reed, Chief of Protocol
Bernard W. Aronson, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs
Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick
Carol Hallett, Commissioner of Customs
Jeb Bush, chairman, Bush Klein Realty, Inc., Miami, FL
Allen Weinstein, Center for Democracy

Following the inauguration, the Vice President will travel to Mexico to meet with President Carlos Salinas de Gortari.

26 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 412

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);
- * 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

26 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 412

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.

46TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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April 16, 1985, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; Mary McGrory; A2

LENGTH: 787 words

HEADLINE: Running on Empty

BYLINE: MARY McGRORY

BODY:

My first reaction on getting a good look at downtown Managua was to burst out laughing.

Could President Reagan be serious, I asked myself as I looked at the littered block-size vacant lot opposite the city's finest hotel, the Intercontinental. The panorama of desolation was dotted by gutted buildings, which were further pocked by the removal of bricks from the shells. I could see squatters inside and roosters strolling through the squalor.

The 1972 earthquake flattened the capital of this wretched country and the ever-odious dictator Anastasio Somoza grabbed the relief funds to rebuild villas for his rich friends on the outskirts of town. The Sandinistas never got around to cleaning up. They have better things to do, they say.

Near the hotel I saw a taxi that seemed to be a metaphor for the whole mess, the unspeakable poverty, the incoherent government, the battered hopes and dreams of the revolution. Its tires were flat, its hood paintless, and its insides seemed to have been chewed by rats. A medallion on the battered door proclaimed it to be a member of the Fraternity of Taxis of Solidarity.

Beat-up, rusted-out city buses, packed to the eaves, grind through the streets, passing horse-drawn wagons. The only new vehicles are the East German trucks that are used to transport soldiers to the war zone.

This is the engine of military might that our president warns us threatens Nicaragua's neighbors and even ourselves?

The military threat evaporates on sight, and no serious American here will discuss it. Instead, they cite the danger that this poor wreck of a nation will be a model for other restless Latin-American revolutionaries.

A model? Are there Latin Americans who want a capital where there is no water two days a week, where shortages -- of light bulbs, toilet paper, sugar -- strike like bandits? Where gasoline and certain foods are rationed and the inflation rate is 50 percent?

George P. Shultz, our secretary of state, tells us it is "a Soviet state."

If it is, it's nothing like Albania. The first thing you see in the lobby of the hotel are plaques advising of weekly Lions Club and Rotary meetings. And the morning after the congressional delegation I accompanied arrived, we met with two vehemently dissident businessmen who spent an hour ripping the Sandinistas

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up one side and down the other -- even though they said the room was bugged and they would be reported and perhaps arrested.

Like all other stories I heard in Nicaragua, this one had a contradictory sequel and no real conclusion. Enrique Bolanos, the small, voluble head of the country's largest business federation, told us in the morning how he had been jailed twice for criticizing the state. But in the evening, we met him at a U.S. Embassy reception and heard him recount proudly how he had appeared several weeks ago on a televised town meeting with President Daniel Ortega and other members of the National Directorate and had told them how they were wrecking the economy.

"They don't repress very well," murmured an American colonel.

Freedom of the press may be curtailed, but freedom of expression is not. Nicaraguans are friendly, talkative people, and, in spite of everything, they like Americans. They argue about their government openly and passionately in terms that will be heard during the congressional debate on the \$14 million in aid for the "contras."

The discussion rages nonstop, ding-dong, tick-tock. It is the U.S.-sponsored war, say the Sandinistas, that has distorted everything, distracted the leadership, made repression mandatory. No, say the anti-Sandinistas, it is the crazed authorities, who burn to make Central America a Soviet satellite.

On censorship, which so inflames Reagan, we met with the Chamorro family, owners of La Prensa. The day we arrived, La Prensa did not publish because of heavy censorship. But the next day, all the censored stories were printed, including full discussion of Reagan's new plan. The one deletion: the word "peace" to define it.

Violetta Chamorro, widow of publisher Pedro Chamorro, who was murdered by Somoza, told of the return of censorship. Somoza at least had done it efficiently. The editor, however, told of a recent visit from Vice President Sergio Ramirez, who spoke of possibly limiting censorship to military matters.

Ortega, whom we met the next day, confirmed it. Ramirez had negotiated with what Ortega called "the voice of the contras" but nothing has come of it because, he said, "La Prensa went running off to the U.S. president to tell him what they talked about." Thus, another unresolved question is added to the rubble, which is the only thing that Nicaragua -- Reagan's "threat" and "model" -- has plenty of.

42ND STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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October 23, 1989, Monday, AM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 360 words

HEADLINE: Bush Going to Costa Rica; Will Meet Nicaraguan Opposition Candidate

BYLINE: By TERENCE HUNT, AP White House Correspondent

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Bush-Summit

BODY:

President Bush intends to meet with Nicaraguan opposition candidate Violetta Chamorro during a summit in Costa Rica but does not plan to have talks with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, who also will be there, the White House said Monday.

Bush will fly to San Jose, Costa Rica, on Friday at the invitation of President Oscar Arias to take part in a meeting marking 100 years of democracy in that Central American country.

Leaders of about 18 countries are expected to participate in the summit. The talks, which conclude before noon Saturday, are to be held at a resort complex about five miles from San Jose.

Ortega will attend as president of Nicaragua, while Ms. Chamorro will be there as part of an observer delegation. She is the presidential candidate of the National Opposition Union in elections scheduled for Feb. 25.

Following a policy he inherited from Ronald Reagan, Bush is trying to drive Oretaga from office, arguing that he leads a Marxist government.

On Saturday, Bush signed a \$9 million aid package intended to help the opposition defeat the ruling Sandinista government.

While no meeting with Ortega is planned, White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater noted that that the Nicaraguan leader will be in the same room with Bush during two plenary sessions and again during dinner.

Fitzwater said the summit "may be a very unique opportunity for us and the other countries of the hemisphere to impress on Nicaragua the importance of democracy and the folly of their ways."

However, Fitzwater said Bush's role will be "somewhat limited" because he will not have any remarks or speeches related to the summit.

