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*Final Report: Agenda for the Americas
for the 21st Century*



*Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government
Latin American and Caribbean Program*

**Final Report
of the Consultation
on the
Agenda for the Americas
for the 21st Century**

April 28-29, 1997

*Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government
and the
Latin American and Caribbean Program*



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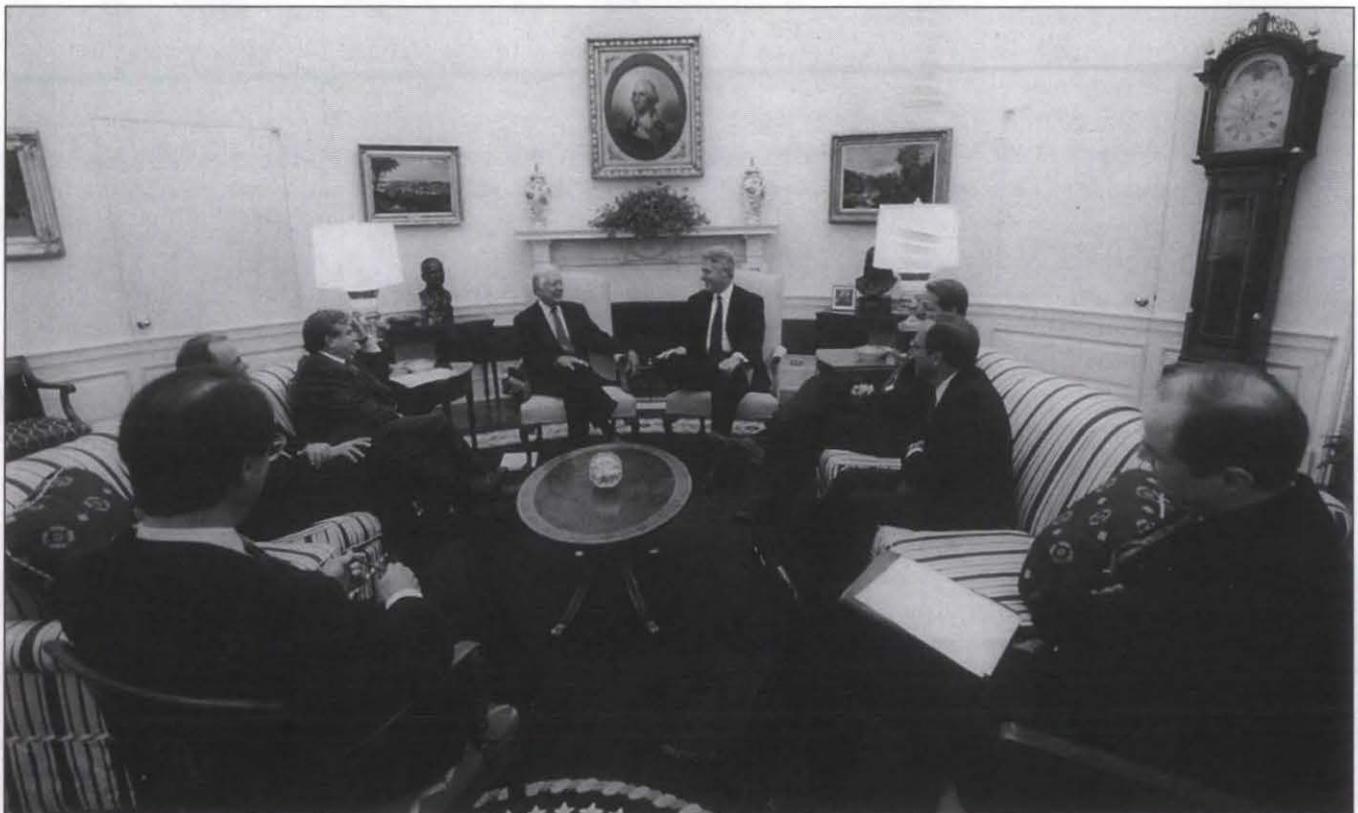
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Introduction

This is a report of a remarkable consultation on "The Agenda for the Americas for the 21st Century" held at The Carter Center on April 28-29, 1997. Co-chaired by former U.S. Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, the consultation brought together 17 current and former presidents and prime ministers of the Americas, the vice presidents of the United States and Argentina, the secretaries general of the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS), the president of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, and many other distinguished leaders.

The consultation was convened under the

auspices of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, a group of 29 leaders of the Americas, chaired by President Carter and based at the Latin American and Caribbean Program of The Carter Center. In January, President and Mrs. Carter, my staff, and I visited with Council members and other leaders in Chile, Brazil, Argentina, and Jamaica to discuss the state of hemispheric relations and the steps needed to make progress toward shared goals. When we returned to the United States, we met with President Bill Clinton, Vice President Al Gore, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, Special Envoy to the Americas Thomas "Mack" McLarty, and other White House officials.



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO

(Clockwise from left): Chief of Staff Erskine Bowles, Special Envoy to the Americas Thomas "Mack" McLarty, National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, former President Jimmy Carter, President Bill Clinton, Vice President Al Gore, Council Executive Secretary Robert Pastor, and National Security Council Director of Latin American Affairs James Dobbins discuss President Carter's trip to Latin America and the proposed consultation during a meeting at the White House on Jan. 28, 1997.

Led by former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, Council members answer questions during the Carter Center/CNN Press Conference.

They encouraged us to hold the consultation, and the vice president pledged his participation.

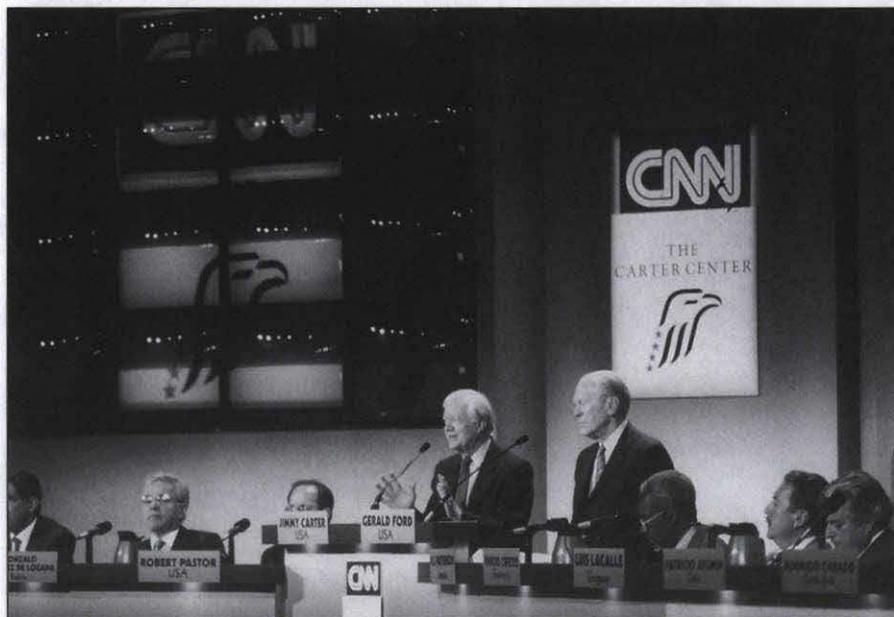
What made the consultation so important, however, was not the stature of the participants but the results that followed from their candid dialogue. Since the Summit of the Americas in December 1994, obstacles to implementing the Summit's Declaration have appeared. With Council leadership, new proposals were advanced for surmounting the obstacles and advancing the agenda in every issue we addressed. The full report of the Council begins in the next section, but let me summarize the key provisions:

■ **On trade**, a compromise was developed between the U.S. speaker of the house and the vice president of the AFL-CIO to include provisions in the fast-track authority to defend the trade-related rights of labor and the environment. We hope this will permit a rapid approval of a fast-track bill by Congress together with legislation to permit improved market access for the Caribbean Basin. The Council also proposed that the negotiations for the Free Trade Area of the Americas proceed by setting criteria for entry.

■ **On drugs**, the Council forged a consensus based on Speaker Gingrich's comments on the need to replace the U.S. certification policy on drugs with a hemisphere-wide plan and approach.

■ **On arms restraint**, the Council proposed that Latin American governments accept a moratorium of two years on the purchase of sophisticated weapons while they negotiate a conventional arms restraint agreement. The Council also urged the arms-selling nations to affirm their support for such a moratorium.

■ **On territorial disputes**, the Council recommended a new multilateral effort, perhaps initiated



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under the auspices of the OAS secretary-general, to mediate the remaining territorial disputes in the hemisphere.

