

The Journey to Democracy: 1986-1996

The Carter Center

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FOREWORD

As president, I gave Latin America and the Caribbean high priority for several reasons. First, I believed that U.S. relations with our neighbors were among the most important we had for moral, economic, historical, and strategic reasons. Second, in the mid-1970s, the United States had a compelling interest in negotiating new Panama Canal Treaties and in working with democratic leaders and international organizations to end repression and assure respect for human rights. Third, I had a long-term personal interest in the region and had made several rewarding trips there.

When I established The Carter Center, I was equally committed to the region. The Carter Center and Emory University recruited Robert Pastor to be director of our Latin American and Caribbean Program (LACP). He served as my national security advisor for Latin American and Caribbean Affairs when I was president and has been the principal advisor on the region to Rosalynn and me ever since. An Emory professor and author of 10 books and hundreds of articles on U.S. foreign policy and Latin America, he and his staff have applied considerable energy and creativity to build a program that has had a profound effect on both Latin America and U.S.-Latin American relations.

From the beginning, we designed the program only after consulting regional leaders, and the group that we formed-the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government-has grown from 12 current and former presidents and heads of state to 27 today. On almost every trip to the hemisphere-whether to monitor an election or discuss economic development-I have sought the advice and the companionship of a colleague from the Council. Their active involvement has been critical to the success of our efforts.

In all of our projects, we have deliberately tried to be bipartisan. Former President Gerald Ford has co-chaired many conferences and projects, and I am grateful for his constant help. We also have worked with numerous other Republicans, including former Sen. Howard Baker, who co-chaired the debt conference; former Secretary of State James A. Baker III, who participated so effectively in the hemispheric agenda conference; former governor and Sen. Dan Evans, who co-lead the Nicaraguan Elections Project; and former Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead, who co-led the Haiti Elections Project.

In addition, The Carter Center has often collaborated with other nongovernmental and inter-governmental organizations such as the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, the Inter-American Dialogue, the Arias Foundation, the

International Republic Institute, the Commonwealth, the Organization of American States, and the United Nations.

As I look back on the last 10 years, I am gratified by what we have accomplished by working together. For example, it was no accident that Nicaragua, Haiti, Guyana, Panama, the Dominican Republic, and Paraguay all held their first free and fair elections in many years and, in some cases, ever. It took a lot of hard work by the people in each country, and we were pleased to be able to support them. I also am proud of the work The Carter Center did to further democracy in the hemisphere through our work on the debt crisis and the North American Free Trade Agreement. Because of these and other efforts, the hemisphere is a more democratic and just place.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this report to the memory of Daniel Oduber, a great president of Costa Rica and a member of the first Executive Committee of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. He was a dear friend and an inspiration to all of us.

Jimmy Carter

INTRODUCTION

In my travels throughout Latin America, I have always found the region's leaders eager to converse with American statesmen, but with few exceptions, they mostly had to content themselves with speaking to specialists like me. The kind of transnational dialogue that would permit hemispheric relations to rise to a higher level just did not exist. When President Carter asked if I would direct a new program at The Carter Center, my thoughts turned to the question of whether I could help form a group of senior statesmen from throughout the hemisphere, who not only could consult with each other, but also work together to advance the ideals of human rights, democracy, social justice, and equitable development that lie at the core of the inter-American promise.

The United States and Latin America share a hemisphere, but they have often approached problems as if they inhabit two different worlds. The challenge of studying or solving problems in inter-American relations is to find a common language between these perspectives. This is not easy because the complicated relationship between the United States and Latin America is born from a long and troubled history and vast disparities in power and wealth. The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, established at The Carter Center, confronted this challenge, and in the space of a decade, has contributed to narrowing the differences between the United States and Latin America and advancing democracy in Panama, Nicaragua, Haiti, Guyana, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico.

As a student and a teacher, I believe in the power of ideas, and I have tried to construct all of our projects on a solid foundation of research. We have sought to apply the language of scholars to the world of statesmen. At each consultation, professors and presidents have tested ideas against experience.

On the democratization issue, we decided to concentrate our efforts on helping make elections work-not because we believed that elections are synonymous with democracy, but because democracy is not possible without free elections. For elections to be free, the major parties need to believe they are fair.

Therefore, Council members worked to mediate between the major parties and the Elections Commissions. This approach has had a profound effect on the democratic process of "transitional countries," those with little or no experience in free elections, where we have worked.

Public attention has focused on the moments when President Carter and other Council members made headlines: when President Carter denounced Panamanian Gen. Noriega's fraud, when he helped secure a free election in

Nicaragua, when he persuaded the Haitian military to step down and permit President Aristide's return. development that lie at the core of the inter- Each of these events, however, was the result of patient and usually confidential consultations and work that began years before. This report aims to place our work in a broader context-to understand what we have tried to do to reinforce democracy, how we have tried to advance inter-American interests and values, as well as what we have done in specific projects, like Nicaragua, Haiti, or Cuba. Of course, nothing that The Carter Center accomplished could have been possible without the leadership and perseverance of President Carter. When fixed on a goal-whether it was democracy in Nicaragua or the restoration of constitutional government in Haiti-no mediator could be as skilled as he, and no one, as Sen. Nunn pointed out, could be as dogged or determined.

From the beginning of the program, I have been fortunate to have a talented, dedicated staff. Some, like Jennifer McCoy, David Carroll, Harriette Martin, and Becky Castle, continue to work with the program; others, like Eric Bord, have joined us on special assignments when we have needed them. Many students and faculty from Emory University also have contributed to different projects over the years.

This report is the product of many hands. Robin Gault and Colby Schwartz compiled an outline and materials that permitted Sherry Baker to do an early draft. Becky Castle pulled the various pieces together and supervised the entire project. Harriette Martin, David Carroll, Pam Auchmutey, Carrie Harmon, and Pam Wuichet also gave input at every stage of the process. For all their work, I am grateful.

The purpose of this report is to take stock from whence we have come and, with a clearer sense of what we have done, to begin to chart our direction for the future. The hemisphere has changed mightily in the last decade. On the

threshold of the 21st century, the Americas can realize the promise of consolidated democracies tied together into the world's most effective free trade area. We want to contribute to that vision.

Robert A. Pastor
September 1, 1996

TIMELINE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN PROGRAM

1984

October

Trip to Consult with Leaders in Venezuela, Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Panama (President and Mrs. Carter and Robert Pastor)

1986

February

Trip to Prepare for Conferences on Debt and on Democracy to Venezuela, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Mexico (President and Mrs. Carter and Robert Pastor)

April 7-8

"The Debt Crisis: Adjusting to the Past or Planning for the Future?"
Conference Co-Chaired by President Carter and Sen. Howard Baker

April 9

Symposium for Businesses: "U.S. Interests and Opportunities in Mexico"
Conference Co-Chaired by President Carter, Ambassador Sol M. Linowitz, and Mexican Finance Minister Jesus Silva-Herzog

Nov. 16-18

"Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas"
Conference Co-Chaired by Former Presidents Carter and Gerald Ford

Nov. 18

Formation of Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government
1987

Oct. 22-23

Monitor Election Campaign in Haiti (decision taken after Executive Committee meeting)

December

Establish Bipartisan Committee To Support Free Elections in Chile
1988

Oct. 21

A New Hemispheric Agenda Preparatory Meeting

1989

Jan. 9-10

Discussion on U.S.-Cuban Relations at Musgrove Plantation, Ga.

February

Attend Inauguration of Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez for Meetings with President Perez, Daniel Ortega, and Others on Hemispheric Agenda

March 29-30

"The Hemispheric Agenda"

Conference Co-Chaired by Presidents Carter and Ford, Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley, and Secretary of State James A. Baker III

May 7

Monitor Elections in Panama (Pre-election visits in March and April) with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and
1990

Feb. 25

Monitor Nicaraguan Elections (five pre-election missions begin July 1989).
Delegation Led by Hon. Bruce Babbitt Attends Inauguration on April 25, 1990.

May 16

Monitoring Elections in the Dominican Republic with the NDI

Dec. 16

Monitor Elections in Haiti (five pre-election missions begin in July 1990) with NDI
1991

Feb. 7

Attend President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's Inauguration in Haiti

February-March

Two Trips to Nicaragua to Assist All Parties to Agree to an Anti-Inflation
Economic Policy

May

Two Visits to Observe Electoral Process in Suriname
1992

February

Conference on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

July 12

Monitor Elections in Chihuahua and Michoacan, Mexico (Electoral monitoring begins in 1986 and continues, involving high-level discussions with Mexican leaders, through August 1994)

Oct. 5

Monitor Elections in Guyana (Five pre-election missions begin in October 1990)

Nov. 4

Mexican Leaders and Council Members Monitor U.S. Presidential Elections in Georgia
1993

August-November

Co-Sponsor Bipartisan Presidential Commission on NAFTA with Center for Strategic and International Studies (includes conferences in Atlanta and Washington)

May 9

Monitor Elections in Paraguay with NDI

Sept. 22-23

President Aristide of Haiti Attends Carter Center Conference Co-Sponsored with Academy of Arts & Sciences on "Collective Responses to Regional Problems" (to discuss strategy for restoring constitutional government in Haiti)
1994

March-April

Three-Week Lecture Series Begins with First Woodruff Visting Fellow and Carter Center Visiting Statesman Michael Manley, former Prime Minister of Jamaica

May 8

Monitor Elections in Panama (Pre-election monitoring begins in November 1993)

Aug. 21

Monitor Mexican Presidential Elections (Pre-election monitoring begins in 1986)

September

President Carter, Sen. Sam Nunn, and Gen. Colin Powell Successfully Negotiate the Return of President Aristide to Haiti; Dr. Pastor Advises the Mission

December

Co-Sponsor Conference with United Nations Development Program to Promote Consensus-Building in Panama

December

Robert Pastor and Michael Manley, former Jamaican Prime Minister, Are Invited to Haiti to Assess Political and Economic Climate

1995

February

Carter-Nunn-Powell Team Returns to Haiti with former Prime Minister George Price and Dr. Pastor to Assess Progress since September 1994 Mission

March-December

Consultations on U.S.-Cuban Relations (includes visit to Cuba by Dr. Pastor)

June 25

Dr. Pastor Observes Haitian Legislative and Municipal Elections; Testifies Before Congress on Oct. 12

July 4-5

"Nicaraguan Property Disputes" Conference, Montelimar, Nicaragua, Co-Sponsored with United Nations Development Program
1996

January

Monitor Palestinian Elections with NDI (Pre-election visits in December 1995)

April-July

Monitor Electoral Process in Dominican Republic with NDI

March-October

Monitor Electoral Process in Nicaragua

CHAPTER ONE**ONE JOURNEY TO DEMOCRACY**

For as long as he could remember, the man had lived and labored near the Guyana coast, growing rice and sugar cane and raising his family. But for his entire adult life, he had been denied a political voice in his native land. Although the right to elect one's leaders is recognized as an inalienable, universal right by the United Nations (U.N.) and the Organization of the American States (OAS), the farmer had never had the opportunity to cast a ballot that he believed would count. He had never voted for the future of his country without fear or intimidation.

