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Costa Rica Departure Statement 10/10/91 [OA 8330]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 8, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
 TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: JOSEPH P. DUGGAN

SUBJECT: COSTA RICA DEPARTURE STATEMENT

I. SUMMARY

On Thursday, October 10, at 1:15 p.m., you will make a statement with President Calderon of Costa Rica on the South Lawn.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks (6 minutes, on cards) praise Costa Rica for their traditions of democracy and respect for human rights, and their work as a catalyst for peace in the region.

(Duggan/Simon)
October 8, 1991
Draft Three
Calderon

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CALDERON DEPARTURE
THE SOUTH LAWN
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1991
1:15 P.M.

Mr. President, I have been honored and pleased to meet with you today at the White House. I warmly remember my visits to Costa Rica as Vice President in 1986 and as President in 1989. I will never forget the cheers, the genuine enthusiasm Costa Ricans expressed when the United States flag was displayed on my first visit. And I know Barbara was touched by the warm hospitality extended by you, Mrs. Calderon, and the Costa Rican people at your inauguration last May. There can be no doubt, Mr. President, that the people of Costa Rica and of the United States have a deep friendship for one another.

Costa Rica and the United States stand shoulder to shoulder for common values and aspirations. Our friendship is rooted in shared commitments to human rights, economic and social freedom, democracy and peaceful foreign relations.

Costa Rica stands tall as a model of courage. // For most of your lifetime, Mr. President, Costa Rica's neighbors have suffered from violence and instability, often under dictatorship. Political violence, border conflicts, "death squads," and subversion by Marxist guerrillas -- all of these have scarred

Central America and the Isthmus. Through this all, without an army, Costa Rica stood fast.

Costa Rica is a rock of stability in Central America because its people believe in the permanent things: the sanctity of the person and of the family, the centrality of human freedom.

Almost half a century ago, the Costa Rican people made a civilized political and social compact. Costa Ricans strictly limited the power of government to interfere with civil liberties. Against all threats, domestic and external, Costa Ricans have kept faith with their promise. Costa Rica practices robust competitive politics, peacefully transferring power from party to party and from person to person. With its independent judiciary and limited public security forces, Costa Rica is a model civil society based on the rule of law.

Costa Rica keeps faith with its international commitments, even when doing so is costly. Through all of the Central American turmoil during the 1980s, Costa Rica gave safe haven to refugees and respected universal human rights. //

Mr. President, we support your efforts to renew Costa Rica's economic strength. You have assembled an effective economic team. You have shown personal courage and impressive skills of leadership in advancing such reforms as price deregulation, privatization of government agencies, and tax reform. I applaud these efforts which will help assure prosperity for the Costa Rican people. I encourage you to continue to exercise the leadership necessary to complete the reform effort. We are recognizing that leadership today in making available \$24 million

in Economic Support Funds. I promise to work unceasingly with you to let the liberating power of free markets help your country and mine -- and our neighbors as well.

Already our nations are working together to promote the Enterprise of the Americas Initiative for expanded trade and investment in the Western Hemisphere. And I thank you, Mr. President, for your strong support of this initiative. The framework agreement for trade and investment between our countries will join with other accords to create new jobs and improve living conditions throughout the Americas. Our common efforts will hasten the day when the Americas will become a flourishing trade area from the Arctic Circle to the Strait of Magellan. //

Mr. President, Costa Rica is a haven of peace, and Costa Ricans have always helped to resolve conflicts in your region. Today, we see the best of the Costa Rican tradition in your efforts to help bring about a just and peaceful solution to El Salvador's civil conflict. Fundamentally, all these efforts have been possible because Costa Ricans have labored for decades to cultivate the habits of civil society -- habits of freedom and responsibility. // Because of this abiding faith, Costa Rica is assisting in a new birth of freedom, prosperity and peace for all of Central America. \\\

Thank you again for your visit, and may God bless the people of Costa Rica and of all the Americas.

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Staffed
10/10/91

(Duggan/Simon)
October 4, 1991
Draft Two
Calderon

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CALDERON DEPARTURE
THE SOUTH LAWN
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1991
1:15 P.M.

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Almost half a century ago, the Costa Rican people made a civilized social compact. Costa Ricans strictly limited the power of government while strengthening families and free enterprise. Against all threats, domestic and external, Costa Ricans have kept faith with their promise.

The Republic of Costa Rica practices robust competitive politics, peacefully transferring power from party to party and from person to person. [On a matter that currently is being debated in my country, I must say I find Costa Rica's success with term limitations for national legislators most intriguing.] With its independent judiciary, Costa Rica is a model civil society based on the rule of law.

Costa Rica keeps faith with its international commitments, even when doing so is costly. Through all of the Central American turmoil during the 1980s, Costa Rica was a safe haven for refugees. // In the judgment of my government and of independent observers, Costa Rica consistently has practiced full respect for human rights.

Mr. President, we support your efforts to renew Costa Rica's economic strength. You have assembled an effective economic team. You have shown personal courage and impressive skills of leadership in advancing such reforms as price deregulation,

privatization of government agencies, reduction of the government workforce, and tax reform. I promise to work unceasingly with you to let the liberating power of free markets help your country and mine -- and our neighbors as well.

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awarded 10-13-87 Mr. President, ~~three~~ ^{four} years ago your predecessor ~~accepted~~ ^{was awarded} the Nobel Peace Prize for efforts to resolve conflicts in your region. Today, we see the best of the Costa Rican tradition in your efforts to produce a just and peaceful solution to El Salvador's civil conflict. Fundamentally, all these efforts have been possible because Costa Ricans have labored for decades to cultivate the habits of civil society -- habits of freedom and responsibility. // Costa Ricans hold fast to a faith expressed by another great Nobel laureate, the American man of letters William Faulkner.

Bak + letters p. 838

In his Nobel acceptance speech, Faulkner declared: "I believe that man will not merely endure: he will prevail." // Because of this abiding faith, Costa Rica is assisting in a new

birth of freedom, prosperity and peace for all of Central
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Thank you again for your visit, and may God bless the people
of Costa Rica and of all the Americas.

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Bob,

This is the official
version. David gave
you an advance draft
earlier.

Roseanne
x 3860

(Duggan/Simon)
October 4, 1991
Draft Two
Calderon

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CALDERON DEPARTURE
THE SOUTH LAWN
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1991
[TIME]

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In his Nobel acceptance speech, Faulkner declared: "I believe that man will not merely endure: he will prevail." // Because of this abiding faith, Costa Rica is assisting in a new

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Thank you again for your visit, and may God bless the people
of Costa Rica and of all the Americas.

#

Departure Statement for the President
Working Visit of President Calderon
of Costa Rica

It has been a great pleasure and honor for me to visit today with one of the United States' greatest friends, President Rafael Angel Calderon of Costa Rica.

Costa Rica and the United States share many of the values that make a country great: a long tradition of freedom and democracy; a love of peace; a respect for free markets; and people who are enterprising and industrious.

Just as these shared values have made the United States a leader in the world, so they have made Costa Rica a leader in its region. We all saw how Costa Rica led its neighbors into a new era of democracy. Now, it is positioned to be a leading force for economic reforms that will help ensure continued growth and prosperity for the people of Central America.

Costa Rica has been a leader in bringing peace to a troubled region. President Calderon has provided strong leadership at the Puntarenas Summit of Central American Presidents in pressing for an end to the conflict in El Salvador. We all hope that Central America will soon be a region of peace, from east to west and from north to south.

Under President Calderon's leadership, Costa Rica has provided invaluable cooperation in the war against illegal drugs. This terrible scourge affects Costa Rica as well. As drug traffickers are pushed out of other countries, some look to Costa Rica. But they will find no safe haven there, or anywhere in the world.

I want to make clear our unwavering support for President Calderon and his Cabinet as they face the difficult task of leading Costa Rica toward a better economic future. It's not easy to make the kinds of reforms that are needed to open up economies and unleash the productive power of the free market. We applaud your courage, Mr. President, and we will stand by you as you deepen the market orientation of the Costa Rican economy.

We have just released another \$24 million in Economic Support Funds for Costa Rica to show our support for the reforms you have made to date and your plans to hasten your movement toward a market-oriented system. A strong market orientation for the Costa Rican economy will be critical as the world moves to a world-wide market system.

The United States is not alone in helping Costa Rica and its Central American neighbors. Together with the nations of Western Europe and Japan, we have formed the Partnership for Democracy and Development in Central America. This Partnership is working to deepen the roots of democracy, support vital economic reforms and build a future of peace and prosperity for all Central Americans. President Calderon inaugurated the formative meeting of the Partnership last April and his commitment to this partnership greatly assisted this cooperative effort.

Mr. President, I wish you all the best as you return to Costa Rica to continue the important work you are doing. You can count on the help and friendship of the United States.

(Duggan/Simon)
October 4, 1991
Draft One
Calderon

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CALDERON DEPARTURE
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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1991
[TIME] 1:15 p.m.

Mr. President, I have been honored and pleased to meet with you today at the White House. I warmly remember my visits to Costa Rica as Vice President in 1986 and as President in 1990. On those occasions, which I will never forget, the Costa Rican people made abundantly clear their deep friendship for the United States. Through you, I wish to return that generous hospitality.

Costa Rica and the United States stand shoulder to shoulder for common values and aspirations. Our friendship is rooted in shared commitments to human rights, economic and social freedom, democracy and peaceful foreign relations.

In the United States we have much to learn from Costa Rica's example -- because Costa Rica's faithfulness to its commitments has demanded extraordinary courage. // For most of your lifetime, Mr. President, Costa Rica's neighbors have suffered from violence and instability, often under dictatorship.

Communal violence, border conflicts, paramilitary "death squads," narco-terrorism, and expansionist campaigns by the Soviet empire -- all of these have scarred and shaken Central America and the Isthmus.

