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FEB 19 1988



JIMMY CARTER

February 11, 1988

To President Gerald Ford

Dr. Laney and I are delighted to have you as a member of our Board of Advisors. We are pleased that you are willing to work with us on what we believe is an exciting and productive agenda. I have enclosed a list of the board members for your reference.

Our first meeting will be Sunday, April 24 at 5:30 p.m., to be followed by dinner. The next morning we will continue our meeting over breakfast and will conclude by 9 a.m. This meeting will immediately precede a special consultation on U.S. competitiveness which Secretary of Labor Ann McLaughlin and I will co-chair.

We thought that having our board meeting coincide with a major consultation would offer you a special opportunity to see the Carter Center in action. I am very hopeful that you will be able to be with us, particularly for the board meeting. We need your thoughtful counsel in planning for the Center's future.

We will prepare special materials which you will receive in advance of the meeting.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy".

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Post Office Box 927
Rancho Mirage, CA 92270

MAR 9 1988



JIMMY CARTER

February 26, 1988

To President Gerald Ford

Funds left over from my 1977 inauguration were put in a trust to be used to generate public interest in the inauguration of the president.

This past year the trustees decided to produce a documentary about the inauguration of presidents, suitable for public television and for a museum exhibit. Walter Cronkite has agreed to serve as the on-camera host and narrator of the films. We hope to have them ready for exhibition in July, and one version should be ready for broadcast in conjunction with the presidential inauguration. We also plan to distribute the film to schools and colleges.

All the presidential libraries have undertaken this project together, pooling audio and video resources and other materials. This cooperation enables enormous resources to be made available for the filming. After opening in Atlanta, the exhibit will be made available to other presidential libraries and elsewhere around the country.

Rosalynn and I would very much like the film to include some personal insight or reflection on the inaugural process by each living president or former president. The film's producer, Don Smith, will call your staff and ask to schedule a short interview with you to be included in the film. It can be done at a time and location of your convenience.

We sincerely hope you will cooperate with this project.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Gerald Ford
Box 927
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

JUL 15 1988



JIMMY CARTER

July 12, 1988

To President Gerald Ford

I really appreciate your meeting with Robert Pastor in California to discuss the idea of a conference on a new hemispheric approach to the problems of Latin America and the Caribbean. You suggested to Bob that as our ideas developed, he should speak with Brent Skowcroft. He met with him on June 28th, and had, I am told, an excellent, wide-ranging discussion.

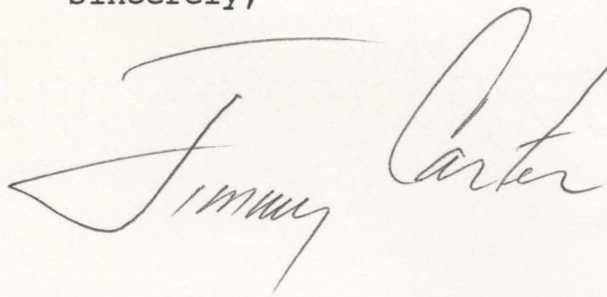
Our project now has financial support, and I have received some positive responses from a number of Latin American leaders. I am writing to ask you to join with me to co-chair the Consultation that we are planning on January 9-10, 1989. Let me explain in some more detail what I have in mind, and why our joint involvement is so essential.

Our project for an "American Agenda" aims to heal some of the divisions on various issues that have divided our country, but on Central America and the debt crisis, to take just two examples, the differences between Democrat and Republican are almost trivial as compared to the differences that separate our nation from much of Latin America and the Caribbean. To be effective in pursuing U.S. interests in the region, it is essential for us to develop a new relationship with the countries of Latin America.

The change in administrations in the United States, Venezuela, Mexico, and several other nations in the coming months provides a chance to assess the state of inter-American relations and prepare for a new approach to the region's problems. The transition is a particularly good moment to lay the foundation for a change, but it is essential that we proceed in a bipartisan manner. Whichever party wins in the United States and other countries, the new president-elect and his key advisers would be invited to participate.

In many ways, an inter-American conference takes the concept of the American Agenda an additional step and is a logical follow-up of our Conference on Democracy in this hemisphere. I do hope that you will be able to participate and that you will join me as co-chair of this important endeavor. I plan to make sure that Bob Pastor stays in close touch with Brent Skowcroft to ensure that the preparations for the Consultation address your concerns and reflect your priorities. If you have any questions at all, please let me know.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "Jimmy Carter".

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Post Office Box 927
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

RECEIVED

AUG 5, 1988

OFFICE OF G.R.F. July 31, 1988



JIMMY CARTER

To President Gerald Ford

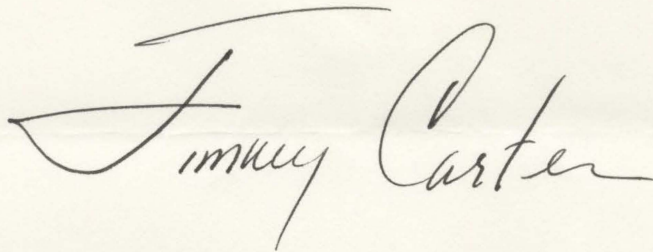
I was pleased to learn of your interest in working together on the Consultation that we are planning on U.S.-Latin American relations. We have already communicated with several of the leaders who attended the Democracy Conference over which you and I presided, and they are all convinced that this subject needs to be pursued. As you know, there will be several new presidents inaugurated in the near future, and those we have contacted have expressed interest in joining us.

I am writing to Argentine President Alfonsín, Costa Rican President Arias, and Uruguayan President Sanguinetti to seek their ideas on the Consultation. We are also contacting both George Bush and Mike Dukakis to assess the degree of their interest in participating. After receiving their replies, we can make more specific plans about the date and format of the principal conference.

For the time being, let me propose that we begin preparations for a Consultation, and we postpone a final decision on the date until we have received more reactions to the idea of the Consultation from the others. We plan to hold a small, informal preparatory meeting at the Carter Center on October 21 to discuss the issues in inter-American relations and a possible agenda for the Consultation. Participants will include several experts and the Executive Committee of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, which consists of former Presidents Daniel Oduber of Costa Rica, Rafael Caldera of Venezuela, and George Price of Belize. We will invite Brent Skowcroft and hope he can attend the meeting.

I will keep you fully informed as we receive more responses, and I'm sure that Brent or Bob Pastor will be happy to brief you on the October 21 meeting. My sincere hope is that, once again, you will be able to join me as co-host at a mutually convenient time.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is centered on the page.

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Post Office Box 927
Rancho Mirage, California 92270



JIMMY CARTER

October 27, 1988

To Betty and Jerry Ford

Thank you for your kind expression of sympathy. The entire Carter family is comforted by your concern and love during this difficult time, and we send you our thanks and warm best wishes.

Sincerely,

The Honorable and Mrs. Gerald Ford
Post Office Box 927
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1989
OFFICE OF G.R.F.



JIMMY CARTER

August 25, 1989

To Betty and The Honorable Jerry Ford

As you know, eliminating poverty housing and providing decent shelter for people in need is a subject very important to me. Rosalynn and I have become actively involved in an organization called Habitat for Humanity, which is dedicated to providing people with modest incomes an opportunity to achieve the American dream of home ownership.

Habitat is an ecumenical housing ministry with active projects in 400 communities throughout the United States and 25 countries worldwide. Currently Habitat is focusing its efforts on the urgent need for affordable housing in the Tijuana-San Diego area.

Attached is an article that appeared in The San Diego Union in July of 1989. This story reflects the point of view of San Diegans who care deeply about the destiny of their beautiful city.

On Tuesday evening, October 31, 1989, Rosalynn and I will be attending a dinner hosted by the Tijuana-San Diego Habitat for Humanity project at the Hotel del Coronado's Crown Room, where I will present the goals and needs of the Habitat project in Tijuana and San Diego. In the upcoming weeks you will receive a formal invitation.