Then, on Oct. 5, 1992, the surge of democratization that had swept over Latin America and the Caribbean since 1978 finally arrived in Guyana. Proudly, the man joined thousands of his countrymen in participating in Guyana's first election in nearly 30 years that all parties accepted as free and fair.

This was no overnight political miracle, nor was it the result of a violent revolution. Instead, it was the culmination of efforts by Guyanese and of a two-year effort led by the Latin American and Caribbean Program (LACP) of The Carter Center. The LACP staffs the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, a group of 27 presidents and prime ministers from throughout the hemisphere, led by Jimmy Carter. Among the Council's representatives who participated either directly or through delegates in monitoring the Guyanese elections were George Price, then prime minister of Belize, former Costa Rican Presidents Oscar Arias and Rodrigo Carazo, former Jamaican Prime Ministers Michael Manley and Edward Seaga, Venezuelan Presidents Rafael Caldera and Carlos Andres Perez, and former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.

For two years and through five high-level missions, the Council mediated electoral reforms among the major Guyanese political parties that permitted all sides to begin to trust the electoral process. The goal was not to force democracy on Guyana but instead to remove perceived and actual barriers to free elections and to reinforce democratic tendencies. As a result of the Council's efforts, the government and the Elections Commission accepted major electoral reforms, which set the stage for a genuinely competitive election.

When the day for voting arrived, most people came to vote peacefully. But by late afternoon, ethnic tensions suddenly broke through the surface and erupted in violence. Bullets sprayed the Elections Commission headquarters; looting broke out in the capital of Georgetown.

Despite the danger, the 65 members of The Carter Center/Council delegation continued to visit polling sites in every region in the country. President Carter went directly to the Elections Commission, which was under assault, to offer his solidarity to Commission Chairman Rudolph Collins and to insist that the police protect the site.

Their confidence in the election process bolstered by the commitment of international observers, Guyanese voters refused to allow the election to be aborted.

In the end, democracy prevailed. Election observers from the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government declared the elections free of fraud and mediated a transition process that permitted the peaceful transfer of power for the first time in 28 years.

Guyana had begun the journey to democracy.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINING A MISSION

Before establishing a Latin American and Caribbean Program at the new Carter Center, Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter and Robert Pastor embarked on two long trips to the region. Their purpose was to see firsthand the problems faced by the region in the mid-1980s and to learn from its leaders whether The Carter Center could help address the hemispheric agenda. In October 1984, they visited Venezuela, Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Panama. In 1986, they returned again to Caracas, and from there, went to Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Mexico. In each country, the three met with presidents, opposition politicians, and religious, human rights, military, and business leaders.

The region was staggering under the burden of the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, anxious about the viability of democracy, and hungry for dialogue with the United States. The issues that concerned them most were the debt crisis, the fragility of democracy, civil war in Central America, and illegal drug trafficking.

All of the democratic leaders remembered President Carter's human rights policy with genuine appreciation. The English-language *Buenos Aires Herald* published an editorial titled: "Thank you, Jimmy," which read: "It was Jimmy Carter's government that did more than any other group of people anywhere for the cause of human rights in Argentina." Lionel Brizola, a presidential candidate and then governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro, declared before a large audience: "Millions of Brazilians are delighted that Jimmy Carter should come here so that they can publicly express their immense gratitude for everything he did." At every stop, President Carter heard a similar message, and all encouraged him to re-engage and forge new paths through the current problems in inter-American relations.

At the conclusion of their journeys, Dr. Pastor, who was then teaching international relations as a Fulbright professor at El Colegio de Mexico in Mexico City, accepted a joint appointment as professor of political science at Emory University and director of a new Latin American and Caribbean Program (LACP) at The Carter Center.

The program began with two major conferences aimed to seek solutions to the debt crisis and generate new ideas to preclude chronic political instability. In both areas, the LACP enlisted the finest scholars in the field and asked them to translate their theories into practical recommendations for policy.

"In the long run, our national interest, the interests of the inter-American community, and the stability of the international finance system all depend on making the debt burden bearable."

Sen. Bill Bradley in his proposal for managing debt in the
hemisphere

The conferences were deliberately bipartisan and policy-oriented. Howard Baker, White House chief of staff under President Reagan and former Senate majority leader, co-chaired the first symposium with President Carter on "The Debt Crisis: Adjusting to the Past or Planning for the Future?," held April 7-8, 1986.

Supported by the Institute of the Americas and the Rockefeller Foundation, the symposium attracted leading policy-makers, bankers, and economists including Jesus Silva-Herzog, Mexican finance minister; Eduardo Wiesner, Western Hemisphere director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF); Pedro-Pablo Kuczynski, co-chairman of First Boston International; and David Mulford, U.S. assistant secretary of the treasury.

By the mid-1980s, Latin American debt exceeded \$400 billion, with nations spending an increasing share of their export earnings on debt service. Latin American governments were compelled to impose harsh austerity measures to balance their budgets. The United States also was affected as Latin America had to generate savings by reducing its imports. At the conference, some argued that the debt was manageable and the crisis had passed, but others, notably President Carter, Sen. Baker, and Sen. Bill Bradley, argued that additional steps to reduce and restructure the region's debt were essential to permit the Latin American economies to recover. These issues would be taken up again in three years at the "Hemispheric Agenda" conference, which helped put flesh on the Bush administration's new proposal for relief, the "Brady Plan."

The day after the symposium, President and Mrs. Carter hosted an informal dinner and private briefing on U.S.-Mexican relations for 52 business and foundation executives. The keynote address was delivered by Ambassador Sol M. Linowitz, who negotiated the Panama Canal Treaties, and whose report on U.S.-Latin American relations in 1976 had a decisive influence on the Carter administration's policy toward Latin America. The discussion on the future of

U.S.-Mexican relations was led by Fred Bergsten, director of the Institute for International Economics; Victor Urquidi, former president of El Colegio de Mexico; and Sidney Weintraub, professor of economics at the University of Texas.

"The external debt of the Latin American countries has become, in the last few years, one of the fundamental issues defining the present and future of inter-American relations. This problem cannot be understood solely in terms of its economic and financial dimensions; it has become the center of a complex universe that affects the political, diplomatic, social, and cultural relations between the countries of Latin America and the industrialized countries, especially those in the Western Hemisphere."

Dr. Manuel Aspurua,

Venezuelan finance minister

Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas

In November 1986, the LACP held the first consultation at the newly completed Carter Center-"Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas." Scholars and policy-makers explored the meaning of democracy, the factors that contributed to its failure and success, and proposals to reinforce and extend democracy to the rest of the hemisphere.

Papers were commissioned from some of the world's foremost scholars on democracy, including Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard University, Juan Linz of Yale University, Guillermo O'Donnell of Notre Dame University, and Laurence Whitehead of Oxford University. At a private, one-day workshop, these scholars joined 35 other experts to discuss and refine specific proposals to be delivered

before 12 current and former presidents, prime ministers, and legislators of the Americas.

Co-chaired by former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, the two-day consultation was co-sponsored by the Institute for the Americas and supported by the Ford Foundation, the National Endowment for Democracy, and the ARCA Foundation.

Participants included former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada, President Vinicio Cerezo of Guatemala, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State William D. Rogers, and President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina. They searched for consensus on defining democracy and on how new democracies could be strengthened and what could be done to prevent their collapse.

Presenting the keynote address at the banquet attended by more than 1,000 people, President Alfonsin discussed the need to preserve and expand democracy in Latin America.

Many moments stand out. One was a discussion between Teodoro Petkoff, who had led Venezuela's Marxist guerrillas in the 1960s, and Rafael Caldera, who was president at the time, on the lessons that could be drawn for Central Americans from their experience. Both agreed that a new boost was needed by the international community to energize a process of peaceful democratic reconciliation between governments and guerrillas. Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo warned the audience: "We are at a historical juncture with incredible opportunities and risks. The U.S. can afford to make a mistake, but Latin American democrats cannot." Within a year, President Cerezo and his counterparts in the region, led by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, would begin to implement the new consensus.

At another point, Sen. Richard Lugar, Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and House Majority Leader Jim Wright discussed the prospects of a bipartisan approach to Central America. Their hope for such an approach would have to await the arrival of the Bush administration before it would be accepted.

A New Council Is Born

By the close of the democracy consultation a remarkable, historic consensus had been reached. Two former U.S. presidents, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, joined 10 other current and former Latin, Caribbean, and North American heads of government to move from discussion to studying ways in which to consolidate freedom in Latin America and the Caribbean.

They announced they were coming together to take decisive, tangible action to work collectively as well as individually to ensure democracy's continued expansion and to use their experience, knowledge, and influence to improve political, economic, and social conditions within and between countries throughout the hemisphere.

One leader proposed to call the group the "Council of Presidents," but Errol Barrow, then prime minister of Barbados, reminded the others that "presidents" were not the elected heads of government in the parliamentary democracies of the Caribbean. Prime Minister Barrow proposed an alternative name, "The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government," and all agreed to it. They asked President Carter to chair the Council and Dr. Pastor to serve as executive secretary. It would be based at The Carter Center, where it has developed into an important vehicle for assisting the democratic process in the Americas.

"While we believe that the primary determinants of democracy are domestic and unique to each nation, a council of democratically elected heads of government

might make a vital contribution," the original Council members announced in a telegram sent to all heads of government in the hemisphere and to the secretaries-general of the United Nations and the OAS.

They continued, "We would be on call to existing international organizations or to those democratic heads of government who need help in alleviating threats to their democracies."

Both secretaries-general responded positively and warmly to the Council's announcement.

An executive committee, chaired by President Carter and consisting of Rafael Caldera, former president of Venezuela; Daniel Oduber, former president of Costa Rica; and George Price, former prime minister of Belize, met to develop goals for the Council. They agreed to promote multilateral democratic transitions and to reinforce the consolidation of new and re-emerging democracies in the region.

GOALS OF THE COUNCIL OF FREELY ELECTED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT

- reinforce democracy in the Americas
- promote multilateral efforts to resolve conflict in the hemisphere
- advance regional economic cooperation

The Council soon demonstrated its commitment to these goals. When military officers threatened a coup in Argentina, Council members issued a statement in support of President Alfonsín.

On April 13, 1987, Barbadian Prime Minister Errol Barrow wrote to President Carter to explain the work he had done since the meeting to prepare a project in Haiti. "Since leaving Atlanta," Prime Minister Barrow wrote, "I have spoken at

length with Gen. Namphy, the interim president, who informed me that he would welcome such an initiative ... to assist that country in its declared intention to return to democracy." That letter was the beginning of a long journey by Haiti and the Council that would begin with a free election in December 1990 and culminate with a 30-hour negotiation in September 1994 by President Carter, Sen. Sam Nunn, Gen. Colin Powell, and Dr. Pastor to restore constitutional government.

While the Council has worked on debt, trade, and other economic issues, its most important contribution has been to reinforce democracy. It has done so primarily by monitoring and mediating elections. Since its creation, the Council has sent representatives to 14 elections throughout the hemisphere. Observers have denounced elections that were fraudulent and celebrated those that were free.