Through this all, with only minimal civil defense forces, Costa Rica stood fast. There has never been a more hopeful example of Providence shining on nations that keep their commitments. Almost half a century ago, the Costa Rican people made a civilized social compact. Against all threats, domestic and external, Costa Ricans have kept faith with their promise.

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Mr. President, we support your efforts to renew Costa Rica's economic strength. I promise to work unceasingly with you to let the liberating power of free markets benefit both your country and mine -- and our neighboring countries as well. Already our

nations are working together to promote the Enterprise of the Americas Initiative for expanded trade and investment in the Western Hemisphere. The framework agreement for free trade between our countries will join with other inter-American accords to accelerate the creation of jobs and material resources throughout the Americas. Our common efforts will hasten the day when the Americas will become a flourishing trade area from the Arctic Circle to the Strait of Magellan. //

Mr. President, three years ago your predecessor accepted the Nobel Prize for Peace for the efforts he made as the leader of Costa Rica's democracy toward resolving the conflicts in your region. Those efforts were possible only because Costa Ricans have labored for decades to cultivate the habits of civil society -- habits of freedom and responsibility. // . Costa Ricans hold fast to a faith expressed by another great Nobel laureate, the American man of letters William Faulkner.

In his Nobel acceptance speech, Faulkner declared: "I believe that man will not merely endure: he will prevail." // Because of this abiding faith, Costa Rica is assisting in a new birth of freedom, prosperity and peace for all of Central America. \\

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Costa Rica has been a leader in bringing peace to a troubled region. President Violeta Chamorro acknowledged her debt to the late President Figueres, who abolished Costa Rica's military in 1948, when she promised to reduce Nicaragua's army.

President Calderon has fully supported the peace process in El Salvador and has been active in the Esquipulas process. We hope that this conflict will be settled very soon, and that no country in Central America will need to bear the burden of a large military establishment.

Under President Calderon's leadership, Costa Rica has provided invaluable cooperation in the war against illegal drugs. This terrible scourge affects Costa Rica as well. As drug traffickers are pushed out of other countries, some look to Costa Rica. But they will find no safe haven there, or anywhere in the world.

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The United States cannot go it alone in helping Costa Rica and its Central American neighbors. Together with the nations of Western Europe and Japan, we have formed the Partnership for Democracy and Development in Central America. This Partnership is working to deepen the roots of democracy, support vital economic reforms and build a future of peace and prosperity for all Central Americans. President Calderon's commitment to this partnership greatly assisted this cooperative effort.

Mr. President, I wish you all the best as you return to Costa Rica to continue the important work you are doing. You can count on the help and friendship of the United States.

Drafted: ARA/P: DGray, ARA/CEN: TLoar x70087
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C : MFoulon MF
S/P : VMartinez VM
PA : JSnyder JS
ARA/FO : JSullivan
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quality of the product stands in the way of a merger of interests; and if no agreement is reached, each will be the mortal enemy of the other.

Hollywood are huge studios, magnificent equipment, trained technicians, and the most popular of all entertainers; also a backlog of several thousand feature films. Owned by Hollywood, and not necessarily on the credit side at this moment, are the studios all over the country. The studios can use what they have to make pictures for the theaters; or they can, after revolutionary adjustments, make pictures for the television industry and bring to the theaters both their own pictures and certain types of TV studio programs.

They can compromise. They can act as a manufacturing unit for television, preparing pictures to the specifications of broadcast; and at the same time reach out for an audience neither Hollywood nor television attracts. This would follow the pattern of the theater after the movies came to vogue; the melodrama of the 1890s appeared, and the parlor comedy followed when the movies offered their own plays; some plays were put on in the market for sale to the movies, but for a general theater survived by attracting a movie-going audience. It was not done without bankruptcies and heartbreak; but theater survived long enough for new plays to come into it. Whether the movies and their enormous overhead can afford to give like this purging experience is doubtful; but if they get a substantial input of the pictures made for television they may have time to reorient them-

... movies may, however, take their own and go off into a wilderness of radio and musical extravaganzas. In the departments television cannot compete, networks and sponsors may commission short films or cheaply made longer ones they cannot get them from the majors, they will find independents to

make them, or they will go into the business themselves. But the spectacular film, well made, in color (which will not be generally available to television for several years) is too costly. It may be a risky thing, but if Hollywood chooses to fight television, competing for the same audience, these noisy and infantile productions are available; and local theaters may make a

deal with independent television stations to pipe in sporting events and quizzes so they will have some form of television to offer. The audiences attracted by this combination of the least significant elements in the two media would not tolerate the best of Hollywood's current product, and the net result would be a further lowering of movie standards.

10.

WILLIAM FAULKNER: Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech

William Faulkner, the author of half a dozen of the most admired, but also the most difficult, American novels of the twentieth century, was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for 1949. His acceptance speech, delivered in Stockholm on December 10, 1950, and reprinted here, was a surprise to some of his critics and even to some of his devotees. Faulkner had been better known for complexity than for simplicity of language, and for delvings into the evils of human nature than for affirmations of man's "highest" qualities. But the speech was marked by a striking plainness and forthrightness, and its message was one of exalted hope rather than despair. All in all, it is a singularly eloquent statement of the writer's creed.

I FEEL THAT THIS AWARD was not made to me as a man, but to my work — a life's work in the agony and sweat of the human spirit, not for glory and least of all for profit, but to create out of the materials of the human spirit something which did not exist before. So this award is only mine in trust. It will not be difficult to find a dedication for the money part of it commensurate with the purpose and significance of its origin. But I would like to do the same with the acclaim too, by using this moment as a pinnacle from which I might be listened to by the young men and women already dedicated to the same anguish and travail, among whom is already that one who will someday stand where I am standing.

Our tragedy today is a general and universal physical fear so long sustained by now that we can even bear it. There are no

longer problems of the spirit. There is only the question: When will I be blown up? Because of this, the young man or woman writing today has forgotten the problems of the human heart in conflict with itself which alone can make good writing because only that is worth writing about, worth the agony and the sweat.

He must learn them again. He must teach himself that the basest of all things is to be afraid; and, teaching himself that, forget it forever, leaving no room in his workshop for anything but the old verities and truths of the heart, the old universal truths lacking which any story is ephemeral and doomed — love and honor and pity and pride and compassion and sacrifice. Until he does so, he labors under a curse. He writes not of love but of lust, of defeats in which nobody loses anything of value, of victories

without hope and, worst of all, without pity or compassion. His griefs grieve on no universal bones, leaving no scars. He writes not of the heart but of the glands.

Until he relearns these things, he will write as though he stood among and watched the end of man. I decline to accept the end of man. It is easy enough to say that man is immortal simply because he will endure; that when the last ding-dong of doom has clanged and faded from the last worthless rock hanging tideless in the last red and dying evening, that even then there will still be one more sound: that of his puny, inexhaustible voice, still talking.

I refuse to accept this. I believe that man will not merely endure: he will prevail. He is immortal, not because he alone among creatures has an inexhaustible voice, but because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance. The poet's, the writer's duty is to write about these things. It is his privilege to help man endure by lifting his heart, by reminding him of the courage and honor and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice which have been the glory of his past. The poet's voice need not merely be the record of man; it can be one of the props, the pillars to help him endure and prevail.

11.

HARRY S. TRUMAN: United Nations Police Action in Korea

The failure of the United States and the Soviet Union to create a unified Korea after World War II left that country divided into two hostile parts by an arbitrary line drawn east and west at the 38th parallel of latitude. The southern half of the country became the Republic of Korea in 1948, following UN-sponsored elections. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established in the northern part, largely as a result of Russian urgings; it claimed jurisdiction over the whole country. Relations between the two halves of Korea became more and more strained as the Cold War intensified in other parts of the world. American occupation troops were withdrawn from South Korea in 1949, leaving the area almost completely unprotected. On June 25, 1950, civil war broke out when North Korean troops invaded the south. Two days later President Truman released the following statement of the American government's attitude toward the Korean crisis.

Source: *Bulletin*, July 3, 1950, p. 5.

IN KOREA, the government forces, which were armed to prevent border raids and to preserve internal security, were attacked by invading forces from North Korea. The Security Council of the United Nations called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the 38th parallel. This they have not done, but, on the contrary, have pressed the attack. The Security Coun-

cil called upon all members of the United Nations to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution. In these circumstances, I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean government troops cover and support.

The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed

beyond the use of subversion to conquer dependent nations and will now use a invasion and war. It has defied the order of the Security Council of the United Nations issued to preserve international peace and security. In these circumstances, the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to United States interests in performing their lawful and necessary operations in that area.

Accordingly, I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa. As a corollary of this action, I am calling upon the Chinese government on Formosa to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. The Seventh Fleet will see that this is done. The determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a

12.

HARRY S. TRUMAN: Veto

A number of federal laws prohibiting Communism by the beginning of 1950, but the onset of the Cold War against Communism and led to demands for a response. In response to these pressures, the administration responded to these pressures by passing the Internal Security Act on September 20, 1950. The Act required the attorney general as either Fascist or Communist and certain Communist sympathizers the right to enter the country. The law went too far, vetoed it on September 22, 1950. A portion of his

Source: 81 Congress, 2 Session, House Doc

I RETURN HEREWITH, without my approval, H. R. 9490, the proposed Internal Security Act of 1950.