Bush is expected to make departure remarks at nearby Andrews Air Force Base before dawn Friday as he heads for Costa Rica.

After the close of the summit, Bush is supposed to speak to employees at the U.S. Embassy in Costa Rica. Fitzwater said the president probably will meet outside the summit with some of the leaders.

Because the theme of the summit is democracy, the leaders of Cuba, Panama, Haiti and Chile were not invited. Fitzwater said the United States "did not dictate or comment on the guest list."

The Associated Press, October 23, 1989

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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November 25, 1990, Sunday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 6; Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1069 words

HEADLINE: OLD TROUBLES HAUNT NEW NICARAGUA;
POLITICS: PRESIDENT CHAMORRO IS EARNING DEFIANCE BY FAILING TO CURB ABUSES BY
SANDINISTAS.

BYLINE: By RICHARD BOUDREAUX, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: SANTO TOMAS, Nicaragua

BODY:

Hilario Vargas, a slight, soft-spoken agronomist, became mayor of this cattle town last May after voters all over Nicaragua swept the Sandinistas from office. A month later the local Sandinista army captain had him arrested.

A renegade Contra, defying a post-election peace pact, had shot a Sandinista lieutenant to death in a diner that day and escaped. Tension ran high. For an hour and a half, Vargas recalls, Capt. Francisco Henriquez held a pistol to his head, threatening to kill every government supporter in town. "He was hysterical," the mayor said.

Capt. Henriquez later apologized, but Vargas and the townspeople didn't forget. Joining a popular revolt across southeastern Nicaragua, they shut down the country's main east-west highway for 18 days this month to demand removal of all Sandinista soldiers and policemen from the region.

The blockade was the first serious challenge to President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro by her right-wing supporters, who question her survival strategy of leaving the military under Sandinista command. The protest gained weight when Vargas and seven other mayors from the region, where Chamorro ran strongest in the election, carried the demand to Managua.

After negotiations failed, Chamorro moved to end the conflict unilaterally. She sent an army convoy to clear the highway, then announced last Wednesday that 18 of the region's 34 army bases would be closed and 500 officers, nearly half those on duty there, would be retired by Dec. 31. But the mayors were not satisfied and asked local officials elsewhere in Nicaragua to join new protests.

"The war is over and the Contras have disarmed, so why do we need the military?" Vargas asked. "They are not doing anything but rustling cattle, stealing from homes and threatening us. They are nothing but parasites."

During the 8-year-war, the southeastern region embracing Boaco and Chontales provinces and southern Zelaya province were the U.S.-backed Contras' most secure haven. The frontier ranchers and dairy farmers remained aloof from the Sandinista insurgency that seized national power in 1979. Afterward, they resisted the arrival of Sandinista teachers, collective farms and army recruiters so stubbornly that Chontales became known as "La Vaca Echada" --

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the cow that lies down and won't move.

Although Chamorro polled 70% of the region's votes and remains enormously popular here, her government is earning the same defiance by failing to curb abuses by Sandinistas who kept their weapons after nearly 17,000 Contras laid down theirs.

Some mayors of her National Opposition Union, or UNO, say that the army or police routinely bar them from recovering municipal property stolen by their Sandinista predecessors. Forty-four former Contras have been arrested in a campaign of harassment, according to international officials supervising their resettlement.

"In every town I visit, people who are UNO activists have been arrested, tortured and accused of being delinquents," said the Roman Catholic bishop of Juigalpa, Pablo Antonio Vega, who joined protesters at the barricades. "There is no legal security here. Armed Sandinistas are the only law."

Vargas and other mayors want the region disarmed except for municipal policemen chosen by and responsible to them, not to the Sandinista command in Managua. Because such forces could include former Contras, the Sandinistas pressed Chamorro to resist.

"Their criminal purpose is to dismantle the army so they can get on with the pleasurable task of sticking the knife to the hated Sandinistas," declared the Sandinista newspaper Barricada.

The protest was sparked by the arrest Oct. 28 of a former Contra commander known as Oscar who, as part of the rebels' demobilization accord, had been allowed to set up a 30-man rural police force in a small resettlement zone in the southeast.

When Oscar decided to expand the force to 79 and refused to take orders from Managua, the government sent troops and helicopters to seize him and disarm his men. Two protest rallies ended in bloodshed when troops opened fire on Oscar's supporters in Yolaina and Nueva Guinea, killing five of them.

Former Contras, also angered by the government's delay in providing land for their resettlement, built the first barricades at the eastern end of the Rama Road on Oct. 31. But as the protest spread west to Juigalpa -- throwing up 16 barriers of boulders and parked vehicles along a 110-mile stretch -- it was joined by thousands of people who had never picked up a gun. The mayors' participation helped keep the roadblock gatherings peaceful and festive.

"This is a rebirth of civilian activism," said Roger Garcia, a Ministry of Education official who helped build the barricade here. "There are no more Contras. This is the people. . . . After so many years of trauma, we just want the Sandinistas to go away."

The protesters' demands for security were backed by Nicaragua's Roman Catholic bishops and Vice President Virgilio Godoy. He called their action, which caused shortages in Managua of the isolated region's milk and cheese, "a beautiful act of civic protest."

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Chamorro branded it the work of "extremists." Negotiations broke off when she refused to dump Sandinista Gen. Humberto Ortega as army commander and her son-in-law, Antonio Lacayo, as minister of the presidency. The crackdown came after four policemen were killed by one of their own grenades while trying to stop the protest from spreading to the Pan American Highway.

The army cleared the barricades with little resistance last weekend. Police arrested former Contra leader Aristides Sanchez and raided the Contras' resettlement office, seizing field radios, computers, military uniforms and a few AK-47 rifles and grenades.

Chamorro promised an investigation of the shootings at Yolaina and Nueva Guinea. But so far the conflict has only increased resentment among the president's supporters over hers and Lacayo's perceived leanings toward the Sandinistas. Said Garcia: "I'm afraid we are seeing the beginning of a new dictatorship."