Rosalynn and I hope that you will join us that evening and add your support to these important efforts.

Sincerely,

The Honorable and Mrs. Gerald R. Ford
Box 927
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

Homes



The San Diego Union/Charles Starr

Rafaela Guerrero carefully stacks cinder blocks during construction of a wall at Habitat for Humanity's Tijuana project.

Hands to build homes

Volunteers' labor helps Tijuana poor

By H. Jane Lehman
Special to The San Diego Union

In a weekend ritual familiar to homeowners everywhere, 30 to 40 San Diego area residents devote their Saturdays to gritty home improvement projects. But the untold hours these San Diegans will spend on cleaning, stripping, painting, dry-walling and tiling won't result in any nicer homes for them.

Rather, the reward for these volunteers lies in the knowledge that they are helping make a dent in the chronic housing problems plaguing not only San Diego County, but neighborhoods across the border in Tijuana.

The work crew is part of an international effort spearheaded by the non-profit Habitat for Humanity to renovate or build modest homes affordable to

continued on reverse



El Florido, left, is one of three Tijuana *colonias* where Habitat is building homes with help of volunteers. Below, Raul Blancas and Aljandra Ramirez with their children in the family's new home.



Build *continued*

low-income households. The San Diego operation, one of 324 U.S. Habitat affiliates, is unique within the worldwide organization: it is the only one to cross international borders.

This weekend, 23 new houses in three Tijuana *colonias*, or areas, were dedicated, the result of two years of work by volunteers and the homes' future owners. Meanwhile, Habitat is acquiring property in San Diego on which to build eight to 10 homes that the group hopes to price as low as \$50,000, according to Ken Sauder, executive director of the group's local chapter.

The Habitat organization relies on donated labor and materials to keep finished house prices low enough so that selected needy families can afford to buy them. The terms of the purchase are kept as liberal as possible. Buyers make a minimal 1 percent down payment and invest 350 to 500 hours of "sweat equity" in the construction of their own homes and others Habitat is building.

Most Habitat buyers are too poor to qualify for a bank loan to finance the rest of the purchase price, so Habitat serves as their mortgage lender as well. In the United States, these buyers can generally get an interest-free, 20-year loan to cover the debt, while the Mexican inflation rate has forced the group to tie the homeowners' payments to the minimum-wage rate there.

Habitat was founded 12 years ago by self-made mail-order millionaire Millard Fuller, who abandoned his lucrative business to start up the ecumenical Christian program, headquartered in Americus, Ga., in an effort to eradicate slum housing.

The challenge, as Fuller sees it, is to upgrade and replace the 7.6 million substandard housing units in this country that shelter about 30 million families, yet remain beyond the reach of an additional 3 million homeless people. "We want to make housing a matter of conscience," he said.

Since its inception, the Habitat movement has produced 5,000 homes, but the organization is growing "geometrically," Fuller said. He expects Habitat's

combined affiliates will build 4,000 more homes this year.

The visibility of the program is due in part to the willingness of former president Jimmy Carter and wife Rosalynn to work side by side on construction projects across the country. The Carters, who have led work camps in New York City, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Charlotte and Chicago, will come here in 1990 to fulfill their annual commitment to Habitat.

The plan for next year's work camp is to build 100 homes in Tijuana and eight or 10 in San Diego over five days starting June 17. According to Sauder, the event will go down as the "largest work camp done in the shortest period of time."

For the present, though, the volunteers are finishing work on the 23 Tijuana homes, which will sell for around \$5,000. "The Mexican families who are participating are so excited that they just keep working; we can't stop them. Some have contributed 2,000 hours of work already," Sauder said.

Although Habitat is committed to building on the San Diego side of the border, prices for materials and land have held back the group's efforts here, according to Sauder. "We can build 10 houses in Tijuana for what it costs to build one house in San Diego," he said.

The group is close to closing escrow on 1½ acres in southeast San Diego near Encanto, Sauder said. The group, with the assistance of the Carters, plans to build at least eight 900- to 1,000-square-foot homes on the property next June. "Our goal is to bring (the houses) in at \$50,000 each," Sauder said.

Habitat plans to organize a family selection committee to choose the future owners, most of them from the immediate area, Sauder said. Criteria will include income level and willingness to participate in building the houses.

Habitat attracts a number of volunteers who aren't affiliated with a particular church group, but the organization — which accepts no government funding — relies heavily on church-sponsored teams of workers and donations to carry out its mission. The local chapter has about 300 volunteers, Sauder said.

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DEC 20 1989

OFFICE OF G.R.F.



JIMMY CARTER

December 20, 1989

To President Gerald Ford

As you know, the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government is helping to insure that the elections scheduled for 25 February in Nicaragua are conducted as planned and that they are fair and free. In my opinion, this is the only practical means to bring about an end to the Contra war and the U.S. economic embargo.

Accompanied by former President Daniel Oduber of Costa Rica and Republican Senator Dan Evans of the state of Washington, Rosalynn, and Dr. Robert Pastor, I visited Nicaragua between 13-16 December. We had unrestricted opportunities to meet with members of the press, regional and national election officials and party leaders, and FSLN government leaders. It was obvious that increasing violence, culminating in a political rally melee in Masatepe the previous weekend (during which one person died) was not only a threat to the integrity of the election, but a deep concern to candidates and officials throughout the country. There were highly conflicting reports on exactly what happened. The OAS, concluded that both of the major parties were at fault. What concerned us most was that when we arrived, little had been done to correct the political polarization or to prevent a recurrence of violence in the future.

During our meetings with a number of people in Matagalpa, Esteli, and Managua, we evolved a set of guidelines that would commit the major candidates to abide by the results of the February election, work for reconciliation regardless of who might win, and support measures controlling the political rallies. As a result of our efforts, the Supreme Electoral Council (SEC) and others tried to put together such an accord. However, there was too much distrust and competition for credit for whatever reform might result. Also, the major parties attempted to insert into the text their pet propaganda statements. Late Friday night, despite our efforts and those of SEC President Fiallos, representatives of UNO, the major opposition party, walked out of SEC headquarters, eight of the other party representatives signed a document independently, and the process seemed to be a failure.

We decided to resurrect the effort, including prohibitions re sale of alcohol, presence of weapons, performance of police, and prior notification and approval of scheduled rallies. Saturday morning we met with President Daniel Ortega, who approved our draft, SEC President Fiallos agreed to promulgate it if UNO would accept the same text, therefore they did so, and everyone authorized me to announce this common agreement to the press before leaving Nicaragua a short time later. I called on all parties to endorse the document and, based on a pledge by President Ortega, stated that the Ministry of Interior would implement it.

President Fiallos and the other members of the SEC issued a revised version of our draft, and it was quickly endorsed by the major parties. During that weekend, December 16 and 17, all political rallies were held without incident. The Ministry of Interior made it obvious that the directive would be enforced throughout the campaign. Antonio Lacayo, campaign manager for UNO and Alfredo Cesar, principal advisor to Mrs. Chamorro, stated that they felt a turning point had been reached this past weekend and that violence would continue to recede.

It also was obvious that the presence of the Contras in northern Nicaragua and the resulting military encounters are disrupting factors. Not only does the violence keep the people on edge, but it is the major negative campaign issue, with the FSLN constantly tying UNO to the Contras and even to the despised Guardia Nacional of Somoza. "GN-1" is habitually substituted in NUEVO DIARIO (a newspaper edited by Violeta Chamorro's son) for "UNO." We attempted to put an end to this, but with a great deal of difficulty.