■ **On Cuba**, the Council called for the repeal or significant modification of the Helms-Burton law as one way to improve the prospects of facilitating democracy in Cuba.

■ **On corruption**, the Council urged governments to ratify the Inter-American Anti-Corruption Convention and to incorporate anti-bribery pacts into their procurement decisions.

■ **On press freedoms**, the Council endorsed the Chapultepec Declaration and urged an end to harassment of reporters.

The consultation greatly benefitted from statements made by President Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico, U.S. Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, and U.S. Vice President Al Gore, and we include excerpts from those statements in this report. President Zedillo described the electoral reforms he has instituted in Mexico and invited The Carter Center to analyze the new reforms. He also called for an open and respectful relationship between the United States and Mexico, criticizing the certification policy: "Self-complacency and blaming others will not serve any nation's cause against the evil of drugs."

Speaker Gingrich stated his support for rapid

Latin American and Caribbean Program staff include (L-R, standing) David Carroll, Jennifer McCoy, Becky Castle, Robert Pastor, and Harriette Martin. Seated (L-R) are interns Harish Padmanaba, Jonathan Todd, Kim Wiley, Cecilia Nilsson, Brenda Mercer, and Miguel Comejo.



KATHRYN KOLB

passage of fast-track trade negotiating authority and for a multinational approach to dealing with the drug problem. Vice President Gore thanked the Council for the “creative opportunities” that could “serve as the basis for real breakthroughs” and on behalf of President Clinton said, “The time is now to move forward ... [for] speedy passage of fast-track legislation.”

Council members viewed the consultation not just as a chance to discuss the major issues in inter-American relations but also to stimulate progress toward shared goals on these issues. Since the meeting, Council members have actively tried to implement the recommendations in many ways.

They have worked to generate support throughout Latin America and the Caribbean for a moratorium on the purchase of sophisticated aircraft. Former President Carter and I met with John Sweeney, president of the AFL-CIO, and with Speaker Gingrich to try to narrow the differences between the two sides on trade issues, and President Bill Clinton reaffirmed his determination to gain fast-track trade negotiating authority, though he postponed making a request to Congress until September. The U.S. Congress has been debating our proposals on drugs, and Congressman Lee Hamilton, the ranking Democrat of the House International Relations Committee, placed the Council’s statement in the *Congressional Record* and asked his colleagues to give the recommendations serious consideration.

These are just a few of the many activities that have occurred since the consultation. It is our hope that the consultation will serve as a bridge between

the Summit of the Americas in 1994 and the one to be held in Chile in 1998. We therefore appreciated the concluding comment of Chile’s Ambassador Juan Martabit, who is coordinating the next summit. He said that “our meeting had awakened the hopes (in the Americas) that had diminished after the 1994 summit.”

We also enclose a summary of the public presentations of Council members and others, a schedule of the meetings, a list of participants, and some newspaper articles. This consultation would not have been possible but for the extraordinarily hard work done by so many of my staff. Let me especially mention Becky Castle, Miguel Comejo, Jennifer McCoy, David Carroll, Shannon Culbertson, and all the interns who helped with the consultation while studying for their college final exams. Robin Moriarity, Michael Chriszt, Jeffrey Rosensweig, and Juan del Aguila did splendid jobs as rapporteurs.

Finally, let me thank Horace Sibley of King & Spalding, who helped us organize a group of distinguished sponsors, who are listed on the next page, and whose generosity made the consultation possible. ■

Robert A. Pastor
Director
Latin American and Caribbean Program

Agenda for the Americas for the 21st Century
The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government
and the Latin American and Caribbean Program
The Carter Center
April 28-29, 1997

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**Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government
Statement on the Conclusion of the
Agenda for the Americas for the 21st Century
Atlanta, Ga.
April 29, 1997**

We, the members of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, met in Atlanta, Ga., on April 28-29, 1997, to assess the state of Western Hemispheric relations and to offer our views and recommendations on ways to help achieve the goals that we share—the pursuit of peace; the end of illegal drug trafficking; the reinforcement, deepening, and extension of democracy; the promotion of a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA); and social justice.

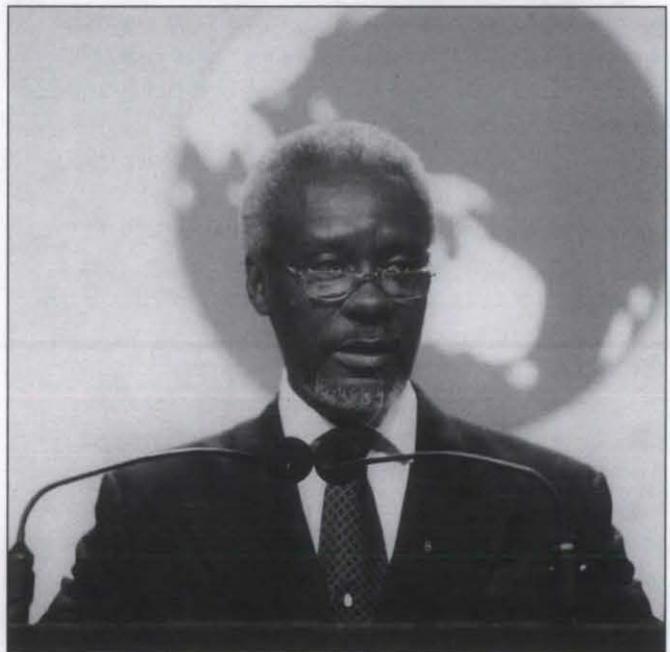
The Council was established at The Carter Center after a consultation on “Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas” in November 1986 by many of us. Since then, within the Western Hemisphere, we have worked to reinforce democracy at critical moments, including by monitoring and mediating 15 electoral processes in nine countries in the Americas. We have lent our support to freer trade, including by urging the U.S. Congress to approve the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). We also have worked hard to reduce the region’s debt and bring peace to Central America.

For these past two days, we have reviewed a wide agenda confronting the nations of the hemisphere—trade, drug trafficking, poverty, and issues related to security and democracy. Our Council of 29 current and former presidents and prime ministers of most of the nations of the Western Hemisphere brought diverging perspectives to the table, which we found sometimes helps us to consider different approaches to an issue.

P.J. Patterson, prime minister of Jamaica, addresses the audience at The Carter Center/CNN World Report dinner at the Georgia World Congress Center.

We found ourselves in agreement on the basic goals, many of which were enunciated by the Western Hemisphere leaders in the Declaration of the Summit of the Americas in December 1994:

- The Americas should conclude an FTAA by the year 2005 while making sure that the benefits of freer trade are shared by all the peoples of the hemisphere.
- We should seek to eliminate the scourge of illegal drugs.
- The remaining territorial disputes of the hemisphere should be resolved soon.
- We should curb the purchase and sale of arms.
- The benefits of democracy should be extended to all the nations of the hemisphere, and we should deepen democracy, protect press freedom, and eliminate corruption and the disproportionate influence of



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Leonel Fernández, president of the Dominican Republic, discusses trade at the Public Plenary.

money in the politics of all our nations.

While we are committed to those goals, we have to express our great disappointment at the lack of progress in achieving them, and so we concentrated most of our time on how to translate those general statements into concrete steps forward. Let us identify, now, with greater precision what it is that we hope the leaders of the hemisphere should strive to achieve.

First, some general principles:

The issues on the agenda require cooperation and partnership, not unilateral dictation and paternalism.

Most of the difficult issues on the agenda have two sides—supply and demand on drugs, commodities, arms, bribery—and an effective strategy requires dealing with both sides.

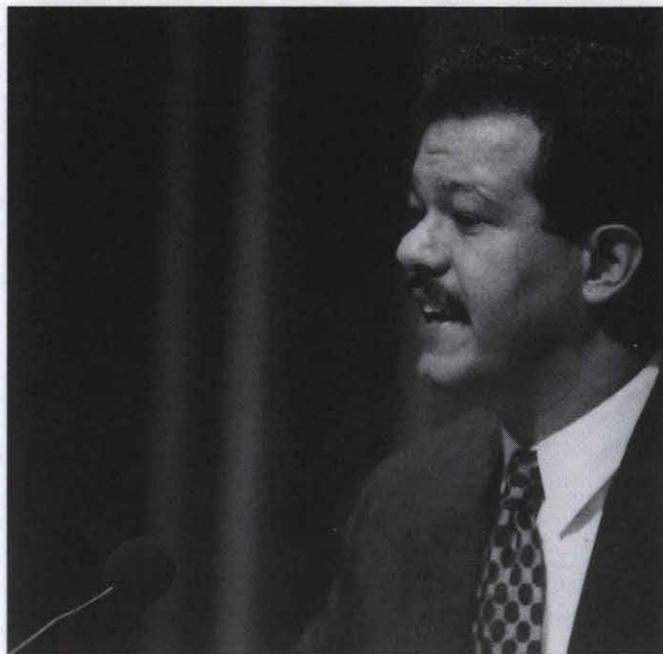
The moral basis of the new community of the Americas is democracy. Freer trade will enhance the ties between our democratic nations.