REINFORCING DEMOCRACY IN THE AMERICAS PARTICIPANTS NOVEMBER 1986

Original Members of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government

Raúl Alfonsín, Argentine President

Nicolas Ardito Barletta, former Panamanian President

Fernando Belaunde Terry, former Peruvian President

Errol Barrow, Prime Minister of Barbados

Rafael Caldera, former President of Venezuela

Jimmy Carter, 39th President of the United States

Vinicio Cerezo, Guatemalan President

Gerald Ford, 38th President of the United States

Oswaldo Hurtado, former President of Ecuador

Daniel Oduber, former President of Costa Rica

George Price, former Prime Minister of Belize

Pierre Trudeau, former Prime Minister of Canada

OAS and Latin American Government Officials

Luiz Bresser Pereira, former Finance Minister, Brazil

Teodoro Petkoff, Member of the Chamber of Deputies of Venezuela

Sergio Ramirez Mercado, Vice President of Nicaragua

Joao Baena Soares, Secretary-General, Organization of American States

Gabriel Valdes, former Undersecretary General of the United Nations, 1971-81

U.S. Government Officials

Raymond Burghardt, Director of Latin American and Caribbean Affairs, National Security Council

Richard Lugar, Chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

William D. Rogers, former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, 1974-76

James Wright, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

Scholars

Karl W. Deutsch, Carter Center Fellow, Emory University

Tom J. Farer, Professor of Law, American University

Joseph Grunwald, President, Institute of the Americas

Samuel P. Huntington, Director, Center for International Affairs at Harvard University

Juan Linz, Yale University

Lorenzo Meyer, Professor, Center for International Studies of El Colegio de Mexico

Guillermo O'Donnell, Academic Director, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame

Robert Pastor, Carter Center Fellow and Consultation Director, Emory University

Thomas E. Skidmore, Director, Program on Iberian American Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison

Alfred Stepan, Dean, School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University

Laurence Whitehead, Official Fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford University

CHAPTER THREE

ELECTION MONITORING AND MEDIATING

In the consultation on "Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas," participants first tried to reach some consensus on a definition of democracy. Some defined it as a worthy end: social justice of self-determination. There are two problems with a goal-oriented definition. First, for democracy to be sustained, a certain distance is needed between the system and its managers. When an administration fails to achieve social justice, the people should hold the incumbent, not democracy, accountable. Second, and more pertinent, a goal-based definition begs the central question of government: *Who decides* the goals, the priorities, and the programs?

That is why the Organization of American States (OAS) Charter and the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights refer to "representative democracy" and "periodic and genuine elections." Their definition of democracy is based on processes rather than goals; it can be summarized as a system of government in which *the people choose* their leaders in a free environment, and those leaders exercise authority within the law. Samuel Huntington, a well-known scholar on democracy and Harvard professor, described this definition as "modest"; it is not as captivating or energizing as a utopian definition, but is more likely to guarantee human rights. This civil-society definition encourages a focus on elections and political environments that permit people to make a free choice. Council members discussed the issue and concluded that *democracy should be more than a free election, but it can't be less.*

The moment in which a people freely elect their leaders is a delicate one, and "transitional governments" that have had little or no experience with such elections often find the transition hazardous and difficult. Why? Political parties and leaders are usually suspicious of one another. Opposition skepticism about

the integrity of the electoral process is based on fear that the incumbent could manipulate election officials. The Council came to realize that the greatest contribution they could make in reinforcing democracy was to reduce suspicion and elevate confidence in the electoral process.

Election-monitoring was hardly a new phenomenon. The OAS had sent observers to 19 elections in 15 countries from 1962 to 1982, and the U.S. government had sent observers to numerous elections in Vietnam and El Salvador. But the principal purpose of these missions was to legitimize an election, not to monitor or assess its fairness. Governments generally have broader issues at stake in critical elections than the purity of the process, and so the behavior during these missions is not surprising. With regard to the OAS and the United Nations, however, the essence of their problem was that both sat at the intersection of a contradiction: They defended the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of its members, yet they were committed to universal rights that were often violated by the same members. Faced with this dilemma, the easy path was to be quiet.

But the Council was determined to try a different path. Carlos Andres Perez, Venezuelan president and active Council member, complained that too often, the nonintervention principle allowed "the protection of dictatorships... Nonintervention became a passive intervention against democracy."

As a result of the initiative on Haiti pursued by a founding Council member, Prime Minister Errol Barrow of Barbados, the Haitian Provisional Electoral Council invited Jimmy Carter and Council representatives to visit their country before elections scheduled for November 1987. When two Haitian presidential candidates were assassinated in October of that year, President Carter asked George Price and Robert Pastor to join him there. They met with Gens. Namphy

and Regala of the interim government, members of the Provisional Electoral Council, church and business leaders, and 16 presidential candidates. In their report, the Council team concluded: "Everyone committed to free elections in Haiti expressed gratitude for our visit and said that they believed that continued international attention to the electoral process in Haiti is of the greatest importance... Haitians requested sustained interest and moral and political support from the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government and from the entire international democratic community."

The invitation to observe the election and the clear message that the Council received represented an important change in the definition of sovereignty. In the past, most governments would have rejected international election observers as violators of a sovereign principle; after 1987, one government after another accepted a broader understanding of the role of the international community in sensitive domestic matters such as elections.

In November 1987, George Price led a delegation to Haiti cosponsored by the Council and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), but the military stopped the election after a group of paramilitary thugs, associated with the Armed Forces, massacred 34 voters. Rather than the conclusion of the Council's work in Haiti, its involvement in the fall of 1987 proved to be the beginning of an effort that would culminate in an unprecedented collective endeavor to construct and defend democracy in that country.

Preparing for Panama

One of the toughest political issues that Jimmy Carter tackled as president was the Panama Canal Treaty. Most Americans agreed with Ronald Reagan, who repeatedly said: "We bought the Canal. We paid for it. It's ours, and we should keep it." Sen. S.I. Hayakawa from California put it a little differently: "We stole it, fair and square." Americans were proud of the Canal, but Panamanians resented

the fact that the United States operated a strip of land 10 miles wide down the middle of their country. After 60 years of pleading to no effect for a more equitable relationship, Panamanian nationalism passed the boiling point in January 1964. Riots led to the death of 24 Panamanians and the condemnation of the United States by the OAS.

For the next 13 years, four U.S. presidents negotiated new Canal Treaties. Jimmy Carter completed and signed two treaties in September 1977. The first ended the Canal Zone and promised to gradually cede operational authority of the Canal to Panama until the year 2000, when Panama would gain full control. A second treaty on the Neutrality of the Canal permitted the United States to defend the Canal permanently. Latin American presidents led by Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela and Daniel Oduber of Costa Rica and Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley supported the negotiations and helped both governments to reach an agreement.

As a result of the Treaties, Panamanians had deep respect and affection for President Carter. In the 1980s, when Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega took control of the country and began to impose martial law, many Panamanians turned to Council members Carter, Perez, Oduber, Manley, and others to gain their moral and political support for restoring democracy.

In early February 1989, President Carter met with President Perez, newly inaugurated for a second term, and Panamanian opposition leaders to discuss what the Council could do. They decided to send a pre-election mission to Panama in mid-March to prepare and present a report to the Council at a meeting on March 30, which was co-chaired by former Presidents Carter and Ford. The mission noted serious problems including censorship and intimidation and harassment of political parties, but it also reported that it had received assurances from the government and the military that international observers

would be permitted to observe the election. Presidents Carter and Ford agreed to lead the delegation. By mid-April, Gen. Noriega's attitude had hardened; observers were no longer welcome.

"The Junta, the Central Committee responsible for counting the votes, has now been in the process of certifying totally false documents, which have replaced the genuine documents. If this process is not interrupted and reversed by Gen. Noriega and the members of his coterie, then the overwhelming majority of Panamanians will have been cheated of their right to freedom and democracy."

In response, President Carter sent a personal message to Gen. Noriega asking him to receive Dr. Pastor. Gen. Noriega agreed, and Dr. Pastor arrived in Panama on April 24, 1989, for a full day of very difficult negotiations. Gen. Noriega reluctantly accepted a small delegation of 20 individuals, led by Presidents Carter and Ford. Although many in the United States denounced the election as fraudulent before it ever occurred, the Council delegation, collaborating with the National Democratic and Republican Institutes, did not preempt the Panamanian people. Rather, the delegation encouraged people to vote, and they did so peacefully and in great numbers on May 7, 1989. The Church conducted a parallel vote count or a "quick count" of the results and learned that opposition candidates won by a ratio of 3 to 1.

The day after the election, President Carter met with the opposition leaders, who had won the election, and consulted with the Bush administration. Gen. Noriega, however, would not meet despite repeated requests by President Carter. In a visit to the National Counting Center in the afternoon of the day after the election, President Carter saw that members of the military were trying to replace actual results with fraudulent ones. He protested to the Electoral Tribunal and then held a news conference to denounce the fraud in the strongest terms. Gen. Noriega

ordered the delegation out of the country, after which President Bush invited President Carter and the delegation to the White House for a debriefing. The Council had hoped the election would be fair and accepted by Gen. Noriega.

When he tried to rig the results, the Council's denunciation denied Gen. Noriega's candidacy any legitimacy. Much was learned from the experience, especially that the Council should become involved in the electoral process early, at least six months before the election. Second, it needed to work with all parties to ensure that they would accept the results. The Council soon had an opportunity to apply these lessons.

The Road to Democracy in Nicaragua

President Carter was invited to the 10th anniversary of the Sandinista Revolution, and he asked Dr. Pastor to attend on his behalf and meet with government and opposition leaders to explore whether they might be interested in the Council observing the elections scheduled for Feb. 25, 1990. Dr. Pastor found that he was pushing on an open door. The government respected President Carter and many Council members as impartial observers who would not interfere in an illegitimate way in Nicaragua's internal affairs, and the opposition was very anxious to have the Council observe.

"Today you fulfill a dream that all Nicaraguans have shared since your country's independence. The dream is of peaceful change-that the presidency of Nicaragua would be transferred in a peaceful ceremony in which the loser was an incumbent and the winner offered reconciliation to him and to all Nicaraguans."

President Carter in an April 25, 1990, letter to newly elected President Violeta de Chamorro regarding the transfer of power in
Nicaragua

As president, Jimmy Carter had met with Sandinista leaders, and although the discussions then were frank and difficult, the Sandinistas appreciated his willingness to sit down across a table to negotiate in contrast to the Reagan administration's covert war against them. In February 1986, President Carter spent several days in talks with President Ortega and with other government and opposition leaders in an unsuccessful attempt to jump-start the peace process.

Three years later, Presidents Carter and Carlos Andres Perez had long discussions with Presidents Ortega and Arias about the peace plan. President Ortega pledged to move up the date of his country's election to occur within one year.

The newly elected Bush administration also decided to stop confronting the U.S. Congress on the Nicaraguan issue, to support the Arias Plan, and to press for free elections. In March 1989, Presidents Carter and Perez met with Secretary of State James Baker in Atlanta, and Secretary Baker reaffirmed his administration's commitment to winding down the contra war and allowing some political space for a free election.