For the first two days, UNO leaders refused to consider any public (or private) statements condemning the Contras or calling for their withdrawal from the country or their demobilization. With persistence, we were able to convince UNO that this was politically damaging to them. Finally, on Saturday morning, Violeta Chamorro and her campaign managers decided to make such a statement and to make clear her endorsement of the Costa Rica agreement reached last weekend calling for demobilization of the Contras. With Mrs. Chamorro's permission, I also announced this to the press, after the Sandinista leaders agreed to lower the rhetoric on this issue.

It is very important that peace talks between the Contras and the Nicaraguan government be resumed. I will share some ideas about this with U.S. Government officials and with United Nations leaders.

Before returning home, we spent a few hours in San Jose with Presidents Oscar Arias and Carlos Andres Perez, discussing what we had observed and seeking their assessment of the situation. It is obvious that the Latin American presidents want to see the resistance forces in Nicaragua and El Salvador brought under control and that they are depending on Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to take the lead in this effort. Also, they are convinced that one of the keys to FMLN accommodation is Fidel Castro. Because of the accolades for President Cristiani of El Salvador and condemnation of the resistance forces in the Costa Rica agreement signed by President Ortega, there has been a predictable estrangement between the Sandinistas and the FMLN.

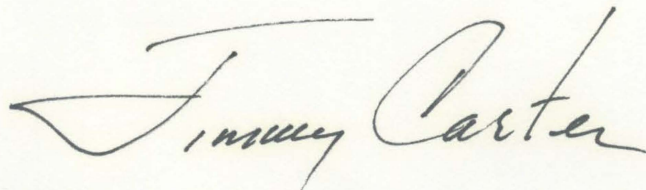
Most of our work in Nicaragua is done in close cooperation with the O.A.S. and the U.N. observation teams. We are now working together to arrange for a joint independent tabulation of the vote to be conducted on election night.

One of the best incentives for all political groups is a substantive economic aid package for the country, the delivery of which will be predicated on honest elections. While in Managua, we met with ambassadors from about fifteen nations, to whom I made an appeal for this kind of commitment. I will follow up with a letter to the national leaders and to international financial organizations urging that this be done.

Before leaving Managua, we encouraged the Supreme Electoral Council to extend registration for one day in some of the areas in the North where Contra activity has been disruptive and on the East Coast where the Miskito Indians had a late start in registering in October. Also, we suggested that political parties be given lists of registered voters on computer disks or tape in addition to the printed copies now being distributed.

Our group will continue to make every effort to carry out our duties in Nicaragua. I would, of course, welcome your advice on this effort by the Carter Center. In the meantime, best wishes to you and Betty for the holiday season!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned centrally below the typed name.

The Honorable Gerald Ford
Box 927
Rancho Mirage, California 92270



JIMMY CARTER

April 23, 1990

To Gerald Ford

On September 29 and 30, the world will witness an extraordinary event -- the leaders of the world's nations will gather in New York for the first ever World Summit for Children. The Summit will bring together heads of state or government from as many as 100 countries to bring attention and promote commitment, at the highest level, to goals and strategies for ensuring the survival, protection and development of children in the decades ahead.

To help strengthen the position of the United States at the Summit and to insure that we use this opportunity most effectively, I would like to invite you to join UNICEF Director James P. Grant, several others, and me for informal discussions in Atlanta, on May 7, from 10:00 AM to 3:00 PM. The meeting will be off-the-record, and is intended to produce ideas for action rather than necessarily a collective agreement or statement.

Enclosed are a tentative agenda and background materials on the Summit that may be helpful in preparing you for the meeting. Because of the limited time available, an early telephone reply to Louise Cook, at 404-420-5151, would be appreciated. Your agreement to help with this noble effort will insure the success of the Summit and beyond.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
P.O. Box 927
Rancho Mirage, CA 92770



JIMMY CARTER

July 26, 1990

To President Gerald Ford

The 1990 meeting of our Board of Advisors will be held on November 29, 1990, from 5:00 to 7:30 p.m., followed by dinner. As has been our custom, we will hold the Board meeting in conjunction with a major consultation at the Center to give you the maximum opportunity for involvement.

The November consultation will be on the Middle East, specifically dealing with economic aspects of the peace process. On the two days preceding the Advisors meeting, we will be holding private talks with figures from the region, and on Friday, November 30, we will have an all day session on the Middle East in which we invite your participation.

At last year's meeting, the Board of Advisors authorized us to proceed with the quiet phase of a Capital Campaign in behalf of the Center. We developed a working goal of \$30 million for endowment and a similar amount for extraordinary needs and construction. I am happy to report thus far, we have raised almost half that amount in each category.

I am serving as the overall Campaign Chairman, and Ron Allen of Delta Air Lines, John Clendenin of BellSouth, Paul Fireman of Reebok, Sidney Harman of Harman International, Don Keough of Coca-Cola, and Jimmy Robinson of American Express are serving as our Co-Chairmen. Ron Allen and Ivan Allen, III are serving as Chairman and Co-Chairman, respectively, of the Georgia campaign. We look forward to discussing this effort at our meeting.

We have enclosed a reply card for your convenience in confirming your attendance.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Post Office Box 927
Rancho Mirage, CA 92270

THE
CARTER CENTER
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



July 30, 1990

To President Gerald Ford

As you know, I was invited by the Nicaraguan government, the opposition, and the Supreme Electoral Council to organize a delegation under the auspices of the Council of the Freely-Elected Heads of Government to observe Nicaragua's entire electoral process, from September 1989 until the inauguration of Doña Violeta Barrios de Chamorro on April 25, 1990. It was an exciting and rewarding experience. We have now completed the report of our activities, Observing Nicaragua's Elections, 1989-1990, and I enclose five copies for your information.

In mid-May, the Central Electoral Board of the Dominican Republic asked me to observe the elections there, and Prime Minister George Price was able to join me. The election appeared fair but was extremely close, and the opposition feared fraud. We were able to mediate a process for reviewing the questionable tally sheets so as to assure the parties that their concerns would be addressed. At the invitation of Haitian President Ertha Pascal-Trouillot, I visited Haiti on July 25-26 to explore the prospects for free elections, and I believe we ought to assist in that process.

I would welcome your views of the Nicaraguan report and of other activities that the Council might appropriately and effectively undertake. If you need any more copies of the report, please let Dr. Pastor know.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Gerald Ford
40365 Sand Dune Road
Rancho Mirage, California 92270



JIMMY CARTER

September 26, 1990

To President Gerald Ford

I want to let you know about the Fifth Annual Carter-Menil Human Rights Prize Ceremony so that you may mark your calendar. John Brademas and the Board of New York University have graciously offered to allow us to hold the event at the University in New York City. We hope you can join us for the award presentation on December 10 at 11:00 a.m., followed by a luncheon for honorees and invited guests.

Human rights, an issue of great concern throughout the world, integrates all our programs at The Carter Center. While world attention is focused on the current crisis in the Middle East, we must not lose sight of the struggle for human rights that continues for the rest of the world as well. We will provide you with greater details and a formal invitation soon.

I am sorry you are unable to be with us for the 1990 Board of Advisors Meeting on November 29, but I hope to see you in December.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Post Office Box 927
Rancho Mirage, CA 92270

RECEIVED
SEP 28 1990
OFFICE OF G.R.F.



JIMMY CARTER

J.

September 24, 1990

To President Gerald Ford

I have just returned from my trip to Haiti, and want you to have this brief report, which we will distribute to the other members of our Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. To summarize, with strong international support, there is now a good chance that successful elections can be held this year. The Carter Center and our Council and NDI are already committed to this goal.

My hope is that our government will exert every effort to insure that the United Nations and Organization of American States can play a role similar to that in Nicaragua. President Carlos Andres Perez tells me that the Andean countries are now unanimous in their support of this request from Haiti to the UN, provided action is taken first in the General Assembly and there is not a "peace-keeping" connotation. This decision needs to be expedited. I have asked President Bush to assist with this task.