As traffic resumed on the Rama Road last week, Sandinista troops and police were deployed to prevent new blockades.

"It's true that the majority of the people here want us to march out of this zone with our heads hanging low," said Lender Aleman, a policeman who was guarding a bridge Friday near Santo Tomas. "But it's not their decision to make."

GRAPHIC: Photo, Former Contras and supporters blocking Rama Road at El Cacao, 140 miles southeast of capital. Blockades, a rightist protest against government strategy, shut down Nicaragua's main east-west highway for 18 days. Rightists demanded removal of Sandinista soldiers, police from the region. Reuters; Map, NICARAGUA, VICTOR KOTOWITZ / Los Angeles Times

SUBJECT: NICARAGUA -- POLITICS; NICARAGUA -- GOVERNMENT; CHAMORRO, VIOLETA BARRIOS; GUERRILLAS -- NICARAGUA; SANDINISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT; NICARAGUA -- ARMED FORCES; BLOCKADES; DEMONSTRATIONS -- NICARAGUA; POLITICAL ACTIVISM

History

ALTAMIRANO, Pedro. General. Known as "Pedron." A Liberal general who fought alongside Sandino and was famed for his innovative ways of killing people with a machete. As one admirer delicately put it: "the fearsome Pedron never forgave a collaboratorist." The Sandinista army has named a BLI after him.

BOLIVAR, Simon. Liberator. Internationalist military brigade named after him fought against Somoza. Sandinistas then sent them home, replacing them with Cubans. A Sandinista army BLI is named after him.

CASTRO Castro, Andres. Prominent Nicaraguan nationalist hero. At the battle of San Jacinto, September 14, 1856, Castro is said to have used a rock to bash in the head of an unknown American follower of William Walker. An ERN/North Regional Command is named for him.

CHAMORRO Cardenal, Pedro Joaquin. Anti-Somoza martyr. Born in 1924; died 1978. Educated at the Jesuit Colegio in Granada. A leader of the student "Generation of 44" known for its democratic spirit and opposition to dictatorship. Finished his law degree in exile at the National University of Mexico. Assumed the editorship of *La Prensa* in 1952. Imprisoned for his role in a 1954 anti-Somoza revolt. Released in 1956 but arrested again after the assassination of Somoza Garcia. Escaped to Costa Rica in 1957. Traveled to Cuba in the spring of 1959. Imprisoned after the failure of the "Olama y Mollejonas" attempt against Somoza. Prominent in efforts to convert the Conservative Party to revolutionary Christian Democracy. Arrested as one of the leaders of the UNO riots of January 1967. Put together the UDEL opposition coalition of conservatives and leftists in 1974 after breaking with Aguero over the Liberal-Conservative pact of 1971. Arrested a fourth time and sentenced to loss of political rights after organizing the boycott of Somoza's 1974 elections. Continued his internationally known newspaper crusade against Somoza until assassinated on January 10, 1978. Chamorro's death led to massive protests and a 3-week national strike



Pedro Joaquin CHAMORRO Cardenal.
(© AP/Wide World Photos)

sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. It is widely viewed as the major event catalyzing Nicaraguan opinion against Somoza. His elder son, Pedro Joaquin, is a member of the Nicaraguan Resistance Directorate. His daughter, Claudia, is FSLN Ambassador to Costa Rica. His younger son, Carlos Fernando worked as a propagandist for the Sandinistas and now edits the FSLN party daily, *Barricada*. His daughter, Cristiana, works for *La Prensa*. His widow, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, was a member of first governing junta after Somoza's ouster but resigned quietly after the FSLN revealed its intransigence. Today she is publisher of *La Prensa*.

COLINDRES, Juan Gregorio. Former combatant under Sandino. Killed by the National Guard in an anti-Somoza rebellion in 1948 that had Conservative Party backing. A Sandinista army BLI is named after him.

DARIO, Ruben. Nicaraguan poet, the most famous Central American poet, and the best Spanish American modernist poet. Born on January 18, 1867, in Metapa, Matagalpa. Died on February 6, 1916, in Leon. His "Ode to Theodore Roosevelt" is a classic of cultural nationalism.

ESTRADA, Gen. Francisco. Liberal general. Executed in 1934 with Sandino and General Umanzor. A Sandinista army BLI is named after him.

ESTRADA, Gen. Jose Dolores. Nicaraguan patriotic hero. Leader in the September 14, 1856, Battle of San Jacinto that helped lead to William Walker's defeat. An ERN/North Regional Command is named after him.

HERRERA, Rafaela. Directed the defense of the Castle of the Immaculate Conception at the Battle of San Juan, 1782, when her father, the Spanish *comandante*, was ill. Participating in the battle was the future Admiral Nelson, who was to later defeat Napoleon's fleet at Trafalgar. An ERN/North Regional Command is named for her.

LOPEZ Perez, Rigoberto. Poet and dissident Liberal who assassinated President Somoza Garcia on September 21, 1956. Lopez was killed, and Somoza Garcia's sons Luis and Anastasio Somoza Debayle assumed the presidency and directorship of the National Guard, respectively.

NICARAO, Cali. Indian chieftain in what is now known as Rivas, circa 1500 A.D. Entered into a treaty with the Spanish who began to refer to the territory as Nicaraio. Eventually the word became "Nicaragua." An ERN/North Regional Command is named after him.

ORTIZ Centeno, Pedro Pablo. Former National Guard sergeant. Fought against Pastor's troops on the Southern Front during 1979, before escaping by sea to El Salvador. Known as "Suicida" for his ability to get his men in and out of firefights no one would have been expected to survive. As founder of the "Anti-Sandinista Guerrilla Special Forces" in late 1979, he led one of the first armed groups against the new Sandinista government. Later integrated his forces into the FDN. Arrested, tried, court-martialed, and executed by the FDN on charges of rape and killing of prisoners in late 1983.