I am taking this action only after the most serious study and reflection and consultation with the security and in-

Costa Rica has been an enthusiastic supporter of the Enterprise for the America's Initiative. They were one of the first countries to sign a framework agreement for free trade, and we hope to start negotiations for a free trade agreement soon. Costa Rica served as our co-hosts for a very successful Central American Trade and Investment Conference in San Jose this summer, attended by U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills.

from USTR

BLASTS AT CONGRESS

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

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

* * * * *

ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COMMUNISM

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

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

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

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

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

ON THE APPEAL OF DEMOCRACY

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

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

open arrival stadium kids not troops

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

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

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MAY 8, 1986, THURSDAY, AM CYCLE

LENGTH: 254 words

HEADLINE: VICE PRESIDENT BUSH MEETS WITH LATIN AMERICAN LEADERS

DATELINE: SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA, MAY 8

KEYWORD: CENTAM-BUSH

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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MAY 9, 1986, FRIDAY, AM CYCLE

LENGTH: 606 words

DATELINE: SAN JOSE, MAY 9

KEYWORD: CENTAM-INAUGURATION

BODY:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(c) 1986 Reuters North European Service, MAY 9, 1986

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HAVE AGREED

upon the following

Peace Plan Critic Is Elected President in Costa Rica

By LINDSEY GRUSON

Special to The New York Times

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica, Feb. 5 — Rafael Calderón Jr., a critic of the Central American peace efforts of President Oscar Arias Sánchez, was elected Sunday to succeed Mr. Arias, according to nearly complete returns.

Mr. Calderón, the son of a former President who was driven into exile in 1948 after bringing on a civil war by trying to win a second term, defeated Carlos Manuel Castillo, the candidate of Mr. Arias's National Liberation Party. With about 90 percent of the returns counted, Mr. Calderón had 51 percent of the vote and Mr. Castillo 47 per-

cent.

Mr. Calderón, the candidate of the Social Christian Unity Party, is to take office May 8. Mr. Arias was constitutionally prohibited from seeking a second term.

Mr. Castillo bitterly conceded defeat late Sunday night.

"It's a referendum on 40 years of history," a senior adviser to Mr. Castillo said.

Exit polls showed that Costa Rican voters feared an excessive concentration of power. Traditionally, the country has alternated governing parties. But the National Liberation Party, taking advantage of opposition disorgani-

zation, had won five of the last six elections and seemed on the verge of becoming the dominant party.

Born in Nicaragua

Mr. Calderón's victory also underscored the growing appeal of free-market principles in the region and the rejection of state intervention in the economy. While both major parties promised ambitious social programs, analysts said the National Liberation Party was more strongly identified with a state-managed economy.

Mr. Calderón was born March 14, 1949, in Nicaragua, where his family was living in exile after his father was

defeated and driven from the country. His godfather was the Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza García, who was assassinated in 1956.

The family soon moved to Mexico, where Mr. Calderón went to primary and secondary school. He returned here and graduated from the University of Costa Rica. He is married to Gloria Bejarano Almada and has four children.

He was elected to the National Assembly in 1974 and ran unsuccessfully for President in 1982. He then formed his Social Christian Unity Party from four small parties and ran again. The results were closer, but he was once again defeated, this time by Mr. Arias.

After his defeat, he became the executive director of the Costa Rican Association for the Defense of Democracy and Liberty, a right-wing group.

Under Mr. Arias's peace government, the group called for United States rebels.

Dis-

The assassination with senior States and document National International branches for Democracy private or from public

SAVINGS TO MAKE YOU WARM.

MINK: \$1000-\$2000

ident in Costa Rica

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Under Mr. Calderón, the association was among the strongest critics of Mr. Arias's peace plan for Central America. Government officials charged that the group's activities were part of the Reagan Administration's efforts to thwart the Arias peace plan, which called for the demobilization of the United States-financed Nicaraguan rebels.

Dispute Over Financing

The association had close relations with senior Republicans in the United States and according to Congressional documents was largely financed by the National Republican Institute for International Affairs, one of four branches of the National Endowment for Democracy. Although technically a private organization, its budget comes from public funds through the United

States Information Agency.

Congressional Democrats charged that this financing violated the endowment's charter prohibiting it from supporting political candidates.

Mr. Calderón, who resigned from the association before launching his current campaign, said the United States money was used for "political development" and that none of it went to his presidential effort.

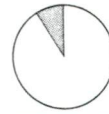
Taking a trip?
Check the Weather Report for
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Richmond to Riyadh.

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Costa Rica

Human rights rating: 91%



Population: 2,693,000
 Life expectancy: 74
 Infant mortality (0-1 year) per 1,000 births: 20
 Form of government: constitutional democracy
 United Nations covenants: ratified - Civil and Political Rights; Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. signed - Convention on equality for women.

Income per head: US\$1,020
 % of GNP spent on military: 0.62
 % of GNP spent by state on health: 7.08
 % of GNP spent by state on education: 4.88

YES	31	40
yes	9	
NO		
no		

FACTORS AFFECTING HUMAN RIGHTS

As the most democratic country in Central America, Costa Rica is vulnerable to the extreme left and right-wing politics disrupting the area. Human rights are in general honoured, the government is answerable to the people, the permanent army was disbanded in 1949 and its duties taken over by the police and a civil guard. A worsening economy, however, with possibly violent consequences, is a disturbing factor. Elements in the government, encouraged by the US government, feel that the relatively undefended frontier with Nicaragua is a reason for reconstituting a professional army.

FREEDOM TO:

- Travel in own country
- Travel outside own country
- Peacefully associate and assemble
- Teach ideas and receive information
- Monitor human rights violations
- Publish and educate in ethnic language

YES

YES

YES

YES

YES

YES

COMMENTS:

Entry of Nicaraguan refugees creating local difficulties. Many of them armed terrorists which require strict police surveillance and occasional limits on movements near frontier.

Rights respected

Rights respected

Rights respected

Inter-American Court of Human Rights based in Costa Rica

Rights respected

FREEDOM FROM:

- Serfdom, slavery, forced or child labour
- Extrajudicial killings or 'disappearances'

yes

YES

COMMENTS:

But a tradition of rural child labour still persists

Rights respected

Costa Rica

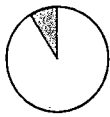
FREEDOM FROM:

- Torture or coercion by the state
- Compulsory work permits or conscription of labour
- Capital punishment by the state
- Court sentences of corporal punishment
- Indefinite detention without charge
- Compulsory membership of state organisations or parties
- Compulsory religion or state ideology in schools
- Deliberate state policies to control artistic works
- Political censorship of press
- Censorship of mail or telephone-tapping

FREEDOM FOR OR RIGHT:

- Peaceful political opposition
- Multi-party elections by secret and universal ballot
- Political and legal equality women
- Social and economic equality for women
- Social and economic equality for ethnic minorities
- Independent newspapers
- Independent book publishing
- Independent radio and television networks
- All courts to total independence
- Independent trade unions

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 an Court of Human Rights based in

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on of rural child labour still persists

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FREEDOM FROM: COMMENTS:

- 9 Torture or coercion by the state **YES** A few local abuses
- 10 Compulsory work permits or conscription of labour **YES** Rights respected
- 11 Capital punishment by the state **YES** Abolished 1871
- 12 Court sentences of corporal punishment **YES** Rights respected
- 13 Indefinite detention without charge **YES** A few long detentions on suspicion of terrorism
- 14 Compulsory membership of state organisations or parties **YES** Rights respected
- 15 Compulsory religion or state ideology in schools **YES** Not in government-run schools
- 16 Deliberate state policies to control artistic works **YES** Rights respected
- 17 Political censorship of press **YES** Rights respected, but practice of licensing journalists condemned by human rights court
- 18 Censorship of mail or telephone-tapping **YES** Rights respected

FREEDOM FOR OR RIGHTS TO: COMMENTS:

- 19 Peaceful political opposition **YES** Rights respected
- 20 Multi-party elections by secret and universal ballot **YES** Independent non-party candidates may not stand. President and Legislative Assembly elected every 4 years
- 21 Political and legal equality for women **YES** Traditional male domination still discriminates against women though the position is improving
- 22 Social and economic equality for women **YES** The worsening economy is adding to the difficulties of women in gaining equal pay and employment status
- 23 Social and economic equality for ethnic minorities **YES** Rights respected
- 24 Independent newspapers **YES** Independence respected
- 25 Independent book publishing **YES** Rights respected
- 26 Independent radio and television networks **YES** Privately owned stations are free to criticise the government
- 27 All courts to total independence **YES** Rights respected
- 28 Independent trade unions **YES** Disputes with ILO over union rights for plantation workers and certain breaches of ratified conventions

LEGAL RIGHTS:

COMMENTS:

- 29 From deprivation of nationality **YES** Rights respected
- 30 To be considered innocent until proved guilty **YES** Rights respected
- 31 To free legal aid when necessary and counsel of own choice **YES** Free aid for the poor but court appoints counsel
- 32 From civilian trials in secret **YES** Rights respected
- 33 To be brought promptly before a judge or court **YES** To be brought to court within 24 hours
- 34 From police searches of home without a warrant **YES** Rights respected
- 35 From arbitrary seizure of personal property **YES** Rights respected

PERSONAL RIGHTS:

COMMENTS:

- 36 To inter-racial, inter-religious or civil marriage **YES** Rights respected
- 37 Equality of sexes during marriage and for divorce proceedings **YES** Certain traditional inequalities in favour of the husband despite constitutional safeguards
- 38 To practise any religion **YES** Rights respected
- 39 To use contraceptive pills and devices **YES** Direct support since 1968
- 40 To practise homosexuality between consenting adults **YES** Tolerated

COMPULSORY DOCUMENTS FOR CITIZENS

Legally required at all times:	ID card
For employment in own country:	Work card
When applying for passport:	ID card, birth certificate
Period of validity of passport:	5-10 years
Countries forbidden to holder:	None

Cuba

Population: 9,995,000
 Life expectancy: 75
 Infant mortality (0-1 year) per 1,000 births: 21
 Form of government: one-party state
 United Nations covenants: ratified - Convention on equal rights for women.

FACTORS AFFECTING HUMAN RIGHTS:

The people are subordinate to the celebrations marking the 25th anniversary of the dominance of the government and this hostility has made Cuba dependent on a reliance that effectively reduces the extent of the extending of prison sentences.