We look forward to working with you on this joint effort.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Gerald Ford
Post Office Box 927
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

September 23, 1990

REPORT ON A VISIT TO HAITI, WITH A BRIEF HISTORY, by Jimmy Carter

Haiti is a fascinating country. Proud of their history as the second oldest independent nation in this hemisphere and the oldest black republic in the world, the people have rarely known a just government or been free of tyranny. For 186 years, since former slaves defeated some of Napoleon's best troops and proclaimed Haiti an independent country in 1804, their lives have been filled with oppression and poverty. Even in recent years, after finally overthrowing the Duvalier dictatorship on February 7, 1986, the citizens have been plagued with a succession of abortive efforts to find freedom.

As recently as November 29, 1987, an election was called to fulfill promises made in their post-Duvalier constitution. Citizens who lined up to vote were mowed down by fusillades of terrorists' bullets. Thirty-seven people died in Port au Prince. Military leaders, who had either orchestrated or condoned the murders, quickly moved in to cancel the election and to take over the government. Two months later, the military conducted an "election" which was boycotted by almost all the previous candidates and in which less than 4% of the people voted. As soon as the victor attempted to act independently, as President, he was peremptorily removed by the army commanders. Earlier this year, after another disgraced Haitian general was forced out of office, an interim government was formed, with supreme court justice Ertha Pascal Trouillot as acting President. Her primary goal has been to bring about a successful election this year.

The obstacles are formidable, but not insurmountable. There is a constitutionally established electoral council (CEP), which has already had to postpone the November election date. However, voter registration is now re-scheduled to begin on October 5, and it is believed that a new date of December 16 will soon be set for the election.

President Trouillot survived an effort to force her out of office in August, when the Council of State declared "no confidence" in her and declared that all her decisions were null and void. It now seems that she will continue to serve until her successor is elected.

Army Chief of Staff General Herard Abraham and President Trouillot have been widely and perhaps justifiably criticized for their failure to investigate several political crimes, including the assassination of a member of the Council of State and a labor leader in a Port au Prince hotel. Even more criticism has been leveled against them because of the return to Haiti of two powerful men, whose apparent goals are to intimidate the people and to prevent the holding of an election. One of them is General Williams Regala, who is generally believed to be responsible for the election day murders in 1987. The other is Roger Lafontant, a notorious leader in Duvalier's regime whose name still strikes terror among Haitians who know of his former misdeeds. Their remaining in Haiti symbolizes the ineffectiveness of the government and casts doubt on the ability of the army and police to protect citizens during the coming election period.

Economic crises also plague the country. For instance, already far behind in their payments, there is doubt each month that the government can raise cash to buy fuel for transportation and other needs. Unemployment may be as high as 80%, and only a trickle of tourists are visiting Haiti's extraordinary seacoasts and historical sites. Potential foreign investors are doubtful of the country's future. Financial aid from other governments has been reduced dramatically. Paradoxically, these increasingly obvious troubles offer some hope; they have awakened among desperate Haitians a strong determination to improve their political system by holding free elections.

I returned yesterday from another visit to Haiti, as chairman of our Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. We are committed to do all we can to encourage and to assist in the holding of a free, fair, and safe election this year. Although we had been quite discouraged during our previous trip in July and had heard only negative reports about the recent political and economic crises, the results of these current discussions with key leaders in Port au Prince and Gonaives were much more positive.

I was accompanied by my wife Rosalynn, Dr. Robert Pastor, Carter Center fellow on Latin American affairs, and Dr. Beatrice Rangel, Vice Minister of the Presidency in Venezuela, the official representative of President Carlos Andres Perez. We worked closely with Lionel Johnson, representing the National Democratic Institute.

Our first meeting was with the president and executive secretary of the Provisional Election Council (CEP), who have announced October 5 as the date for voter registration to commence. They now have adequate international interest and assurances of initial financial support, and the elections will probably be on December 16. During recent weeks they have had support from the military leaders, including colonels and other regional officials, a new development which has been quite encouraging to them. They are confident that, unless there are major additional problems, the elections will proceed as planned. It will be noted below that all influential groups with whom we met now profess to back the CEP.

After representatives of the major labor unions met with us to confirm their support for the elections, we had a thorough discussion with Army Chief of Staff General Herard Abraham. He assured us that his subordinates will continue to cooperate with the CEP, and of his unswerving commitment to the electoral process. This is a complete reversal of the attitude of the army leaders with whom we met before the election in 1987. In August, when the stability of the interim Haitian government was extremely doubtful and the President was on the verge of resigning under pressure, the General had, he said, rejected all suggestions that he assume executive power and had maintained his private and public support for the embattled President. When questioned about the lack of progress in investigating serious crimes, including the Santos Hotel assassinations earlier this year, Abraham replied that he was waiting for the FBI to honor his request through the U.S. embassy for special investigators. We promised to pursue this request with officials in Washington. He also thought that their new committee of three cabinet members and three generals might make more progress in inducing General Regala and Lafontant to leave the country.

We then met with President Trouillot and her ministers of foreign affairs, interior, justice and defense. She was informed of President Perez's invitation for Haiti to negotiate an agreement with Venezuela that will give Haiti favorable terms for the acquisition of crude oil. The President immediately decided to appoint a delegation for this purpose, and the group left for Caracas that same afternoon. The President and ministers all agreed that FBI investigators would be welcomed to assist the Haitian police and military authorities in the Santos hotel case. I encouraged the group to invite the Council of State for consultations to resolve their serious differences, perhaps with religious leaders acting as mediators. The response was tepid at best. Despite these problems, there has never been any doubt of President Trouillot's support for the electoral process.

In our meeting that afternoon with leaders of the ten major political parties, we found that several of them have already launched their campaigns. Three expressed reservations about the continued leadership of President Trouillot, failure to resolve the political crimes, and the continued presence of Regala and Lafontant. When I asked them pointedly if they would refuse to participate if these concerns were not assuaged, the three leaders were equivocal. My opinion is that they will take whatever concessions they can get, then decide to mount a campaign.

Chairman Louis Roy and eight other members of the Council of State who have been most critical of President Trouillot then presented their views to us. They had precipitated the government crisis in August by expressing no confidence in the President and declaring that all her actions were null and void. Earlier, in July, they had made it plain to our group that they could not support the election under existing circumstances. Now, however, they expressed their support for the decisions of the CEP, stated that the military was playing a proper role, repeated their accusations concerning the ineptitude and bad faith of President Trouillot, but insisted that they had never demanded that she leave office. After some discussion, it became clear that there is little chance for a reconciliation between them and the president even with the most effective mediation effort, and that this Council has effectively been by-passed concerning the basic functions of the government.

The continuing presence of General Regala and Roger Lafontant is indeed troublesome. The fact is, however, that no official charges have been filed against Regala and the warrant for Lafontant only concerns a passport violation in Switzerland. Even if arrested, tried, and convicted, their sentence would not include forced deportation from the country. Only political persuasion is likely to result in their departure. I encouraged the people of Haiti not to permit intimidation by these two known oppressors to deter them in their path to freedom and democracy. The elections can proceed even if these two men stay in the country and attempt to prevent them.

We spent the next day in Gonaives, a three hour drive from Port au Prince, meeting with regional leaders. The streets were filled with welcomers, who were crying out their support for free elections. Later, about 2,000 people assembled outside the building where we were meeting, and I spoke briefly to them from the balcony. The support for our group and for free elections was vociferous and clear.

This is not a hopeless prospect if the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the United States and other nations will acknowledge their obligation to give support to a troubled but courageous people who hunger for freedom, justice, and a better life. The U.N. General Assembly will soon consider a request from the Haitian government to provide international assistance, including election observers and unarmed military advisors. The O.A.S. is eager to cooperate if moderate financing is made available. The United States has provided several million dollars to help with the election. Canada will provide paper for the ballots. Germany has indicated a willingness to furnish motorbikes for election workers. Venezuela has offered to sell oil on favorable terms and to make additional contributions of services, supplies, and money. It is hoped that other nations will help to make possible this long overdue move toward democracy.



