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THE
CARTER CENTER
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



Handwritten signature/initials

February 13, 1991

To Gerald Ford:

The inauguration of Reverend Jean-Bertrand Aristide as President of Haiti on February 7 was the culmination of a five-year effort by the Haitian people to build democracy. During the last six months, many of us on the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government have been working with the United Nations and the Organization of American States to try to assist the democrats in Haiti to succeed.

Father Aristide and the provisional President Ertha Pascal-Trouillot invited me, Rosalynn, and Robert Pastor to attend his inauguration. The Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government was well-represented at the inauguration with President Carlos Andres Perez, Prime Minister Michael Manley, and Prime Minister George Price also attending. We had dinner together and an extensive discussion on the state of democracy in the hemisphere and the activities that the Council might consider in the future.

The popular support for Fr. Aristide is truly impressive. Hundreds of thousands of people filled Port-au-Prince to cheer their new leader and to welcome the beginning of a new era for their country. Though he appears shy in person, he is a remarkable orator, who encouraged the thousands of his supporters to be warm and loving to the military and to enemies of the past, and to work together to realize their goals of social justice and democracy. He also insisted on absolute "transparency" with regard to public expenditures, and asked the new Parliament to reduce his salary to a more appropriate level than the President has received in the past.

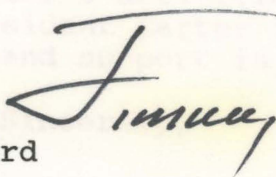
In his inaugural address, President Aristide reassured the army that he wanted to work closely with General Abraham to improve the institution and to ensure that nothing would separate the people of Haiti from the army in the future. But he also made clear that the army is subordinate to the President by retiring all but three of the General Staff. He praised them individually by name before calling for them to step down. I spoke with these officers after the speech, and they accepted their fate with equanimity, telling me that they had expected to retire but did not know it would be so soon or announced in the way that it was.

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In several different languages, he asked countries from throughout the world to cooperate and assist Haiti. I hope that you will encourage your nation to contribute or increase its contribution to ensure that Haiti's commitment to democracy succeeds and that its aspirations for social justice are realized.

Having been invited by the President of Guyana and all the political parties, we are embarking next on an effort to observe the electoral process there. We intend to send a mission to observe the registration process, and we will send a report to you after that. I personally plan to visit during the campaign and the elections, although this may not occur until next summer or fall. It would be desirable for all the members of the Council to participate or to designate their representative to be a member of the observer delegation. Please let me know your views. We will keep you informed as the electoral process gets underway.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jimmy", written in dark ink.

The Honorable Gerald Ford
P.O. Box 927
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

RECEIVED

FEB 20 1991

OFFICE OF G.R.F.

THE
CARTER CENTER



February 13, 1991

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

Dear President Ford:

It is my pleasure to send you President Carter's personal report of his visit to Haiti for the inauguration of President Aristide. The Carter Center's Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, chaired by President Carter, played a major role in Haiti's successful transition to democracy.

I am also enclosing a report from President Carter prepared in December on the Haitian election. The experience gained from monitoring the Panama, Nicaragua, and Dominican Republic elections caused President Carter to urge the United Nations and various governments around the world to become involved in the Haitian election. While this seemed like a hopeless case to many, his faith in the people of Haiti and the democratic process seems to have been well-placed.

From time to time, I have written you with news clippings and special reports, and I hope you will feel free to call on me for additional information about the Center's projects and President and Mrs. Carter's activities. All of us here at The Carter Center join President Carter in extending our thanks to you for your interest and support in our work.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Jim".

James M. Brasher III
Special Assistant to President Carter

A REPORT ON THE HAITIAN ELECTION OF DECEMBER 16, 1990

Rosalynn, Bob Pastor and I returned to Haiti in October during the period of voter registration, as did a delegation under Prime Minister George Price and Andy Young. Approximately 80% of those eligible registered to vote, indicating a high degree of interest and a level of courage that was notable in face of the strong memories of the 1987 election day massacre.

Our joint delegation (Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government and National Democratic Institute) assembled in Port au Prince on December 14. We received briefings on the electoral procedures from representatives of the Electoral Council (CEP), the military, the UN and OAS observer teams, an NDI specialist on "quick count" procedure, and then met with OAS Secretary General Baena Soares. The report from the Haitian military was especially encouraging, clearly indicating full cooperation by the army and police with the election officials. This is the most significant change compared to 1987. Despite the good reports, everyone was concerned that the enormous logistical problems (14,000 voting places, known as BIVs) and security threats from Duvalierist elements would not permit an orderly election. For President and parliament, the candidates must get an absolute majority of the total votes cast, including voided ballots. It seemed quite likely that, with eleven presidential candidates, a run-off election would have to be held in January.

Duvalier's former Minister of Defense and Interior, Roger Lafontant, returned to Haiti in July. He was accused of high treason and other serious crimes, but no official ever had the courage to serve the warrant or arrest him. He attempted to qualify as a candidate, but the CEP disqualified him on a technicality. Now surrounded by 200 armed Tonton Macoutes, he continued to issue threats against the election process and especially against Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a 37-year-old priest who seems to be a champion of the poor and a sworn enemy of the Macoutes. Aristide had earlier condemned the election, but qualified as a candidate shortly before the deadline.

On Saturday, election eve, most of our delegation teams left Port au Prince to work in the other eight "departments" of the country. Our delegation leaders who stayed in the capital area visited President Trouillot and then Commanding General Abraham. I had a private meeting with General Abraham, during which he expressed his concern that Father Aristide might not accept an electoral defeat, would not honor the integrity of the military, might create a "people's army," would not cooperate with other leaders in the country, and might move to assume the office of president before the scheduled February 7 date.

We then met privately with Father Aristide, whom we found staying that day in a luxurious private home. He was small in stature, soft spoken, dressed as a layman, friendly, obviously intelligent. His first message to us was that we did not need an interpreter, and he later stated that he speaks Hebrew, German, English, Spanish, Italian, Latin, plus his native Creole and French. In answer to my questions he made it clear that he would meticulously honor the Constitution and laws, preserve the integrity of the army, work with the unsuccessful candidates, and assume office on the scheduled date. Despite my persistence, he refused to consider the possibility of his losing the election. "We will have an overwhelming victory. Any other result can only come from fraud." I explained how fraud could be detected by the hundreds of international observers, using the quick count and other means. He reported some intimidation of his supporters in Gonaives and the Southern mountains.

It has been estimated that 500,000 additional people registered to vote after he made his last minute announcement as a candidate. He obviously has enormous personal popularity and was absolutely confident of his support. He told me that he retains his Christian faith, but felt that he could minister unto the needy people of Haiti best in the political arena. He is obviously a "true believer."

We then had lunch with the other major candidates, none of whom had any complaints about the electoral process to date. They were especially complimentary about the performance of the army and police. They all agreed to accept the results of the election -- win or lose, expressing their commitment to the open and democratic event. Some of them referred to Aristide as "the prophet." After a visit to UN headquarters and a discussion with top news reporters, we retired early.

On election day, our observer teams were at the BIVs by 6:00 a.m. Rosalynn and I chose to go to the Argentine school house, site of the massacre of 34 voters, which aborted the last election in November 1987. Officials at polling places (BIVs) were very young men, usually the same ones who had registered voters in the same sites. They seemed to know the voters personally. Lines were small, and some of the ballot boxes had not been delivered. The boxes arrived and the first few votes were finally cast at about 7:30 a.m. The lines had grown, and some of the earlier fear had dissipated. Aristide's slogan was "an avalanche" and his symbol was a rooster. It was obvious from the remarks of those in line that this was a "rooster yard."