FREEDOM TO:

- 1 Travel in own country
- 2 Travel outside own country
- 3 Peacefully associate and assemble
- 4 Teach ideas and receive information
- 5 Monitor human rights violations
- 6 Publish and educate in ethnic language

FREEDOM FROM:

- 7 Serfdom, slavery, forced or child labour
- 8 Extrajudicial killings or 'disappearances'

Permanent Representative to the UN: Dr. Martin ADOUKI.
 IGO Memberships (Non-UN): ACCT, ADF, AfDB, BADEA, BDEAC, CCC, EEC(L), EIB, Intelsat, Interpol, NAM, OAU, UDEAC.

COSTA RICA

Republic of Costa Rica
República de Costa Rica

Political Status: Independence proclaimed September 15, 1821; republic established in 1848; democratic constitutional system instituted in 1899.

Area: 19,575 sq. mi. (50,700 sq. km.).

Population: 2,416,809 (1984C), 3,199,000 (1990E).

Major Urban Centers (1988E): SAN JOSE (284,000); Alajuela (182,000); Cartago (125,000); Puntarenas (94,000); Heredia (74,000); Limón (66,000); Liberia (38,000).

Principal Language: Spanish (there is no "official" language).

Monetary Unit: Colón (market rate April 1, 1990, 86.45 colones = \$1US).

President: Rafael Angel CALDERON Fournier (Social Christian Unity Party); elected February 4 and inaugurated May 8, 1990, for a four-year term, succeeding Oscar ARIAS Sánchez (National Liberation Party).

First Vice President: Herman SERRANO (Social Christian Unity Party); elected February 4, 1990, for a term concurrent with that of the President, succeeding Jorge Manuel DENGÓ Obregón (National Liberation Party).

Second Vice President: Arnaldo LOPEZ (Social Christian Unity Party); elected February 4, 1990, for a term concurrent with that of the President, succeeding Victoria GARRON de Doryan (National Liberation Party).

THE COUNTRY

One of the smallest of the Central American countries, Costa Rica lies directly north of Panama and combines tropical lowlands, high tableland, and rugged mountainous terrain. Its people, known as *Costarricenses*, are overwhelmingly of European (predominantly Spanish) descent. This unusual homogeneity is broken only by mestizo and Negro minorities, which are concentrated in the provinces of Guanacaste and Limón, respectively. Roman Catholicism is the state religion, but other faiths are permitted. The country's literacy rate, over 90 percent, is one of the highest in Latin America. In 1987 women constituted 21.7 percent of the paid work force, concentrated in service and agricultural occupations; female representation in elected bodies averages about 6 percent.

In 1948 Costa Rica embarked on the establishment of what has become one of the world's most progressive welfare states, providing a complete program of health care and education for workers and their families. Substantial economic growth, yielding one of the region's highest standards of living, continued through most of the 1970s before giving way to depressed prices for coffee, beef, bananas, and sugar exports, accompanied by increased oil import costs. By the early 1980s the country was experiencing deep recession, marked by high inflation, unemployment, budget deficits and trade imbalances. Bankruptcy was averted by means of aid from the United States, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, although several IMF agreements have been compromised by Costa Rica's inability to meet fund conditions. By 1989 austerity measures had succeeded in reviving the economy, with inflation dropping from 26 percent in 1988 to 10 percent and unemployment stabilizing at less than 5 percent.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Political background. Costa Rica declared its independence from Spain in 1821 but accepted inclusion in the Mexican Empire of 1822-1823. It was a member of the United Provinces of Central America from 1824 to 1839, when its autonomy was reestablished. A republic was formally declared in 1848 during a period characterized by alternating political conflict and rule by the leading families, who monopolized the indirect electoral system. In 1897 it joined El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua in the Greater Republic of Central America, but the federation was dissolved in 1898. A year later, President Bernardo SOTO sponsored what is considered to be the country's first free election, inaugurating a democratic process that has survived with only two major interruptions, one in 1917 and the other in 1948. Since the uprising led by José FIGUERES Ferrer, following annulment of the 1948 election by President Teodoro PICADO, transfer of power has been accomplished by constitutional means, further securing Costa Rica's reputation as what has been called "perhaps the most passionately democratic country in Latin America". At the most recent election, held February 4, 1990, Rafael Angel CALDERON Fournier of the Social Christian Unity Party defeated Carlos Manuel CASTILLO of the National Liberation Party by a 52 to 48 percent vote.

Constitution and government. The constitution of 1949 provides for three independent branches of government: legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative branch enjoys genuinely coequal power, including the ability to override presidential vetoes. Members of the legislature are elected by direct popular vote and may not be reelected for successive terms. The president serves as chief executive and is assisted by two elected vice presidents in addition to a cabinet of his own selection. By Latin American standards the president's powers are limited, and a 1969 constitutional amendment prohibits the reelection of all previous incumbents.

The judicial branch is independent of the president, its members being elected for eight-year terms by the legisla-

// strict term limitation

//

ture. The judicial structure encompasses the Supreme Court of Justice, which may rule on the constitutionality of legislation; four courts of appeal; and numerous local courts distributed among the judicial districts. One of the unique features of the Costa Rican governmental system is the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (*Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones*), an independent body of three magistrates and three alternate magistrates elected by the Supreme Court of Justice for staggered six-year terms. The Tribunal oversees the entire electoral process, including the interpretation of electoral statutes, the certification of parties, and the adjudication of alleged electoral irregularities.

For administrative purposes the country is divided into seven provinces and 81 *municipios*, the former administered by governors appointed by the president. The latter are governed by councils that have both voting and non-voting members, and by executive officials appointed by the president. The executive officers may veto council acts, but all such vetoes are subject to judicial review.

Costa Rica is one of only a handful of countries that constitutionally proscribes the raising of a national army, save under strictly limited circumstances of public necessity.

Foreign relations. A founding member of the United Nations and of the Organization of American States, Costa Rica has typically been aligned with the liberal, democratic wing in Latin American politics and has opposed dictatorships of both the Right and the Left. In May 1981 it broke relations with Havana after a protest regarding the treatment of Cuban political prisoners had elicited an "insulting" response by Cuba's representative to the United Nations. In 1982 it endorsed proposals for negotiations between the newly installed government in El Salvador and the insurgent Democratic Revolutionary Front.

In recent years an overriding external concern has been the Nicaraguan *sandinista-contra* conflict and associated US involvement in regional affairs. Although formally neutral on the issue, San José has at times expressed strong criticism of Managua's Marxist orientation, while accepting over \$730 million in economic aid from the United States since 1982. In early 1987 President Arias introduced a peace plan that served as the basis of intensive effort to negotiate an end to fighting in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala. The initiative earned him the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize, with his reputation being further enhanced by brokering the *sandinista-contra* ceasefire in early 1988.

Current issues. The narrow 1990 victory of the moderately rightist Rafael Angel Calderón in his third bid for the presidency was aided by a major scandal in mid-1989 that resulted from the report of a special congressional committee charged with investigating reports of arms and drug smuggling by members of the Arias administration. Among those eventually banned from future public employment was former president Daniel ODUBER Quirós, who was required to return a sizable political contribution to Oscar Arias' 1985 campaign that was never formally deposited to the candidate's account. In addition, most of the US nationals accused of complicity in the US *Iran-contra* affair were barred from future entry into Costa Rica.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Government Parties:

Social Christian Unity Party (*Partido Unidad Social Cristiana—PUSC*). A loose alliance of the essentially conservative parties, listed below, plus the former Democratic Renovation Party (see National Union, below), the PUSC campaigned prior to the 1978 election as the *Partido Unidad Opositora* (PUO) and as the *Coalición Unidad* in 1978, adopting its present name in December 1983. Partly because of conflict within the PLN leadership, it won the presidency in 1978 but was defeated in both 1982 and 1986. It returned to power with a 52 percent presidential mandate in 1990.

Leaders: Rafael Angel CALDERON Fournier (President of the Republic and of the Party), Rodrigo CARAZO Odio (former President of the Republic), Rodolfo MENDEZ (Secretary General).

Calderonist Republican Party (*Partido Republicano Calderonista—PRC*). Named after former president Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia, the PRC was formed in 1976 by a breakaway group of the PUN (below).

Leaders: Rafael Angel CALDERON Fournier (President of the Republic), Alvaro CUBILLO Aguilar (President of the Party), Gerardo BOLANOS Alpizar (Secretary).

Christian Democratic Party (*Partido Demócrata Cristiano—PDC*). The PDC is a traditional Christian Democratic group formed in 1962.

Leaders: Rafael Alberto GRILLO Rivera (President), Claudio GUEVARA Barahona (Secretary).

Popular Union Party (*Partido Unión Popular—PUP*). The PUP is a coalition of right-wing interests.

Leaders: Cristián TATTEMBACH Yglesias (President), Juan Rafael RODRIGUEZ Calvo (Secretary).

Opposition Groups:

National Liberation Party (*Partido de Liberación Nacional—PLN*). Founded by former president José Figueres Ferrer in the aftermath of the 1948 revolution, the PLN has traditionally been the largest and best-organized of the Costa Rican parties and is a classic example of the democratic Left in Latin America. Affiliated with the Socialist International, it has consistently favored progressive programs. In July 1976 President Figueres precipitated a crisis within the party leadership by calling for revocation of the constitutional requirement that a president may not serve more than one term, thereby contributing to the defeat of Luis Alberto Monge as PLN presidential candidate in 1978. Subsequently, the cultivation of a network of predominantly regional and local support, coupled with a "return to the land" (*volver a la tierra*) campaign slogan, enabled Monge to secure a decisive victory in 1982. Although Oscar Arias Sánchez won a primary election over the more conservative Carlos Manuel Castillo in early 1985, disagreement between their supporters (largely abated during the 1986 campaign) continued in the Assembly. Castillo was the party's nominee to succeed Arias in 1990, but fell short by obtaining only 48 percent of the vote.

Leaders: Oscar ARIAS Sánchez, José FIGUERES Ferrer, Luis Alberto MONGE Alvarez, Daniel ODUBER Quirós (former Presidents of the Republic); Carlos Manuel CASTILLO (1990 presidential candidate); Guido GRANADOS; Rolando ARAYA Monge; Walter COTO Molina (Secretary General).