RAUDALES, Ramon. General. A member of Sandino's General Staff in the 1930s. In September 1958, Raudales, at age 68, entered Nicaragua from Honduras with fellow Sandino General Heriberto Reyes and less than 40 men, beginning a guerrilla campaign in the Nueva Segovia mountains. Called

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NEW AND REVISED EDITION

NGC

NGC, see under NEW GENERAL CATALOGUE OF NEBULAE AND CLUSTERS OF STARS.

NGU, see NON-GONOCOCCAL URETHRITIS.

NIC, see under NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZING COUNTRIES.

Nicaragua. Central American Republic with an economy based on primary export crops, mainly coffee, cotton and sugar. Subject to repeated invasions by the U.S. in the first quarter of the 20th century, Nicaragua was occupied by U.S. marines from 1927-1934. Washington withdrew its troops under Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, but left behind a surrogate force in the Nicaraguan National Guard, which supported 45 years of dictatorship by the Somoza family (1934-1979). *Somocismo* was characterized by extreme centralization of power, corruption and wide-scale HUMAN RIGHTS abuses. Anastasio Somoza Debayle was overthrown in July 1979 by a popular uprising led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), after a prolonged civil war which claimed over 50,000 lives. (See SANDINISTA; CONTRAS; REAGAN DOCTRINE.) N.M.

Bibl: G. Black, *Triumph of the People* (London, 1981).

NIEO, see under NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER.

Night of the Long Knives. The dramatic events of the weekend of 29 June-2 July 1934 in Germany when, on the orders of Hitler, Ernst Roehm and the leadership of the brown-shirted SA were liquidated. The SA Stormtroopers had been an indispensable element in the NAZIS' rise to power but had become a major embarrassment in Hitler's relations with the German Army, which were the key to his succeeding the dying Hindenburg as Head of State and Commander-in-Chief as well as Chancellor. Goering and Himmler (whose black-shirted SS carried out the executions) were the moving spirits in organizing the killings. Hitler was apparently convinced by the argument that the SA leaders were plotting a second and

smoothness with which the operation was carried out and the absence of any resistance suggested that this was a pretext with little substance. Amongst the 150-200 estimated to have been killed were a number (such as Gregor Strasser and General von Schleicher) who had no connection with the SA but were victims of earlier feuds. The events were the turning-point of the Nazi regime: they opened the way to Hitler's succession to Hindenburg with the approval of the Army. At the same time Hitler's assumption of personal responsibility for the executions, carried out without any pretence of a trial, made clear the ruthless character of the regime, and the role played by the SS laid the foundation for their supremacy among its instruments of power.

A.L.C.B.

Bibl: M. Gallo, *The Night of the Long Knives* (New York, 1972; London, 1973).

nihilism. An attitude or viewpoint denying all traditional values and even moral truths. The word was invented by Turgenev in his novel *Fathers and Sons* (1861) to describe that part of the radical Russian intelligentsia (see RADICALISM; INTELLECTUALS) which, disillusioned with the slow pace of reform (see REFORMISM), abandoned the LIBERAL faith of their predecessors and embraced the belief that the destruction of existing conditions in Russia justified the use of any means. The chief ideologist of revolutionary UTILITARIANISM in politics, ETHICS, and AESTHETICS was D.I. Pisarev (1840-68), who was portrayed as Bazarov in Turgenev's novel and who proudly accepted the new label. Many members of subsequent generations of the Russian intelligentsia adopted nihilistic postures, from P.G. Zaichnevsky, who summoned his contemporaries 'to the axe', to Sergei Nechaev, author of a *Revolutionary Catechism*, who was portrayed as the unscrupulous Peter Verkhovensky in the novel by Dostoyevsky variously translated as *The Devils* or *The Possessed*. The term has subsequently been applied to various radical movements outside Russia: the NAZI victory in Germany in the 1930s was described as a 'REVOLUTION of nihilism'.

Economic Fact Sheet - Nicaragua
(US\$ millions unless otherwise indicated)

	1987	1988	1989	1990 proj
1. Socio-Economic Indicators				
Population (millions)	3.52	3.6	3.75	3.88
Pop. growth rate	1.3%	1.2%	4.2%	1.8%
Life expectancy (years)	64	64	64	64
Adult literacy	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2. Economic Indicators				
Nominal GDP (bil. of cordobas)	n/a	18.8	18.3	17.2
Nominal GDP per capita (cordobas)	n/a	5193	4877	4440
Inflation Rate (CPI)	7,907	35,657	1,689	13,500
Real GDP (cordoba) growth rate	(1.0%)	(10.9%)	(2.9%)	(5.7%)
Real GDP growth rate per capita	(2.4%)	(12.1%)	(7.2%)	(7.5%)
Unemployment	n/a	20%	20%	20%
Agriculture as a % of GDP	n/a	22.3%	23.5%	n/a
Government as a % of GDP	n/a	53%	53%	n/aa
Govt. budget deficit/GDP	n/a	25.8%	2.5%	20%
3. Balance of Payment				
US exports to Nicaragua (fob)	0.0	0.0	0.0	n/a
US imports from Nicaragua (cif)	0.0	0.0	0.0	n/a
US-Nicaragua trade balance	0.0	0.0	0.0	n/a
Total merchandise exports (fob)	299.9	235.7	292.1	321.0
Total merchandise imports (cif)	922.6	718.3	632.6	592.0
Trade Balance	(622.7)	(487.6)	(340.5)	(271)
Current Account Balance	(678)	(483)	(340)	(271)
4. External Finance				
Foreign Exchange Reserves	n/a	(0.1)	(5.1)	n/a
Exchange Rate (cordoba/US\$)	70	920	38,150	3,000,000
Total External Debt	n/a	7,220	8,081	10,500
Debt service ratio	n/a	2.2	2.7	3.4
5. Official Foreign Aid				
US economic assistance (FY)	-0-	-0-	-0-	336.6
US military assistance (FY)	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Total foreign assistance	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Research Memorandum