During the day our teams visited as many BIVs as possible, and reported that ballots had not been delivered in a number of them, almost all of which were in the poorer areas of the city. We were at the City Hall, where voters of one of the six BIVs were directed to another site "a five minutes walk away." Some

began voting at about 9:00 a.m., and two were delayed until noon. It was bedlam, with people in line pressed tightly against each other (apparently a Haitian custom) and shouting "Fraud!"

We went to the CEP headquarters to report the problems, and they were utterly confused, claiming that the election materials had been stolen by saboteurs, that truckloads were lost, delivery officials could not be found, etc. I encouraged them to go on the radio and TV and assure the people that everyone would be given the right to vote, no matter how long it might take. The election officials assured us this was already being done. (It was never done.)

Back at our hotel for lunch, our teams reported that most BIVs were now functioning well, but a number were still lacking ballots and the people were demonstrating in the streets.

We went back to the CEP and found election, observer, and candidate leaders assembled to assess the problems and seek solutions. The general consensus seemed to be that 500 to 600 BIVs were not voting, that there were problems in accrediting observers, and that the electric lights and military security would not permit extending the voting hours into the night. I insisted that the most important thing was to inform the nation as quickly and simply as possible that everyone would have a chance to vote. A fairly complex statement was drafted, and a new round of debates began. Finally, at about 4 p.m., I asked Jean Casimir, executive director of the CEP, if voting could continue into the night if the military would stay on duty. He agreed, provided General Abraham would approve.

I then telephoned the General, who stated that he must first have approval from the President or Minister of Justice. The Minister arrived at the CEP president's office while we were trying to reach him by phone. He insisted, despite my arguments, that the CEP could not legally extend voting hours or even announce that BIV presidents already had authority to permit voting by all those in line at 6 p.m. At this time, a CEP field worker came in to report that all BIVs had received election materials by 2 p.m., and that everyone in line was now voting.

I told Casimir that, although he was forbidden to make any statement to the media, I was not bound by the Minister's ruling. He agreed, and I had an impromptu press conference on the front steps of the CEP center and asked that radio and TV stations announce that all BIVs now had materials and that BIV officials could permit voting by all those in line at closing time.

Some of our delegation, who had been in the worst BIVs, wanted to denounce the election as fraudulent, because the absence of materials was mostly in Aristide strongholds. I explained that a minimum of 96% of the BIVs had voted with only

slight delays, that everyone in line would be permitted to vote, that there had been no violence or intimidation, and that we should withhold judgment until the entire process was completed.

We then visited as many polling places as possible to observe the orderly conclusion of voting and the meticulous counting of votes that followed. It was thrilling to witness. Every ballot was examined by all officials and observers before it was placed in its proper pile, and in some places the leader would call out the count and all the assembled group would recite the same number loudly and in unison. Aristide was getting about 80% of the total vote, with no other candidate reaching 15%.

The CEP received very few results that night, but those few followed the same trend: at least 2/3 for Father Aristide.

The next morning our group assembled from around the country to make their reports. "Amazing!" "A miracle!" "It went like clockwork." "Some polls stayed open until 8 p.m." "The rooster was everywhere." "The army was magnificent." "They were grateful for our presence." The election results seemed to be quite uniform in all regions. The Haitians around our hotel all knew what had happened. The waiters, and others were hugging each other, and they lined up and insisted on embracing me.

We then went to visit President Trouillot. The streets leading to her private residence were packed with a mighty stream (an avalanche) of deliriously joyful people, waving branches of trees, holding up roosters, singing, dancing, and shouting "No more macoutes!" and "Aristide is president!" Madame Trouillot was very happy that the election had been safe and decisive. She also embraced me for a long time. Resolutely, and with great patience, she had carried out her singular duty -- to lead her people to democracy -- and now was eager to vacate her office. "Finally, after all these months, I can be free," she said.

We found General Abraham pensive, but relieved. We expressed our admiration for the fine performance of the army and police under his direction. He responded that his people were exhausted, and still faced a day or so of maintaining order as the results were made known. He was looking forward to meeting with Aristide after the official results were known.

We stopped by the home of Marc Bazin, the leading candidate before Aristide's campaign began. Bazin, a distinguished public servant, had been a World Bank official for twenty years and was dedicated to the well-being of his country. He acknowledged the obvious results, expressed concern about some of Aristide's campaign statements, but also promised to assist him in any way possible. We gave him Aristide's phone number, and urged him to make a concession call at the proper time.

We then found Father Aristide grateful, friendly, willing to answer the questions that we had accumulated from Abraham and Bazin. He pledged to honor the laws, work with the military and other candidates, but was determined to eliminate the influence of the Tonton Macoutes and those guilty of corruption. He then said in a low voice, "I want to ask you a very personal question," then asked: "What do you think should be done about Lafontant?" I replied that citizens must be restrained from taking the law into their own hands, that the law must be followed. From the beginning, I have urged that the proper warrants be served on Lafontant, that he be arrested and tried for his crimes, and that the courts should then administer justice in his case. If the law is abandoned in Haiti, the benefits of this remarkable election would be lost. Aristide seemed to agree with me.

He pledged an administration of "justice, transparency, and participation." We offered to encourage tourism, foreign investments, assistance from international banks and other institutions, and help with reforestation and agriculture. When asked whether he would invite Bazin to join in his government, he answered that he had already announced this, and would continue to reach out to him and others for help. He requested that I pray for him and return for his inauguration.

On the way home we heard that a pregnant woman had been shot by men dressed as police. A pickup truck sped into the courtyard in front of Father Aristide's former church and opened fire into the crowd. Although no proof is yet available, it seems likely that these were Macoutes dressed as police. So far as I know, this is the only blemish on a thrilling and historic political event. For the first time in 186 years, the Haitian people have had an honest election to choose a leader who is dedicated to their well-being. We were glad to help.

Election Observation Delegation
1990 Haitian Elections

Hon. Jimmy Carter
Delegation Leader
former President of
the United States
Chairman, Council of Freely-
Elected Heads of Government
UNITED STATES

Prime Minister George Price
Delegation Co-leader
Vice Chairman of the Council
of Freely-Elected Heads of
Government
BELIZE

Hon. John C. Whitehead
Delegation Co-leader
former Deputy Secretary
of State
UNITED STATES

Sergio Aguayo
President
Academy of Human Rights
MEXICO

Rosalynn Carter
former First Lady
of the United States
UNITED STATES

Genaro Arriagada
Christian Democratic Party
CHILE

Hon. Ben Clare
Minister of State
(Representing Prime Minister
Michael Manley
JAMAICA

Gregorio Atienza
former Secretary General
of NAMFREL
PHILIPPINES

Lovida H. Coleman, Jr., Esq.
Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish
and Kauffman
UNITED STATES

Frederick Barton
former State Democratic
Chair, Maine
UNITED STATES

Alfred Cumming
Legislative Assistant
to Sen. Bob Graham
UNITED STATES

Esteban Caballero
Director, Center for
Democratic Studies
PARAGUAY

Hon. Denzil Douglas, MP
Labour Party Leader
St. KITTS-NEVIS

Larry Garber
NDI Consultant
UNITED STATES

Christopher Mathabe
Working Group on
International Relations
African National Congress
SOUTH AFRICA

Steve Horblitt
former Legislative Director
Rep. Walter Fauntroy
UNITED STATES

Lester Hyman, Esq.
Swidler & Berlin
UNITED STATES

Lionel Johnson
Senior Program
Officer, NDI
UNITED STATES

Amb. Henry Kimelman
former Ambassador to Haiti
UNITED STATES

Hon. Marc Lalonde
former Finance Minister
CANADA

Jennie Lincoln
Associate Director, Latin
American and Caribbean Program
Carter Center of
Emory University
UNITED STATES

Francine Marshall
House Subcommittee on
Western Hemisphere Affairs
UNITED STATES

Hon. Beatrice Rangel Mantilla
Director, Ministry of
the Presidency
(Representing President
Carlos Andres Perez)
VENEZUELA