1. Trade, Integration, and Poverty

We support the Summit Declaration to reach an FTAA by the year 2005. There has been great progress on negotiating bilateral and subregional free-trade agreements, but thus far, little progress toward the summit goal of an FTAA. **To attain that goal, the governments will need to move more quickly than they have during the past two years.**

All of our nations will benefit from freer trade, but that doesn't mean that everyone will benefit. The best defense of those who suffer the increased competition of freer trade is not protectionism, but rather is adding mechanisms to ensure that the benefits of freer trade are more widely shared and that those who lose the competition can be helped to adjust.

1.) Fast-Track: It is vitally important that the U.S. government obtains fast-track negotiating authority as soon as possible in order to begin serious trade negotiations. We were very encouraged in our discussions with U.S. leaders that there seem to be grounds for a workable compromise. The AFL-CIO wants adequate protections for workers and the environment in the trade agreement. In intensive discussions, U.S.



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Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich told us that he would support rapid passage of fast-track negotiating authority, which included provisions for protecting labor rights and the environment, provided they are trade-related. We view this as a significant development that potentially goes beyond the existing NAFTA and hope Congress and President Clinton reach agreement on this as soon as possible.

It is vitally important that the U.S. government obtains fast-track negotiating authority as soon as possible in order to begin serious trade negotiations ... We were very encouraged in our discussions with U.S. leaders that there seem to be grounds for a workable compromise.

2.) Caribbean Basin Enhancement: It is vitally important that a Caribbean Basin Enhancement law is passed by Congress as early as possible to grant wider access to the U.S. market by the smaller and more

Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, president of Bolivia, stresses a point about drug trafficking during the Public Plenary.

vulnerable nations in the Caribbean Basin. These provisions will permit these countries to make the adjustment over an extended period of time to enter an FTAA. (The Caribbean Basin includes Central America and the Caribbean.)

3.) Paths to an FTAA: We explored several different ideas as to the best way to pursue an FTAA. Some believe that the United States and other countries should negotiate bilaterally; others would like for negotiations to proceed between subregional groups. We propose an alternative: The nations of the hemisphere should define clear and specific criteria through their talks within the 11 working groups set up at the Denver Ministerial, and nations or groups would become members of a growing FTAA as they meet these criteria. Special transitional provisions might have to be made for the smaller economies. Governments should encourage their private organizations to participate in this process.

4.) Caribbean Basin Commodities: Several small Caribbean Basin nations are very dependent on a few commodities, such as bananas and sugar, whose markets are restricted. We urge the United States and Europe to expand market access to these products.

It is now time to replace the unilateral certification policy with a multilateral strategy, which includes monitoring and enforcement of efforts to reduce demand as well as supply.

5.) Reducing Poverty and Inequality: It is urgent to reduce poverty and injustice through development



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strategies and investments that contribute to social, economic, and fiscal justice and also through health, education, job training, housing, and support for small and medium enterprises.

Inasmuch as trade promotes growth, expanding trade can reduce poverty and inequalities, as has been seen in Chile and the East Asian countries. But additional steps are necessary in order to compensate those who are hurt by the increased competition that comes from trade. Such steps would include increasing productivity, technological transfer, and increasing annual rate of growth to more than 3 percent per capita by generating more savings. Governments also should promote universal elementary education; improve the quality and equity of education at all levels; and remove barriers to poor people's access to credit, land, and education.

2. A New Hemispheric Approach to Illegal Drug Trafficking

The hemisphere needs a new cooperative approach to combat illegal drug trade because so many of our countries are both producers and consumers of

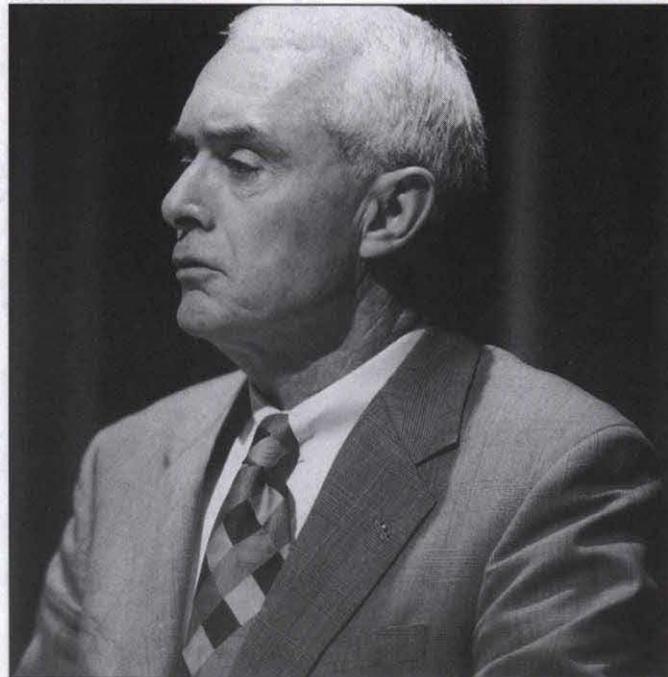
illegal drugs. Mutually recriminatory approaches distract from the real enemy: illegal drugs. If we recognize this, our efforts to fight the enemy can become a unifying rather than a divisive force. It is time to change the relationship from an adversarial one to one of partnership.

The 1994 Miami Summit made explicit a new hemisphere-wide recognition of the seriousness of the drug problem and the shared responsibility among consumer, transit, and producer countries. We applaud the ratification at the 1994 Summit of three existing agreements against drug trafficking and money laundering, but these lack time schedules for implementation and meaningful enforcement measures. The political will to combat illegal drugs clearly exists, but political capacity is weak in many countries. The United States has filled the enforcement vacuum with its certification policy.

With respect to the existing method of U.S. certification, the process should entail prior notification to the responsible authority within each foreign capital as to any concerns that have arisen and permit the opportunity of meaningful dialogue before the final assessment is made. There should be close coordination among U.S. officials in dealing with other nations.

It is now time to replace the unilateral certification policy with a multilateral strategy, which includes monitoring and enforcement of efforts to reduce demand as well as supply. We were very encouraged by our conversation with Speaker Gingrich, Sen. Paul Coverdell, Gen. Barry McCaffrey, and Chair of the House International Relations Committee Benjamin Gilman—all recognized the need for a new approach to this issue.

Speaker Gingrich described the certification policy as “offensive and senseless” and urged its replacement with a hemisphere-wide approach to the issue. He called for a dialogue among the nations of the Americas to develop a plan for a drug-free Western Hemisphere. **We propose a multilateral forum, either through the OAS (CICAD) or a new blue-ribbon commission, that would devise a hemisphere-wide plan and strategies for each country. In addition, the group needs to develop standards (what constitutes success?) and measures of performance and then assess each country’s performance.** The group could



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Gen. Barry McCaffrey, director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, noted that multilateral action should be part of the solution to the drug problem.

use standards developed in the 1988 U.N. Convention. The group could be modeled on the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, which is widely respected and competent.

The plan should pursue each link in the drug trafficking chain: production, processing, transportation, consumption, and money laundering. **The U.S. administration should give more attention and resources to the treatment and education (demand) side of the problem because that is the most cost-effective way to attack the problem.**

The work of this group would be separate from the decisions made by the United States on aid, although we hope that the certification policy would be phased out as this group comes into being.

The illicit traffic in arms, ammunition, explosives, and other dangerous materials is a concomitant of the illegal trade in drugs. Effective measures, requiring meaningful collaboration between nations of the hemisphere, will be required to combat this menace.

We discussed the possible relationships to global

efforts to control money laundering and drug trafficking, specifically coordinating with the U.N.'s Drug Control Program and participating in a Global Narcotics Conference. We also discussed the idea of a regional court of the Americas that could handle drug, arms trafficking, money laundering, and other transnational crimes. Appeals from such a court could be sent to the Hague.

We discussed the need to strengthen alternative development strategies based on trade reciprocity agreements for the Caribbean Basin and enhanced capacity of the IFIs to replace bilateral aid programs. Drug policy should not become a nontariff barrier that will impede the continuing opening of markets and borders.