United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of Research



March 27, 1991

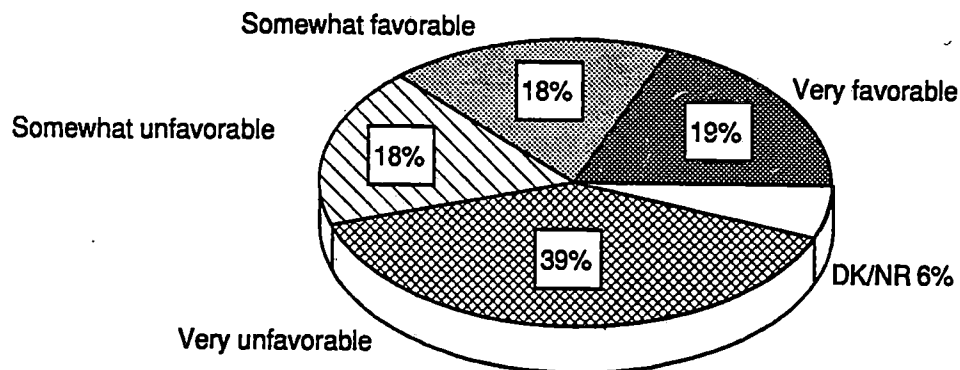
LITTLE LOVE LOST FOR SANDINISTAS IN NICARAGUA

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 President Chamorro and Contras, and perceptions of the overall social, economic, and political situation.

KEY FINDINGS:

- There is no evidence of renewed public support for the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. Close to six-in-ten have an unfavorable opinion of both Daniel Ortega and the FSLN; other Sandinista leaders and institutions are viewed with even greater disfavor.
- A solid majority (64%) believe the Sandinistas accomplished less than was expected by the Nicaraguan public during their decade in power.
- Sandinista efforts to disrupt government and force "pro-revolutionary" concessions are opposed by large majorities; half the population is skeptical of FSLN motives.
- Close to six-in-ten believe that the Nicaraguan revolution continues irrespective of the Sandinista fall from power, yet opinion is mixed as to whether this furthers the best interests of the people.

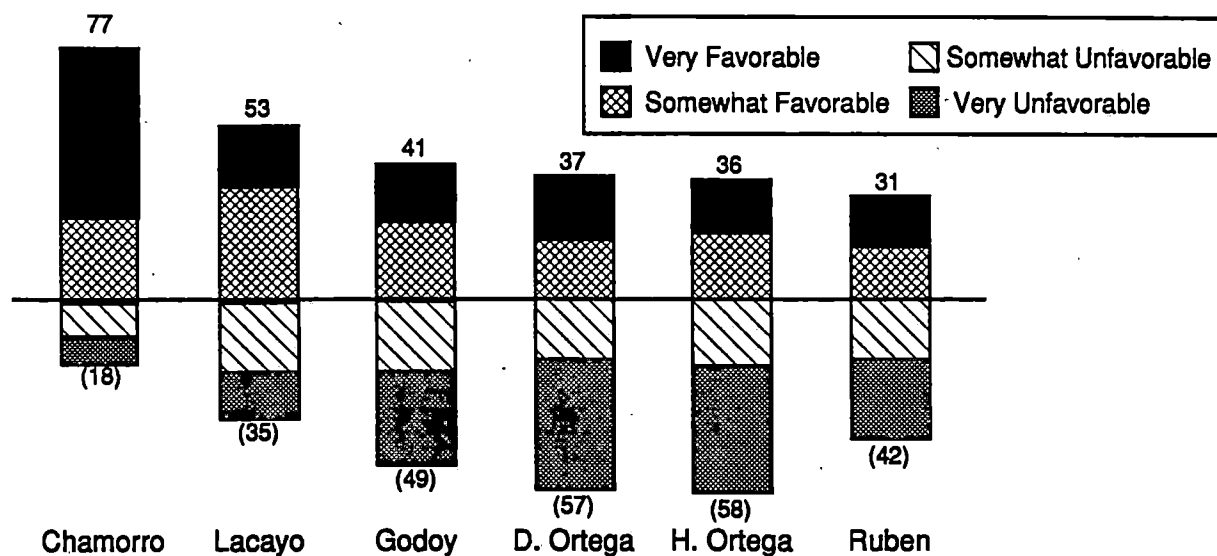
Figure 1: Opinion of Ortega Quite Negative



Sandinista Leaders Endorsed Only By Small Minority of Partisans

There is no evidence of any resurgence of popular support for the Sandinistas as Violeta Chamorro approaches the end of her first year in office. On the contrary and despite the fact that grave economic and socio-political problems remain, the country stands firmly behind the President.¹ Indeed, the survey data suggests that former President Daniel Ortega and the FSLN may have lost a measure of public endorsement since the elections.² Close to six-in-ten Nicaraguans have a negative opinion of Daniel Ortega (57%), Army chief General Humberto Ortega (58%), and Marxist ideologue Tomas Borge (62%).³ Only self-identified Sandinistas express a highly positive view of these key Sandinista leaders, although about half the higher educated have a favorable opinion of the ex-president (Tables 1A,1B; Figures 1,2).⁴

Figure 2: Ortega Brothers Held in Low Esteem by Majority of Nicaraguans



1. Chamorro is endorsed by 77% of the population. See Research Memorandum "Nicaraguan Support for Chamorro is Solid" for further details.