Dennis Smith
Chief Electoral Officer
(Representing Prime Minister
Erskine Sandiford)
BARBADOS

Hon. Andrew Young
former U.S. Ambassador to
the United Nations
UNITED STATES

Jennifer McCoy
Georgia State University
UNITED STATES

Sheldon McDonald
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
JAMAICA

Hon. Robert McNamara
former Secretary of Defense
UNITED STATES

Lorenzo Morris
Howard University
UNITED STATES

Hon. Azie Taylor Morton
former U.S. Treasurer
UNITED STATES

Kasanga Mulwa, Esq.
former Member of Parliament
KENYA

Robert Pastor
Director, Latin American
and Caribbean Program
Carter Center of
Emory University
UNITED STATES

Robert Rotberg
President
Lafayette College
UNITED STATES

Hon. Jim Wright
former Speaker of the
House of Representatives
UNITED STATES

Ms. Amy Carter
UNITED STATES

Mr. Michael Antonucci
UNITED STATES

DATE: 2/8/91
FROM: Jimmy Carter
SUBJECT: Presidential Inauguration in Haiti
February 7, 1991

The inauguration of Reverend Jean Bertrand Aristide in Haiti yesterday was the culmination of our three-year effort to permit an honest, free, and safe election in the troubled country. This has been the most impressive demonstration of pure peoples' democracy I have ever seen. Announcing his candidacy only a few weeks before the election, Aristide received an overwhelming mandate from the people of his country -- more than four times as many votes as the next closest candidate.

It was February 7, the fifth anniversary of the deposition of "Baby Doc" Duvalier, a day packed with activity and excitement. Beginning at 7:30 a.m., we inched slowly through the enormous celebrating crowds to attend the swearing-in ceremony, then mass at the national cathedral, and finally to hear the new president's inaugural speech from the front steps of the national palace. The streets were jammed with hundreds of thousands of Haitians who had poured into the capital city from all over the country. They had sung and danced all night in the streets, but were still exuberant and filled with confidence and gratitude that a new life was in store for them when their hero began to lead the nation.

It was almost impossible for our vehicles to move, as the mass of people opened up just enough for us to squeeze through, then peered into the windows looking for Aristide. When they were sure he wasn't with us, we could proceed for a few more feet. Many of them recognized me, since we've been there and on television so many times in recent months.

Despite close support by the military and police, crowd control was almost impossible, so Aristide himself was delayed for almost an hour in reaching the first ceremony. After that, all pretense of maintaining a schedule was abandoned. The orphans whom he had rescued from the streets and with whom he had lived before entering politics played an important role in all the events, and a peasant woman placed the president's sash on him after he took the oath of office. His demeanor was always that of a priest.

The religious service lasted three hours, with a special mass and music having been prepared to describe the current political developments. The huge cathedral was packed to the rafters with celebrants, and people were pyramided up against the windows outside, striving for a glimpse of President Aristide. After he and former President Trouillot finally received communion, we moved to the palace for his inaugural address.

By this time we were three hours behind schedule, but no one seemed to be concerned. He is so quiet, gentle, and diffident in our private meetings that it had always been a mystery to us how he could arouse the passions of a crowd. The answer was evident immediately when he was presented to the audience. He stood with head bowed in total silence for more than a full minute, then began what seemed to be a repetition of his campaign speech -- almost a chant, based on the word "lavalas" (avalanche). A new word, "lavalasament" (like an avalanche) had been added to the Haitian vocabulary. The intertwining of "love," "cooperation," "sharing," into slogans that swept back and forth from the diminutive speaker to the great crowd of supporters was truly an emotional event. He emphasized the liberation of the oppressed, new hope for the poor, jobs and education, an end to the shedding of blood, and reconciliation among the historically divided people of Haiti. When he thanked foreign friends, he spoke fluently in their language: English, Spanish, German, Italian, and even a few words in Arabic and Hebrew.

Most significantly, Aristide heaped effusive praise on the army, announcing a new and official "marriage" that was being consummated on this occasion between civilians and the military. Democracy and freedom had been subverted for generations by this struggle, with the army commanders always ascendant except for a period when the Duvaliers gave power to the ton ton macoutes. Aristide announced that the first foreign aid funds received would go to put unemployed young people to work, and next to the soldiers, whose inadequate homes "could fool the sun, but not the rain." He then went on to demonstrate clearly the ascendancy of civilian authority, by suggesting the retirement of all but three of the general staff. He praised them individually by name as he called for them to step down with honor. After the speech I spoke to all these senior officers, who had been seated near me. They accepted their fate with equanimity, telling me that they had expected to retire but didn't know it would be so soon or announced publicly.

The power of the people with Aristide as their champion is so clear that no force can provide a challenge, at least in the near future. Whether he can govern and not precipitate terrible disillusionment in the country is still a serious question. In our private meeting with him immediately after his inaugural address, we had to lean forward to hear his soft, almost inaudible words, but he said all the right things. He seemed truly grateful for what we had done, going all the way back to the beneficial impact of our human rights efforts in 1979 that had saved the lives of many of his friends who had opposed the Duvalier regime.

We intend to stay in close touch with him and to help as we can to meet some of the formidable needs of Haiti. My biggest concern is that the world's economic powers, both national and

international, will not give the new regime enough space in which to evolve in its own way. This is truly a unique political constituency with historical and social characteristics that will often seem radical and disturbing to many foreigners. We must accommodate the special Haitian culture, and be willing to support and cooperate with the people and their leaders as they struggle, with some inevitable mistakes, toward a new life of freedom and progress.

While in Port au Prince, we had constructive sessions with some of the other members of our Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. President Perez of Venezuela and Prime Ministers Price of Belize and Manley of Jamaica discussed with me some possibilities for our group to be of continuing assistance in Haiti and to help resolve some of the problems in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Surinam, and even Cuba. Recognizing our limitations, it is still encouraging that we have this forum within which we can share information and formulate common programs of action.

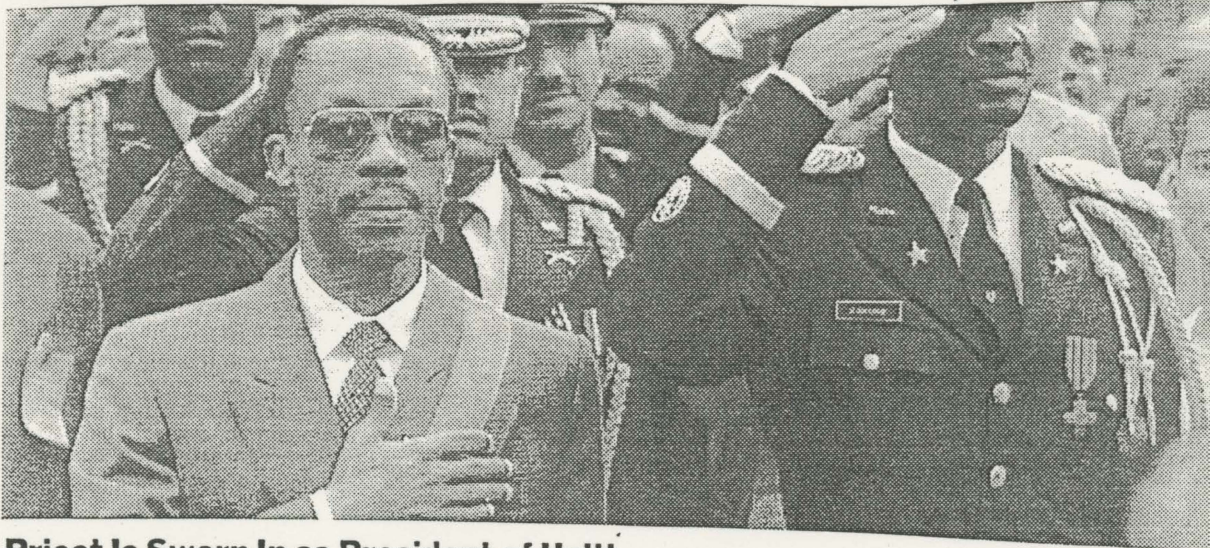
We at the Carter Center are truly grateful for the support we have received from you and our other friends. I will continue to give you a report from time to time about some of our activities.