The invitations from the Nicaraguan Election Council, the president, and the leaders of the opposition all arrived in mid-August 1989 and, as requested, the Council was granted complete and open access to every stage of the electoral process. In no other case did the Council work so hard as it did in mediating the 1990 electoral process in Nicaragua.

The strategy for relating to Nicaragua's complicated political landscape was based on an extensive analysis developed in the book *Condemned to Repetition: The United States and Nicaragua*, written by Dr. Pastor, and published in 1987. The conclusion summarized Nicaragua's historical dilemma and identified an exit:

"Until the opposition believes it can win power legally and peacefully, armed struggles will continue, and local parties will always seek help from outside. This pattern cannot be broken easily. Internal strife can only be insulated from international intervention when the local government earns the trust of its opposition, and the superpowers show respect for regional governments. When this occurs, Nicaragua's future and its relations with the United States will improve on its past, and it will be easier to make peace in Central America than to make war."

The strategy for monitoring the entire electoral process was to assist the two major political coalitions in overcoming their deep suspicions of the other and accepting a free electoral process. The Council established a full-time office in Managua led by LACP Senior Research Associate Jennifer McCoy to coordinate its activities with the OAS and U.N. monitoring missions and to prepare for monthly delegation visits. The first visit came in September 1989 with a delegation led by former Presidents Carter and Raul Alfonsin of Argentina. The two reiterated the Council's determination to be impartial in the electoral process and at the same time tried to narrow the differences between the parties. The team mediated an agreement whereby the Sandinista government permitted Miskito Indian leaders to re-enter the country and participate peacefully in the political process.

Subsequent delegations were led by other Council members, including Rafael Caldera, Daniel Oduber, Alfonso López Michelsen, and U.S. leaders from the Democratic and Republican political parties. Each of the pre-election missions resolved outstanding problems or eliminated electoral obstacles. For example, one mission mediated a decree on the use of the police, which effectively ended violence at public rallies. By the election, Nicaraguan party leaders began to trust the monitors and the process.

A delegation 34 members, representing nine Council members from 10 countries and 11 U.S. senators and congressmen from both parties arrived several days before the election on Feb. 25, 1990. In Spanish, President Carter told Nicaraguans to "vote and be confident that your vote will be secret and will count. We are here to make sure of that... We will monitor every step of the process and do parallel vote counts to guarantee that the final results reflect the will of the people."

The delegation divided into 14 teams to visit all nine regions, filling out survey forms that permitted them to assess whether there were any national patterns to electoral irregularities. Eighty-six percent of Nicaraguans who had registered-1.5 million people-voted in a remarkably peaceful demonstration of civic responsibility.

By 10 p.m., the quick count demonstrated that Violeta de Chamorro, the presidential candidate for the opposition coalition UNO, would defeat President Daniel Ortega by a substantial margin. President Carter, the OAS Secretary-General, and Elliott Richardson, head of the U.N. mission, met with President Ortega, whose polls had led him to believe that he would win.

President Carter consoled him by recalling his own loss ("it wasn't the end of the world") and by helping him understand that President Ortega "had also gained a victory. He had taken the initiative to offer his people complete freedom to achieve democracy through expressing their own will." President Ortega reaffirmed that he would respect the vote and asked President Carter to help mediate a smooth transition.

On Feb. 27, 1990, after two days of meetings with both sides, President Carter asked the two teams to meet at The Carter Center's Managua Office. Both sides agreed to protocol that permitted the first peaceful transfer of power in the

country's history. The inauguration of Violeta de Chamorro as president on April 25, 1990, was a historic event for the people of Nicaragua and a rewarding experience for the Council, which had devoted more time and effort to that election than any other.

Haiti, 1990-95

Other than Nicaragua, the country to which the Council dedicated the most time was Haiti. From the aborted election in 1987 until the summer of 1990, the Haitian military tried to avoid free elections, but the people of the country and the international community did not relent. Finally, in July 1990, Ertha Pascal-Trouillot, the provisional president, invited President Carter and the Council to observe the elections scheduled for Dec. 15, 1990. The Council decided to collaborate with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), which had been working there for several years.

Using the same model as in Nicaragua, President Carter and other Council members led periodic missions to Haiti to help create favorable conditions for a free election. Again, the OAS and United Nations had observer missions, and the Council/NDI worked closely with the two groups, particularly, to conduct a quick count.

The principal challenge in Haiti was security, and the Council's strategy was two-pronged. First, the Council established a relationship with Gen. Herard Abraham, the head of the Haitian armed forces, and conveyed to him the seriousness that the international community attached to free and peaceful elections. Second, working with incumbent Council members Perez and Manley, the group persuaded the U.N. secretary-general to send security advisors.

"I think I speak for all of us when I say that we have been grandly impressed with the dedication, the zeal and the determination of the people of Haiti to carry out a truly free and fair election without

intimidation, without violence, and that clearly reflects the will of the people of this country."

Former Speaker of the House

Jim Wright

Dec. 16, 1990

"In contrast to the tragic elections of 1987, the Haitian government in 1990 exhibited a strong commitment to the election process, providing added confidence to the electorate."

Excerpt from the NDI/Carter Center

Haiti report

On Dec. 15, 1990, Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide defeated 11 other candidates to become the first Haitian president chosen by an overwhelming majority of the Haitian people in an election in which all parties accepted the results. An attempted coup the next month was put down but not without raising the anxiety level in Port-au-Prince. Despite lingering tensions, on Feb. 7, 1991, five years after the departure of Jean-Claude Duvalier, Haitians celebrated President Aristide's inauguration, which was attended by President and Mrs. Carter, Prime Ministers Manley and Price, and President Perez.

Barely seven months later, the military overthrew President Aristide and sent him into exile. From that moment on Sept. 30, 1991, until Oct. 15, 1994, the Council and The Carter Center worked to secure President Aristide's return; they remained in close contact with the president and Haitian military leaders.

President Aristide visited The Carter Center several times and joined the Council. Both the OAS and the United Nations supported the principle of restoring

constitutional government in Haiti, but neither was willing to threaten the kind of force that would compel the Haitian military to take the negotiations seriously.

"As all of you know, at my request, President Carter, Gen. Colin Powell, and Sen. Sam Nunn went to Haiti to facilitate the dictators' departure. I have been in constant contact with them for the last two days. They have worked tirelessly, almost around the clock, and I want to thank them for undertaking this crucial mission on behalf of Americans."

Comments by President Clinton regarding the Haitian agreement

In July 1994, with U.S. leadership, the U.N. Security Council finally passed a resolution calling on member states to use "whatever means necessary" to enforce U.N. resolutions for the restoration of constitutional government to Haiti. President Bill Clinton decided to commit U.S. forces to that effort. However, in one last attempt to persuade the Haitian military to relinquish power on Sept. 16, 1994, he called on President Carter to lead a delegation including Sen. Sam Nunn and Gen. Colin Powell. Dr. Pastor advised the group, which negotiated under the threat of an imminent invasion. As the deadline approached, the de facto government signed an agreement that permitted the peaceful entry of U.S. forces and the return of President Aristide by Oct. 15, 1994.

Two months later, Prime Minister Michael Manley and Dr. Pastor visited President Aristide and other leaders in Haiti to explore possible areas of collaboration. President Aristide was enthusiastic, and as a result, President Carter led a second delegation in February 1995, including Sen. Nunn, Gen. Powell, George Price, and Robert Pastor. President Aristide welcomed the mission, but other signs suggested that his government did not want to pursue collaboration.

Therefore, instead of sending a delegation to monitor the parliamentary and municipal elections on June 25, 1995, Dr. Pastor went alone. His report was critical of the administrative chaos and the lack of security for the ballots. More significant, 24 of 27 political parties raised serious questions about the election, and when the government and the Elections Council refused to address these issues, they boycotted subsequent elections. The lack of a response was regrettable, signifying a lost opportunity for the Aristide government. Still, these disputed elections need to be placed in a broader historical context: the return of President Aristide represented a triumph for democracy in the Western Hemisphere. The subsequent elections, while flawed, still offered more grounds for hope than Haiti had ever experienced.

"...Haiti has now the best opportunity in its 200-year history to forge a democracy and construct a free-market economy that will benefit all the nation's people. Whether that opportunity becomes a reality will depend on decisions made in Haiti and the international community during the next one to five years."

Excerpt from the Assessment Mission to Haiti report on the Dec. 11-14, 1994, trip made by LACP Director Robert Pastor and former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley

Guyana, 1990-92

For nearly three decades, Guyanese citizens had been denied free and fair elections. But, by the late 1990s, what had long seemed merely a dream showed promise of becoming a reality.

On Sept. 27, 1990, the country's president and opposition leaders invited the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government to monitor the elections, then scheduled for the next month. Before accepting the invitation, however, President

and Mrs. Carter and Dr. Pastor visited Guyana on Oct. 12-13 and mediated two crucial electoral reforms to permit counting at each voting site and to update registration lists. Over the next two years, subsequent delegations assisted all parties in restructuring the Elections Commission so it could be led by people who were acceptable to all parties.

"As practically everybody is saying, [free and fair elections in Guyana] would not have happened without the international observer teams, which watched both the preparation and the conduct of the election, and without Mr. Carter's personal involvement. Not only the Guyanese of opposing parties but diplomats, businessmen, and ordinary people say Mr. Carter's personal role made the critical difference."

Flora Lewis, "Building Democracy," the International Herald
Tribune, Oct. 8, 1992.

With these reforms, the Guyanese people voted on Oct. 5, 1992, in the first election judged by international observers and all political parties as free and fair since Guyana's independence in 1966. Violence during the afternoon of the election threatened the integrity of the count, but it was quickly contained.

Extensive surveys by the election monitors and the quick count allowed the delegation to reach its conclusion that the election was free and fair. The Council then helped to mediate the transition, and the newly elected President Cheddi Jagan took office on Oct. 9, 1992.

Electoral reforms set the foundation for a free election, but three factors—the quick count, the observation forms, and the defense of the Elections Commission—made the difference between a flawed and a fair election.

The Carter Center continued to work after the elections to institutionalize the electoral process and improve race relations. Led by LACP Associate Director David Carroll, the Center advised the government to establish a permanent Elections Commission and Race Relations Commission to ensure stability and continuation of the progress begun in the 1992 elections.

"I have monitored elections in El Salvador and Namibia, but never have I witnessed such a high quality of preparation and such skillful use of observers. You got the best of each one of us. It was a model of masterful management."

Quote from Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke, Council of American Ambassadors, in a letter to Robert Pastor regarding the Guyanese elections

Mexico, 1992-94

Mexico's revolution of 1910 began as a protest against election manipulation, but it gathered momentum and became the world's first social revolution of the 20th century. It sought to overturn an unjust ruling class and end foreign interference in Mexico's internal affairs. In the late 1920s, to regain some stability, a political party was established that subsequently became known as the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). The PRI has dominated Mexican politics ever since through a combination of electoral fraud, responsiveness to constituent concerns, and coercion.