3. Resolving the Region's Territorial Disputes

We agreed that although some of the long-standing border disputes have been dormant for long periods, they still remain a source of tension and a rationale for an unaffordable arms race. And in some cases, they can erupt into conflict. The movement toward democracy and the end of the Cold War has diminished tensions in the region, and we do not mean to imply that the region is in turmoil. Quite the opposite. Democracy and peace is the norm, and we also believe that regional economic integration is a useful instrument for reducing security tensions.

Still, territorial disputes remain potential problems. **We therefore believe that the time has arrived to try to resolve definitively these territorial disputes.** We discussed a number of strategies for accomplishing that, and rather than recommend a single strategy, we thought it would be far more useful to propose several ideas.

The first question is **who should mediate these disputes?** The options are: (1) third-country governments; (2) institutions outside the hemisphere, like the Pope or the King of Spain; (3) the OAS; (4) a Commission of Mediators or Facilitators made up of a group of senior statesmen; or (5) The Carter Center or the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. Still, another alternative would be for the Hague Court to **arbitrate** the dispute.

The second question is **how should such mediators gain legitimacy for pursuing these issues?** The

options are: (1) the disputed states could invite the mediators; (2) the OAS could pass an "umbrella resolution" that would require all states with disputes to submit them to some mediation that could be chosen by the states; (3) the presidents of the Americas could address this issue at the Summit of the Americas in Santiago in March 1998; or (4) the OAS or U.N. secretary-general could designate senior statesmen to undertake an assessment and feasibility mission to determine whether the governments were ready to settle the dispute. This would be a kind of prenegotiation session.

We recommend, as a first step, that the governments of Latin America pledge to accept a moratorium of two years before purchasing any sophisticated weapons. During that time, they should explore ideas to restrain such arms. We encourage them to look at the recent accord between Brazil and Argentina [signed during a summit on April 25-27, 1997], which called for a region free of an arms race. At the same time, we call on the United States and other governments that sell arms to affirm their support for such a moratorium.

Whichever of these options is chosen, we recommend the OAS secretary-general and other leaders in the region become much more actively engaged in trying to resolve these problems.

4. A Regime to Restrain Arms Sales and Purchases

Although Latin America spends relatively less on defense than most other regions, expenditures on expensive weapons systems divert scarce foreign exchange from more effective investments, including education. They also compel neighbors to spend more on defense and by doing so generate international tensions.

Kofi Annan, U.N. secretary-general, and Oscar Arias, former president of Costa Rica, discuss security-related issues.

Moreover, we are concerned about the possibility of an arms race in Latin America, and we urge the governments in the region to pause before embarking on major arms purchases. Latin America has served as a model for nuclear nonproliferation with the Treaty of Tlatelolco, and we believe that it ought to embark on a conventional arms restraint agreement. The agreement needs to be multilateral—not unilateral—and it should involve purchasers as well as sellers.

We recommend, as a first step, that the governments of Latin America pledge to accept a moratorium of two years before purchasing any sophisticated weapons. During that time, they should explore ideas to restrain such arms. We encourage them to look at the recent accord between Brazil and Argentina [signed during a summit on April 25-27, 1997], which called for a region free of an arms race. At the same time, we call on the United States and other governments that sell arms to affirm their support for such a moratorium.

Time is of the essence. Delay would be very costly to all of our nations. We urge the nations of the region to move quickly to implement a moratorium and to begin serious negotiations on ways to translate a moratorium into an agreement.

In considering future agreements, governments should consider making a distinction between modernization and acquisition of new weaponry. We also suggest studies on banning land mines from the region and better regulations on the trade of firearms.

We also urge hemispheric governments to sign a regional and an international Code of Conduct on



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Arms Transfers, which prohibits or restricts sale and transfer of weapons to: (a) states in international conflict, (b) states with internal conflicts and/or human rights abusers, (c) nondemocratic states, (d) violators of international law, and (e) states in which expenditures on health and education are less than for defense.

We also recommend that all states agree to mandatory weapons export and acquisition reporting to the U.N. Register of Conventional Arms. States also should agree to participate in the Standardized International Reporting of Military Expenditures.

5. A Hemispheric Approach to Extending, Reinforcing, and Deepening Democracy

The hemisphere has reached an unprecedented moment in which all nations but one have held competitive elections. Elections are only one crucial element of democracy, however. We identified three issues for hemispheric cooperation on democratization: extending democracy to Cuba, deepening democracy by removing undue influence of money in campaigns and guaranteeing press freedoms, and eliminating corruption.

U.S. Vice President Al Gore meets with members of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government and Latin American and Caribbean Program staff to discuss the Council's final statement. Back row (from left): Luis Alberto Lacalle, Pierre Trudeau, Robert Pastor, George Price, Patricio Aylwin, Marco Vinicio Cerezo, Jennifer McCoy, and David Carroll. Front row: Osvaldo Hurtado, Rodrigo Carazo, Jimmy Carter, Al Gore, Oscar Arias, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, Carlos Andrés Pérez, and Rosalynn Carter.



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Extending democracy to Cuba: The most appropriate and effective way to bring democracy to Cuba is through a policy of engagement rather than isolation. The Helms-Burton law is counterproductive because it causes greater problems for U.S. relations with its friends in Canada, Latin America, and Europe than it causes problems for Cuban President Fidel Castro. We urge the U.S. Congress and president to repeal or significantly modify that law and to cooperate with Latin America in drafting a hemisphere-wide approach to facilitating democracy and civil society in Cuba. The extraterritorial aspect of the law is particularly objectionable. Cuba should be invited to participate in hemispheric events, provided that the government is prepared to accept the standards of human rights and democracy as enunciated in the American Convention on Human Rights, the Santiago Commitment, and the Managua Declaration.

Deepening democracy: Democracy is a work in progress. Nowhere is it perfect. Existing campaign finance practices have tended to erode popular support for democracy even in countries like the United States. We discussed this issue along with access to the media for political candidates and concluded that reforms are

necessary to restore confidence in the election process.

We urge governments and parties throughout the hemisphere to remove the disproportionate influence of money in politics. Each country will devise their own system to provide equity, transparency, and accountability in their electoral processes, but in our review of a number of models in this hemisphere and in Europe, we found that shorter campaigns, limits on expenditures, tax-deductible small contributions, publicly subsidized media time, and effective monitoring all increased transparency and competitiveness of elections. Canada may be the best model in the hemisphere; the United States and Colombia might be among the worst.

Freedom of the press from harassment, censorship, and intimidation is vital to a thriving democracy. We unanimously endorse the Declaration of Chapultepec and urge all hemispheric leaders who have not yet done so to sign.

Corruption: In 1995, this hemisphere constructed the first anti-corruption convention in the world. It is now time for all governments in the region to follow the lead of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Peru and ratify the Inter-American Anti-Corruption Conven-

tion before the 1998 Summit of the Americas.

Transnational bribery is a negative consequence of the growing trade and investment relationships and privatization efforts of the hemisphere. We urge prospective bidders and government procurement agencies to sign anti-bribery pacts. We applaud the initiative of the Inter-American Development Bank to require such transparency on their own projects, and we urge The World Bank to do likewise. We support the establishment of a strong OAS anti-bribery working group to provide legislative and technical assistance and to monitor national performance.

We call on the OECD Ministerial meeting next month to follow the lead of the United States and the Inter-American Anti-Corruption Convention in criminalizing transnational bribery and ending tax deductibility for bribery.



We intend to bring these issues to the attention of the leaders of the hemisphere, beginning with our three colleagues on this panel, who are incumbents: President Leonel Fernández of the Dominican Republic, Prime Minister P.J. Patterson of Jamaica, and

President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada of Bolivia. After our press conference, we will be meeting privately with Vice President Gore to discuss these issues, and he will have an opportunity to state his response and U.S. policy tonight.

We are heartened that President Clinton will be visiting Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean in a week and will visit South America next October. Thomas "Mack" McLarty attended part of our meetings along with officials from the State Department and the National Security Council. The president's trip offers a real possibility of translating the general goals of the Summit of 1994 into something that would benefit the people of the hemisphere.