National Union (*Unión Nacional—UN*). The UN was formed in April 1985 by the leader of the previously PUSC-affiliated Democratic Renovation Party (*Partido Renovación Democrática—PRD*), Oscar Aguilar Bulgarelli, who opposed Rafael Calderón's "absolute and anti-democratic control" of the parent coalition, including an alleged effort to change its posture from social democratic to liberal.

Leader: Oscar AGUILAR Bulgarelli.

National Unification Party (*Partido Unificación Nacional—PUN*). The PUN is a remnant of the *Unificación Nacional* organized prior to the 1966 election as a coalition of two conservative groups, the Republican Party (*Partido Republicano—PR*) and the National Union Party (*Partido Unión Nacional—PUN*), which were subsequently joined by the Revolutionary Civic Union (*Partido Unión Cívico Revolucionaria—PUCR*) and the Authentic Republican Union Party (*Partido Unión*

Republicana Auténtica—PURA). The PUN was not registered for the 1982, 1986, or 1990 elections.

Leaders: Guillermo VILLALOBOS Arce (President), Rogelio RAMOS Valverde (Secretary).

National Movement (*Movimiento Nacional*—MN). An outgrowth of the former National Union Party (see PUN, above), the MN is a conservative grouping whose leader obtained 3.7 percent of the vote at the 1982 presidential balloting.

Leaders: Mario ECHANDI Jiménez, Rodrigo SANCHO Robles (Secretary).

Democratic Party (*Partido Demócrata*—PD). The PD is a small grouping that supported the 1982 presidential candidacy of Edwin Retana Chávez.

Leaders: Edwin RETANA Chavez (President), Alvaro GONZALEZ Espinosa (Secretary).

People United (*Pueblo Unido*—PU). The PU was organized prior to the 1978 election as a coalition of left-wing groups that included the Popular Vanguard Party (see Popular Alliance, below), the Costa Rican Socialist Party (PSC), and the Workers' Party (PT). The coalition supported the presidential candidacy of Dr. Rodrigo Gutiérrez Sáenz in 1978 and 1982, but subsequently fell into disarray because of a leadership dispute within the PVP, which resulted in the formation by ex-PVP leader Manuel Mora Valverde of the rival Costa Rican People's Party (PPC). In 1985 the PPC, the PSC and the MNR (below) secured official registration under the PU inscription, the PVP charging the PPC with involvement in the "theft" of the rubric.

Leaders: Daniel CAMACHO (1990 presidential candidate), Alberto SALOM Echeverría (Secretary).

Costa Rican People's Party (*Partido del Pueblo Costarricense*—PPC). The PPC originated as a Havana-oriented Popular Vanguard splinter led by Manuel Mora Valverde; the group initially presented itself as the "real" PVP, but was rebuffed in February 1984 when the Civil Registry recognized the mainstream (Vargas-Ferreto) faction as being in legitimate possession of the traditional party name. In 1984 it joined with the MNR and a number of other groups as the Patriotic Alliance (*Alianza Patriótica*)—a name that was also claimed briefly by the PVP and its allies in 1985 (see Popular Alliance, below).

Leaders: Manuel Enrique DELGADO Cascante, Manuel MORA Valverde (former Secretary General), Lenín CHACON Vargas (Secretary General), Eduardo MORA Valverde (Undersecretary General).

Costa Rican Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Costarricense*—PSC). The PSC is a pro-Cuban Marxist party, which was a member of the 1978–1982 PU electoral alliance.

Leaders: Alvaro MONTERO Mejía (President of the Party and 1986 PU presidential candidate), Alberto SALOM Echeverría (Secretary).

New Republican Movement (*Movimiento Nueva Republica*—MNR). The MNR is a moderate splinter of the MRP (see Workers' Party, below).

Leader: Sergio Erick ARDON Ramírez.

Workers' Party (*Partido de los Trabajadores*—PT). The PT has long been the political wing of the Revolutionary People's Movement (*Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo*—MRP), a Maoist extremist group that endorsed revolutionary activity in 1978–1980, although its leadership appeared to moderate its position in mid-1981, declaring that "popular struggles can . . . be waged [in Costa Rica] without the unjust violence of terrorist actions".

Leaders: José Francisco ARAYA Monge (President), Ilse ACOSTA Polonio (Secretary).

Radical Democratic Party (*Partido Radical Demócrata*). The Radical Democratic Party was formed in mid-1982 by a number of avowedly left-of-center members of the former Carazo Odio administration.

Leaders: Juan José ECHEVERRÍA Brealey, Rodrigo ESQUIVEL Rodríguez (Secretary).

Popular Alliance (*Alianza Popular*). The Popular Alliance was launched prior to the 1986 balloting with the former PU standard bearer, Dr. Rodrigo Gutiérrez Sáenz of the FAD (below) as its presidential candidate. At its formation, denied access to the old People United label, the group styled itself the Popular Democratic Union (*Unión Democrática Popular*—UDP) and for a time in 1985 presented itself as the *Alianza Patriótica* in an apparent effort to cloud the electoral prospects of the PPC.

Popular Vanguard Party (*Partido Vanguardia Popular*—PVP). Founded in 1931 as the Costa Rican Communist Party (*Partido Comunista Costarricense*—PCC), the PVP adopted its present name in 1943 and regained legal status in 1975, following the lifting of a long-standing proscription of nondemocratic political organizations. During the 1978 and 1982 campaigns, it participated in the *Pueblo Unido* coalition. In 1983 a struggle erupted between the essentially moderate "old guard" leadership headed by longtime secretary general Manuel Mora Valverde and a younger hard-line group headed by Humberto Vargas Carbonell and Arnaldo Ferreto Segura. In the course of the dispute, Mora was "elevated" to the newly created post of party president, before withdrawing, in 1984, as leader of the newly formed Costa Rican People's Party (above).

Leaders: Arnaldo FERRETO Segura (President), Humberto Elías VARGAS Carbonell (Secretary General), Oscar MADRID Jiménez (Undersecretary General).

Broad Democratic Front (*Frente Amplio Democrático*—FAD). Initially formed within the PU, the FAD was withdrawn by its founder in May 1985 to enter into the (then) UDP alliance with the PVP.

Leader: Dr. Rodrigo GUTIERREZ Sáenz.

Costa Rican Popular Front (*Frente Popular Costarricense*—FPC). The FPC is a small anti-Soviet party of the extreme Left. It lost its only legislative seat at the 1982 election.

Leaders: Rodolfo CERDAS Cruz (President), Wilbert Ezequiel SOLANO Rojas (Secretary).

National Christian Alliance Party (*Alianza Nacional Cristiana*). The National Christian Alliance Party was one of the four minor parties to contest the 1986 presidential election.

Leaders: Victor Hugo GONZALEZ Montero (President), Alejandro MADRIGAL (1986 presidential candidate), Juan RODRIGUEZ Venegas (Secretary).

Costa Rican Ecology Party (*Partido Ecológico Costarricense*—PEC). The PEC was formed in June 1984, participating without success in the 1986 balloting.

Leader: Alexander BONILLA.

General Union Party (*Partido Unión Generalista*—PUG). Organized in 1981, the PUG secured one Assembly seat in 1990.

Leaders: Dr. Carlos A. FERNANDEZ Vega, Hugo SAENZ Marín (Secretary).

There are about a dozen other minor parties; in addition, limited legislative representation is occasionally secured by regional or provincial groups. Thus the **Cartago Agricultural Union** (*Unión Agrícola Cartaginesa*—UAC) won a single seat in 1978 and 1990, as did the **Alajuela Democratic Party** (*Partido Alajuela Demócrata*—PAD) in 1982 and the **Independent Cartago** (*Cartago Independiente*) in 1986.

Extremist Groups:

In early 1981 the government claimed to have evidence of a new left-extremist organization called the **Carlos Aguero Echeverría Command**, named after a Costa Rican who had been killed while participating in the *sandinista* insurgency in Nicaragua. Subsequently, it was reported that the group had claimed credit for a bazooka attack on a US embassy car on March 17. In 1984 there were reports of activity by a right-wing group known as the **Army of the Costa Rican People** (*Ejército del Pueblo Costarricense*—EPC).

LEGISLATURE

The **Legislative Assembly** (*Asamblea Legislativa*) is a unicameral body whose 57 members, representing the provinces in proportion to population, are elected for four-year terms by direct popular vote and may not be immediately reelected. Following the election of February 4, 1990, the **Social Christian Unity Party** held 29 seats; the **National Liberation Party**, 25; and the **People United**, the **General Union Party**, and the **Cartago Agricultural Union**, 1 each.

President: Juan José TREJOS.

C A B I N E T

President	Rafael Angel Calderón Fournier
First Vice President	Herman Serrano
Second Vice President	Arnoldo López
Ministers	
Agriculture	Juan Rafael Lizano Sáenz
Culture	Mercedes López de Gordienko
Economy and Industry	Gonzalo Fajardo
Education	Marvin Herrera Araya
Foreign Affairs	Bernd Nichaus Quesada
Foreign Trade	Roberto Rojas López
Health	Carlos Castro Charpentier
Housing	Cristóbal Zawadski
Interior	Luis Fishman
Justice	Elizabeth Odio Benito
Labor	Erick Thompson Piñeres
Natural Resources	Hernán Bravo Trejos
Planning	Helio Fallas
Presidency	Rodolfo Méndez Mata
Public Works	Guillermo Madriz de Mezerville
Reorganization of the State	Johnny Meoño
Science and Technology	Orlando Morales
Security	Victor Emilio Herrera Alfaro
Tourism	Luis Manuel Chacón Jiménez
President, Central Bank	Jorge Guardia

N E W S M E D I A

All news media are free of censorship.

Press. Except as noted, the following are published daily at San José: *Diario Extra* (100,000), independent; *La Nación* (91,000), conservative; *La República* (60,000), independent; *La Prensa Libre* (50,000), independent; *Eco Católico* (15,500), Catholic weekly; *Libertad* (14,000), pro-Moscow Communist weekly; *La Gaceta* (5,300), official government gazette.