JIMMY CARTER

October 16, 1990

To President Gerald Ford

We have just visited Georgetown, Guyana, at the invitation of President Desmond Hoyte and the opposition political parties. As you may know, there has been a consistent pattern of criticisms concerning election fraud for the last 26 years. We were asked to monitor the upcoming elections as have the Commonwealth nations.

Accompanying me were Dr. Robert Pastor, Latin American Fellow at the Carter Center, my wife Rosalynn, and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Ben Clare, representing Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica, who was quite familiar with the situation in Guyana and was of great help in formulating our approach. After studying several analyses, including a current one of Americas Watch, we were very doubtful that it would be possible under existing laws and customs for anyone to make an honest assessment of what might happen.

During a brief stop in Haiti, we met again with President Trouillot, General Abraham, and the Elections Commission, then went to visit several voter registration sites in Port Au Prince. At one of them, more than thirty voters had been murdered in 1987 as they lined up to cast their ballots. There has been fairly heavy turnout in the rural areas, but less in the capital city area. The situation is calm, there seems to be almost unanimous support for the election scheduled December 16, the United Nations has now voted to participate as observers, and some financial and other assistance has been obtained to support the election. I am increasingly confident that elections are likely. Our Council will continue to work closely with Haitians and other observers to increase the prospects for a honest and safe election.

We then went to Guyana and had good meetings with the key political groups. We met first with President Desmond Hoyte, and explained to him that we had not formed any opinions, were not in Georgetown to interfere in the nation's affairs or to judge past events, and that our Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government would serve as observers only if we could be reasonably certain of fair election procedures that could be monitored by Guyanese political parties and by us.

We then spent a couple of hours with the 3-man Election Commission, comprising a representative of two major political parties and a senior judge appointed by the president as chairman

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for life. The two party members seemed to be reasonable and open-minded. The chairman is viewed by the opposition as biased toward the government. Nevertheless, we explored with them some of the minimal reforms and listened to their conflicting opinions.

Saturday morning we met with Dr. Jagan (People's Progressive Party) and leaders of the four other major opposition parties. They were vehement in their denunciation of the system, listing serious grievances going back to 1964.

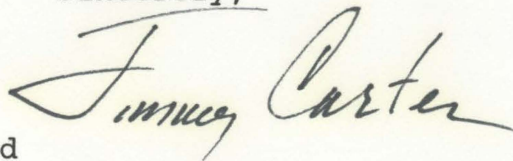
Subsequently, we consulted with two groups devoted to human rights and election reform, leaders of Hoyte's People's National Congress (PNC) party, then with a commission to re-elect the president, and finally with a group of diplomatic leaders stationed in Georgetown from the U.S. and Commonwealth countries. Throughout our consultations we were able to discuss reform ideas with the different interest groups.

Then we met with President Hoyte, and we discussed ways to bridge the differences within the country and to assure a fair election. President Hoyte then joined me in a press conference where we announced these various decisions. I enclose a transcript of the press conference, as well as a copy of the arrival statement. President Hoyte deserves great credit for the important reforms that are being instituted.

This is just the first phase of putting the basic reforms into effect. There are many other difficult issues and details to be addressed by the people there, but they will now be working within a clear and agreeable frame of reference. I hope that you agree on the need to observe the next election, which everyone now agrees may be as late as May 2nd, 1991.

Let me add that Guyana has tremendous potential, with plenty of water resources, forests, arable land, heavy deposits of bauxite, a relatively high literacy rate, a well defined bureaucracy, and a strong move already underway toward free enterprise as the government divests its major industrial holdings in electricity, communications, farming, and mining. Internal divisions and international disrepute from the allegedly fraudulent election procedures have, however, debilitated the country. Our hope is that things might improve, and that withheld foreign aid funds will now flow quickly to the country.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

The Honorable Gerald Ford
40365 Sand Dune Road
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

Guyana.Arrival

ARRIVAL STATEMENT OF

HON. JIMMY CARTER

GEORGETOWN, GUYANA, OCTOBER 12, 1990

I am pleased to be in Georgetown to learn about the electoral situation in this country. I was invited in my capacity as Chairman of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government by President Hugh Desmond Hoyte and by the leaders of the opposition parties to observe the electoral process. We hope to be able to accept the invitation, but first, we need to learn more about the process and be assured that the election will be free, open, and honest. I will also need to consult with other members of the Council, a group of eighteen current and former heads of government throughout the Americas.

Guyana is a proud and independent country, and we do not come here with any intention of interfering in your internal affairs. Nor are we partial to any party or candidate, but we are partial to democracy and human rights. We are here because we share with the people of Guyana a deep commitment to democracy. And we hope by our presence that we can be helpful toward this shared goal.

The other members of my delegation are my wife, Mr. Benjamin Clare, Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Jamaica, and a personal representative of Council Member Prime Minister Michael Manley; and Dr. Robert Pastor, Professor of Political Science at Emory University and Director of the Latin American and Caribbean Program at Emory's Carter Center.

The Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government is based at the Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia. We have observed elections in Nicaragua, Panama, the Dominican Republic, and we are currently observing the electoral process in Haiti. Today, we just stopped in Haiti to observe the registration process, and I am pleased to report that the people are responding very positively by registering to participate in the elections.

In Guyana, we are looking forward to our meetings with President Hoyte, Foreign Minister Jackson, the Chairman and members of the Elections Commission, leaders of the opposition parties, including the Minority Leader Mr. Jagan, leaders from the Guyana Human Rights Association and the Guyana United Action for Reform and Democracy, leaders from the People's National Congress, and diplomatic representatives.

I would prefer to answer your questions after I have had these meetings. I welcome all of you to ask any questions you might have at a press conference before I depart tomorrow evening.

Guyana.pc

Hon. Jimmy Carter, Chairman

COUNCIL OF FREELY-ELECTED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT

CONCLUDING PRESS CONFERENCE, GEORGETOWN, GUYANA

October 13, 1990

Mr. Christopher Nascimento, spokesman for President Hoyte: We are very pleased to honor and to have with us President Carter who has been invited to Guyana by President Hoyte, who is also with us today in a joint press conference. I will also introduce the other members of President Carter's delegation: Mrs. Rosalynn Carter, Dr. Robert Pastor, who is Professor of Political Science at Emory University, and Jamaica's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Benjamin Clare. President Carter will make an opening statement and then you will be free to ask your questions of President Carter and President Hoyte.

Hon. Jimmy Carter: We were invited to come to Guyana both by the opposition parties and by President Hoyte, and we are very delighted to be in this beautiful country. This has been an exciting although all-to-brief visit. The purpose of our invitation is that we might serve as observers in the upcoming election, working side-by-side, and I hope in complete harmony, with representatives from the Commonwealth countries. We hope and expect this to be a very good relationship.

We met with President Hoyte when we first arrived. Later, we met with the members of the Election Commission. This morning we met with the opposition leaders, including the minority leader. We have, in addition, met with leaders of the People's National Congress, with Bishop George of the Guyana Human Rights Association and GUARD, both to assess the election processes and human rights. We met with the Committee to Re-elect President Hoyte, with some of the ambassadors who are here in Guyana whose countries are members of Commonwealth nations.

The purpose of these meetings was to try to learn as quickly as we could the circumstances that might lead to elections that would be above any criticism so that the international observers might certify to the people of Guyana, primarily, and secondly, to the rest of the world, that any allegations against the elections were indeed unfounded.

This put us in a potentially very difficult position because we are not here to criticize; we are not here to interfere; we have no authority and don't want any. We are here to serve, as requested, by President Hoyte and the opposition parties.