The debt crisis of 1982 compelled the government to adopt austerity measures that reduced the PRI's support and created a more open economic policy that was very controversial. As a result, the presidential election of 1988 was the most competitive in recent Mexican history, and many believe that Carlos Salinas won only because of electoral fraud.

Given Mexico's historical sensitivities and the government's reluctance to invite international observers, the Council approached Mexico's elections indirectly and with some delicacy. It began by inviting human rights activists, like Sergio Aguayo and Miguel Basañez, to participate in its election missions in Haiti and Guyana. These individuals subsequently organized Mexican groups to monitor their elections much as the Council was doing. In the spring of 1992, eight Mexican election-observer groups invited the Council to witness and advise them in their observation of two state elections in Chihuahua and Michoacan. Dr. Pastor consulted with the highest levels of the Mexican government and was told: "We neither approve nor object to the Council sending a mission."

"The Council of Freely Heads of Government provided an apt summary: 'While positive, the electoral reforms taken as a group fell short of establishing a foundation that would give all parties and all people of Mexico confidence that a genuinely free and fair election would occur in August of 1994.' Founded and led by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, the Council has acquired great credibility throughout the Americas for its impartiality in election-monitoring. Its judgment on these partial reforms proved all too accurate."

Jorge Dominguez and James McCann,

Democratizing Mexico: Public Opinion and Electoral Choices
(1996)

"The (Mexican) delegates' initial observations focused on the minimal role of the [U.S.] government and the apparent confidence and trust that voters had in the process..."

Excerpt from the *International Observation of the U.S. Elections*
report, November 1992

The Council delegation offered advice to the in accordance with a prior agreement, did not comment on the elections per se. The Council then invited a high-level delegation from Mexico to observe the U.S. presidential election in November 1992. When Jimmy Carter cast his vote for the U.S. president in Plains, Ga., Mexican election monitors watched. The group then presented its findings at a panel chaired by President Carter and former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau on Nov. 4. While they admired the confidence that Americans had in the electoral system, they offered some specific proposals for improving it. They thought more people would vote if election day was a holiday, and people on the West Coast would be more likely to vote if they did not hear national projections of the outcome based on earlier East Coast results. They also were surprised to find such a decentralized election process where multiple registration lists county-by-county might not prevent a person from registering or voting twice and where the media, not a national authority, announced the results.

Council members continued to offer recommendations privately to Mexican leaders on new electoral reforms through meetings and reports prepared by Council staff and representatives. Two pre-election trips to Mexico in September 1993 and June 1994 analyzed the reform negotiations and preparations for the election. For example, their report in September 1993 concluded that Mexico had not yet chosen between two fundamental paths of political reform: "One leads to a new formula for dividing power between the political parties. This is the traditional road in Mexico. Another road leads toward full respect for the secret vote and acceptance of the uncertain outcome that is a part of the democratic process."

Continued consultations finally led the Mexican government to make substantial reforms and to invite international observers for the first time to the Aug. 21,

1994, presidential elections. But the invitation arrived too late to permit the Council to field a large enough team to detect fraud if it were to occur. Instead, the Council sent a small delegation led by former Canadian Prime Minister Joe Clark, former Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo, and former Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo, and the team collaborated with existing NDI and International Republican Institute for International Affairs (IRI) teams.

The PRI candidate Ernesto Zedillo won with barely 50 percent of the 35 million votes. The opposition lodged more than 2,000 complaints. The Council concluded that election procedures had improved on the past, but legitimate concerns remained about biased media coverage and campaign spending: "If the test of a fair election in a transitional democracy is whether all parties accept the process as fair and the results as legitimate, Mexico has not yet passed that test," the Council stated. Because of historic sensitivities, Mexico would not permit the kind of international mediation that would have given the opposition the confidence in the electoral process to pass that test.

"The delegation concluded that the procedural aspects of the elections and the count were an improvement over the past... Nevertheless, in its departure statement, the delegation expressed concern over the pre-election campaign conditions, especially the bias in media coverage favoring the PRI, the disparities in campaign resources and high campaign-spending limits that only the PRI could meet."

Excerpt from the *Mexican National Elections Report*, January 1995

The Dominican Republic, 1990-96

Like Mexico, most of the elections in the Dominican Republic in the last 30 years have been criticized by opposition parties as rigged. Joaquin Balaguer has been

reluctant to give up power since 1966, when he won the presidential election after a U.S. invasion.

Former President Juan Bosch, leader of an opposition party, phoned President Carter in late April 1990 to ask if he would observe the elections slated for May 16, 1990. President Carter had impressed Dr. Bosch when the Carter administration issued a strong protest over the suspension of the vote count in the 1978 Dominican presidential election.

President Carter said he would not monitor the Dominican elections if he were not invited by the government or the elections board. Just eight days before the election, the Central Election Board (JCE) formally invited President Carter, and he decided to go with a small team, including Council Vice Chairman George Price, and NDI representatives.

After President Carter arrived, Dr. Bosch told him he expected problems, but "because you [Carter] are here, there will be no fraud. Your presence will prevent that." The delegation did not have time to review the voter registration list, but the group asked leaders of the four major political parties about possible irregularities and none presented documented evidence of fraud. In fact, all candidates indicated that they would accept the results of a fair election. The election was very close, and Dr. Bosch accused President Balaguer of fraud. The Carter delegation monitored the computer center and found a number of serious errors but no evidence of a bias in them. On May 24, President Balaguer was officially declared the winner by 1.2 percent. President Carter asked the opposition parties to produce evidence of fraud that would have altered the outcome but never received any.

For the 1994 election, NDI sent a delegation led by former Congressman Stephen Solarz. This time, the opposition parties were better organized to detect

the fraud, and they did. Rep. Solarz denounced the election, and the parties negotiated a constitutional change that permitted President Balaguer to remain in office for two instead of four years and made him ineligible to run in 1996.

"There is no doubt that aspects of the May 16 elections were flawed. All parties, as well as the JCE, acknowledged irregularities in the process. At the same time, despite the close outcome, the delegation was not presented with evidence that indicated sufficient irregularities in the balloting and counting process to invalidate President Balaguer's victory."

Excerpt from the *NDI/Carter Center 1990 Dominican Republic Report*

For the May 16, 1996, election, the Council and NDI teamed up again for a pre-election visit and first and second round election observation delegations. The first election went smoothly, but none of the three principal presidential candidates won a majority. As mandated by the constitutional changes instituted after the 1994 elections, a second round was held on June 30. In the weeks before the second round, the polls showed a statistical dead heat between Leonel Fernández of the PLD and José Francisco Peña Gómez of the PRD. Council and NDI representatives met with both candidates on the night of the elections as the quick count revealed a close race, but one that Dr. Fernandez was likely to win. Dr. Peña Gomez pledged that he would accept the results, and Dr. Fernández promised magnanimity. Both made good on their promises the next day when the Election Board announced Dr. Fernández's victory by a vote of 51.25 percent to 48.75 percent. The statesmanlike concession by Dr. Peña Gómez and the words of conciliation by President-elect Fernández made the June 30 election historic for the Dominican Republic.

Paraguay, 1993

Paraguay elected Gen. Andres Rodriguez in 1989 after a coup ousted Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, who had ruled the country since 1954. The question was whether the election scheduled for May 1993 would be fair or controlled by the Colorado Party, the party of Gens. Stroessner and Rodriguez. During the campaign, Commanding Gen. Lino Oviedo stated that the military would continue to be allied with the Colorado Party. In a country "just emerging tenuously from dictatorship, it [the statement] was truly intimidating and threatening," President Carter stated.

On April 27, President Carter, on behalf of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, received a letter from the three presidential candidates urging the Council to observe the upcoming election. "Because of your achievements as a champion of world democracy and a symbol of the defense of human rights," the letter read, "you will be the most significant witness of these elections and will strengthen the ties of friendship and common ideals between the people of Paraguay and the United States."

On May 4, President Carter, joined by former Costa Rica President Rodrigo Carazo, led a 31-member international team cosponsored by NDI. The free elections were threatened by sabotage and fraud. Telephone lines used by a local monitoring organization conducting a parallel vote count were cut temporarily, and a few volunteers trained to observe the vote counts and deliver the results were physically barred from some voting tables.

Despite the problems, the international delegation found that the electoral process was satisfactory at 92.5 percent of the sites surveyed and that the irregularities weren't significant enough to affect the election outcome. Indeed, the quick count confirmed the results.

Juan Carlos Wasmosy was elected president, and power was transferred peaceably to a civilian president for the first time in many decades. With this election, every country in South America had held free, competitive elections.

The Return to Panama, 1994

Following the fraudulent election of 1989, which President Carter and the team of Council election monitors had denounced, the United States invaded Panama and arrested Manuel Noriega for illegal drug activity. Guillermo Endara, winner of the May 1989 election, was then sworn in as president.

Like Paraguayans, Panamanians were still fearful and uncertain whether the election scheduled for May 8, 1994, would be successful, so they invited the Council to observe. A pre-election mission in April found widespread support for the Electoral Tribunal but with some concerns. The 20-person delegation, which included President Carter, former Belize Prime Minister George Price, former Speaker of the U.S. House Jim Wright, and former Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo, headed to Panama.

The observers visited 323 voting sites and concluded that the election had gone well, and all parties accepted the results. Voters chose businessman Ernesto Perez Balladares as their new president. Both President Endara and President-elect Balladares asked President Carter to personally assist in the transition of power—the first civilian transition in more than three decades in Panama. In December 1994, in a conference sponsored by the U.N. Development Program in Bambito, Panama, President Carter and Colombian President Belisario Betancur helped the major political parties deepen their communication and reconciliation. They also assisted labor and business groups in reaching a consensus with the government on economic and social policies.

"All three of our groups (the OAS, CAPEL, The Carter Center) share the view that this election was one of the best organized and successful we have ever seen."

Comments by Jimmy Carter speaking as a representative of the Council in a May 9, 1994, Panama departure statement

CHAPTER FOUR

THE HEMISPHERIC AGENDA

Although reinforcing democracy became the centerpiece of its work, the Latin American and Caribbean Program (LACP) pursued the entire hemispheric agenda from its inception. In the mid-1980s, the United States was preoccupied with Nicaragua and El Salvador, and Latin America was focused on its debt crisis. There was hardly any genuine communication, let alone cooperation, between the United States and its neighbors. The LACP chose debt as its first conference topic for two reasons: first, to show the region that some in the United States were ready to listen to their concerns and respond to their agenda; and second, to try to press governments toward tangible, comprehensive solutions such as debt relief combined with economic reforms and new funding.

The region was already in the midst of a very painful economic adjustment. A new generation of "technicos"-many with PhDs from top American universities-moved into key economic positions and altered development strategies from those that relied on an import-substitution model to those based on an open-economy, export-promotion model. The international community was slow to respond.