The New York Times

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1991

Haiti Installs Democratic Chief, Its First



Priest Is Sworn In as President of Haiti

Jean-Bertrand Aristide, left, a Roman Catholic priest, at his inauguration yesterday as Haiti's first democratically elected President. At right was Gen. Hérard Abraham, commander of the armed forces. Page A3.

By HOWARD W. FRENCH

Special to The New York Times

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Feb. 7 — Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a 37-year-old Roman Catholic priest who rose from the obscurity of a small parish to help lead the battle against the Duvalier family dictatorship, was sworn in today as the country's first democratically elected President.

With thousands of the slum dwellers whose cause he has championed raucously chanting his name outside, Father Aristide wiped tears from his face with both hands and bowed his head as the ceremony began in the National Assembly building. Opening the inauguration, the president of the newly elected Senate, Eudrice Raymond, said the event represented "the overthrow of a system of repression and darkness."

After taking the oath of office, Father Aristide, a slight, shy-looking man, stepped slowly from the podium and accepted the red and blue presidential sash from an elderly peasant woman. One by one, he embraced four boys from the orphanage he has run for the last several years.

From the National Assembly, Father Aristide's motorcade made its way through thick crowds to the Cathedral of Port-au-Prince for a celebratory Mass. Delirious supporters along the route blew conch shells and crowed like roosters, his campaign symbol.

Creole Parables Used

Addressing the nation later from the

balcony of the gleaming white presidential palace, a smiling Father Aristide engaged the crowd in a rousing call and response during a prayerful speech filled with Creole parables.

"It took 200 years to arrive at our second independence," he said, referring to his election on Dec. 16. "At our first independence we cried 'Liberty or Death!' We must now shout with all our strength, 'Democracy or Death!'"

He also called on the people to respect "all institutions without distinction." He asserted that the army, which has thwarted previous attempts at democratic change by mounting coups, was now united as one with civilians.

In one of his first acts as President, Father Aristide retired several senior military officers, politely saluting them for their service to the nation.

An Appeal for Aid

Switching to English in an appeal to other nations, he said at one point, "We will be looking for a close cooperation with our country and assistance."

To the delight of the audience, he later ticked off pledges of several hundreds of millions of dollars of aid from other countries, including Venezuela and Mexico, which he said would furnish oil, and Germany and Taiwan, which have offered to finance development projects.

Father Aristide is taking over from Ertha Pascal-Trouillot, who has served as interim President for nearly a year,

As the leader of the hemisphere's poorest country, he inherits a catalogue of problems that may resist solution even with heavy international aid. With more than six million mostly illiterate people, many of them also unemployed, Haiti has long been unable to feed itself.

Father Aristide, a member of the Salesian order, is now expected to leave the priesthood. He was banned from celebrating Mass and stripped of his parish in 1988 for his overtly political preaching in 1988.

Former President Jimmy Carter, who helped organize international support for Haiti's first free elections in 186 years of independence, attended the swearing-in. "What has been achieved by the Haitian people is momentous in history and will send a signal of hope to the entire hemisphere," he said in an interview.

Many of Father Aristide's supporters expressed fear that the United States would be less supportive of the new administration because of the priest's criticism of American foreign policy and his liberal ideology.

Bush Administration officials sought to calm such fears. "We want to work in every way we can, as desired by the new Haitian Government, on whatever we can do to help," said the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Dr. Louis W. Sullivan, who led the United States delegation at the inauguration.

THE
CARTER
PRESIDENTIAL
CENTER



3/6/91

To Gerald Ford

We're delighted &
grateful that you'll
be one of Habitat's
Advisors.

Best wishes to you
& Betty. We don't see
you often enough.

Jimmy

— J. 3/8/91

Perry-

Attached are:

1. copy of letter agreeing
to lend President Carter's name -
I understand President Ford is
also being asked -

2. Note for President Ford -
thanks for forwarding -

—
taye

RECEIVED

MAR 11 1991

OFFICE OF G.R.F.

THE
CARTER CENTER
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



March 13, 1991

To Gerald Ford

In Port-au-Prince, on the evening before Jean-Bertrand Aristide's inauguration as President of Haiti, President Carlos Andres Perez, Prime Minister Michael Manley, Prime Minister George Price, and I had dinner and a long conversation. We were delighted that the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government was so well-represented at such an important event as the culmination of Haiti's first democratic election.

One of the principal subjects that we discussed was the consolidation of democracy in Nicaragua, and we agreed to try lend our support to that end. By coincidence, when I returned from Haiti, I received an invitation from President Chamorro to visit Nicaragua on the anniversary of the election. I could not go, but asked Dr. Robert Pastor to attend on my behalf. Based on his report of meetings that he had in Managua and requests by President Chamorro, the Sandinista leaders, and others, Rosalynn and I visited the country on March 7 and 8. I want to share with you a brief report of my trip, our first visit to the country since the election. We were part of a delegation that included Dr. Pastor and Dr. Jennifer McCoy from The Carter Center. Minister Beatrice Rangel represented President Perez and the Venezuelan government.

During the last year, the fragile peace has held, basic transition understandings between the UNO government and the Sandinistas have been honored, and almost 30,000 resistance fighters have been repatriated and disarmed. These notable achievements have been endangered, however, by the inability of President Violeta Chamorro and her government to bring hyperinflation under control. This has been partly the result of concessions that her government had to make to a series of strikes by public workers. Compounded at a rate of 30 to 40 percent per month, inflation during 1990 amounted to more than 13,000 percent. The Cordoba has become practically worthless as legal tender. As a result, the integrity and international reputation of the government has been harmed and needed foreign assistance and private investment has been jeopardized.

The goals of our visit were to understand the economic stabilization program announced by the government on March 3, to encourage support for its basic tenets, to assess demands by

different groups, to help explain its potential benefits to the country, and to reduce tensions that have arisen because of the sacrifices that are being demanded. Workers, for instance, are being asked to accept a reduction of more than 30% in real wages, with the hope that an end to inflation will improve their wages in the long-term.

Among others, we met with President Chamorro, Minister of the Presidency Antonio Lacayo, the Foreign Minister, the economic cabinet and the President of the Central Bank, leaders of eight major trade unions, both independent and affiliated with the Sandinistas, Cardinal Obando y Bravo, Contra leaders, directors of the business, agricultural and financial community, the U.S. Ambassador, army commander General Humberto Ortega, Daniel Ortega and other members of the Sandinista directorate, the Minister of Health, Vice President Virgilio Godoy, National Assembly President Alfredo Cesar, directors of the international agency responsible for repatriation of former resistance fighters, mayors of Managua, Matagalpa, Granada, San Pedro, and Chinandega, the Minister of Gobernación (in charge of the national police), and twice with the national press corps.

While we were in the country, health workers were occupying some hospitals, and customs workers had to be forcibly removed by police from offices where they were holding up international traffic and preventing the collection of tariffs.

After suggesting that the government spell out immediately a few special programs for the poorest citizens and some funding for the capitalizing of small businesses (both to be financed by funds already available), we attempted to promote support for the overall proposal. Such a consensus seemed to be building before we returned home, except for one trade union (FNT) associated with the Sandinistas. Despite our urging, the FNT leaders rejected our suggestion to allow a trial period of two or three months for the new plan. They were especially preoccupied with the forcible ejection of their workers from two of the customs houses. The strong enforcement of the law by ending an illegal occupation of the buildings demonstrated that the government was more serious about their current plan than had been indicated by past actions.