We have had a chance to learn a few things, not as much as I am sure the media know, but we were concerned first of all about the completeness and the accuracy of the voter list and the question of sharing the voter list with the opposition parties in a timely fashion before the elections are held so that any discrepancies, additions, or subtractions to the voter list might be corrected. This is a matter on which we have seen unanimous agreement that there should be indeed a complete revision of the voter list possibly with a house-to-house survey. Of course this is a time-consuming effort, maybe as much as two months. Coincidentally, shortly after we arrived here, last night, President Hoyte made an address, as you know, to the nation stating that he was deeply concerned about the accuracy of the existing registration list and that he would not announce the date of election until an accurate list was available. That was his statement, and I think that is a very good constructive thought which we found to be agreeable to the opposition leaders.

The second question is, how a campaign is going to be run that gives fair treatment to the contending parties, for the local, parliamentary, and presidential offices. We have been assured by President Hoyte ... that fair and equitable treatment will be given in permits for holding public rallies and access to the public news media. This would include the two radio stations and so forth. I think this would be very good. There have been problems with this in other countries. I don't anticipate any problem with that in Guyana.

Another important consideration, which is still not completely resolved, is the character of the elections commission. As you know now, it is a three person commission with the PNC choosing one person, the PPP choosing another person, and a third, a chairman, who is a former member of the supreme court and must be a distinguished jurist. There have been some allegations of inequity here. Our thoughts, a couple of suggestions, we are not trying to make any final decision about this, that there might be an expanded election commission that would give a broader opportunity for different elements in the country's political system to participate. There was a suggestion that a new chairman be chosen, but this is a constitutional provision that the chairman is appointed for life unless removed for cause, which would require a judicial action, and there has been no allegation at all against the chairman's distinction or integrity. That is a matter that can be satisfactorily worked out.

The most difficult and the most significant issue is how do you assure that the ballots once cast in approximately eight hundred polling places are indeed counted expeditiously and accurately in such a way that all the participating parties, those who win and those who lose, will be convinced of the integrity of that procedure? In the past, as you know, votes have been cast at individual polling sites and placed in boxes or containers that

were sealed and transported to central counting sites with some delay. In some cases in the past, justified or not, allegations were made that the boxes were taken and the opposition parties were not permitted to escort them. We are not here to judge what has happened in the past but regardless of what has happened in the past, the allegations have been damaging.

My own belief is that this procedure cannot be adequately certified to be accurate, nor can we as international observers certify an election to have been accurate ... unless the votes are counted at the polling places. This would be a preliminary count. After the preliminary count, the ballots would be sealed in the box in accordance with present law, hauled to a central place, and a final and official count would be made. I believe that this procedure when implemented would be adequate because if you have the presiding officer and observers from different political parties, the PNC and opposition parties, **they would actually witness the count of the ballots, they would certify the tally, all of the persons at the voting site would sign copies of the tally sheet and then each person would go away from that sight with an identical certified tally.** That would be a preliminary count. Then the ballots would be sealed up, taken to the central count and the final tabulation would be made later.

This recommendation has come from several sources. We discussed this with the opposition parties, with the PNC leaders, and with the leaders particularly of the Committee for the Re-election of the President. I might say that it was a fairly unanimous belief that this might be an improvement. President Hoyte has agreed to that process. There may be a need for some exceptions which I hope would be minimal, and I would personally prefer not to see. If there are a few voting places in very remote areas, a decision may be reached between the PNC and the opposition parties that those few identified polling places would not have that count done there. My hope and expectation is that all of the political parties can have at least one officially designated poll watcher at each polling site to witness the counting of the votes and to certify the accuracy of the count in complete agreement with others at the polling site.

I believe with **these kinds of reforms, which President Hoyte has approved, will transform,** not necessarily the integrity of the election, we are not making any allegations about that, but will transform **the image among opposition parties who do not win, or even the PNC if it doesn't win, but the losing parties, that it was an honest election.** Although we lost, it was fair.

It will also allow the international observers to certify to the world in case there is an altercation that **this election was a fair election, the will of the Guyana people has been expressed accurately,** and these are the legitimate leaders.

The only other point I would like to make is this. **Everyone agrees that these new procedures are going to require some delay in the holding of the election.** As you know, President Hoyte has the right, after consulting with his political party, to set the date of the election. We understand, I'm not exactly sure about this, that under the present constitutional provisions, the election might be held as late as the second day of May. We don't know how long it will take to do the house-to-house count and to make some small revisions in the law.

In closing, I want to say that I am extremely grateful to all those who have met with us, and particularly to President Hoyte for taking what I believe is a historic step in trying to bring an end to the very damaging allegations against his country. True or false, these reports to the Guyana people and to people around the world have been very damaging. I think this is a major step forward, **an historic step in proving to the world that this is a nation whose elections have complete assurance of being open, fair, honest, and safe.**

Having received these assurances from President Hoyte, my own recommendation to our Council [of Freely-Elected Heads of Government] is that we will come in and participate fully and do everything we can to be supportive. I think this will be a major contributing factor, now and in the future, for economic benefits, for social benefits, for political benefits for your wonderful country. I want to express my deep thanks to President Hoyte for helping to make this possible. I want to thank you very much.

Question: You have been reported as saying that before you agree to observe the election here, you would need to be assured that they would be free, open, and honest. Could you list those essential prerequisites that would give you that assurance and would you put them in some order of importance?

Jimmy Carter: I have mentioned them already, but I will put them in order of what I consider to be their importance.

- First of all, the counting of the votes at the polling places and the agreement among the contending parties that this count is indeed accurate, followed by the proper handling of ballots until the official count is made.

- The second thing would be an honest, complete and accurate voter list, shared with the contending parties, the incumbent leaders, and also the opposition parties so that they will be able to certify "we trust that this is a proper list of people who ought to vote in our country."

- The third thing is obviously very crucial, and that is to have a clear set of rules and regulations, laws, constitutional provisions where everyone would have the same set of directions as

they go into the election procedure and an equal opportunity to present the views of the contending candidates to the people of Guyana: "this is what I stand for, this is what I'll do if I'm elected, this is what my party believes."

This provides a basis on which I would be convinced that an election that is open, fair, free in Guyana is going to be conducted.

COURTNEY GIBSON: Would the counting of the votes at the place of voting be of the number of ballots or the individual parties?

Jimmy Carter: It would be the tabulation of how the voters have chosen the individual candidates for president, for parliament, and for the local elections.

COURTNEY GIBSON: Is there clear agreement by President Hoyte that the voters list would be compiled, not by extracting the names from the national register, but by house-by-house enumeration?

Jimmy Carter: President Hoyte could speak for himself, obviously, but the opposition party leaders, the PNC, the Committee for the Re-election of the President, all have agreed that a house-to-house canvas would be preferable that to just redo the computers what has already been proven to be a very disturbing list. I'm not trying to write the laws or trying to decide what procedures are carried out.

PRESIDENT HOYTE: Well, under the national registration act, there is a requirement for house-to-house registration from time to time. That is whenever you are going to propagate a new registrant as against an update. My ongoing discussions with the minority leader has been advocating a house-to-house census, as we had, I think in 1985. So we're not talking about any dichotomy between a voter's register and the registration list from which that register is extracted.

Question: President Carter, you have earned a lot of praise and a lot of blame for the work that yourself and the Jimmy Carter Center have done. I would like to know if whatever you have done is done in the interest of the United States, in the interest of the countries like Guyana, Nicaragua and the other countries, or is it in the interest of democracy as you see it, or for any other reason that you may have?

Jimmy Carter: I made plain in my arrival statement that I am not here on behalf of my country. I come representing The Carter Center, which is the focal point for the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. These are eighteen leaders in this hemisphere, including four or five in CARICOM who have joined with us to try to promote democracy and freedom and human rights in this hemisphere. Much of our work is done in private, without any

publicity, but in the holding of a election, of course, we have to do it in a public fashion. So we have in the last sixteen months or so helped to observe or monitor the election in Panama, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and now at the present time in Haiti.