Presidential and parliamentary elections were scheduled in 1988 for the United States, Venezuela, Mexico, Ecuador, and Jamaica. Council members hoped that the election of a new set of leaders could put an end to the past eight years of confrontation. The LACP decided to prepare for the change by enlisting

candidates and their representatives in each of these countries to find new solutions to the outstanding issues of Central America, debt, and drug trafficking. The Executive Committee of the Council met in October 1988 with representatives of leading candidates from several countries, and the participants fleshed out an agenda with specific proposals. These were addressed at a conference on "The Hemispheric Agenda" on March 29-30, 1989. Former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford co-chaired the meeting. Secretary of State James Baker also participated, using the forum to give his first address on U.S. policy toward Latin America and become acquainted with two active Council members, Carlos Andres Perez and Michael Manley, who had just been re-elected president of Venezuela and prime minister of Jamaica.

"I believe Latin America's democratic leaders are reaching out to the United States to offer a new partnership built on mutual respect and shared responsibility."

Secretary of State James A. Baker III

March 1989

Secretary Baker's address showed that the prior consultations had helped the Bush administration to break with the confrontational approach of its predecessor. "We need each other now," Secretary Baker said. "Latin America's democratic leaders are reaching out to the United States to offer a new partnership... I am here on behalf of a new president with our answer: We are reaching back to you." He also spoke of the "democratic wave sweeping Latin America today," the movement toward freer markets and less state intervention in the economy, and the need for cooperation on drugs, debt, and Central America.

Participants in the consultation, which included all of the newly elected leaders or their representatives, forged a consensus on the need for an invigorated

approach to debt reduction so that Latin America could accelerate growth and economic reforms. This proposal became the heart of the Bush administration's "Brady Plan." Secretary Baker committed the Bush administration to supporting the Arias Plan for peace in Central America; the discussion focused on ways to ensure it would be implemented. Without a system of incentives for compliance and sanctions for noncompliance, it would be difficult to move the plan forward. In the end, the Arias Plan was implemented through the mediated electoral process in Nicaragua and U.N.-sponsored negotiations in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Although the Mexican foreign minister insisted that democracy should not be exported, the rest of the participants agreed that collective action in defense of democracy was essential and unilateral action undesirable. Some discussed a renewed version of the "Betancourt Doctrine" by which the democratic governments would increase pressure on dictators to change. The OAS approved part of this proposal in June 1991 and another part in December 1992. Everyone agreed that the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government should play an active role in monitoring elections. It would prove to play a far larger role in Panama, Nicaragua, Haiti, and Guyana than anyone had anticipated at the time.

"We used to say economic reform was just something the U.S. wanted. Now we see we need it for our own sake. People said drugs are a U.S. concern, not our worry. Now we see we need controls even more than you. We are more vulnerable to these vicious people and we need help. This is the greatest criminal conspiracy we've ever known. There has to be an international response. It affects individuals, society, and above all democracy."

Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley, 1989

The Council encouraged strengthening of the inter-American system by inviting Canada, Belize, and Guyana to join. All did so in the next three years. Discussion of how to reintegrate Cuba in the inter-American system was split. Latin America wanted to pursue this initiative; the United States believed that more pressure on Cuba was needed. Finally, the group discussed new modes of cooperation and coordination, particularly in the OAS, to stop drug trafficking, and OAS cooperation on drug trafficking did improve.

"The most valuable asset of the '80s is democracy. But that asset, which is so dear to our people, is running serious risk as a result of the economic crisis, aggravated by the catastrophic impact of the external debt."

Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Pezer, March 1989

Economic Approaches to Consolidate Democracy

In early election-monitoring missions, the Council realized that its effectiveness required involvement in the country long before the election. In large part because of its experience in Haiti, the Council decided to work with newly elected governments to ensure that the fruits of new elections would not fall prematurely. The LACP developed projects to sustain young democracies, beginning in countries where it had previously worked. In Nicaragua, the newly elected government faced a crisis of hyper-inflation and requested the help of the Council. In March 1991, President Carter traveled to Managua and helped forge a consensus that brought inflation down from five figures to single digits.

Three years later, at the invitation of President Violeta de Chamorro, The Carter Center sent several expert delegations to Nicaragua to help all sides resolve their differences on the property issue that had inhibited foreign and domestic investment. Teams visited the country in June, August, and November 1994, offering ideas on how to organize the courts to better deal with property issues

and to construct mediation alternatives. Then, on July 4-5, 1995, a historic meeting was held. Co-sponsored with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), led by President Carter and Belize Prime Minister George Price, and supported by LACP staff Jennifer McCoy and Robert Pastor, the conference forged a broad consensus on the following principles:

- small beneficiaries of urban and agrarian reforms should be protected;
- former owners should be compensated with improved bonds;
- recipients of larger properties should either pay for the properties or return them;
- those who abused property laws during the last months of the Ortega government should be prosecuted.

After the Guyana elections in October 1992, The Carter Center devised a new approach to coordinating development efforts called the "Global Development Initiative." The government of Guyana chose to become the pilot project for designing a detailed strategy for developing all the productive and social sectors in the economy. International donors welcomed increased coordination. Guyana worked with them and Carter Center representatives on a plan presented by President Cheddi Jagan and discussed by opposition leader and former President Desmond Hoyte and international donors at a major conference at The Carter Center on June 6, 1996.

North America and Freer Trade

Throughout its existence, the Latin American and Caribbean Program has conducted research and policy analysis on regional trading systems and on collective responses to regional problems. The proposal for a free-trade area between the United States and Mexico was not a new idea; it had been broached at different times by U.S. officials for nearly 100 years. Dr. Pastor raised it again in August 1978 in conversations with Carlos Salinas, then a middle-level official in Mexico's budget ministry. Mr. Salinas rejected the idea then and still was not interested in 1988 when he took office as president.

In the spring of 1990, however, President Salinas changed his mind and proposed a free-trade agreement with the United States. He said he did so for three reasons. First, Europe and Japan did not want to provide sufficient investment to stimulate Mexico's economy. Second, Mexico had lowered its tariffs to fight inflation. Third, he feared that the United States was becoming protectionist. President Salinas wanted to make sure the U.S. market would remain open to Mexican goods.

Canada had concluded a free-trade agreement with the United States two years before and decided to make the negotiations trilateral. The goal of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was to reduce and eventually eliminate all trade and most investment barriers between the United States, Mexico, and Canada by the year 2005.

The Carter Center began several research projects on the subject. One study conducted with faculty and students from the Emory University's Goizueta Business School analyzed the implications of NAFTA for Georgia and the southeastern United States. A second, more extensive study written by Dr. Pastor for the Twentieth Century Fund analyzed the Bush-Salinas agreement and proposed some modifications on labor and environmental issues that newly elected president Bill Clinton could consider. The Clinton administration negotiated many of the proposals as side agreements. Dr. Pastor's study also analyzed the longer-term implications of integrating such different economies as Mexico and the United States. He proposed a North American Development Bank (which was approved by the U.S. Congress) and new modes of coordination among the three countries to prevent anticipated financial or social problems.

At the inaugural conference on NAFTA in 1992, participants discussed the prospect of extending NAFTA to the rest of the hemisphere and whether it would

be a roadblock or a building block to the approval of a stronger world trade system. LACP research argued for extending NAFTA to the rest of the Western Hemisphere and that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was more likely to be completed if NAFTA was approved than if it failed. (GATT was completed soon after NAFTA passed, and the Summit of the Americas in December 1994 decided to extend NAFTA to the entire hemisphere.)

In October 1993, The Carter Center announced it would co-sponsor "The NAFTA and Beyond Commission: Implications for the American Economy" with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C. Chaired by former U.S. Presidents Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford, George Bush, and Ronald Reagan, the commission addressed the implications of NAFTA for the American economy and its relations with Mexico and Latin America. Dr. Pastor served as senior advisor to the group. The presidents pledged to lead a group of academic, civic, political, and business leaders to help Americans understand that NAFTA represented a significant and positive step forward for the United States and hemispheric relations. The Commission was invited to discuss its findings with President Clinton at the White House.

This is the first and only letter signed by five ex-presidents of the United States and sent to each member of Congress. Based on work by the Latin American and Caribbean Program at The Carter Center, the letter described NAFTA as "a turning point for America."



November 16, 1993

To Members of Congress

During the last twenty-five years, the five of us often had occasion to differ with each other. On the issue of the North American Free Trade Agreement, however, we are united in our belief that its approval is crucial for our nation.

Like you, we have all experienced the loneliness of making difficult decisions that were unpopular but which we believed were in the best interests of our nation. An intense and vocal minority have been effective in making known their opposition to NAFTA. We ask you not to confuse their noise with public opinion and not to confuse the insecurity of the moment with the long-term interests of our country.

We acknowledge that there can be honest differences of opinion about the short-range impact on specific industries. However, there is no doubt that from a long-term perspective, NAFTA will be extremely beneficial to the workers, employers, and strategic interests of America.

NAFTA represents a turning point for America. If you vote against it, the role of the United States as a world leader will be severely damaged, and the prosperity of the United States and the international economy will be endangered.

We all went into public life to do the right thing. The right thing for America is to approve NAFTA. When you look back on your career, this will be one of the decisions that you will remember, and the question you will want to ask of yourself - and the question historians will ask of your career - is whether at this crucial moment you stood together with the President in trying to maintain and advance U.S. leadership in the world, or whether you voted for protectionism and isolationism.

You are fortunate to be in the Congress at this moment. Your decision will be historic, and if you vote to approve the agreement, you will be proud of that decision. Like our courageous forefathers who signed our nation's declaration of independence, you have the opportunity to sign your name on the right side of America's history.

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon
Ronald R. Ford
Jimmy Carter
Ronald Reagan
George Bush

In November 1993, shortly before the U.S. House of Representatives approved NAFTA, the LACP held a conference that examined the pros and cons of NAFTA. President Carter joined with former Presidents Nixon, Ford, Reagan, and Bush in signing a letter to all members of Congress, urging them to approve NAFTA. Never before in American history had five former presidents sent a letter to Congress. The letter acknowledged that the five ex-presidents had their

differences, but "on the issue of the North American Free Trade Agreement, however, we are united in our belief that its approval is crucial for our nation." In 1996, the LACP began two research projects related to Mexico and North America. Working with the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM) and the American Enterprise Institute, the LACP is conducting a major study of the impact of the U.S. Congress on North America. The premise of the study is that for every step forward in the process of North American integration, there will be pressures to retreat or build walls. As the only legislature that is genuinely autonomous and defiantly independent, the U.S. Congress is the controversial pivot of North America, and it has functioned as an impediment to integration. Involving scholars from Canada, Mexico, and the United States, the researchers hope to complete a book on the impact of Congress on Mexican, Canadian, and North American integration by the end of 1996.

A second project is under way with the National Security Archive in Washington, D.C., and several Mexican research centers. It seeks to reconstruct the response by the U.S. and Mexican governments to four financial crises in Mexico: 1975-76, 1982, 1988-89, and 1994-95. Through freedom-of-information requests, extensive interviews with key actors, and several conferences, this research project will try to understand what went wrong and why the lessons learned by the United States and Mexico from each crisis have been inadequate for dealing with the next one. The integration process cannot move forward without better collaboration and coordination between the United States and Mexico in the critical area of finance. In addition to trying to understand the case better, the project will offer some proposals on what could be done to prevent such crises in the future.