There is little doubt that government officials have the resolve necessary to maintain the reform program. Also, there seems to be an adequate level of support, including some support from Sandinista leaders. Although torn between acting responsibly during this economic crisis and demonstrating sympathy with the plight of their affiliated workers, they issued a satisfactory public statement on our first day in Managua. The next day, a resolution was passed by consensus in the National Assembly supporting the program, provided special provisions could be made for the very poor. Only one of the 39 Sandinista members (an FNT executive) voted against the proposal.

Further discussions will continue among Nicaraguan leaders but within the framework of the economic stabilization plan. At the same time, prices of a "basket" of basic commodities are being closely and continuously monitored.

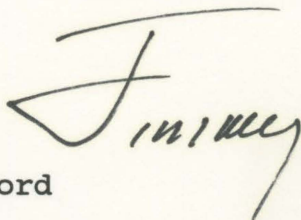
Democratization of the country is widening and deepening and cherished by all interest groups. It was especially encouraging to hear reports from the mayors and to witness both their independence toward the central government and their ability to work with each other to achieve common goals. Also, the National Assembly has developed into a strong and independent body, demonstrating a gratifying harmony among the disparate political groups represented among its members. These changes, combined with financial assistance from the international community, can permit Nicaragua to demonstrate success in its long struggle for political and economic reform.

Beginning immediately, the National Assembly is committed to passing basic reform laws that will permit private banking, encourage foreign investment, expedite the privatization of many of the 400 business and service industries now owned by the Nicaraguan government, and establish free trade zones. President Chamorro promised to issue a final decree within a week to give full authority to the commission that can issue permanent land titles in the rural areas. These imminent steps should contribute to resolving many of the remaining legal questions that have continued to plague the country.

Although Nicaraguan leaders are obviously responsible for the constructive steps being taken, we were told by many that our visit came at a propitious time and was beneficial in solidifying the commitments being made to support the program, which is harsh but necessary. We will be eagerly awaiting a forthcoming decision by the international financial community on March 25-26 to acknowledge these courageous steps, and to assist in providing long term loans and grants needed to consummate the national plans.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jimmy", written in dark ink.

The Honorable Gerald Ford
40365 Sand Dune Road
Post Office Box 927
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

THE
CARTER CENTER
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



April 15, 1991

To Gerald Ford

At the invitation of President Desmond Hoyte and the opposition leaders of Guyana, I asked Prime Minister George Price if he would lead a delegation to Guyana to observe the registration and electoral process. Dr. Robert Pastor accompanied Prime Minister Price to Guyana, where their efforts culminated a nine-person, two week evaluation. The two then visited Suriname. Their reports of the two countries are enclosed. We owe a debt to them and to the following others who helped make the Guyanese mission a great success: Mr. Dennis Smith, Chief Electoral Officer of Barbados and the representative of Council Member and Prime Minister Erskine Sandiford, Dr. Jennie Lincoln, Dr. Jennifer McCoy, and Mr. Dennis King of the Carter Center, and Mr. Glenn Cowan and Mr. Keith Frederick, two election experts.

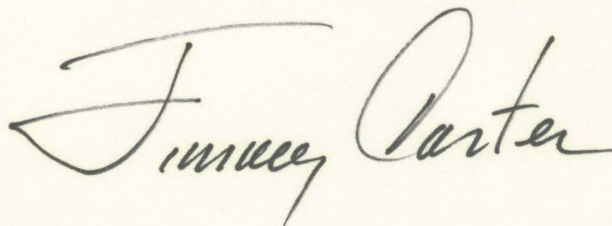
Prior to our delegation's visit to Guyana, the registration process had begun slowly and in an uncoordinated way. Voters were skeptical and reluctant to register. The opposition believed that the Election Commission was biased and could not conduct an honest election. We hope that these concerns have been alleviated as a result of the efforts of Prime Minister Price's delegation and their evaluation that the registration is now doing much better. In addition, Prime Minister Price and Dr. Pastor successfully negotiated a proposal between the government and the opposition that permits an expansion of the Commission, the replacement of the Chairman, and an agreement that the opposition will no longer object to any of the legal or constitutional procedures. The opposition formally accepted the proposal on April 12, and the prospects for a free and transparent election are much improved.

In Suriname, Prime Minister Price and Dr. Pastor recommend that we not consider conducting a major election observation effort since the OAS is already planning to do that. We may, however, send one or two staff as that could help us organize the observation in Guyana that has a similar geography. The issue in Suriname is not the fairness of the election; it is whether the new government will be able to govern in fact as well as in name. There are many in the country who are worried that the military will continue to control the country regardless of the outcome of

the election. Their conversations with Col. Desi Bouterse, the Commander of the Army, however, reassured them that he is interested in reducing the military's role in politics. He invited them and the rest of the Council to return to Suriname after the election, and if the new government conveys a similar invitation, I think that we should seriously consider an effort that could have the effect of facilitating the consolidation of democracy.

Please let me know your views of these issues and of the two reports. We are hoping that all of the leaders of the Council will play some role in the Guyanese election observation mission. We do not yet know when the election will be held, although it appears it will be sometime next fall. Thus far, several of you have volunteered to participate either directly or through your representatives. I sincerely hope we can mount an effort with all of you or your designees.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned centrally on the page, below the word "Sincerely,".

President Gerald Ford
P.O. Box 927
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

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JUL 17 1991

OFFICE OF G.R.F.

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OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



July 11, 1991

To Gerald Ford

In December 1990, Prime Minister George Price, former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead and I led an international, bipartisan delegation to observe the elections in Haiti. The delegation and several pre-election monitoring activities were organized jointly by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. We were pleased to have played a role in the historic transition to democracy in Haiti. It is my pleasure to send you a copy of the report of this project.

Sincerely,

President Gerald Ford
P.O. Box 927
Rancho Mirage, CA 92270

7-22



JIMMY CARTER

September 24, 1991

To President Gerald Ford

As you may remember, the first meeting of The Carter Center's Commission on Television Policy was postponed last February because of the political situation in the Soviet Union. I am pleased to announce that the meeting will be held on November 15-16, 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 Saturday, November 16, from 12:45 to 6 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.

In the aftermath of the attempted coup in Moscow, the role of the mass media has changed dramatically. The media will play a critical role in the wide array of new elections that will change the face of that country and in the depiction and interpretation of new leadership. The impact of television in the process of democratization in this region of the world is unequalled, and the work of the Commission will be even more significant than we imagined when it was formed in the Fall of 1990. A list of Commission members is attached.

Eduard Sagalaev, newly appointed Vice President of State Television and Radio Broadcasting, and I will co-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 Blair Doherty at (404) 420-5125 by October 4 if you would like to attend.

Sincerely,

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

— So advised
P / Reports pre-com.
Put original etc in Spotts
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Copy in office file.

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Please
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RECEIVED

OCT 15 1991

OFFICE OF G.R.F.

THE
CARTER CENTER
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



October 9, 1991

To President Gerald Ford

The coup that occurred in Haiti on September 30 was a tragic event for all of us who have worked so hard to assist the democratic process in the hemisphere. I issued a statement condemning the coup and urged the OAS to take strong action to restore President Aristide to power. I was pleased by the OAS resolution passed on October 4. I subsequently spoke to President Aristide, expressing our support and offering our help to mediate differences between him and the Haitian Parliament and other groups. He thanked me for the offer and said he would welcome us to Haiti.