News agencies. There is no domestic facility. *Agence France-Presse*, *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, *Prensa Latina*, and Tass maintain offices at San José.

Radio and television. Broadcasting is supervised by the government's *Departamento Control Nacional de Radio-televisión*. Television and radio stations are commercial, except for several offering religious or cultural programming. The *Sistema de Radio y TV Cultural* network was organized by the government in 1978 to transmit news and cultural programs. There were 470,000 television receivers in 1987.

I N T E R G O V E R N M E N T A L R E P R E S E N T A T I O N

Ambassador to the US: Danilo JIMENEZ Veiga.

US Ambassador to Costa Rica: (Vacant).

Permanent Representative to the UN: Dr. Carlos José GUTIERREZ.

IGO Memberships (Non-UN): BCIE, CACM, CCC, IADB, Intelsat, Interpol, IOM, OAS, OPANAL, SELA.

C O T E D ' I V O I R E

République de Côte d'Ivoire

Note: In November 1985 the United Nations responded affirmatively to a request from the Ivoirian government that *Côte d'Ivoire* be recognized as the sole official version of what had previously been rendered in English as Ivory Coast and in Spanish as *Costa de Marfil*.

Political Status: Independent since August 7, 1960, under one-party presidential regime; present constitution adopted October 31, 1960.

Area: 124,503 sq. mi. (322,463 sq. km.).

Population: 6,709,600 (1975C), 12,586,000 (1990E).

Major Urban Centers (1979E): ABIDJAN (1,423,000); Bouaké (273,000), Yamassoukro (designated as future capital in March 1983). In 1987 the population of Abidjan was estimated at 2 million.

Official Language: French.

Monetary Unit: CFA Franc (market rate April 1, 1990, 284.90 francs = \$1US).

President: Félix HOUPOUET-BOIGNY; first elected in 1960; most recently reelected October 27, 1985, for a sixth five-year term.

T H E C O U N T R Y

A land of forests and savannas, with a hot, humid climate, the Côte d'Ivoire is the richest and potentially the most nearly self-sufficient state of former French West Africa. Indigenous peoples fall into five principal ethnic groups: Ashanti-Agni-Baoule, Kru, Malinké, Mandé, and Lagoon dwellers, while as much as 30 percent of the population consists of migrant workers, mostly from Burkina Faso, Ghana, and Mali. There is also a sizable White population that in 1988 included about 120,000 Lebanese and 40,000 French. Although a majority of the people adhere to traditional religious practices, about 20 percent is Muslim and 15 percent Christian. Women constitute nearly 40 percent of the adult labor force, primarily in agriculture; female representation on government and party levels is minimal.

The economy experienced rapid growth following completion in 1950 of the Vridi Canal, which transformed Abidjan into a deepwater port. An impressive average annual growth rate of 7.5 percent was reported in 1960-1980, but a variety of factors led to a severe five-year recession thereafter. Although agriculture now accounts for only one-fourth of total GDP, the Côte d'Ivoire is the world's leading producer of cocoa and Africa's primary exporter of coffee, bananas and tropical woods. However, the country's image as a model African economy (the annual per capita income of approximately \$700 is one of Black Africa's highest) has been tarnished by debts attributed to extensive government borrowing in the 1970s for construction of modern infrastructure and unproductive offshore oil exploration. In recent years sagging cocoa prices, the decimation of lumber producing forests, and the government's inability to make debt payments have prompted economic diversification efforts.

G O V E R N M E N T A N D P O L I T I C S

Political background. Established as a French protectorate in 1842, the Côte d'Ivoire became part of the Federal

COSTA RICA

Introductory Survey

Location, Climate, Language, Religion, Flag, Capital

The Republic of Costa Rica lies in the Central American isthmus, with Nicaragua to the north, Panama to the south, the Caribbean Sea to the east and the Pacific Ocean to the west. The climate is warm and damp in the lowlands (average temperature 27°C (81°F)) and cooler on the Central Plateau (average temperature 22°C (72°F)), where two-thirds of the population live. The language spoken is Spanish. Almost all inhabitants profess Christianity, and the overwhelming majority adhere to the Roman Catholic Church, the state religion. The national flag (proportions 3 by 2) has five horizontal stripes, of blue, white, red, white and blue, the red stripe being twice the width of the others. The state flag, in addition, has on the red stripe (to the left of centre) a white oval containing the national coat of arms, showing three volcanic peaks between the Caribbean and the Pacific. The capital is San José.

Recent History

Costa Rica was ruled by Spain from the 16th century until 1821 when independence was declared. The only significant change in the country's constitutional government since 1849 occurred in February 1948, when the result of the presidential election was disputed. The legislature annulled the election in March but a civil war ensued. The anti-Government forces, led by José Figueres Ferrer, were successful, and a revolutionary junta took power in April. Costa Rica's army was abolished in December 1948. After the preparation of a new constitution, the victorious candidate of the 1948 election took office in January 1949.

Figueres, who founded the socialist Partido de Liberación Nacional (PLN), dominated national politics for decades, holding the presidential office in 1953-58 and 1970-74. Under his leadership, Costa Rica became one of the most democratic countries in Latin America. Since the 1948 revolution, there have been frequent changes of power, all achieved by constitutional means. Figueres' first Government nationalized the banks and instituted a comprehensive social security system. At the presidential election of 1958, however, was won by a conservative, Mario Echandi Jiménez, who reversed many PLN policies. His successor, Francisco Orlich Bolmarich (President from 1962 to 1966), was supported by the PLN but encouraged the encouragement of private enterprise. Another conservative, José Joaquín Trejos Fernández, held power in 1967-70. In 1974 the PLN candidate, Daniel Oduber Quirós, was elected President. He continued the policies of extending the welfare state and of establishing friendly relations with communist states. Communist and other left-wing parties were outlawed in 1975. In 1978 Rodrigo Carazo Odio of the conservative Partido Unidad Opositora (PUO) coalition (subsequently the Coalición Unidad) was elected President. During Carazo's term of office the worsening instability in Central America led to diplomatic tension, and in 1981 the President was criticized for his alleged involvement in illegal arms trafficking between Costa Rica and El Salvador.

At presidential and legislative elections in February 1982, Alberto Monge Alvarez of the PLN gained a comfortable majority when his party won 33 of the 57 seats in the Legislative Assembly. Following his inauguration in May, President Monge announced a series of emergency economic measures, in an attempt to rescue the country from near-bankruptcy. A policy of neutrality towards the left-wing Sandinista Government of Nicaragua was continued. However, after a number of cross-border raids, a national alert was declared in May. The Sandinista Nicaraguan leader, Edén Pastora Gómez, was expelled so as to reduce Costa Rican involvement in the Nicaraguan conflict. Relations with Nicaragua worsened as guerrilla activity spread to San José.

Throughout 1983, President Monge came under increasing pressure, from liberal members of the Cabinet and PLN supporters, to adopt a more neutral stance in foreign policy. Three members of the anti-Sandinista (Contra) movement were expelled from Costa Rica in May, and 80 of Pastora's

supporters were arrested in September. In addition, some 82 guerrilla camps were dismantled by the Civil Guard. In November 1983 President Monge declared Costa Rica's neutrality in an attempt to elicit foreign support for his country. This declaration was opposed by the USA and led to the resignation of the Costa Rican Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In May 1984 there were reports of an air raid by the Nicaraguan Air Force on a border village in Costa Rica and of an increasing number of incursions by the Sandinista forces. Public opposition to any renunciation of neutrality was emphasized by a demonstration in support of peace and neutrality, held in San José and attended by over 20,000 people. An attempt was made to defuse the tense situation with the establishment of a commission, supported by the Contadora group (Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela), to monitor events in the border area. In late May, however, the attempt to assassinate Edén Pastora Gómez near the Costa Rican border exacerbated the rift within the Cabinet concerning government policy towards Nicaragua.

Relations with Nicaragua deteriorated further in December 1984, following an incident involving a Nicaraguan refugee at the Costa Rican embassy in Managua. Subsequently, diplomatic relations were reduced to a minimal level. Reports of clashes between Costa Rican Civil Guardsmen and Sandinista forces along the joint border became increasingly frequent. In 1985 the Government's commitment to neutrality was disputed when it decided to establish an anti-guerrilla battalion, trained by US military advisers.

During 1983 there were signs of increasing urban unrest in response to the Government's austerity measures and to the agrarian crisis, which had produced high levels of unemployment, principally among workers on banana plantations. By August 1984 the Government's position was regarded as unstable. The division within the Cabinet over policy towards Nicaragua, coupled with the effects of the unpopular austerity programme and a protracted strike by banana plantation workers, which had resulted in two deaths, led to fears of a coup. At President Monge's request, the Cabinet resigned, and in the subsequent reshuffle four Ministers were replaced.

At presidential and legislative elections in February 1986, Oscar Arias Sánchez, the candidate of the PLN, was elected President, with 52% of the votes cast. The PLN also obtained a clear majority in the Legislative Assembly. The new Government was committed to the development of a 'welfare state', whereby 25,000 new jobs and 20,000 new dwellings were to be created each year. In addition, the Government planned to renegotiate the country's external debt and to reach agreement on a social pact with the trade unions. Furthermore, President Arias Sánchez was resolved to maintain and reinforce Costa Rica's policy of neutrality, a decision which was expected to antagonize relations with the US administration.

In February 1986 diplomatic relations with Nicaragua were fully restored, and it was decided to establish a permanent inspection and vigilance commission at the common border. In accordance with the Government's pledge to protect neutrality, Costa Rica objected to the allocation of US \$100m. in US aid to the Contra forces in mid-1986. In addition, the Government embarked on a series of arrests and expulsions of Contras resident in Costa Rica. In October, however, an aeroplane crash in Nicaraguan territory, involving four US citizens, caused considerable embarrassment to the Costa Rican Government and encouraged scepticism about Costa Rica's participation in the anti-Sandinista campaign.