"Is NAFTA a Watershed?" Feb. 18, 1992

Moderator

Robert A. Pastor, Director and Fellow, Latin American and Caribbean Program,
The Carter Center

Panel Participants

Herman Von Bertrab, Head, Office for Free Trade Negotiations, Embassy of
Mexico

Donald Puchala, Director, Institute of International Studies, University of South
Carolina

Julio Faesler, President, Consejo Para Democracia, Mexico, D.F.

Eiichi Hasegawa, Director, JETRO, New York

"NAFTA: Good or Bad for North America?" Nov. 17, 1993

Panel Chair

Jack Watson, former Chief of Staff of the White House and member of the
presidential "NAFTA and Beyond Commission"

Panel Participants

Jeffrey R. Shafer, U.S. Assistant Secretary of Treasury for International Affairs

Guillermo Aguilar Alvarez, General Counsel for Mexico's Ministry of Trade and
Industrial Development

Hiroshi Hashimoto, Minister Plenipotentiary in the Japanese Embassy in
Washington

Robert A. Pastor, Director and Fellow, Latin American and Caribbean Program,
The Carter Center

Conflict Resolution and Human Rights

From time to time, Council members have been asked to help resolve different disputes in the hemisphere. In December 1994, after a border dispute between Ecuador and Peru erupted into violence, the Ecuadoran government asked Presidents Oscar Arias and Jimmy Carter to mediate.

Peru insisted that the 1,000-mile border between the two countries was established by the 1942 Protocol of Rio treaty. Ecuador contended that the agreement was void in 1960, before the last 48 miles of the border were marked. After being approached by several leaders from the two countries, President Carter and former Costa Rican President Oscar Arias issued this statement:

"We deplore the resurgence of violence between countries of our hemisphere.... We would like to remind both countries of the importance of nonviolent international solutions for conflict... The negotiating table remains the best place to begin to find a solution that is in everyone's best interest. The use of force will only make solutions more difficult."

The LACP acts on the belief that cooperation is always possible, even among those who have been at war. A careful strategy is needed by trusted intermediaries who listen closely to all parties, reduce suspicions, and elevate confidence by practical problem-solving. That strategy has worked effectively in Nicaragua, Haiti, and Guyana. It has been more problematic in Cuba.

While not all of the countries in the Western Hemisphere have completed their journey to democracy, all but Cuba have embarked on it. Cuba's journey is complicated by its committed revolutionary government and the acutely belligerent approach taken by the U.S. government.

At different moments during the previous decade, President Carter and Dr. Pastor have consulted with leaders from the U.S. and Cuban governments on the prospects for change in the relationship. A consultation was held in January 1989 at Musgrove Plantation, Ga., and meetings were held in Miami to examine the full range of issues. Based on those meetings, President Carter and Dr. Pastor met with Cuban President Fidel Castro and Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez

at the inauguration of Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez in February 1989.

The climate was not propitious to advance the agenda then, but in early 1995, The Carter Center tried a second time. Led by President Carter, the LACP began a confidential and intense set of consultations with U.S. senators and congressmen, senior officials from the executive branch, and members of the full political spectrum of the Cuban-American community. None of the groups discouraged The Carter Center, and most of them encouraged it to pursue a dialogue with Cuba to try to narrow differences between the two countries and increase the prospects for democratization on the island.

Following an initial round of talks, Dr. Pastor traveled in May 1995 to Cuba for meetings with President Fidel Castro, Vice President Carlos Lage, and other Cuban officials as well as Cuban dissidents, religious leaders, and members of the human rights community. Follow-up meetings, however, were aborted after the Cuban Air Force shot down two American civilian planes in February 1996. This tragedy led to the passage of the Helms-Burton Act, which froze the dysfunctional relationship between the United States and Cuba and made any future discussion very difficult.

The LACP also has used dialogue to try to gain the release of political prisoners. On a wide range of human rights cases throughout the hemisphere, the LACP worked closely with The Carter Center's Human Rights Program. It also has advised The Carter-Menil Human Rights Foundation, proposing a number of candidates for the Carter-Menil Prize. Several from Latin America won, including the Vicaria de Solidaridad of Chile; Amilcar Mendez and the Consejo de Comunidades Etnicas Ranujel Juran (CERJ), an Indian organization in Guatemala; the six Jesuit priests who were assassinated in El Salvador; and the Grupo de Apoyo, a mutual support group of human rights organizations in

Guatemala, who united to help relatives of people who had been kidnapped or had disappeared.

Collaborative Research Projects

In many of its projects, the LACP has collaborated with a host of research and policy institutions, governments, and intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations. One particularly fruitful collaboration was with the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (AAAS), based in Cambridge, Mass.

Carl Kaysen, a professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and deputy national security advisor to President Kennedy, invited Dr. Pastor to join an AAAS project to examine the shifting boundaries between national sovereignty and international obligations in the post-Cold War era. How far should the United Nations go if Iraq fails to fulfill its international obligation to dismantle all weapons of mass destruction? What should the OAS do in the event of a military coup against a constitutional government that had pledged to defend its neighbors' democracies? These questions were examined in conferences and books on *Emerging Norms of Justified Intervention* and on *Collective Responses to Regional Problems: The Case of Latin America and the Caribbean*. The latter conference was held at The Carter Center in September 1993. Participants included President Carter, exiled Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, former Canadian Prime Minister Joe Clark, and senior representatives of the U.S., Venezuelan, and Costa Rican governments. Participants discussed the need for collective intervention to restore democracy to Haiti. The proposed strategy was implemented one year later.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FUTURE

Latin America has undergone profound changes in the last decade—from a region trying to escape debts, civil wars, and military dictatorships to one led by

democratically elected leaders, working on similar social and economic issues, and committed to forging a hemispheric-wide free-trade area. The United States has changed as well. With the end of the Cold War and the rise in the salience of economic, social, and trade issues, the United States has been compelled to look at its relations in a different light. This presents to all those who care about the future of hemispheric relations new opportunities and grounds for hope.

A decade ago, military dictators ran Panama, Chile, Paraguay, Suriname, and Haiti, and elections in Guyana, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Mexico were viewed widely as rigged. The Carter Center has played a significant role in each of these countries, and the results have been breathtaking. The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government helped secure the first free elections in Guyana in nearly three decades, mediated the first free election and peaceful transition of power in Nicaragua, robbed the Noriega regime of legitimacy, and helped secure democratic gains in Panama.

The military has returned to the barracks in all of these countries, and today, democrats govern in Panama, Nicaragua, Guyana, Paraguay, Suriname, and the Dominican Republic. In Haiti, human rights are far more respected now than at any time in its history, and electoral reforms have brought Mexico to the threshold of free elections that could be acceptable to all the major parties. Cuba showed the beginning of a political opening, but that was closed in February 1996, hopefully temporarily. The success and international respect of the LACP/Council's work in promoting democratization through election monitoring has been recognized and institutionalized over the past 10 years-especially in "first elections" and in countries torn by longstanding political enmity or civil violence.

The techniques that the Latin American and Caribbean Program (LACP) has developed in the hemisphere have increasingly been used in other regions. In

December 1995 and January 1996, LACP staff played an active role in the organization of election monitoring in the West Bank and Gaza. Algerian leaders have consulted with the program on the same subject, and the program has offered advice on elections in Africa and Asia, and will continue to do so.

The hemisphere's agenda has changed, even on democratization. There are fewer "transitional countries" in the hemisphere that have had little or no experience in free elections. The political issues relate more to governability than to the transfer of power. The economic agenda has shifted from debt to trade; the security issues from civil war to arms control; the social agenda has risen in importance.

The Americas in the 21st Century-The New Agenda

In light of the dramatic changes in the hemisphere, the LACP/Council believes it is critically important to chart a new course for the Council and the Americas in the 21st century. An important step in planning for the new agenda was taken in December 1994 when U.S. President Bill Clinton hosted the Summit of the Americas in Miami, attended by 34 democratically elected leaders from throughout the region. The leaders pledged to meet again in 1998 and to form a free-trade area of the Americas by 2005. Despite high hopes, the process has stagnated in the two years since the 1994 Summit.

Because of the experience and reputation of its leaders and because of its extra-governmental and cross-regional character, the LACP/Council will seek to contribute to reinvigorating the Summit of the Americas process and shaping a hemispheric response to these new challenges.

As a first step, the LACP/Council plans to convene a Hemispheric Agenda Conference of Council leaders and other policy-makers from the Western Hemisphere. Their purpose: to define the new agenda that is emerging and to re-

energize the Summit of the Americas process by proposing concrete policy recommendations and other actions for governments as well as the Council and other NGOs. The agenda set out at the December 1994 Summit of the Americas is the natural point of departure.

Based on its previous work and study, the LACP/Council believes that its 1997 Hemispheric Agenda Conference should focus on the following five sets of issues: (1) trade and other economic matters, which were the centerpiece of the 1994 Americas Summit; (2) security and arms control; (3) democracy and human rights; (4) the social agenda; and (5) the old agenda, notably Cuba, revolutionaries in Colombia, and bases in Panama.

In addition to addressing the key hemispheric issues above, the Hemispheric Agenda Conference will provide an opportunity for the LACP/Council and staff to discuss possible steps that the Council could take to further institutionalize its work and to expand its influence in the region. Over the last 10 years, the Council has provided an effective means for former and current presidents and prime ministers of the Americas to help advance universal values such as democracy and human rights and to help resolve conflicts. In the coming years, the LACP hopes to expand and intensify the work of the Council and to ensure that its work reflects a genuinely hemispheric approach. Some of the possible steps that might be considered are to establish regional offices in Central America, the Caribbean, and South America and to seek collaborative relationships with organizations in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Canada. Although the LACP has had a clear strategy and agenda, much of its most exciting and innovative work has come from requests and unanticipated opportunities from leaders in the region. Mindful of that fact, the LACP will remain open to new ideas and directions where it can make a difference.

Ten years from now, the hemisphere will hopefully be more united, modern, democratic, and secure than today. We are under no illusions that the Council or the LACP will achieve such goals, but we do hope to contribute to them.

"For the first time in history, the Americas is a community of democratic societies... We affirm our commitment to preserve and strengthen our democratic systems for the benefit of all people of the Hemisphere... We resolve to begin immediately to construct the 'Free Trade of the Americas' (FTAA), in which barriers to trade and investment will be progressively eliminated... [and] to conclude the negotiation... no later than 2005."

Summit of the Americas Declaration, signed by 34 democratic Heads of Government, December 1994

APPENDIX I

Latin American and Caribbean Program Staff

Robert A. Pastor has been professor of political science at Emory University and director of the Latin American and Caribbean Program (LACP) since 1986. The author of 10 books, Dr. Pastor also serves as executive secretary of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. In September 1994, he advised the Carter-Nunn-Powell team that negotiated the restoration of constitutional government in Haiti. Dr. Pastor received his M.P.A. from the John F. Kennedy School of Government and his Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University. He was director of Latin American and Caribbean Affairs on the National Security Council from 1977-81.

David J. Carroll is the LACP's associate director. He joined The Carter Center in 1991 as the LACP's assistant director and has worked extensively on the LACP's projects on democratization and development in Latin America and the Caribbean. Dr. Carroll received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in international

relations from the University of South Carolina. He holds a B.S. in finance from Northern Illinois University.