At my request, Robert Pastor has written a summary and an update of the electoral situation in Guyana. The prospects for a free and fair election remain very good, but there are still some problems to be overcome. Unfortunately, we still do not know the date of the election or even when the date will be announced, although we think the election might be sometime in the first two weeks in December.

I hope that all of the members of the Council can either participate in the observation of this election or designate a representative for that purpose. We, of course, have funds for travel and expenses. The moment that we know the date of the election, Robert Pastor or his Assistant David Carroll will phone your office to see whether you can participate or who your representative will be. After numerous important experiences observing elections in Panama, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, and Haiti, we would very much like for the entire Council to be represented at the elections in Guyana.

Sincerely,

President Gerald Ford
P.O. Box 927
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

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OCT 15 1991

OFFICE OF G.R.F.

THE
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OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



October 7, 1991

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government

From: Robert Pastor

Subject: Update on the Election in Guyana

As you will recall, in September 1990, Guyanese President Desmond Hoyte invited President Carter as Chairman of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government to observe the elections. Prior to accepting the invitation, President Carter wanted to visit Guyana, assess the commitment of all sides to a free election, and then consult with you. In October, 1990, President Carter led a small delegation to Guyana, which included Mrs. Carter, Hon. Ben Clare, Jamaica's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and the representative of Prime Minister Manley, and myself.

The two most important electoral problems were the old registration list, which was seriously flawed, and the procedure of not counting the ballots at each of the polling sites. This procedure made it more difficult to detect fraud. We consulted with the opposition leaders and with President Hoyte and were able to fashion a compromise that included a new house-by-house registration and a preliminary count at each polling site. Before our meeting with President Hoyte, opposition leaders told us that they would accept a delay in the election if these two reforms were accepted. Both reforms required a significant delay.

In April 1991, Prime Minister George Price of Belize led a nine-person delegation to observe the registration process. It included Dennis Smith, the chief electoral officer of Barbados and the representative of Council Member Prime Minister Erskine Sandiford; two elections experts, Glenn Cowan and Keith Frederick; and from the Carter Center, Jennifer McCoy, Jennie Lincoln, John Taylor, Dennis King, and myself.

The most important concern was the alleged bias of the Elections Commission and the lack of confidence in its Chairman. As a result of our consultations with all parties, we were able to develop a compromise that included an expansion of the Elections Commission and a new Chairman that was selected by the President from a list prepared by the opposition. The proposal was accepted by both sides, and both agreed not to raise any further policy or constitutional objections to the electoral process.

From February 17-May 17, 1991, the Elections Commission conducted the house-by-house registration. We judged that the registration process had some problems that were resolved just before the arrival of our delegation or during our visit.

The new Chairman of the Elections Commission, Mr. Rudolph Collins, formerly from CARICOM, took office on June 12 and the first meeting of the new and expanded Commission occurred on June 18th. The Chairman has managed in a brief time to obtain the confidence of all parties, and in a polarized political environment such as Guyana's, that is no mean feat.

In August, we set up a permanent office in Georgetown to monitor the electoral process. Mr. Dennis King is the coordinator, and he is preparing for the election. Last June, I visited London for consultations with the Commonwealth Secretariat, the only other international organization that has been invited to observe the elections. We agreed to coordinate our efforts.

Unfortunately, it has taken the new Commission a fair amount of time to become familiar with all of the issues and to assume its responsibility over the machinery of the election. The Chief Electoral Officer Mr. Ronald Jacobs has not fulfilled his promises to our delegation as to the timing and the effectiveness of the registration list, and on October 4, the Elections Commission gave him a vote of no confidence. The entire process of preparing a good registration list has been delayed, and the preliminary list that was posted on September 28 has some serious problems.

Mr. Collins has promised 28 days for "claims and objections" - additions to the list or subtractions. That should provide an adequate period for the list to be assessed and corrected, but the opposition parties remain deeply concerned that the list might be permanently and irremediably flawed. We intend to send a small group to review the list towards the end of the 28 day period. If the list is in good shape, then the Elections Commission will post a completed list.

President Hoyte dissolved Parliament before September 30th as he had promised. The election has to be held within 90 days. We think it will probably occur in early December.

In summary, the President and the opposition parties have accepted fundamental reforms in the elections process that permits this next election to be judged by all parties as free and fair. Unfortunately, these same reforms have delayed the election and registration process. Delay, of course, is preferable to error. The last significant obstacle is the correction of the preliminary registration list. If that is done satisfactorily by the end of October, then the election ought to proceed well.

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DEC 10 1992

OFFICE OF G.R.F. GERALD R. FORD

November 30, 1992

Dear Jimmy:

Thought you might be interested in my reply to Mr. Sarantakes who wants us to rate Presidents from George Washington to Lyndon Johnson.

Warmest, best wishes,

The Honorable Jimmy Carter
Carter Presidential Library
One Copenhill
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

*Jerry - I've
already regretted
this request - You
& I always seem
to agree -*

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JIMMY CARTER

June 9, 1993

To Betty and President Gerald Ford

Rosalynn and I are pleased to send our congratulations for the well deserved honors you are receiving this evening. During this fitting tribute, we are proud to express our high regards for you and your many accomplishments.

You have touched the lives of countless people through your public service as well as your private endeavors. You have dedicated your time and talents to helping others and have provided for our nation an outstanding example of statesmanship.

We are personally grateful for your friendship and for the collaborative spirit with which you have joined us in our efforts through the years. Though we cannot be with you this evening, it is with gratitude and admiration that we share in the celebration of your lives.

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 and Mrs. Gerald Ford
United States Capitol Building
Washington, D.C.

THE
CARTER CENTER



May 19, 1993

Dear Mr. Allen,

Enclosed is a statement from President Carter to be presented as you feel appropriate during the event honoring President and Mrs. Ford on June 9, 1993. Please feel free to quote from it as you wish.

President Carter asked that I send his warm best wishes.

Sincerely,

Faye Dill

Faye Dill
Personal Assistant
to President Carter

Mr. Martin J. Allen, Jr.
Gerald R. Ford Foundation
303 Pearl Street, N.W.
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49504

THE
CARTER CENTER
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



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JUN 14 1994

OFFICE OF G.R.F.

June 10, 1994

To President Gerald Ford

I write to update you on our work in Guyana, Panama and Mexico. I also want to welcome our twenty-fourth member of the Council, former Chilean President Patricio Aylwin. I enclose an updated Council membership list.

Since our observation of the Guyanese elections in October 1992, we have been working with a team of Caribbean electoral consultants to make recommendations on electoral reforms, which will be presented by the Elections Commission to the government. We are also assisting the Commission to prepare for municipal elections to be scheduled this summer.

We continue to monitor and analyze the Mexican electoral process and are planning to send a small team to Mexico in mid-June to assess the most recent electoral reforms and to learn the views of the political parties about the prospects for a free and fair election on August 21. Representatives of Fernando Belaunde Terry, Pierre Trudeau, and myself will participate in the trip and will write a report for us. Although there is considerable ambivalence in Mexico about foreign observers, a law recently passed inviting foreigners to observe the process. The United Nations, with whom our team will meet in Mexico, has agreed to provide assistance to Mexican observer groups and is considering a role of coordinating international observers. Our team will inform us whether there is interest in Mexico and whether conditions are appropriate for the Council, in coordination with the UN, to play any role in the upcoming elections.

Let me devote the rest of this letter to our recent observation of the Panamanian elections. Based on an advance mission in April, we decided to observe the May 8 elections and organized a team of 25 people co-chaired by me, former President Rodrigo Carazo of Costa Rica, and former Prime Minister George Price of Belize. Several members were able to send representatives, including President Rafael Caldera of Venezuela, former President Fernando Belaunde of Peru, and former President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica.