It is beneficial to my country to let people in this hemisphere know that we are not trying to intercede. We come only at the invitation of the people there; we try to leave behind us an election result that is above criticism. To convince the people that the leaders they want have actually been put into office, by them, not by us. So I hope it's beneficial to the countries that we visit. In addition to the political benefits, I think there is substantial economic benefits. In my opinion this would be particularly the case in Haiti and obviously even more in Guyana.

I believe of all the nations in CARICOM, there are thirteen of them, the country with the greatest potential that's not yet realized is Guyana. And I have been fascinated and very gratified to see the reforms that have been initiated in Guyana in the last few years. Moving back toward a free enterprise system, having former major investors come back in, seeing the kind of reforms that President Hoyte has approved today implemented. This has been a very gratifying thing to me, so sometimes we just like to ride the coattails of people who are doing good things for themselves and get credit for things we don't deserve.

Question: Would these changes continue if the government changes?

Jimmy Carter: I would presume that all these changes will be permanent in nature. Obviously changing with time, but some of them are imbedded in the constitution. Most of them, by the way, are already guaranteed in the law of the constitution of this country. We are not talking about anything except just minor changes in the laws. For instance, this will not in any way violate the election laws as far as the counting of votes. The boxes would still be sealed, and will be taken, and the final count will be conducted in central places. We're just adding on a preliminary step that is not at all in contradiction to the law. I think the laws and constitution would be minimally changed. It's very gratifying to us. We do things that we enjoy, my wife and I, and this is one of the great things. I have never been to Guyana before, I hate to admit. But it's not the last time I'll be here. We have been fascinated with what has been going on in your great country.

LIONEL SMITH: You have met the political opposition as well as the government of other parties. Are you in the position to say now if The Carter Center will be coming to monitor the election in Guyana?

Jimmy Carter: I am the chairman of the Council of Freely Elected

Heads of Government. My strong recommendation will be that we do participate in a full and effective way, working in harmony with the Commonwealth of Nations. We are the two groups that have been invited to come in. I think that there is no doubt that my recommendation would be fulfilled.

ADAM HIRST, The Guyana Chronicle: Mr. Carter, when you came here you met with the various political parties and you also met with a series of interest groups and various organizations. I don't know whether any of them told you that our communities' politics run very deep. I am also not aware that they would have discussed with you the possibility of victimization of those who probably voted against the norms of that particular community and the likelihood harm being done to those individuals.

Jimmy Carter: All the groups pointed out this danger and made it plain to me the custom in Guyana has been to have later vote counting in central places because of that concern. My response, which was partially convincing, was that we have seen nations, societies, much more divided than has ever existed in Guyana. As you know when we monitored the Nicaraguan election in February, the country was at war. People were being killed everyday, and there was a violent political animosity between the Sandinistas on the one hand and the opposition parties on the other. There were never any problems when the votes were counted at the polling places, as a matter of fact when there was intent distrust during the casting of the ballots, as soon as the votes were counted everybody said, "This was a fair result, this was an honest result."

We have been told that it's too complicated in Guyana. Well, in Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic, we had 4600 polling places. The entire east coast of Nicaragua is totally inaccessible by road, where the Miskito indians live. But we didn't have problems with this. I think the main problem that we see as a generic issue, a broad based issue in many countries, is just to convince the people of the country itself that when my vote was cast, it was counted the way I wanted it to be. We're very careful. We don't come in and say that anything's been wrong in the past. I never have insinuated that. All I am saying, that in the future, there won't be any legitimate complaint to be made if these reforms are implemented, which I am sure they will be, and if we are able to observe the election without interference. But I can assure you based on my own experience in many countries that that a particular group of people in a community who vote in a certain way, if their vote is revealed in their hometown, they will not suffer from it.

There are other arguments that I could give you. If a hundred people vote and thirty people vote for PPP, and seventy people voted for the PNC, whose going to know who voted which way? There has never been an experience we've had even in sharply torn communities that this was a dangerous factor.

Question: President Carter, are you saying that The Carter Center is prepared to come alone. The other thing is would you be making any report to the Bush Administration and the U.S. Congress, with respect to the decisions taken and what decisions are arrived at with respect to your talks with President Hoyte and the opposition. Three, the presence of Mrs. Carter on the mission, does she have more than a wifely presence, because I know when you were in The White House she played a very important role?

Jimmy Carter: First of all, Rosalynn is a full partner with me and everything I do at The Carter Center. Rosalynn habitually sits in the sessions sometimes of the most sensitive nature. When I meet with Chairman Arafat, or when I meet with President Assad in Syria, or when I meet with the Eritrean revolutionaries, or when I meet with anyone else. Ordinarily I invite my wife to sit in with me to keep a record of what's done or to give me advice later on. Her advice is often quite strong. It's not my custom when I meet with foreign leaders to invite the American Ambassador in because if I do, it removes my status as a private citizen, a professor, that's my profession, and it substitutes the U.S. government for me. When the leader is making a statement to the ambassador sitting there, it obviously totally changes the conversation.

As far as our coming in alone, I understand that the Commonwealth countries have already agreed to come in. They don't have any caveat or doubts about coming in. We have not yet contacted them, but I will very quickly do so. The fact that we have a distinguished representative, a minister from Jamaica, indicates an interest from the CARICOM countries. We expect them to play a major role either working directly with us, four of their leaders are members of our group, or as representatives of the Commonwealth. I don't think there is any doubt that this will be a combined operation. We do not know as yet how we will share responsibilities.

In a very appropriate way, I will make an unofficial report to President Bush as a private citizen. The reason I'm doing so, I am not asking President Hoyte's permission, but as you may or may not know, in the United States Congress, there have been resolutions passed condemning this country for serious voter irregularities and election irregularities. We have not taken any cognizance of whether there were irregularities or not. That is not my role. My role is to make sure that in the future we will be able to certify either that the voting was totally honest and open and fair, or that any violations or proprieties were also in violation of the laws. We will be able to detect those.

So yes, I'll be assuring the Congress, the key members that have been so critical of Guyana, and have withheld aid and reduced aid every year, and also President Bush that I can certify that the allegations in the past should be forgotten and that we now have

assurances of the opposition parties, from the PNC, from President Hoyte, that the election will indeed be of such a character that it can be certified to be honest and open.

Question: Would you prepare to support a continuation of the policy of linking aid to democracy and certified elections until these assurances have germinated in Guyana?

Jimmy Carter: I never have supported the withholding of aid to Guyana. I am not an official of our government at all and I never intend to run for office again. I am strictly a private citizen. But I think there are many members of the Congress, particularly democrats who share my party affiliation, who listen to my voice with at least some interest. **The statements that I made to you today congratulating, particularly President Hoyte, and the leaders of the government and the opposition parties for making this historic step toward openness is a very admirable thing and I think should be rewarded by an increase in economic aid and other kinds of assistance.**

There is another very important factor that is sometimes overlooked in a country like this. There are many corporations around the world, including the United States and the European Common Market, and Canada, and in Japan, who are looking for places to make investments, and there is a great deal of competition for that. Just a rumor or an allegation, or particularly public statements, that that country does not have honest elections is enough to make that company go somewhere else. And I think that holding of an honest election here that can be certified by everybody, including the opposition, to have been fair will open up additional opportunities for investment. What Guyana has, is extraordinary undeveloped natural resources and an extraordinarily vigorous work force. Guyana's history is of vigor, excitement, and so forth.

What I have seen just as a distant observer, I don't want to embarrass President Hoyte by talking about it in his presence, but I'll be a little bit courageous in saying so. A lot of your young people have been leaving Guyana. We see all the time in Canada and the United States superb medical doctors who have come from Guyana, who are moving out of the country because they are uncertain about the future. And all of this is a relatively minor point, but I think for them now to know that there won't be this constant dissension between the majority party and the opposition party and allegations of unfairness. I think that will be a very good factor in saying that Guyana is a good place for me to live. I hope so.