2. February 25, 1990 Presidential election results: Chamorro/UNO, 55%; Ortega/FSLN, 41%.

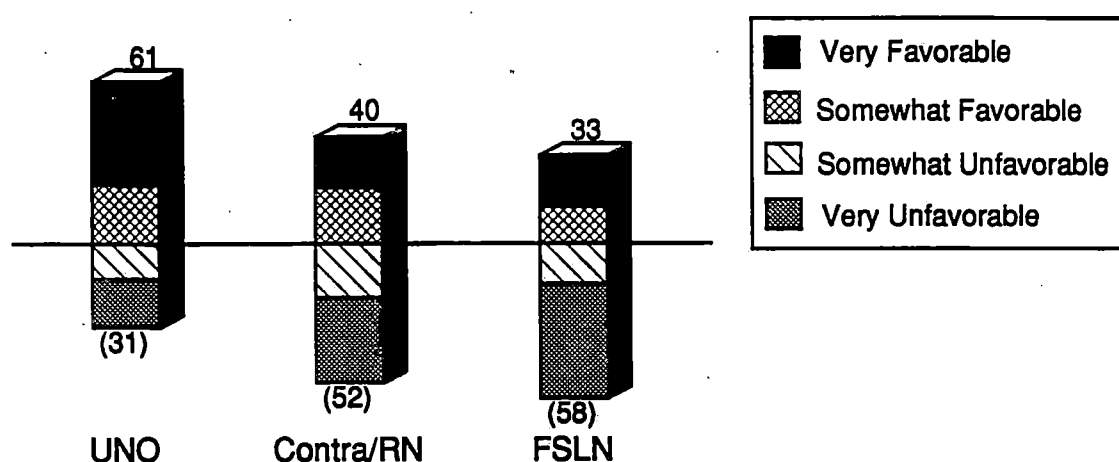
3. Daniel Ortega's generally unfavorable rating occurs despite the fact that his last "peace mission" to the Middle East (Jordan and Iraq) took place during fieldwork and shortly before initiation of the Gulf air war. The trip was covered in all newspapers (very heavily in the Sandinista press, where editorial concern was professed for his safety). A number of small FSLN peace rallies were organized during this period. See *El Nuevo Diario*, 1/14/91, p. 1.

4. 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.

Sandinista Organizations Also Viewed Negatively By Most

Disapproval is equally widespread among the Nicaraguan public for Sandinista organizations and institutions. A solid majority (58%) have an unfavorable opinion of the "Frente" FSLN; even more Nicaraguans view the Sandinista Youth organization and the Sandinista-controlled State Security Directorate (DGSE) with disfavor (65% and 59%, respectively). Although less widespread, opposition to the Ortega-led army and to the Sandinista labor union (FNT) is also significant. Again it is the self-identified Sandinistas who voice widest support for these organizations (Tables 2A, 2B, Figure 3).

Figure 3: Majority Rejects FSLN, But Most Favor UNO



Majority Are Disappointed With Accomplishments of the Sandinista Decade

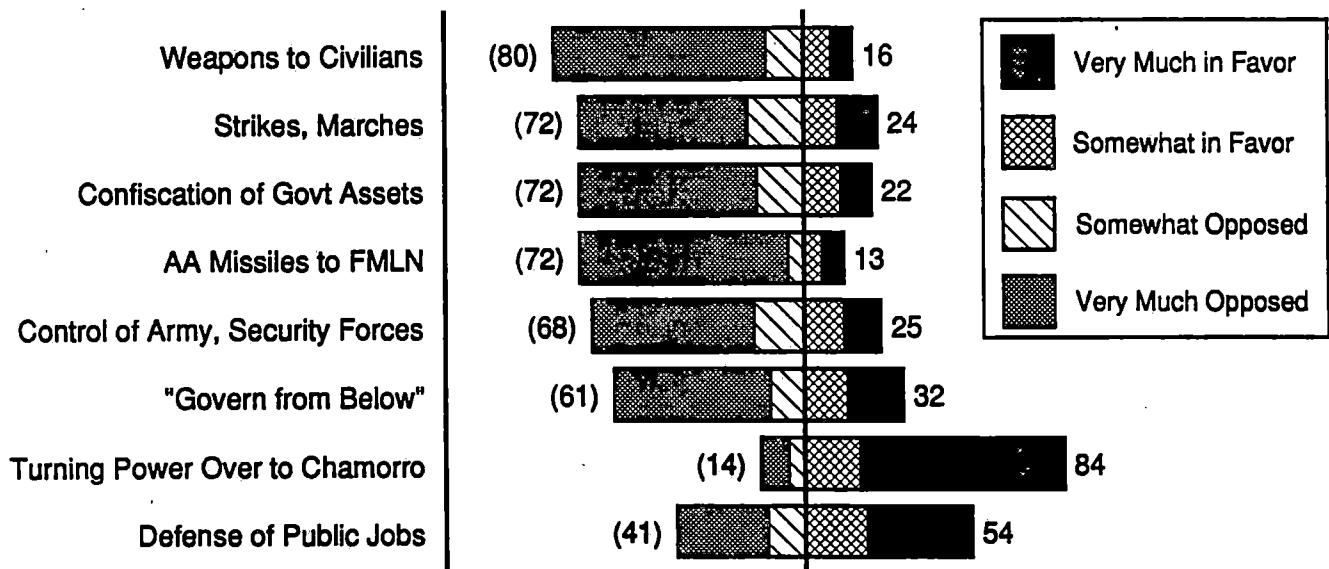
A solid majority of Nicaraguans (64%) believe that the Sandinistas disappointed the Nicaraguan public by accomplishing less than was expected of them during their decade in power, a perception echoed by close to half the Sandinista supporters themselves (46%). Both the lesser educated and higher educated sectors agree in this assessment (Table 3). Among those Nicaraguans perceiving a Sandinista failure, responsibility for the lack of accomplishment is placed on the Sandinistas themselves (cited by 43%) rather than on the United States or the Contra Resistance (13% and 7%, respectively). It comes as no surprise that FSLN supporters are more than twice as likely to target the U.S. with responsibility for their failures than are government partisans (23% versus 9%; Table 4).⁵

5. This was one of the very few survey questions which apparently engendered some concern among respondents; approximately one-in-five declined to state an opinion.

Recent Sandinista "Pro-revolution" Actions Earn Broad Disfavor ...

A series of controversial Sandinista actions taken, in Daniel Ortega's words, to "preserve the gains of the revolution" shortly prior to and in the months following Chamorro's April, 1990 inauguration have done nothing to dispel the widely-held negative opinion of the FSLN. By close to three-to-one or better, Nicaraguans oppose the distribution of weapons to civilian supporters (80% against), the use of strikes and demonstrations to pressure the Chamorro government (72%), the Sandinista confiscation of government property, equipment, and funds before leaving power (72%), continued control of the army (68%), and (by two-to-one) the attempt to "govern from below" (61%). The recently-revealed "facilitation" of anti-aircraft missiles to the Salvadoran FMLN guerrillas by members of the army is also widely opposed (72%). Only two policy actions receive the broad approbation of Nicaraguans: the turnover of power to the elected Chamorro administration (84%) and the enactment of legislation to protect public sector jobs (54%; Table 5, Figure 4).