We are pleased by the active participation of Ambassador Juan Martabit, who has been charged by Chilean President Eduardo Frei to coordinate all of the work of the Summit of the Americas that will be held in Chile in March 1998. He commented that "our meeting had awakened the hopes that had diminished after the 1994 Summit." We therefore see our work these last two days as a kind of a bridge between two summits. ■

Former President Jimmy Carter, United States

Former President Gerald Ford, United States

President Leonel Fernández, Dominican Republic

Prime Minister P.J. Patterson, Jamaica

President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, Bolivia

Former President Oscar Arias Sánchez, Costa Rica

Former President Patricio Aylwin, Chile

Former President Rodrigo Carazo, Costa Rica

Former President Marco Vinicio Cerezo, Guatemala

Jimmy Carter
Gerald R. Ford
Leonel Fernández
P.J. Patterson
Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada
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Rodrigo Carazo
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Former Prime Minister Joe Clark, Canada

Joe Clark

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Osvaldo Hurtado

Former President Luis Alberto Lacalle, Uruguay

Luis Alberto Lacalle

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Carlos Andrés Pérez

Former Prime Minister George Price, Belize

George Price

Former Prime Minister Erskine Sandiford, Barbados

Erskine Sandiford

Former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Canada

Pierre Trudeau

Vice President Carlos Federico Ruckauf, representative of Council member President Carlos

Saúl Menem, Argentina

Carlos Ruckauf

Amb. Ronaldo Sardenberg, Minister of Strategic Affairs and representative of Council member

President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Brazil

Ronaldo Sardenberg

Rodolfo Terragno, President, National Committee, Unión Cívica Radical Party, and

representative of Council member Raúl Alfonsín, Argentina

Rodolfo Terragno

Dr. Robert Pastor, Executive Secretary of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government

and Director of the Latin American and Caribbean Program

Robert Pastor

Excerpts of Remarks by His Excellency
Ernesto Zedillo, President of Mexico
Agenda for the Americas for the 21st Century
King & Spalding Dinner
The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government
The Carter Center
Monday, April 28, 1997



President Ernesto Zedillo

President Ford, President Carter, Speaker Gingrich, respected friends, ladies, and gentlemen. Of course I am very grateful to a very good friend, "Mack" McLarty, for his generous introduction. The very kind invitation of President Carter gives me the opportunity to make a

simple, single point before this distinguished audience. If we are to make the most of this time of great opportunity, each and every nation throughout the hemisphere must remain committed to progress through openness.

As we unleash the energy and aspirations of our people for better lives, there will be new formidable challenges, but we all must keep moving forward. We must consolidate our democracies. We must push forward on the road of sustained economic growth. As sovereign nations, we must respect and encourage each other through the ups and downs of dealing with change. This is especially true in the case of neighbors. Open democracies, open economies, open and respectful relationships between friends and allies. Let us consider these each in turn.

First, open democracies. Let me refer to our experience in Mexico. In my inaugural address two-and-a-half years ago, I called for a profound and definitive electoral reform across Mexico. This initiative led to 18 months of negotiations with all the national political parties, which led to major constitutional reform approved with unprecedented full

Congressional consensus. To my deep satisfaction, we achieved our goal, an achievement many believed impossible, but that now places the Mexican electoral system—and I hope rather soon this is analyzed by The Carter Center—among the most advanced in the world. As negotiations on the federal electoral reform were under way, profound changes already were taking place, which amount to the emergence of a new political culture. Pluralism and intense party competition now are normal aspects of our political life. Let me make my point: There have been elections in 24 states since 1995, and each has been recognized as legal and clean, peaceful and fair.

In my inaugural address two-and-a-half years ago, I called for a profound and definitive electoral reform across Mexico ... To my deep satisfaction, we achieved our goal, an achievement many believed impossible, but that now places the Mexican electoral system—and I hope rather soon this is analyzed by The Carter Center—among the most advanced in the world.

Animated by our new pluralism, intense debate, fair and transparent rules, and autonomous electoral institutions, this summer Mexico will hold elections which promise to be the most competitive in our

Thomas "Mack" McLarty, special envoy to the Americas, introduces President Ernesto Zedillo to consultation participants at the King & Spalding dinner.

country's history. The fact that these reforms were so difficult to achieve make them all the more rewarding for my administration and for all political parties.

Consider just some features of our electoral system—the constitutional reform established fully autonomous electoral authorities to conduct and verify elections. These authorities were appointed with the full consensus of all political parties. The Federal Electoral Court was incorporated into the judicial branch, and its powers were significantly enhanced. The Supreme Court was fully empowered to rule on constitutional controversies arising from electoral matters at both the federal and state levels. All this means is that the authorities in charge of conducting federal elections and settling electoral disputes now are appointed and operate with no intervention whatsoever from the executive. By the way, not being part of the electoral system gives me the legal and moral authority to openly debate political issues. This was not the case before.

Our challenge also was to take decisive steps to level the playing field. Before the reform, political parties did not have sufficient and fairly distributed public funds to support their activities and conduct their campaigns. I have firmly advocated and achieved—at no small political cost—strong prominence and sufficiency of public financing for party and electoral activities. As a result of the reform, private financing is limited to 10 percent of the total public funds allocated to each party, and strict limits to individual contributions have been legally established. The new electoral law substantially increases the level of public funding, and it stipulates that 30 percent of the total



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amount will be distributed equally among political parties, while the remaining 70 percent, in accordance with international practice, will be allocated according to the percentage of votes obtained by each party in the previous election. Similarly, as a result of the reform, 30 percent of government-paid time on radio and TV will be allocated uniformly to all parties, with the remaining 70 percent to be allocated according to the percentage of votes obtained in the previous election.

In calling for this aspect of political reform, it was my goal to achieve a financing system that would protect our democracy from the exchange of money for privilege and from the undue influence of a special interest or even criminal organizations. The electoral reform also provided for the direct election of Mexico City's mayor. The president no longer will intervene in his or her appointment. As you can see, this was not tinkering at the edges, but rather, a comprehensive reform. Thanks to this reform, today, Mexico has world-class electoral laws and institutions. This is my vision for Mexican democracy—a clean and constantly improving system of transparent and competitive contest resolved in an open process with the full

participation of all eligible voters in full view of the press and international community. The vision we are pursuing is a vision of freedom because we are fully confident on the essential good judgment of democracy. For Mexico, as for any country, the only way to reach our highest potential is to build a heightened system of justice and fully mature democracy. It is only within the framework of this system that we can achieve steady and sustainable economic growth. Fortunately, unlike not so many years ago, democracy is not the exception but the rule throughout the Americas. Today, we can look across the continent and see polling places open with citizens casting their ballots and advancing the direction of their country.

This brings me to the second opening for the future of the Americas—open economies. Here, also consider our experience in Mexico. For over a decade now, Mexico has pursued a dramatic economic reform, opening wide doors to international trade and encouraging private investment. Structural reforms have established a foundation for sustained and lasting growth. Thanks to the reform, and above else to the courage and determination of the Mexican people, we overcame, sooner than expected, the financial crisis that erupted at the beginning of my administration. Our own effort fortunately was complemented by the financial support we received from multilateral organizations, especially from the U.S. government. President Clinton had the vision and the courage to support Mexico, and I think he had good reasons to do so. For as Octavio Paz, the much-admired Nobel-Prize winner recently pointed out, and I quote, “Although the United States is the most powerful nation on earth, its political and social life, as well as its economy, are closely related to the situation prevailing in Mexico. A prosperous and democratic Mexico can be a powerful factor for peace and stability in this region of the world.”

The confidence in our national strength and in our economic policies proved to be well-founded. Last year our economy grew at a rate of more than 5 percent. Unemployment decreased, and inflation was cut by half. These positive trends in our economy clearly are being sustained this year. Also, as you all know, we have paid in full and in advance, many years in advance, the loan provided by the U.S. government in

the early months of 1995. Our commitment to free trade is a long-term cornerstone of our strategy to expand our economy. **The amount of new bilateral trade between Mexico and the United States, sparked by NAFTA, has been simply breathtaking—a 68 percent increase, far beyond even the most optimistic predictions. Today, Mexico is the United State’s most dynamic trading partner. Americans sell more to us than to Germany and England combined.** We buy more from the United States than the rest of Latin America put together. Our annual growth in exports has been greater than that of Germany and the United States, and even the so-called “Asian tigers.” And joint ventures between Mexican and American companies are growing at an impressive rate. All this means more and better jobs north and south of our common border.

Other nations in our hemisphere on the scales, small and large, also have committed themselves to lowering barriers and building trade ties with neighbors. Free-trade agreements throughout the Americas are transforming our economies and making us the strongest competitors in the world marketplace. We cannot stand still when nations in other regions forge ahead with trade ties around the world. Mexico has not, and will not, stand still. The agreements we already have reached with Chile, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, and Costa Rica, the ones we are negotiating with other countries, testify to our commitment to free trade in the hemisphere.