Question: I represent television, and television is an unregulated and fairly system here in Guyana. What recommendations will your center make in terms of television coverage of events, because as you may know, as past president, various politicians use television much more than they use the other media.

Jimmy Carter: Well, I hope the television in Guyana will be fairer than they were to me when I was President of the United States.

I am a very great admirer of CNN and the impact it has had on a worldwide basis. When I go to Syria, when I go to Ethiopia, I find the people watching CNN as a primary source of news and I'm very delighted to learn that CNN has some broadcast here during the day. I would hope that in the future the television transmissions here in Guyana would expand, not only to more international news but more local news. And my only hope is that as is the policy of CNN, that your coverage would be objective. If you gave a certain amount of coverage to a certain party, that you would an equal amount of coverage, or at least an equivalent amount, depending on what is fair. It does not have to be exactly equal. Also, that in the presentation of the news, that you would try to present an unedited comment, not just oriented toward one party or the other. I know in my country, the news medium that does this best is CNN. I find that in the major networks that they are more inclined to slant the news or to be bias toward a particular point of view or philosophy than CNN.

WILKINSON: You will be coming here again, any idea how many observers you will bring? Secondly, has the question of metal boxes and security ballot papers been discussed within any of the groups. If not do you support it?

Jimmy Carter: I questioned one group about what kind of box they had. They said they had wooden boxes that were secured if sealed, not disturbed. We did not discuss this in detail. I don't know how many observers we will have here. The primary responsibility for observing the integrity of the election is with the people of Guyana, not with us, and the opposition parties, who may identify either one or two, or three, or four candidates for president when they make a decision, stated that they would have an observer in all the polling places. That's where the primary responsibility is. We've never had enough observers in any country to cover all the polling places.

We try to learn before the election the location of the problem areas, where has there been intimidation, indication of violence, or where the polling officers demonstrated possible unfairness. So, we try to be at those places so if an incident does occur, we can go and question the people there and say this is something you should or should not have done. We don't interfere in the internal affairs of a country. We are very careful not to ever express a preference for any candidates, or any parties. This is not our role at all. What we try to do is to make sure ahead of time that the people have confidence in the process and that they can carry out their duties as voters, as citizens, as free people, to make a selection of their own leaders. That's all we do, so with a relatively small number of people

compared to the number of voting places, we can contribute at least that.

I don't know how many observers might be brought in by the commonwealth countries. And we don't know what kind of cooperation we'll have, but it's obvious that we will try not to duplicate where they are and to communicate with them, to share basic policies so we can be a team instead of working at cross purposes or in competition.

Question: Was the issue of election violence discussed with the political parties, and did you receive any assurances from the political parties about the political violence?

Jimmy Carter: My impression from the opposition parties and from others is that if these basic reforms could be implemented, that the dangers of violence would be greatly reduced. If people go to the polls believing that they could have confidence in the system, then they are not inclined to violence.

I would be violent if I went to the voting place in my hometown and cast my ballot, and I didn't believe it was going to be counted right. And it is not a matter of whether my ballot is counted right or not. It's whether I believe it's going to be counted right. That's what we try to do. We're not trying to change Guyana, but try to convince people that everybody is working toward an honest election. I think that these kinds of reforms which President Hoyte has endorsed will greatly reduce any potential violence that did exist in the past. Guyana is basically a peaceful country as you know, it's not war torn like some of the others that we have visited. I want to again express my thanks not only to President Hoyte, but to all of the people with whom we met.

PRESIDENT HOYTE: Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to say how grateful I am to President Carter for having accepted my invitation to come, and for the excellent work which has been done by his team, by Mrs. Carter, Ben Clare, and Dr. Pastor, in, as it were, bridging differences between the government and the governing party on the one hand and the opposition parties on the other. I myself benefitted immensely from President Carter's great experience and wisdom. I'm sure that the opposition parties likewise benefitted from those attributes. And I am sure that as I discuss various possibilities with the Minority Leader and other interested parties, we will be able to move forward to the conduct of the election, which is so transparent that nobody could reasonably question its validity, and after all, that is what I have been working towards, and I believe that is what we are all working towards. So thank you very much President Carter.

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JIMMY CARTER

January 9, 1991

To President Gerald Ford

We will hold the first meeting of The Carter Center's newly formed US-USSR Commission on Television Policy on February 16-18, 1991. I want to invite you to attend the luncheon, observe the roundtable discussion, and join the informal reception that will conclude the meeting on Monday, February 18, from 1 to 5 p.m. at the Center. The topic of this meeting will be television and the electoral process in the United States and the Soviet Union. Commission members will summarize the highlights of their discussions on this important subject during the roundtable.

The policy recommendations of this group may have a profound effect on democratization, on free enterprise and its depiction in the media, and on opportunities for corporations that are serious about doing business in the Soviet Union. The members of the Commission, drawn from the highest policy and expert levels from both countries, will address policies and their implementation related to the enormous power of television (97% of the Soviet population has access to television, and it is now a pivotal factor in political outcomes). As you will see from the attached list, the membership is quite extraordinary. On the Soviet side, the spectrum of power and opinion moves across institutions to create opportunities both for the present and the future.

Soviet Presidential Council member Evgeny Primakov and I will chair the roundtable discussion and answer questions from the audience. An informal reception will follow. I hope you can be with us. Please call Lita Kirschbrown at (404) 420-5113 or Lori Harrington at (404) 420-5103 if you would like to attend.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Post Office Box 927
Rancho Mirage, CA 92270

US-USSR COMMISSION ON TELEVISION POLICY

U.S. MEMBERSHIP:

Jimmy Carter: Former President of the United States
Ellen Mickiewicz: Director, Soviet Media and International Communications Program, The Carter Center
Alben W. Barkley Professor of Political Science, Emory University
Roone Arledge: President, ABC News
Bruce Christensen: President, Public Broadcasting Service
Michael Gartner: President, NBC News
Eric Ober: President, CBS News
Monroe Price: Dean, Cardozo Law School
Alfred Sikes: Chairman, Federal Communications Commission
Al Swift: US Representative
R. E. "Ted" Turner: Chairman of the Board, TBS, Inc.
Daniel Yankelovich: Chairman, DYG, Inc
President, The Public Agenda Foundation

U.S.S.R. MEMBERSHIP:

Evgeny Primakov: Member of the Presidential Council
Adviser to President Gorbachev
Previously: Chairman of the Council of the Union,
(Upper Chamber of the Soviet Parliament)
Member of Central Committee since 1985
Director of Institute of World Economics
and International Relations
Eduard Sagalaev: President of Soviet Cable Association
(A Newly Founded Organization)
General Director of Channel Four
(National Network)
Alexander Bessmertnykh: USSR Ambassador to the United States
Alexander Dzasokhov: Member of Politburo-Responsible for
ideology, including mass media
Deputy to Supreme Soviet
Chairman of Supreme Soviet International
Affairs Commission
Boris Grushin: Director of Vox Populi, First Independent
Survey Organization in the USSR
Leonid Kravchenko: Chairman, State Committee for Television
and Radio Broadcasting
Valentin Lazutkin: Head of the International Department,
State Committee for Television and Radio
Broadcasting
Mikhail Poltoranin: Minister of the Press and Mass Media for
the Russian Republic
Oleg Poptsov: Chairman of Russian Republic Television
Sergei Stankevich: Vice-Chair, Moscow City Council
Deputy to Supreme Soviet
Tatyana Zaslavskaya: Director, National Center for Public
Opinion Research
Deputy to Congress of People's Deputies
Dean, Faculty of Journalism,
Moscow State University