Throughout 1986 and 1987 President Arias became increasingly involved in the quest for peace in Central America. In February 1987 President Arias' first peace proposal was discussed at a meeting of Central American Presidents, but was not endorsed. In May President Arias began a tour of Western Europe, in an attempt to secure international support and in the hope of overcoming US reservations concerning certain aspects of the peace plan. In August, at a summit meeting in Esquipulas, Guatemala, President Arias presented a modified plan which was accepted and signed by the Presi-

dents of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica. The plan incorporated a 90-day timetable for the implementation of various measures aimed at promoting the establishment of peace in the region. The crucial provisions of the proposals were simultaneous cease-fires in Nicaragua and El Salvador, a halt to foreign assistance to rebel groups, democratic reform in Nicaragua, and a ban on the use of foreign territory as a base for attack. National reconciliation commissions were also to be formed in each of the Central American nations, including Costa Rica, to monitor the progress of the plan. This peace proposal was regarded as the most promising yet to be formulated and as a personal triumph for President Arias, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in October 1987. In September the Central American Vice-Presidents had agreed on the future creation of a unified parliament, in which each country was to hold 20 seats.

Despite the efforts of President Arias, the 90-day timetable for implementation of the proposals made at Esquipulas had to be extended until January 1988 before the second phase of verification and monitoring of progress could begin. In January President Arias brought Nicaraguan government officials and Contra leaders together in San José for their first discussions concerning the implementation of a cease-fire. Prior to this meeting, President Arias ordered three Contra leaders to leave Costa Rica or cease their military activities; subsequently, Alfredo César and Pedro Joaquín Chamorro agreed to leave, while Alfonso Robelo remained and agreed to modify his campaign. President Arias maintained his independent position by supporting discussions between the Contras and Sandinistas, held in Nicaragua in March, and by condemning any continuation of aid to the Contras. In November a border agreement was signed with Nicaragua.

In 1988 there were renewed indications of internal unrest as a result of the Government's economic policies. In March there were two one-day stoppages by public employees, to protest against concessions made to the IMF and the World Bank. In June UNSA, the co-ordinating organization for agricultural unions, proposed a week-long protest against the Government's agricultural policies. In August there were strikes by farmers who were aggrieved at the Government's 'Agriculture for Change' policy of promoting the cultivation of cash crops, and thereby sacrificing the interests of many smallholders, to appease the IMF. The Government established a commission to consider the farmers' complaints.

During 1989, however, there was increased labour unrest throughout the country. In August a coalition movement of regional trade unions, professional bodies and civic groups in the province of Limón called a strike that paralysed shipping on the Caribbean coast for four days. Trade union, farmers' and other mass organizations along the Atlantic coast continued to protest against the Government's policies of structural adjustment. In September teachers demanding higher pay and professional status held a one-day strike. Workers in the Ministry of Transport also went on strike, demanding salaries comparable to those of staff in other ministries. The dispute ended in mid-September, after the Government had agreed to revise their salary scale. Private-sector workers negotiated a 6.4% increase in wages in 1989. Moreover, President Arias promised that proportional wage increases would be awarded whenever the annual rate of inflation exceeded 7%. In September the Minister of Finance resigned, as his efforts to impose stringent austerity measures were being undermined by the increase in the budgetary deficit. He also opposed the Government's plan to reduce a tax on coffee production, claiming that, without the tax, the government deficit would exceed US \$145m., which might jeopardize agreements with the IMF.

In September 1989 the Legislative Assembly's commission of enquiry into the extent of drug-trafficking and related activities published its findings. As a result, a number of public figures were asked to resign. Among these were the former President (then a senior PLN official), Daniel Oduber Quirós, a PLN deputy, Leonel Villalobos, the general manager of a leading bank and the head of the Civil Aviation Authority. A former Minister of Public Security, Benjamin Piza, was to be tried on corruption charges, and a Supreme Court Justice, Jesús Ramírez, was accused of perjury.

At presidential and legislative elections in February 1990, Rafael Angel Calderón Fournier, the candidate presented by the Partido Unidad Social Cristiana (PUSC), was elected President, with 51.3% of the votes cast. The PUSC obtained a clear majority in the Legislative Assembly, with 29 seats. It was

widely believed that the decline in public support for the PLN was partly a result of the party's involvement in the drug scandal in the previous year. On assuming office in May, President Calderón was faced with the problem of a budget deficit of US \$150m. and was therefore forced to renege on his pre-election promise of improvements in welfare and income distribution. The deficit, equivalent to 3.3% of GDP, was almost double the limit of 1.7% stipulated by the IMF in order to ensure financial support from the Fund. Principal factors contributing to the increasing deficit were rising imports, a fall in the price of coffee on the world market, and cost-imposed wage increases for a steadily expanding public sector. (70% of public expenditure in 1989 was spent on salaries.) In an attempt to reduce the deficit, the Government introduced an adjustment programme of austerity measures, which included a rise in the price of fuel by 30% and of many goods and services by as much as 20%, and proposed tax increases. However, initially, the IMF refused to release funds for Costa Rica, insisting that approval of a stand-by loan would depend on the Legislative Assembly's approval of the tax measures. In early October 70,000-100,000 public- and private-sector employees participated in a one-day national strike to protest against the Government's economic policies. In the same month the Central Bank imposed credit restrictions on all private and state banks in an attempt to curb rising inflation. In late October the Government reached an agreement with the IMF for a stand-by loan of \$55m. On 30 October the Minister of Labour, Eric Thompson Piñeres, resigned, stating that his decision to do so reflected the rift between 'economic and social groups' within the Cabinet.

In February 1989 the Presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua met and agreed to draw up a plan to remove the Contra forces from base camps in Honduras, in exchange for the introduction of political reform and the holding of free elections in Nicaragua. The plan was ratified at a second 'summit' meeting, held in August in Honduras, with the signing of the Tela Agreement. Further proposals for El Salvador and Guatemala were also elaborated, as was an agreement on co-operation in the campaign against the trafficking and use of illicit drugs. In November, however, the conflicts in Nicaragua and El Salvador intensified. In December the deadline for the disbanding of Contra forces agreed at Tela, passed unfulfilled, and the Presidents of the five Central American countries, meeting in Costa Rica, agreed on measures to revive the regional peace process. In February 1990, after being defeated in elections, Nicaragua's Sandinista Government decreed an immediate cease-fire. The Central American countries accepted this, and a cease-fire agreement was concluded in April.

The first inter-American 'summit' meeting for 22 years was held in San José in October 1989, to celebrate a century of democracy in Costa Rica. The 17 participating Heads of State discussed issues of democracy, development and drug-trafficking, but no final document was produced, owing to the intransigence of President Bush of the USA to align with the Nicaraguan President, Daniel Ortega. In addition, the producing nations agreed on proposals for the reintroduction of export quotas, suspended by the International Coffee Organization in July. It was estimated that the decline in coffee resulting from the suspension would cost Costa Rica US \$100m in lost export earnings in 1989. The successful renegotiation of Costa Rica's debt to foreign banks, which would reduce annual interest payments from US \$150m. to \$50m., was also announced.

In October 1989 Costa Rica announced that it would pursue new diplomatic efforts against Panama (where the Government had declared the results of elections in May to be invalid) following an apparent victory by its opponents, outside the OAS. Costa Rica criticized the OAS for not condemning the Panamanian Government directly in its most recent resolutions. In December, however, a US military offensive overthrew Gen. Manuel Noriega's regime in Panama.

In April 1990 an extradition treaty between Costa Rica and the USA was approved by the Legislative Assembly. The treaty, which does not apply to Costa Rican citizens, was aimed at combating crime, particularly international drug trafficking. Negotiations regarding a bilateral free-trade agreement between Costa Rica and the USA were expected to commence in early 1991.

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COSTA RICA

Government
Under the Constitution of 1949, executive power is vested in the President, assisted by two Vice-Presidents (or, in exceptional circumstances, one Vice-President) and an appointed Cabinet. The President is elected for a four-year term by compulsory adult suffrage, and a successful candidate must secure at least 40% of the votes. The legislative organ is the unicameral Legislative Assembly, with 57 members who are annually elected for four years.

Armed Forces
There have been no armed forces since 1948. In June 1989, the Guardia Civil and Civil Guards totalled 7,800 men. In 1985 an anti-terrorist battalion was formed, composed of 750 Civil Guards. Expenditure on the security forces was estimated at 5,740m. colones for 1990.

Economic Affairs
In 1988, according to estimates by the World Bank, Costa Rica's gross national product (GNP), measured at average 1985-88 prices, was US \$4,690m., equivalent to \$1,760 per capita. During 1980-88, it was estimated, GNP increased, in real terms, at an average annual rate of 2.6%, while GNP per capita grew by only 0.2% per year. Over the same period, the population increased by an annual average of 2.3%. Costa Rica's gross domestic product (GDP), at purchasers' values, increased, in real terms, by an annual average of 2.4% in 1980-88 and by 5.0% in 1989.

Agriculture (including forestry and fishing) contributed 17.9% of GDP, and employed 25.9% of the labour force, in 1989. The principal cash crops are coffee (which accounted for about 20% of export earnings in 1989), bananas (about 19% of export earnings), sugar cane and cocoa. Cattle and meat exports were also significant. Maize, rice, beans and potatoes are also produced. During 1980-88 agricultural production increased at an annual average of 2.5%.

Industry (including mining, manufacturing, construction and services) employed 26.1% of the labour force, and provided 21.7% of GDP, in 1989. During 1980-88 industrial production increased by an annual average rate of 2.3%. Mining and manufacturing employed 18.7% of the labour force, and contributed 20.7% of GDP, in 1989. The mining sector employed 0.1% of the labour force in 1989. In terms of the value of output, the principal branches of manufacturing in 1984 were food products (42.4%), chemical products (9.3%) and petroleum refineries (7.8%).