All of these changes have led to the need for the third central issue I would like to discuss tonight—open relations, which for me, means transparent and respectful relationships. The U.S.-Mexican bilateral relation is one of the most complex in the world. As neighbors, we share a long history and a link to the future. Although not without complications, our relationship has become increasingly institutionalized and comparative. Unfortunately, not everybody can appreciate in its full potential the importance of this change. For some, short-term political propaganda still takes precedence over the long-term interests of our two nations. Our challenge is to keep moving and working on the path of increasing understanding so that we can turn to each other rather than on each other.

King & Spalding partner Horace Sibley, Rosalynn Carter, Mexican Foreign Minister José Angel Gurria, and Gerald Ford enjoy the King & Spalding dinner.

We need an open relationship as I have defined it—respectful and transparent—if we are to address our common concerns. Consider the vast economic resources Mexico spends, and the hundreds of Mexican lives lost every year in the fight against drug trafficking. Self-complacency and blaming others will not serve any nation's cause against the evil of drugs. Blaming other countries does not stop a single illegal transaction, does not save a single life. We need to move beyond labeling each other as suppliers, transporters, and users. The truth of the matter is that we all in the hemisphere share the responsibility for addressing this problem, and only a coordinated effort will render success. We in Mexico will continue fighting drug trafficking with all our might within our borders, while we insist on promoting an increasingly effective global operation totally respectful of every nation's sovereignty.

Illegal migration is another case in point. While Mexico fully recognizes the right of every country to enforce its laws in its own territory, we also are as strongly committed to the defense of the human rights and dignity of all Mexicans, wherever they are. That is why we cannot and will not accept anything less than respectful and fair treatment for all the Mexicans who



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are in the United States. Fueled by economic disparities, illegal migration is a phenomenon which only can be resolved through a steady and sustained development in Mexico. In this, as in other areas of the bilateral relationship, respectful dialogue is the only path toward mutual understanding and constructive cooperation.

A final openness we all must meet is that of our future. Nothing is yet finally determined about the next century. We must acknowledge the fragility of achievements and the extent of acute afflictions such as poverty, violence, and moral decay, but I am optimistic. I am sure that if we stand together with faith and freedom and democracy; growth, strength, and social justice in all respects; and cooperation and family values, our children and grandchildren will have a better place to live. Thank you very much. ■

Excerpts from Remarks by Newt Gingrich,
Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives
Agenda for the Americas for the 21st Century
King & Spalding Dinner
Monday, April 28, 1997



Speaker Newt Gingrich

Mr. President [Zedillo], I just mentioned to Bob Pastor that if we can get a copy of your speech tonight, I would like to put it in the *Congressional Record*. I think it's quite a remarkable speech and one very worthy of note by all Americans and by people around the world.

You are to be commended not only for your courage in implementing the policies you described but for the international clarity you gave tonight in explaining where I think the entire human race has to go—toward accountability—through honest elections, so that every citizen has the opportunity and the right to measure those to whom they loan power. I thank you for coming here to Atlanta to share with us what you are courageously implementing in your country.

I also note that I owe you a special debt of gratitude because very, very, very early in my speakership, I got a call from the president [Clinton] who suggested to me a great opportunity to loan Mexico a great deal of money, and when Secretary Bob Rubin called to say that it had all been repaid, I thanked you far more than you know for having solved that problem.

But it is exactly in the spirit of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy that when your neighbor's car doesn't work, you try to help him out, you give him a jump start. If your neighbor needs to borrow a garden hose, which was the actual 1940 analogy, to put out a fire in his house, you're very foolish not to loan him the garden hose. We are, and will remain, Mexico's closest neighbor. They are, in population, far and away our closest and most powerful neighbor. Our futures are inextricably connected. We

can choose either a good neighborhood, working together as friends, or we can choose a bad neighborhood, fighting and bickering and quarreling. And it is infinitely to the better of both people to seek a good neighborhood, with a good friendship, and I am delighted that President Zedillo is here tonight in Atlanta in that tradition of being a good neighbor. And so I thank you for all you have done. ...

... There is a tradition of a sense of universal values, and I thank President Zedillo for allowing me to talk about universal values without being narrowly "American," in the United States of America sense, because you were describing universal values. And that's the great moment we stand at at the end of the 20th century. When I was in China recently, I could describe political, religious, and economic freedom as universal values, and they resonated. I found that in none of the meetings I had, literally none, did anyone defend dictatorships. Even those who lead the dictatorships no longer intellectually defend them, unlike 20 years ago when you could have found in Communist countries people who would sincerely defend the structure they represented. Instead, the discussions are of transition.

And one of the points I want to make here among Americans ... is that we have to recognize that we need some transitions too. **The fact is that President Menem has led Argentina further toward privatization than any American political leader has.** The fact is that Chile has done some very dramatic, bold things with pensions, far more bold than any American leader has. The fact is that **President Zedillo, in some of the things he's done to fight drugs, has shown far more courage in directly addressing corruption and drug problems than any American leader has.**

And so sometimes we need to have our universal values come back home, and we need to look here at

President Ernesto Zedillo talks with Speaker Newt Gingrich at the King & Spalding dinner.



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home at the things we need to deal with. The Carter Center is for Atlantans, for all Georgians, a remarkable resource, and I thank President Carter for having continued with this kind of leadership year after year, and for the remarkable institution you've created. And as an Emory alum, I thank you for having associated with Emory and for what you bring to Emory University—an extraordinary range of people who come through every year.

The three topics I want to talk about briefly tonight that relate to the Carter Center program—trade, drugs, and what I'd like to describe as a hemispheric good neighbor policy, if you will, updating Franklin Delano Roosevelt for the 21st century.

First, on trade. I believe it is vital that the United States pass fast-track authority for our president, that he goes to Latin America armed with the ability to negotiate, that we recognize we want the widest possible world market because it creates the best jobs with the best take-home pay and the greatest consumer choice, and that our future as a country lies in combining the opportunities of the information age with the opportunities of the world market. The best way to do that is to reach out throughout all of Latin America and to create a true free trade opportunity where everyone can find their opportunities, everyone can pursue happiness, and everyone can create better wealth. We have an absolute intellectual obligation to take on those who would favor protectionism and to make the case quite simple. If we all build bigger bakeries, and we all bake more bread, we're all going to

be better off. Nothing helps the poor better than a society rising in wealth. All of us can learn by studying, for example, South Korea and Ghana, which had the same average income in 1960, and which now represent a gap of about thirteenfold. That is a 1,300 percent difference. ...

...And there is no question that America has profited enormously by being the most open market in the world. We purchase more goods, at a lower price, with greater competition than any society in history, and as a result, Americans have a remarkable opportunity. **Our challenge is to give President Clinton the ability to negotiate similar opportunities so that across all of Latin America there is a sense that America wants to participate in fair competition in which all of our entrepreneurs and all of our workers, by competing together in a common market, create a common good, and we all rise as a result. I am dedicated deeply to passing fast-track legislation this year. I think it will be good for America and good for the hemisphere.**

The Caribbean Basin has been disadvantaged by not being an immediate and beginning part of the NAFTA agreement. I would say to every parent in America who is worried about the drug trade, that nothing will do more to seal off the Caribbean against drug dealers than to make sure that the Caribbean can

participate in honest and open competition and can be both a good customer and a good supplier to the American market. **So I am deeply committed to ensuring that the Caribbean is part of any fast-track agreement that we pass through the U.S. Congress.**

Trade, however, is not by itself the sole creator of good neighbor policies. **The greatest challenge we face in America, I think, in terms of the near future of our culture, is defeating the drug culture, defeating the drug trade, and breaking the backs of those who become rich at the expense of our children. To do that, we need to work together with our neighbors.** But I want for just a moment to give you an intellectual framework, if I might, as a structure for thinking about this and other problems. ...

I am dedicated deeply to passing fast-track legislation this year. I think it will be good for America and good for the hemisphere. ... I am deeply committed to ensuring that the Caribbean is part of any fast-track agreement that we pass through the U.S. Congress.

...Our vision should be of a hemisphere-wide effort to win the war on the drug dealers, to save all of our children in every society from drugs, to save all of our government structures and all of our political leaderships from the power and corruption of drug dealers. **I say that because one of the projects is called certification, and we get into a terrible dilemma if we mistake the project of certification for the vision of a drug-free Western Hemisphere. ...**

...America for 50 years had a sloppy mode of leadership because we had a Soviet Union pressuring everyone to side with us. So for a remarkably long period, we could be clumsy, we could bully people, we could be stubborn. And in the end, we were so much less threatening than the Soviet empire that many of our friends and allies around the planet tolerated us.