Unlike in 1989 when we denounced an attempted fraud by the electoral authorities under General Noriega, this year there was widespread confidence in the Electoral Tribunal. For this reason, we were not involved, as usual, in detailed preparations for the election. Nevertheless, our advance team sensed a general uneasiness in the weeks before the election, and was encouraged by the political parties and government to send a delegation. We accepted the invitation of the Electoral Tribunal, the President, and leaders of the political parties to observe the elections to lend to support to the democratic institutions, to help reduce tensions if problems emerged or the elections were questioned, and to promote reconciliation and a smooth transition.

We arrived on Friday evening before the Sunday election, and during our stay we met with the presidential candidates, election officials, other observer groups, President Endara, and the news media. During the election day, our observers visited 323 voting places in all parts of the country, and we were unanimous in our opinion that this was one of the best elections we had ever witnessed. It was a model of organization, training of officials, harmonious relations among party pollwatchers, and knowledge of voters about the procedures to be followed.

Out of a field of seven candidates, Ernesto Perez Balladares of the PRD, the party formed by General Omar Torrijos in 1978, won the presidential election with 33% of the vote. Surprising even the PRD, that party won 33 of 72 legislative positions, and is expected to form a working majority coalition with some of the smaller parties.

The morning after the election I met with President-elect Perez Balladares, who informed me that he would form a government of reconciliation. Four of his nine cabinet posts would be filled with persons who were not members of his own PRD party, and he would also encourage the parliament to fill the powerful post of Comptroller with a highly qualified and politically non-aligned person. We left Panama confident that the new administration will work to overcome the polarization of that society and to reach out to many sectors in order to address the sensitive challenges, including the transfer of the Canal and drug trafficking, which face Panama in the coming years.

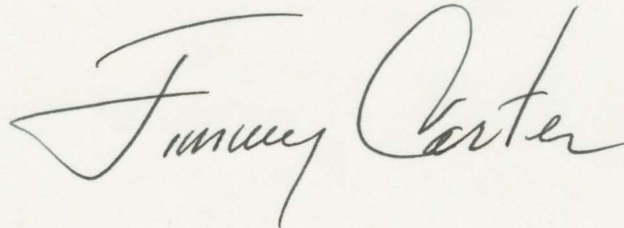
Both President Guillermo Endara and President-elect Perez Balladares requested assistance from The Carter Center during the transition period from now until his inauguration on September 1, since this would be the first Panamanian experience with an orderly transfer of political power after a democratic election in over three decades. We are working with the UNDP to follow up this request.

Because we often receive requests with little time for prior consultation with the full Council, it would be very helpful if you could let us know those kinds of activities in which you would like to be involved. Also, if there is someone with whom you have

worked closely and who has experience in a particular area, such as elections, and who could serve as your representative for our missions, it would be helpful to have their names in advance.

I look forward to our continued collaboration in the future in helping to promote democracy, development and peace in the Americas.

Sincerely,

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

President Gerald Ford
40365 Sand Dune Road
P. O. Box 927
Rancho Mirage, CA 92270



JIMMY CARTER

June 21, 1994

To President Gerald Ford

Since you have been so helpful to The Carter Center in our efforts, I want you to have this trip report as quickly as possible. Now that the immediate crisis seems likely to be resolved, we intend to continue our efforts to help bring comprehensive agreements to the peninsula.

Sincerely,

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

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

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The Atlanta Journal

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

JUNE 18, 1994

KOREAN DIPLOMACY

Carter walks high-profile tightrope

Mixed results: The former president has gained access to a White House that once shunned him, but he has raised hackles as well.

By Julia Malone
WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington — Early in the Clinton administration, former President Jimmy Carter lamented that he was being ignored.

This week, Carter emerged with the highest-profile role of any former president in recent American history.

Meeting face to face with North Korea's enigmatic President Kim Il-sung, he has perhaps provided a breakthrough in a 15-month-long nuclear stalemate. But Carter's high-risk diplomacy has already been marked by strains and mixed signals with the administration.

U.S. officials watched with surprise as CNN aired an interview with Carter on Friday in which he offered assurances to Kim that the United States was halting its drive to impose sanctions against North Korea.

In Chicago, an apparently exasperated President Clinton contradicted Carter.

"I don't know what [Carter] said," Clinton fumed to reporters, but he added that the effort to gather international support for sanctions would continue until North Korea freezes its nuclear program and allows full inspections by international experts to guarantee that nuclear fuel is not being diverted to weaponry.

"Nothing has changed. That is the policy of the United States," Clinton said.

The confusion underlined the ambiguity of Carter's trip, which the Clinton administration tacitly sanctioned despite repeatedly calling it a "private" visit.

The success of Carter's mission won't be accurately measured for days, weeks or months. But already experts say the former president's effort has set a new benchmark for this century.

"This is the most high profile and direct intervention of an ex-president in a crisis that one can remember," said Robert Dallek, a presidential scholar at the University of Southern California at Los Angeles.

Before his death this spring, former President Richard Nixon had often carried messages between U.S. leaders and those in China and Russia. But North Korea is the most pressing foreign policy issue facing the White House.

As Carter on Friday completed two days of talks with Kim, it was clear that American hopes for easing tensions rest largely on the results of those conversations.

"We welcome President Carter's effort," said Robert Gallucci, the State Department official who has kept in telephone contact with Carter this week. "It was an effort aimed at peace. Whether, in substance, he has come out with a message on which we can build, all we can say is we hope so."

Clinton is expected to contact Carter soon, but U.S. officials were making plans to get an early briefing from the former president Saturday, when he was to be in Seoul, South Korea.

U.S. officials are planning to check with North Korean representatives in New York early next week to confirm Carter's announcement that North Korea will permit nuclear inspectors to stay in their country.

Carter also said that Kim agreed for the first time to cooperate in a search for the remains of Americans missing in the Korean War.

"The administration was convinced that official channels had been exhausted" and the "situation was deteriorating," said Han Park, a professor of political science at the University of Georgia, who has traveled to North Korea and urged the government there to invite Carter.

As a senior statesman, Carter enjoys a special status in North Korea, a country whose own leader is 82 years old, Park said.

Park said that Carter also is seen as "a person who might have significant influence on U.S. policymaking, since he was the president of the same party" as fellow-Democrat Clinton.

Carter has long been urged by Koreans to mediate their dispute. The former president once sent an advance team from the Carter Center in Atlanta to prepare for a trip to both North and South Korea.

But he told reporters last year that he canceled the trip after the State Department "asked me not to go."

The Clinton administration raised no objections this time and gave the former president two rounds of extensive background briefings before his departure.

Carter's visit to North Korea comes with a touch of irony. Carter has chafed at his lack of influence with the Clinton White House. He complained last year about the Clinton administration's "lack of cooperation" with him. He said his links to the Bush administration had been much better.

During a visit last September to the White House, where he was a guest for the signing of the Israeli-PLO peace agreement, Carter talked to Clinton about his concerns.

"I think all of those problems have been completely wiped out," Carter said afterward.

Staff writer Elizabeth Kurylo contributed to this article.



Jimmy Carter

The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIALS/LETTERS TUESDAY, JUNE 21, 1994

The Carter Opening

Granted, it was not a masterpiece of clarity and coordination. But former President Jimmy Carter and the Clinton Administration, which approved his trip, appear to have moved the crisis over the North Korean nuclear program back toward the negotiating table. Mr. Carter's personal diplomacy, conducted with North Korea's President, Kim Il Sung, may well provide a face-saving way for both sides to pull back from confrontation.

Mr. Carter says he won Mr. Kim's consent to freeze his nuclear program in a verifiable way while high-level talks are resumed between the United States and North Korea to resolve the nuclear issue. If the specifics of the Korean offer are confirmed, it offers a promising route toward a deal.

The former President also won Mr. Kim's assent to a meeting with South Korea's President, an offer that the South has welcomed. If the talks take place, they could further defuse the crisis on the Korean Peninsula.