Energy is derived principally from petroleum and hydroelectric power. By the late 1980s hydroelectric power provided 94% of commercial energy consumption. The Arenal hydroelectricity project was inaugurated in 1979, and, at its full generating capacity of 1,974MW, was expected to fulfil Costa Rica's entire electricity requirements. Imports of petroleum and other fuels accounted for 9.3% of the value of total imports in 1988.

The services sector employed 46.1% of the labour force, and provided 55.3% of GDP, in 1989. The output of this sector increased at an average annual rate of 2.5% during 1980-88.

In 1989 Costa Rica recorded a visible trade deficit of \$3,254.5m. and there was a deficit of \$446.9m. on the current account of the balance of payments. In 1989 the principal sources of imports were the USA (40.1%), followed by Venezuela (8.3%) and Central America (8.0%). The USA was the principal recipient of Costa Rica's exports (38.0%), followed by the Federal Republic of Germany (13.1%) and Central America (12.7%). The principal exports in 1989 were coffee and bananas. The principal imports were primary commodities, consumer durables, machinery and equipment.

In 1989 there was an estimated budgetary deficit of 7,405m. colones (equivalent to some 1.7% of GDP). Costa Rica's total external debt was US \$3,531m. at the end of 1988. In that year the cost of debt-servicing was an estimated \$715m., equivalent to 58.9% of total revenue from exports of goods and services. The annual rate of inflation averaged 26.9% in 1988-89 and 16.5% in 1989. The rate increased to 17.7% in the year to September 1990. An estimated 3.8% of the labour force was unemployed in 1989.

In October 1990 Costa Rica became a full contracting party to the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) (see p. 57). It is also a member of the Central American Common Market (CACM, see p. 110).

In May 1989 the IMF granted Costa Rica a stand-by credit of \$22.42m. In February 1990, however, disbursements were suspended because Costa Rica's fiscal deficit had exceeded the

limit of 1.7% of GDP as stipulated by the IMF. In late October, following the implementation of a number of austerity measures by the Government, the IMF agreed to extend a stand-by loan of \$55m. to Costa Rica. President Calderón stated that the agreement committed his administration to a reduction in the public-sector deficit from a projected 5% of GNP in 1990 to 1.4% in 1991. In June 1989 Costa Rica's debt to the 'Paris Club' of Western creditor governments was rescheduled over 10 years. In October 1989 the Legislative Assembly approved two credits, to the value of US \$200m., from the World Bank and the Japanese Government, which were to fund the second phase of Costa Rica's structural adjustment plan, SAL II. By late 1990, however, \$120m. of that total were still being withheld. In March 1990 Costa Rica secured an agreement to repurchase \$1,150m. of its \$1,800m. debt to commercial banks at 16% of its nominal value. In early October the US Agency for International Development released \$27m. in aid to Costa Rica to help to support the balance of payments, thus averting a foreign-exchange crisis at the Central Bank.

Social Welfare

Costa Rica possesses one of the world's most advanced social welfare systems, which provides a complete programme of care and assistance for all wage-earners and their dependants.

All social services are co-ordinated by the National Development Plan, administered by the Ministry of National Planning and Economic Policy, and are organized by state institutions. The Social Security Fund provides health services and general social insurance, the National Insurance Institute provides professional insurance, and the Ministry of Health operates a preventive health programme through a network of health units throughout the country. Benefits include disability and retirement pensions, workers' compensation and family assistance. In 1979 there were 1,506 registered physicians, not all resident and working in Costa Rica. In 1982 there were 28 hospitals and 76 health centres, with a total of 7,706 beds. Of total expenditure by the central Government in 1986, 12,595.5m. colones (19.1%) was for health services, and a further 12,525.6m. colones (19.0%) for social security.

Education

Education at all levels is available free of charge, and elementary education is officially compulsory for children between six and 13 years of age. Official secondary education consists of a three-year basic course, followed by a more highly specialized course of two years. Attendance figures are very high: in 1987 an estimated 95% of children aged six to 11 years were enrolled at primary schools, while 70% of those aged 12 to 16 received secondary education. There are six universities, one of which is an 'open' university. In 1985, according to estimates by UNESCO, the average rate of adult illiteracy was only 6.4% (males 6.0%; females 6.8%). Costa Rica has the highest adult literacy rate in Central America. Expenditure on education by the central Government in 1987 was 11,860.5m. colones (21.6% of total spending).

Public Holidays

1991: 1 January (New Year's Day), 19 March (Feast of St Joseph), 28 March (Maundy Thursday), 29 March (Good Friday), 11 April (Anniversary of the Battle of Rivas), 1 May (Labour Day), 30 May (Corpus Christi), 29 June (St Peter and St Paul), 25 July (Anniversary of the Annexation of Guanacaste Province), 2 August (Our Lady of the Angels), 15 August (Assumption), 15 September (Independence Day), 12 October (Columbus Day), 1 December (Abolition of the Armed Forces Day), 8 December (Immaculate Conception), 25 December (Christmas Day), 28-31 December (San José only).

1992: 1 January (New Year's Day), 19 March (Feast of St Joseph), 16 April (Maundy Thursday), 17 April (Good Friday), 1 May (Labour Day), 18 June (Corpus Christi), 29 June (St Peter and St Paul), 25 July (Anniversary of the Annexation of Guanacaste Province), 2 August (Our Lady of the Angels), 15 August (Assumption), 15 September (Independence Day), 12 October (Columbus Day), 1 December (Abolition of the Armed Forces Day), 8 December (Immaculate Conception), 25 December (Christmas Day), 28-31 December (San José only).

Weights and Measures

The metric system is in force.

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expanded the circumstances in which Federal funds could be used to pay for abortions. Moreover, unlike Public Law 100-462, H.R. 3026 would also permit payment for abortions with local funds, which under current law must be appropriated by the Congress. Thus, H.R. 3026 would not restrict the use of such funds for abortion in

any way.

I am, therefore, compelled to disapprove H.R. 3026.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,
October 27, 1989.

Advance Text of Remarks Upon Departure for the Centennial Celebration of Costa Rican Democracy in San José *October 27, 1989*

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

Three years from now, we will celebrate the 500th anniversary of Columbus's first great voyage of discovery; 8 years after that, the beginning of a new century. As we approach these landmarks, the people of the Western Hemisphere have strongly affirmed their democratic ideals. In nation after nation, courageous people voted new leaders into office and marked the end of autocratic rule. Today many who blazed the path to democracy are transferring the people's mandate to elected successors. Costa Rica is no longer one of a few lonely democracies. Indeed, today there are only a few lonely holdouts against the sweep of

democracy through this hemisphere.

I believe history will show that this hemisphere's democratic resurgence helped set the stage for today's electrifying changes in the Communist world. When people replace dictatorships with popular rule across an entire continent, the world takes notice. The news is irrepressible and inspiring for those with democratic dreams of their own. Here in the Americas, we have the opportunity to create the world's first completely democratic hemisphere, where free markets and the marketplace of ideas can prosper hand in hand.

And so, we journey today to advance this new world of freedom and to salute the traditions of a nation and a people that, in many ways, represents the model for our entire hemisphere. Thank you, and I hope you all have a pleasant weekend.

Note: The President spoke at 6:22 a.m. on the tarmac at Andrews Air Force Base, Camp Springs, MD. The remarks as delivered were not released by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony in San José, Costa Rica *October 27, 1989*

Mr. President, thank you, sir. And it is a great pleasure for me to be here and to greet all who are here to celebrate democracy in Costa Rica. Gathered before us is

one of the wonderful traditions of this great country: the tradition of greeting foreign visitors not with the guns of military salutes but with the cheers of those schoolchildren.

And I think you have another marvelous institution, that is a band that can play "The Star-Spangled Banner," a difficult anthem, without a flaw.

A few years ago, I was privileged to attend the inauguration of President Arias. And the stadium where the celebration was held was filled to capacity. And when our United States delegation entered behind the United States flag, the Costa Rican people rose to their feet, and the arena erupted in cheers. And they were cheering for the friendship between our countries, and they were cheering for democracy. And this welcome today also has me deeply moved and very proud.

They asked me, why are we coming? We are back in San José to honor a nation, Costa Rica; a leader, President Oscar Arias; and an idea, democracy. On behalf of your neighbors in the United States, I congratulate the people of Costa Rica on the 100th anniversary of your democracy. The Costa Rican model is an example and an inspiration in Central America, to this entire hemisphere, to the world: a nation in which the people rule through the ballot box, a nation whose economy is being freed from the shackles of the state and whose people are sharing in the fruits of economic growth, a nation that lives in peace with its neighbors because it threatens none with aggression or subversion.

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

I believe we can do more. I believe we

must do more. I believe we can create here in the Americas the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. And I also believe that the Americas can become the model for the rest of the world for a true partnership between the developed and the developing world, where trade is free, prosperity is shared, and the benefits of technology are harnessed for all.

Mr. President, in that regard, I join you in celebrating the announcement you just made regarding the debt. I salute those private interests in the United States that cooperated. I salute our leaders who worked with yours to achieve this marvelous example of what cooperation can bring. And I congratulate Costa Rica on this significant step.

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

I believe that the democratic leaders of the Americas are reaching out to the United States, just as we are to them, offering a new partnership of mutual respect and mutual responsibility. And I'm here in San José to make it clear to the democratic leaders of this hemisphere that we embrace this new partnership.

To you, President Arias, my esteemed friend, and to all the officials who have made these arrangements, I express to you my gratitude on the one hand and my joy at being here on the other. Thank you very, very much.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10 a.m. at Juan Santamaria International Airport.

Exchange With Reporters in San José, Costa Rica, on the Situation in Nicaragua October 27, 1989

Q. Do you regard the Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega as a popularly elected leader, sir?

President Bush. We're here to salute de-

mocracy. And I want to see Nicaragua become a democratic country, and I don't want to see them swimming against the tide of democracy that is sweeping this