With the absence of the Soviet empire, we're actually in a weaker, not a stronger, position, even

though militarily, we're relatively stronger. And the reason is simple. In the absence of a threat, people get tired of being bullied. Now one vision would be to say, "Fine, we'll be like Britain in the 19th century." We will have a glorious isolationism in which we stand above the rest of the world, and we lecture routinely. I believe that would be a disaster for America. It would be a disaster for freedom, and it would hurt the entire human race. But on the other hand, **if we truly are going to develop a capacity to listen and learn on a planetwide or a hemispheric basis, or even with our neighbors directly to our south, this is hard, not easy. This takes discipline and patience, not things we're good at.** It requires our friends in the media to go beyond the nine-second sound bite. It requires an ability to have a dialogue, not just a debate, to have a relationship, not just an argument.

So let me go back then to this model—open relations—which I think is a wonderful phrase by President Zedillo. **Our vision ought to be that we all in this hemisphere want to work together to save our children and our societies from drug dealers.** Our vision ought to be that we want to work together with honesty and openness so that every community in every neighborhood can be free of drugs. **One of our strategies should be to develop a method of monitoring who's playing for real and who's cheating? Who's really going after the drug dealers and who's faking? One of our projects ought to be to rethink certification. Let me be clear—I think certification in its current form by the United States just doesn't make sense.** It means that in Colombia, the Clinton administration has recommended decertification, which cuts off all the Colombians who are risking their lives to fight drug dealers. It means that in Mexico, the Clinton administration has recommended certification, which makes it hard to communicate with our good friends about things we are unhappy with. It maximizes in both countries the legitimate, sensitive patriotism that says, "Who are you North Americans to tell us?" And let me be quite clear, I am for patriotism. I'm against nationalism, and there's a great distinction. Nationalism is when I have to say, "I'm better than you are." Patriotism is when I say, "I'm proud of my country, and I expect you to be proud of your country." For us to judge Colombia or Mexico in

Pierre Trudeau, former prime minister of Canada; Robert Ratliff, chair of AGCO; Griffin Bell, former U.S. attorney general and King & Spalding partner; and Javier Treviño, Mexican undersecretary of foreign affairs; enjoy a lighthearted moment during the King & Spalding dinner.



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public is as offensive to young Colombians and Mexicans as it would be to us if some other country were to judge us. Furthermore, when we have a failure in our society, when we don't lock up the drug dealers, when we can't protect our own national capitol, when we can't guard our own borders, when we can't police ourselves, for us to say to the government of Colombia, which has had a civil war, terrorism, and drug dealers, "You should do better than we do, or we will judge you," strikes me as wrong.

With the absence of the Soviet empire, we're actually in a weaker, not a stronger, position, even though militarily, we're relatively stronger. And the reason is simple. In the absence of a threat, people get tired of being bullied.

And so I'd like to see us rethink this entire process. Now we should find some leverage, we should find some legitimate dialogue, we should find some measurements, but we should also say to our friends across the border, "What is it you wished America would do?" What burden do we have to police? What burden do we have to cut off the flow of money? For the truth is, if no American bought drugs tomorrow morning, there would be no drug money going south of the border. There would be no drug dealers who had money. There would be no corruption. So we have to share our share of this burden.

And so I came in part to The Carter Center to say, let us begin a new dialogue. Let us agree our goal is to wipe out the drug dealers, to wipe out the cartels, to save our children, to protect our political structures, and let us work together. Let us find an appropriate kind of certification, with an appropriate kind of measurement, and let us do it hand in hand with every citizen of every country who's prepared to take on the drug dealers, and let us not get into nationalist fights over our legitimate patriotism, for we all love our own countries, and we all wish our own countries to be drug-free, and that's the right kind of alliance for America to lead.

Finally, I think we ought to talk in hemispheric terms in a way that, at least for Americans, we haven't thought much about in a long time. We were distracted by the Soviet empire. Prior to that, we were distracted by Nazi Germany and imperial Japan. We had other things we thought about a lot, but the truth is we are in and of the Western Hemisphere. Our future is inextricably bound in the Western Hemisphere, and there are many good things we could do together. I want to suggest three projects for the later 21st century that I think Franklin Delano Roosevelt would regard as the right kind of hemispheric good neighborhood.

Tom Boren, president and CEO of Southern Energy; Leonel Fernández, president of the Dominican Republic; and Enrique Iglesias, president of the Inter-American Development Bank; talk with other guests at the King & Spalding dinner.

First is to work together on a hemispheric environment project to maximize the biodiversity of our region. South America in particular is a jewel of biodiversity, a remarkable continent only recently attached to North America with a range of species that is simply astonishing, in an area that we should work with in a positive way, helping and strengthening governments already seeking to maximize and protect their biodiversity. ...

...Second, we are just entering the age of telemedicine. Emory University, for example, has relationships with St. Petersburg and other places by satellite, where we are now doing work that has an effect all across the planet. I think we should consciously look at the degree to which the right kind of telemedicine project, combined with the emerging lessons of the Human Genome Project, can allow us to apply the medical breakthroughs of the age of molecular medicine so that we dramatically enhance, on a hemisphere-wide basis, the health and health care of citizens everywhere and expand our ability to understand wellness and preventive care. ...

Finally, we should approach telelearning, the ability to use television. Satellite television is more than just an opportunity for Rupert Murdoch or Ted Turner to get rich. It also is an opportunity for human beings to share knowledge and learning on an extraordinary basis. There is a new consortium out West involving a number of states, which I think ought to become the model for us. We certainly should engage across the entire hemisphere in maximizing the opportunity to learn both through the Internet and through satellite television in a way that can bring the



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21st century's information-age potential to every citizen of every community and of every background. President Zedillo, close to the end of his speech said, "Nothing is yet finally determined about the next century."

That really captures why I came and why I was delighted when President Carter gave me this opportunity to share with you. If you went back to 1897, shortly after a crisis involving Venezuela in which Germany, Britain, and the United States got involved in a little bit of a tension, and you were to say to people in 1897, "Imagine a Carter Center in Atlanta, imagine satellite broadcast television, imagine an Internet across the entire planet, imagine the end of colonialism as we have known it," and you could go down the list almost infinitum. It would be pretty hard to get to 1997 in your thoughts, and yet it's been, in some ways, a harrowing and a painful hundred years.

The First World War, the Great Depression, the purges in Russia, the Holocaust, the Second World War, the Soviet empire—it hasn't all been positive. It's been difficult, as human nature often is. Yet I believe we stand at a moment where the political and social leadership of it has the courage across the entire planet and can create a vision of a 21st century which arouses in young people an enthusiasm for learning and experimenting, an enthusiasm for creating a better

Luis Aguilar of INVESCO; Ruben Patto, Argentine consul general; and Roberto Peon of BellSouth exchange views on the consultation at the King & Spalding dinner.

future that we haven't seen since before the First World War.

I regard this meeting as an opportunity to talk in the boldest and most daring of ways about the kind of hemisphere we could be and hopefully to plant the seeds by which people across the hemisphere decide this can be an exciting 21st century. This can be a 21st century of freedom, a 21st century of prosperity, a 21st century of safety, a 21st century that is virtually drug-free, a 21st century in which everyone can learn at every age what they need to know, a 21st century of remarkable good



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health and amazing medicine, and a 21st century of the maximum opportunity to sustain a truly diverse biology and a truly wonderful environment. If only a tiny bit of that grows out of this meeting, I think President Carter will have been more than repaid for the time and energy he's put in. I thank all of you for coming from across the hemisphere to join in this session here in Atlanta. Thank you very, very much. ■

Excerpts of Remarks by The Honorable Al Gore,
Vice President of the United States
Agenda for the Americas for the 21st Century
CNN World Report Dinner
The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government
The Carter Center
Tuesday, April 29, 1997



Al Gore

Thank you very much, President Carter. I want to get a tape of that and play it for my family because my respect for you, Mr. President, is so boundless. I'm truly humbled by your kind words and generous introduction. And it is a great honor to be here this evening and to join with so

many distinguished citizens of this hemisphere, North and South and Central America, as we work together to usher in a new century of democracy and peace for our hemisphere. It also is an honor to be in the company of so many friends who have been working with such passion and conviction over the years to build a hemispheric partnership based on trust, good will, democracy, the rule of law, and the prospect of prosperity for each of our citizens. ...