True, Mr. Carter erred in saying that the U.S. would suspend efforts to seek United Nations endorsement of sanctions; President Clinton had conditioned that suspension on confirmation by North Korea of its nuclear freeze.

But sanctions would be difficult to mount effectively at this point anyway. Japan and South Korea, never mind China and Russia, are unlikely to move to sanctions while there is a chance for diplomacy. Tough sanctions could bring down Japan's coalition Government and raise risks of war that South Korea does not care to run.

The promises Mr. Carter says he has won from North Korea would go a long way toward meeting

conditions set by the Administration for holding high-level talks with the North.

One condition has necessarily been abandoned. North Korea's abrupt removal of fuel rods from its reactor at Yongbyon barred international inspectors from their preferred way of determining whether the North diverted enough spent nuclear fuel in 1989 to yield a bomb's worth or more of plutonium. So other ways must now be found, a major issue for the high-level talks.

But an even more important condition was met when President Kim gave Mr. Carter his personal pledge that the inspectors could remain at Yongbyon, thus preventing diversion of an additional five bombs' worth of plutonium. In the meantime, North Korea needs to defer loading the reactor with new fuel rods that could be available for future diversion, an issue that Mr. Carter did not raise with the North.

Once Washington confirms that a freeze is in effect, high-level talks can resume and preparations for economic sanctions can halt. The U.S. will then seek a verifiable end to the North's nuclear program, especially its capacity for reprocessing spent fuel, and an end to the North's missile exports.

Pyongyang, in turn, is seeking a peace treaty formally ending the Korean War and establishing diplomatic ties with Washington. It also wants the world to give it a less proliferation-prone reactor to replace its current reactor, a potentially promising investment from a security standpoint.

Mr. Carter was probably premature in declaring the Korean nuclear crisis over, but his intervention may have usefully pointed the way toward its eventual resolution.

THE
CARTER CENTER
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



July 4, 1994

To Gerald Ford

I have just returned from Nicaragua, and a brief trip report is enclosed. I was invited to the country by the Nicaraguan National Assembly to attend a conference on "Democratic Transitions" organized by the Assembly and sponsored by the Foundation for Civil Society, and others.

One of the key issues addressed at the conference was property disputes. At the conference, and in between sessions, I met with a variety of persons on all sides of the issue. My hope and expectation is that this visit has helped to produce a consensus that will greatly expedite the resolution of the complex property issue. On behalf of the Council, we have offered to continue to assist with this issue and to collaborate with the UNDP.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large, sweeping initial "J".

The Honorable Gerald Ford
P. O. Box 927
40365 Sand Dune Road
Rancho Mirage, CA 92270

A REPORT ON OUR VISIT TO NICARAGUA, JUNE 23-25
Jimmy Carter

I have been going to Nicaragua since 1986, when we first promoted the building of homes for poor families. Subsequently, The Carter Center dealt with human rights cases and, with our Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, helped to mediate and monitor the successful election of 1990.

After the election, we mediated between the transition teams of the Sandinistas and the victorious UNO leaders to help insure the complete transfer of power to the new government. Later, in 1991, we returned to Managua when the inflation rate was more than 13,000%, to help forge an economic compact between the government and trade unions that resulted in the rate dropping to zero within a few months.

Now, Nicaragua has another crisis that is blocking its economic growth -- the property issue. With the exception of Haiti, the country is the poorest in the hemisphere, with an unemployment rate of almost 50%. An insurmountable obstacle to progress has been the disputes over property ownership. This is an extremely complicated problem already involving conflicting claims to more than 100,000 homes and parcels of land. These disputes are a result of several previous actions:

- a) In 1979, the victorious revolutionaries expropriated the property of Somoza and his associates, the decree being signed by the five members of the Junta at that time, which included Sandinista leaders and Violeta Chamorro, the current president;
- b) A 1981 agrarian reform law took mostly abandoned land and turned it over to peasant families;
- c) During the 1980s, some additional property was purchased or taken by the Sandinista government.

During all this time, little attention was given to the legal transfer of titles, but immediately after the 1990 election the national assembly, still controlled by the Sandinistas, passed several laws that attempted to legalize these transfers.

Original owners, later purchasers, current users, and the state have been contending either for payment, repossession, or proven legal ownership. This situation has prevented investment and hampered agricultural production, either by Nicaraguans or foreigners. Several government agencies have been established to deal with the multiple cases, and some progress has been made. For instance, as of May 1994, of 5,288 claims by former owners, 1,341 were resolved; of 112,675 title petitions by current occupants, 52,208 had been decided.

A U.S. law has been passed that restricts economic assistance to Nicaragua unless a number of cases involving American citizens are resolved or good progress can be assured. Nicaraguans believe deeply that the claims presented by former Nicaraguan citizens who have "abandoned" their country should not be given priority over those who remained. Also, many of these claimants had written off their property and taken U.S. income tax credit for the losses. Nevertheless, every effort is being made to settle these foreign claims on an equal basis. (In fact, under economic pressure, it is likely that they are being given special treatment.)

Both President Chamorro and the Sandinista leaders urged The Carter Center to assist with this overall problem. With Jennifer McCoy and David Carroll representing The Carter Center, I arrived in Managua on Thursday, June 23rd. During that afternoon, we received briefings from the U.S. ambassador and from President Chamorro and her chief of staff, her son-in-law, Antonio Lacayo. Then we met with General Humberto Ortega, one of the most influential Nicaraguans because he maintains good relations with the president, the Sandinistas, and other officials. He has presided over a dramatic reduction in the size of the army, and is now supporting a new military law, under which he will be retiring next February, and civilian control of the military will be constitutionally guaranteed. Subsequently, we consulted with the mayor of Managua and attended a conference on "democratic transition," where leaders from Poland, El Salvador, Germany, the Czech Republic, and other countries outlined how they had moved, through compromise and consensus, to strengthen their new democracies and deal with property rights.

We spent the next day and a half learning from a wide array of private and government leaders how the present property dispute system is working and what additional steps might be needed. In addition, we met with political, economic, and trade union leaders who would be needed to forge a consensus on the passage of new laws to implement the reforms. These meetings included the attorney general, the minister of finance, the president and other leaders in the national assembly, the former Sandinista president and vice-president, the chief justice and members of the supreme court, leaders in the private sector, original property owners, and holders of government bonds being issued to pay them. They had strongly different interests, and a number of them had announced opposition to the proposals.

In my speech to the conference, I outlined the ideas I had received from the various interest groups, attempting to present them as an integrated package. Ultimately, we were able to support these groups in creating a consensus on early actions to be taken to expedite the resolution of the property disputes. The primary steps are:

a) an increase in the value of the government's property bonds to permit more complete payment of the original owners. Interest rates are to be raised, earlier cashing of bonds permitted, and use of the bonds authorized for the payment of back taxes and certain other debts. It is estimated by financial experts that these actions could more than double the present value of the bonds, from 20% to perhaps 45% of face value;

b) authorization for the sale of 40% of the national telephone company, TelCor, the proceeds to be used to support the value of the bonds. This is a crucial step;

c) increasing the capability of the existing administrative agencies to resolve property disputes much more quickly;

d) establishment within the existing judicial system of new courts, whose exclusive role would be the resolution of property cases.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) representatives pledged financial support to implement items c) and d) above. Preparation of budget requests was initiated while we were there.

Although all these proposals were controversial and opposed by some groups, I believe that an adequate agreement was reached so that the entire package soon will be adopted. This consensus includes the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, trade unions, the business community, former and present holders of property, and international agencies.

We offered the continuing assistance of The Carter Center to all the key leaders with whom we met during our visit. If the commitments we received are honored, great progress will be made by the Nicaraguans toward the resolution of this debilitating problem.