Figure 4: Opposition to FSLN Actions is Widespread



... And Motives Are Suspect

Moreover, Nicaraguans are skeptical of Sandinista motives in pursuing these actions. Fully half the general public believes that the FSLN leadership has primarily acted to politically weaken the Chamorro regime (53%) rather than in defense of the best interests of the Nicaraguan people (33%). The better educated are more likely to give the Sandinistas the benefit of the doubt, however (Table 6).

Majority Believe That the Nicaraguan Revolution Continues Under Chamorro, But Endorsement is Tepid

Removal of the Sandinistas from power and broad opposition to the FSLN should not be considered the end of the Nicaraguan revolution. Although 29 percent of the people believe that the revolution has ended (most of whom believe this is "good" for the Nicaraguan people), a majority of all Nicaraguans (58%) think that it continues even under the Chamorro regime. The higher educated sector of society is even more likely to perceive an on-going revolution (70%), as are nine-in-ten of the Sandinistas (91%). However, forty percent of the UNO coalition supporters also believe that the revolution has not yet ended (Tables 7A,7C).

Among those Nicaraguans who perceive an ongoing revolution, opinion is split as to whether it benefits or prejudices the people's best interests: Half see benefits to the continuation (48%), including virtually all Sandinista partisans. However, a substantial minority believe a continuing revolution is "bad" for the Nicaraguan people, perhaps indicating the desire to move beyond the structures and processes of the Sandinista decade (Table 7C).

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 the self-defined Sandinista subgroup 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, [xxxxxxx] -- 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 total population that did not give an answer on 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 DANIEL ORTEGA

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?

d. DANIEL ORTEGA

	Total Public (1200)	POLITICS			EDUCATION ^a	
		Gov't (333)	Sand (223)	Ind. (617)	None/sm Prim'y (417)	Sec. & Above (289)
Sample Size:						
Very favorable	19%	4%	60%	14%	15%	32%
Somewhat favorable	18	14	26	18	16	19
	---	---	---	---	---	---
Subtotal favorable	37	18	86	32	31	51
Somewhat unfavorable	18	21	6	20	20	13
Very unfavorable	39	57	5	41	41	33
	---	---	---	---	---	---
Subtotal unfavorable	57	78	11	61	61	46
Don't know/no response	6	3	3	8	8	2
	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total:	100%	99% ^b	100%	101%	100%	99%

^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 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 (Inde. 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 SANDINISTA ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Question: All things considered, do you think that the Sandinistas accomplished about all that Nicaraguans expected from the revolution, more than they expected, or less than they expected?

	Total Public (1200)	POLITICS			EDUCATION	
		Gov't (333)	Sand (223)	Ind. (617)	None/sm Prim'y (417)	Sec. & Above (289)
Sample Size:						
About all that expected	10%	3%	28%	8%	8%	13%
More than expected	8	2	18	7	8	8
Less than they expected	64	78	46	63	60	70
Don't know/no response	18 ---	16 ---	7 ---	22 ---	23 ---	9 ---
Total:	100%	99%	99%	100%	99%	100%

TABLE 4: RESPONSIBILITY FOR LIMITED ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Question: [IF LESS THAN EXPECTED] Who do you think is most responsible for the fact that the Sandinistas accomplished less than was expected?

	Total <u>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</u> <u>Prim'y</u> (417)	<u>Sec. &</u> <u>Above</u> (289)
Sample Size:						
Sandinistas	43%	62%	10%	43%	43%	41%
United States	13	9	23	13	11	16
Contras/RN	7	5	12	6	5	11
Others/Multiple causes	1	2	1	1	1	2
Not asked	36	21	53	36	39	30
	---	---	---	---	---	---
Total:	100%	99%	99%	99%	99%	100%

TABLE 5: OPINION OF SANDINISTA ACTIONS

Question: Now I have a list of some actions that the Sandinistas have taken since they lost the elections last February. Please tell me how much you favor or oppose each of them. For example, are you in favor of or opposed to retaining possession of some property, equipment, and funds that they had access to while they were in 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. Retaining possession of property, equipment, and funds that they had access to while in government	22%	72%	6%
b. Distributing weapons to some civilian supporters	16	80	5
c. Turning over power to the elected Chamorro administration	84	14	3
d. Promoting demonstrations and strikes in order to influence Government decisions	24	72	4
e. Retain control of army and security forces	25	68	7
f. Attempt to "Govern from below" so that they can "preserve the gains of the revolution"	32	61	7
g. Passing laws so that members of the bureaucracy can not be fired	54	41	5
h. Facilitating missiles and other armaments to the Salvadoran guerrilla	13	72	14

TABLE 6: OPINION ON SANDINISTA MOTIVES

Question: Speaking of the Sandinistas, do you think the Sandinista leadership is acting primarily to defend the best interests of the Nicaraguan people or primarily because they want to weaken the Chamorro government?

	Total <u>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</u> <u>Prim'y</u> (417)	<u>Sec. &</u> <u>Above</u> (289)
Sample Size:						
To defend the Nicaraguan people	33%	15%	81%	27%	28%	47%
To weaken Chamorro	53	73	15	55	54	48
Don't know/no response	13	11	3	18	19	5
Total:	99%	99%	99%	100%	101%	100%

TABLE 7A: THE REVOLUTION: DOES IT CONTINUE?

Question: Speaking of the revolution, would you say that the Sandinista revolution is continuing or has it ended?

Sample Size:	Total <u>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</u> <u>Prim'y</u> (417)	<u>Sec. &</u> <u>Above</u> (289)
Ended	29%	48%	5%	25%	32%	24%
Continues	58	41	91	58	51	70
Don't know/no response	12 ---	11 ---	4 ---	17 ---	17 ---	6 ---
Total:	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 7B: WHEN DID IT END?