Jennifer McCoy is the LACP's senior research associate and an associate professor of political science at Georgia State University. She was director of The Carter Center's Managua office during the 1990 Nicaraguan elections and associate director of the LACP from 1987-88. She is the author of articles on election monitoring and the Latin American democratization process. Dr. McCoy received her Ph.D. in political science from the University of Minnesota and her B.A. in political science and Spanish from Oklahoma State University in 1978.

Becky Castle joined the LACP as program coordinator in February 1996. Prior to joining The Carter Center, she worked in international marketing. In 1993, as a Rotary Ambassadorial Fellow, she lived and studied in Costa Rica and worked for Fundación Mujer, an NGO that gives training and loans to small businesses. Ms. Castle received her B.A. in political science from Middlebury College.

Harriette Martin has been the LACP's administrative assistant since 1993. She has been involved in organizing election monitoring activities and conferences on NAFTA. Ms. Martin attended Brenau College and Catholic University in Quito, Ecuador.

Latin American and Caribbean Program Staff Since 1986

Eric Bord was assistant director of the LACP from 1986-87. A graduate of Emory University and Emory Law School, Mr. Bord is a lawyer in Washington, D.C.

Jennie Lincoln was associate director of the LACP from 1989-91. She received her Ph.D. from Ohio State University, served as a Fulbright Professor in Costa Rica from 1984-86 and now works as special assistant for international projects at the Georgia Institute of Technology Research Institute in Atlanta.

Administrative Assistants

Diane Diaz-1986-88

Sandy Reiss-1988-90

Giselle Apostle-1990-91

Felicia Agudelo-1991-93

ITochu Corporation Representatives

Ted Iino, Executive Advisor to The Carter Center (1989-July 1992)

Yukio Sekiguchi, Executive Advisor to The Carter Center (July 1992-July 1994)

Yasuo Yoshioka, Executive Advisor to The Carter Center (September 1994-Present)

APPENDIX II

The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government

The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government is a group of 27 current and former heads of government from throughout the Americas. The Council was established in November 1986 at a meeting chaired by former U.S. Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford on "Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas" at The Carter Center. The Council's goals are to reinforce democracy in the Americas, promote multilateral efforts to resolve conflict in the hemisphere, and to advance regional economic cooperation.

The Council has been a pioneer in mediating and observing elections. Members have observed 14 elections in nine countries: Panama (1989, 1994), Nicaragua (1989-90, 1996), the Dominican Republic (1990, 1996), Haiti (1987-1990, 1995), Guyana (1990-92), Suriname (1991), the United States (1992), Paraguay (1993), and Mexico (1992, 1994). The elections in Nicaragua and Haiti were the first free elections accepted by all parties in the two nations' histories, and in Guyana, the

first such elections in 28 years. Since the elections, the Council has worked to help consolidate democracy in Guyana, Nicaragua, Panama, and Haiti. In addition to reinforcing democracy, the Council has supported efforts to resolve the debt crisis of the 1980s, and to promote freer trade in the 1990s. Members have worked to resolve property disputes in Nicaragua and the Ecuador-Peru territorial dispute, among other issues.

The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government

Jimmy Carter, Chairman of the Council, former U.S. President (1977-81)

George Price, Vice-Chairman, former Prime Minister of Belize (1981-84, 1989-93; Premier, 1965-81)

Ernesto Pérez Balladares, President of Panama (1994-present)

Rafael Caldera, President of Venezuela (1969-1974, 1994-present)

Carlos Saúl Menem, President of Argentina (1989-present)

P.J. Patterson, Prime Minister of Jamaica (1992-present)

Julio María Sanguinetti, Uruguayan President (1985-89, 1995-present)

Raúl Alfonsín, former Argentine President (1983-89)

Nicholas Ardito-Barletta, former Panamanian President (1984-85)

Oscar Arias Sánchez, former Costa Rican President (1986-90)

Jean-Bertrand Aristide, former President of Haiti (1991-96)

Patricio Aylwin Azocar, former President of Chile (1990-94)

Fernando Belaunde Terry, former Peruvian President (1963-68, 1980-85)

Belisario Betancur, former Colombian President (1982-86)

Rodrigo Carazo, former Costa Rican President (1978-82)

Vinicio Cerezo, former Guatemalan President (1986-90)

Joseph Clark, former Canadian Prime Minister (1979-80)

John Compton, former Prime Minister of St. Lucia (1987-96)

Gerald Ford, former U.S. President (1974-77)

Oswaldo Hurtado, former Ecuadoran President (1981-84)

Luis Alberto Lacalle, former President of Uruguay (1989-95)

Alfonso López Michelsen, former Colombian President (1974-78)

Michael Manley, former Jamaican Prime Minister (1972-80, 1988-92)

Carlos Andrés Pérez, former Venezuelan President (1974-79, 1989-93)

Erskine Sandiford, former Prime Minister of Barbados (1987-94)

Edward Seaga, former Jamaican Prime Minister (1980-88)

Pierre Trudeau, former Canadian Prime Minister (1968-79, 1980-84)

APPENDIX III

LACP, The Carter Center, and Emory University

From its inception, the Latin American and Caribbean Program (LACP) has sought to involve graduate and undergraduate students and faculty. Dr. Pastor served as director of the Latin American and Caribbean Studies (LACS) program on the Emory University campus from 1987-91. Drs. Pastor, McCoy, and Carroll remain active on the LACS Committee and lecture in LACS courses. The LACP has encouraged faculty participation in its activities. Several faculty have played important roles, especially Juan del Aguila of the political science department, Jeffrey Rosensweig of the Goizueta Business School, and Susan Socolow of the history department.

In coordination with the LACP, the Goizueta Business School has developed a unique program for selected graduate students to develop a special capacity for Latin American studies. The following students have participated in the program and have conducted their research at The Carter Center: Kathryn Kemp, Michael Discenza, Tamara Markowitz, and Brooke Lindsey.

Emory University and the LACP also created a Distinguished Visiting Statesman Program. Michael Manley, former Jamaican prime minister and Council member, was the first statesman to visit Emory and The Carter Center under this program from March 14-April 1, 1994. During his visit, Prime Minister Manley delivered

three public lectures and conducted a seminar class with Emory students. He also participated in a series of meetings with President Carter, LACP/Council staff, and other Carter Center program staff to offer advice on possible LACP/Council initiatives in the region.

The Carter Center also offers Graduate Research Assistantships to outstanding graduate students. Originally, these assistantships were created to strengthen the bond between The Carter Center and Emory University. Consistent with the initial purpose, most of the LACP's graduate assistants have been doctoral students in political science at Emory. Graduate assistants have participated in election monitoring projects, large research projects, and preparation for conferences. All were from Emory University and include:

1996: Marc Craighead, Ph.D. Student in Political Science

1995: Robin Gault, Ph.D. Student in Political Science

1994: Alma Idiart, Ph.D. Student in Sociology

1993: Svetlana Savranskaya, Ph.D. Student in Political Science

1992: Kjersten Walker, Ph.D. Student in Political Science

1991: Jennifer Cannady, Ph.D. Student in Political Science

1990: Frank Boyd, Ph.D. Student in Political Science

In spring 1996, Emory created a new course, "Public Policy and Nongovernmental Organizations," in an effort to study the role of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the post-Cold War world and their work in transforming ideas into public policy. In addition to lectures by the course professors, Dr. Pastor and Steve Hochman (President Carter's historian), specialists with experience in and knowledge of NGOs delivered lectures including former President Jimmy Carter and former Ambassador and Director General of the Foreign Service Harry Barnes. Emory students also can take advantage of lectures sponsored at The Carter Center, which in the past have

included distinguished speakers such as Oscar Arias, Gert Rosenthal, P.J. Patterson, and Nicolas Ardito-Barletta.

The principal way in which the LACP relates to Emory University, however, is through the internship program, which provides undergraduates an opportunity to work directly in the program while gaining credit for a class. Emory students predominate in the fall and spring semesters, but in the summer, the LACP accepts interms from universities throughout the country and occasionally from abroad. Their work has been invaluable. They include:

1996: Paul Burke, Teresa Carlson, John Carr, Ana Cordero, Miguel Cornejo, Marc Craighead, David Gearhart, Brenda Mercer, Cecilia Nilsson, Harish Padmanaba, Jonathan Todd, Kim Wiley

1995: Kathryn Bacon, Becky Bowman, Robert Colindres, Jyoti Fernandes, Fernando Ferreya, Robin Gault, Joaquin Lara, Veronica Manahan, Gabrielle Mead, Eric Poses, Colby Schwartz, Aarti Tandon, Juan Velez, Michelle Wallach, Scott Weeman

1994: Elysa Coles, Robert Emery, Mitch Fairfield, J.J. Gorsuch, Afia Griffith, Alma Idiart, Marc McCauley, Ceres Morris, Joanne O'Connor, Colleen Shea, Hannah Temple, Holly Vanderbilt, Severin Wilson

1993: Anthony Cassatt, Todd Ely, Heather Hartmann, Ashley Leeds, Jennifer Manning, Claire McCall, Meredith McDonald, Ellene Metros, Veronica Moran, Eduardo Muga, Lisa Sandblom, Svetlana Savranskaya, Daniel Shafer, Gustavo Uceda-Velez, Carrie Wilson

1992: Chester Bedsole, Cathleen Caron, Sarah Childress, Michael Discenza, Sigurd Johnson, Suma Kumar, Maribel Landau, Francisco-Manuel Mantero, Bernadette May, Kattia Sigui, Laine Thomas, Kjersten Walker

1991: Jennifer Cannady, Joel Friedman, Kathryn Kemp, Lourdes Landes, Elisa Owens, Alejandra Sagrera, Marjorie Beth Schachter

1990: Frank Boyd, Jose del Campo, Emile de Felice, Robert Frost, Ivonne Mena, Marcello Presser, Steve Rao, Elizabeth Scott, Gerald Wood

1986-89: Felicia Altman, Jose Amoros, Michael Beck, Joseph Bellon, Carolyn Bence, Kenneth Brandeis, Cindy Cuttler, Donna Demenus, Leticia Farias, Reid Flamer, Yvette Garcia, Amy Gittleman, Amy Gottsche, Joseph Huey, Bradley Katz, Deanna Kerrigan, Amy Lesnick, Anna-Lena Neld, Kimberly Olsen, Daniel Soles, Rook Soofian, Brigette Vincent

APPENDIX IV

Election Reports and Related Publications by the Latin American and Caribbean Program of The Carter Center and the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government

Election Reports

Haiti, 1987

"Report on Visit to Haiti, Oct. 22-23, 1987." Atlanta, Ga.: The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, The Carter Center, 1987.

Panama, 1989

"Pre-Election Report for the 1989 Panamanian Elections." Washington, D.C.: The National Republican Institute for International Affairs and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 1989.

"The May 7, 1989, Panamanian Elections." Washington, D.C.: The National Republican Institute for International Affairs and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 1989.

Dominican Republic, 1990

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APPENDIX V

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