Question: [IF SAYS REVOLUTION HAS ENDED] When do you think it ended?

Sample Size:	Total <u>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</u> <u>Prim'y</u> (417)	<u>Sec. &</u> <u>Above</u> (289)
In 1979, with the fall of Somoza	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%
In 1990, with the election of Chamorro	26	45	4	21	28	23
Others	1	1	0	0	1	0
Don't know/no response	2	3	0	2	2	0
Not asked	71 ---	52 ---	95 ---	75 ---	68 ---	76 ---
Total:	101%	101%	99%	99%	100%	100%

TABLE 7C: OPINION ON BENEFIT/HARM OF REVOLUTION'S STATUS

Question: In your view, is this good or bad for the Nicaraguan people?

[THOSE BELIEVING REVOLUTION HAS ENDED IN TABLE 7A]

	Total <u>Public</u> (1200)	<u>POLITICS</u>		
		<u>Gov't</u> (333)	<u>Sand</u> (223)	<u>Ind.</u> (617)
Sample Size:				
Good	24%	43%	4%	19%
Bad	2	1	0	2
Don't know/no response	3	4	1	4
Not asked	71	52	95	75
	---	---	---	---
Total:	100%	100%	100%	100%

[THOSE BELIEVING REVOLUTION CONTINUES IN TABLE 7A]

	Total <u>Public</u> (1200)	<u>POLITICS</u>		
		<u>Gov't</u> (333)	<u>Sand</u> (223)	<u>Ind.</u> (617)
Sample Size:				
Good	28%	10%	83%	19%
Bad	23	26	4	29
Don't know/no response	7	4	4	10
Not asked	42	59	9	42
	---	---	---	---
Total:	100%	99%	100%	100%

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

4-18-91

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

Tony Snow

Last night's short toast to
Violeta worked out just right.
The humor was most
appropriate....

Please thank whomever
helped on this.

I think if we work in
pertinent humor, light touches,
anecdotes, it really helps..

gb .



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

4 17

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

Beth/Tony

Can we lighten this up a little/
some humorous anecdote

family

→

light touch...

If so work that in up front..tighten]

up first ~~page~~....leave 2nd

as is....

CP

4-17-91

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 APR 12 PM 2:50

April 12, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

THROUGH: TONY SNOW *TS*
FROM: BETH HINCHLIFFE *BH*
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT CHAMORRO ARRIVAL STATEMENT
AND STATE DINNER TOAST

I. ARRIVAL STATEMENT

On Wednesday, April 17, at 10 a.m., you will welcome Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro in a ceremony on the South Lawn.

Your remarks (7 minutes, cards) focus on three major themes. First: that President Chamorro was elected in the first free, open election in her country's history. Second: that her election heralds the triumph of democracy, and is one more step toward the goal of the world's first fully free hemisphere. Third: that she is now seen as her country's peacemaker, and the leader of reconciliation.

Your remarks conclude with a strong reaffirmation of this country's support and friendship for President Chamorro and Nicaragua.

II. TOAST

On Wednesday, April 17, at 7:15 p.m., you will attend a State Dinner in honor of Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro. Attached are your remarks for the dinner toast.

These remarks (3 minutes, cards) salute President Chamorro for her moral leadership. They focus on her personal vision -- her courage, idealism, and spiritual beliefs. They conclude by honoring her for her commitment to peace, reconciliation and liberty.

(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
April 12, 1991 12 p.m.
CHAMARR Draft Two

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

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

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

What a moment that was. In you we saw the exhilarating victory of democracy -- of that glorious new breeze that in one amazing year swept out oppression and dictatorship from Prague to Managua. In you we saw your nation's peacemaker -- the person who would close the books on 11 years of cruel civil war.

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

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

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

On that day you closed a painful chapter in your nation's history. And you began to forge a new one. The beautiful land

of Ruben Dario had been exhausted by strife. Embittered by repression. Polarized by government attempts to dominate every aspect of society. Impoverished by a cynical and mismanaged regime.

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

Following the course of your slogan: "Yes, we can change things" -- your reforms are realistic. Restoration of democratic liberties. Religious freedom. Economic reconstruction. Free market opportunities. Reallocation of military funds to vital economic and social programs. Reincorporation of former combatants and refugees.

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

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

hemisphere.

We know that the tasks facing the Nicaraguan people are difficult. Your economic stabilization plan requires hard choices. Economic reform after years of mismanagement is never easy and presents challenges to leadership. But sacrifice in the short run is vital to achieve long-term growth and development. And we hope that all elements of Nicaraguan society will work with you for the good of your country.

The Nicaraguan people do not stand friendless and alone to face these challenges. We are confident that as you confront them, all Nicaraguans will enjoy renewed and widely shared prosperity.

Dona Violeta, I am proud to stand with you -- and our nation is proud to stand by you. We're offering over \$500 million in aid over your first two years as President. And we've joined with other developed countries to work with the international financial institutions to help Nicaragua. Beyond aid, we're offering opportunities for trade and investment that will benefit both our countries through the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative.

Most of all, we're offering something from our hearts to your proud country -- your blue and white Nicaragua where as your National Anthem says: "the voice of the cannon no longer roars." We're offering our respect, our admiration, and our friendship.

As your nation renews itself under your leadership, the world shares the view of Nicaraguan poet Pablo Antonio Cuadra,

who wrote about your late husband Pedro -- tragically
assassinated for the pure passion of his political idealism.

Cuadra said of you: "Pedro's flag could not be in better hands."

Dona Violeta, Madam President, your nation is fortunate to
have you as a leader. We salute you. God bless you, and your
proud and courageous land.

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(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
April 12, 1991 1 p.m.
CHAMTOAST Draft Two

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

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

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

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

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

Under the courageous and idealistic example of President Chamorro, Nicaragua is rediscovering the meaning of its coat of arms -- the beautiful symbol embossed in the center of its flag. ^{yes} A triangle for equality. A rainbow for peace. And a shower of

light -- for liberty shining throughout the land.

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

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

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

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

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