... Let me say how appropriate it is that we gather under the auspices of The Carter Center, because when we look at the revolution of democracy throughout this hemisphere, my own personal reading of history is that one of the principle factors leading to it was a dramatic change in the policies of our government during the 1970s, the leadership of President Gerald Ford initiating the process by which we took a brand new approach to the Panama Canal, and then a remarkable innovation under President Carter—the introduction of human rights, long neglected as a formal part of America's foreign policy but which then became the central pillar supporting all of our efforts. Because of that initiative, men and women in prison cells felt inspiration, felt

power, felt the ability to speak out on behalf of the principles, which also were felt in the hearts of their countrymen and countrywomen throughout this hemisphere. Many other factors were at play, but I do not believe that it is at all accidental that soon after this initiative, when people thought and read and talked and spread the commitment to democratic principles, that we had a series of peaceful revolutions equaling in number and magnitude and scope of the much more publicized democratic revolution in Central and Eastern Europe a decade later. And so President Carter, I want to thank you for making human rights what it should be in America's foreign policy.

I wish to thank you for the creative opportunities you have brought about, for some of your guests to say things that I don't believe they necessarily would have said in any other setting. And I truly believe that some of the comments that have been made to you might very well serve as the basis for real breakthroughs in helping to solve some problems that have been resistant to change ...

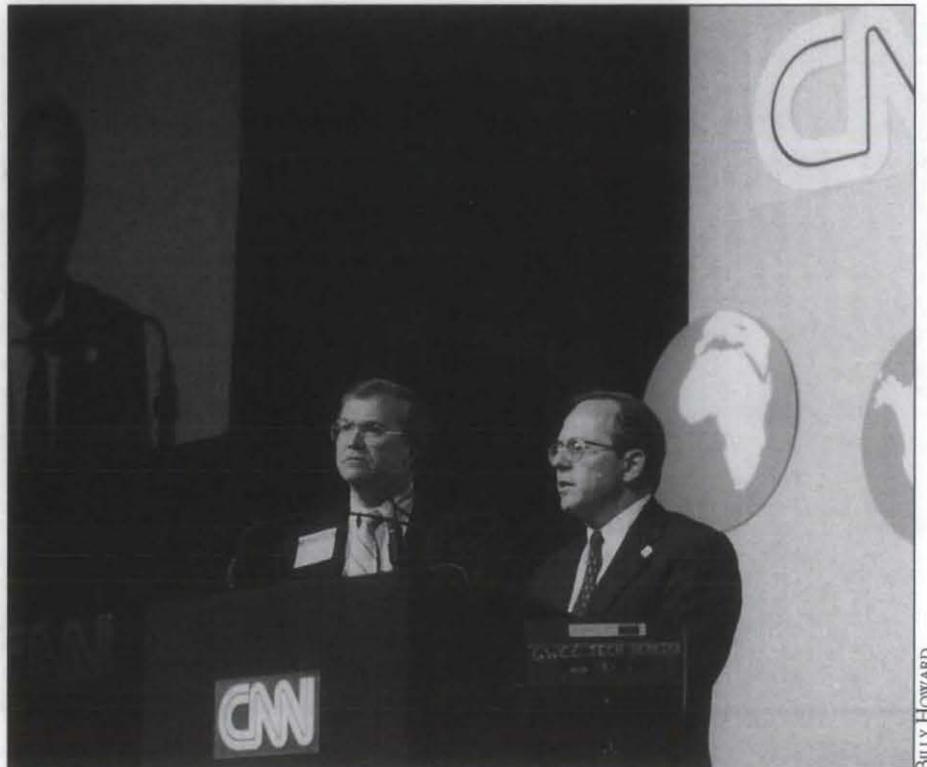
And these two presidents have modeled for all the rest of us the kind of relationship that ought to cross party lines and which can support the kind of productive and creative dialogue that you have witnessed here during these last few days. It has been a remarkable session, and

CNN President Tom Johnson and Robert Pastor welcome consultation participants and delegates to the Carter Center/CNN World Report dinner at the Georgia World Congress Center.

I wish to thank you for the creative opportunities you have brought about, for some of your guests to say things that I don't believe they necessarily would have said in any other setting. And I truly believe that some of the comments that have been made to you might very well serve as the basis for real breakthroughs in helping to solve some problems that have been resistant to change.

To all the members of this Council, I would like to acknowledge that the era you and your colleagues envisioned at your inaugural meeting 11 years ago in many ways now is in full flower. This group has made a wonderful contribution to the progress that we have seen in this hemisphere. From Port Arthur in the north to Tierra del Fuego in the south, the nations of our hemisphere now are building a future on the foundation of free trade, strong democratic institutions, and growth that protects the environment. We are building a future strengthened by a shared commitment to reduce poverty and corruption, a future secured by a shared commitment to advance justice, education, health care, and free enterprise. Of course, at times our voyage has not been easy. Change is not always easy to embrace, but our path has been the right one. It is a path that took us in triumph to Miami where many of you joined in a history-making conversation that will lead us onward to Santiago and a new era of summitry for the nations of this hemisphere. And as we build this partnership, we must not be deterred from the course we have charted, because we have nothing to fear.

Just think of the historic transformations that have marked our hemisphere's development in the last few years. I mentioned the revolution toward democracy,



To all the members of this Council, I would like to acknowledge that the era you and your colleagues envisioned at your inaugural meeting 11 years ago in many ways now is in full flower. ... From Port Arthur in the north to Tierra del Fuego in the south, the nations of our hemisphere now are building a future on the foundation of free trade, strong democratic institutions, and growth that protects the environment.

but not long ago, many of the economies and societies of Latin America were closed as tight as a drum. Economic policy was driven by regressive import substitution. The governments were not only largely nondemocratic but often idiosyncratic. Prospects for investment and trade were, to say the least, daunting. Because of leadership

Council members Carlos Andrés Pérez, Patricio Aylwin, and Osvaldo Hurtado greet U.S. Vice President Al Gore as Jimmy Carter looks on.

from President Clinton, from those of you gathered here, and so many other visionary leaders in our hemisphere, the shackles of our hemisphere's illiberal past have given way to a new era of opportunity and openness and greatness.

Today, nearly half of the globe, stretching from both poles and between two great oceans, is a land of the free. In Haiti, because of the courage of so many of its citizens and the resolve of President Clinton, and the timely leadership and assistance of President Carter and Colin Powell and Sam Nunn, and because of our international partners, democracy is now on the march throughout our hemisphere. Nearly three-quarters of a billion people are choosing their own laws and their own leaders. Virtually all of them are living in peace. In these fertile lands, we are nurturing one of the world's fastest-growing free markets. We are replacing trade barriers with trade bridges. We are settling national debts. We're making our instruments of government more efficient and responsive to the needs of our citizens. As Octavio Paz once urged us, we have joined together in inventing our common future. As Ambassador Paz wrote, and I quote, "World history has become everyone's task, and our own labyrinth is the labyrinth of mankind."

Ambassador Paz would be proud of the way we are navigating this complex labyrinth of experience and history. We have done this through visionary bipartisan leadership willing to see history and our future in very broad terms. We have said "no" to the voices of isolation and to those who would counsel retreat. We have said "yes" to engagement, to leadership, to the creation of an enduring hemispheric partnership that will provide



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benefits to our children and to their children for generations to come.

This is the essence of the message that President Clinton will take with him on his two upcoming trips to Latin America and the Caribbean and then later next March, when he goes to the Summit of the Americas in Santiago. As Prime Minister Patterson said earlier, this meeting takes place at a timely interval between the meeting in Miami and the meeting in Santiago. It also takes place on the eve of three important journeys by President Clinton during the next 12 months. I want to tell you this evening that President Clinton's agenda for these trips will be broad and substantive, focusing on promoting free trade, strengthening democratic institutions, responding to transnational threats, fighting narco-trafficking, and encouraging sustainable development. These trips will offer an historic opportunity to reaffirm and deepen our hemispheric partnership, and above all, they will offer President Clinton the opportunity not only to take stock of our shared successes these past few years, but also to consider what we must do to consolidate these gains in the upcoming century and in a revitalized hemisphere. After all, we now live in a hemisphere in which our nations move forward with

hope, not backward with pessimism. We have a vision of the future that is based on the promise of opportunity, worker rights, human rights, a cleaner environment, and the rule of law.

I would like to state briefly to you the principles that will guide the work of President Clinton's administration during these trips and during the run-up to the Summit meeting in Santiago.

First, the United States of America is committed to expanding and strengthening the circle of democracy and prosperity of free minds and free markets, especially in our hemisphere. Anyone who understands the

President Clinton and I support speedy passage of fast-track legislation ... I want especially to thank the assembled members of this Council for creating the opportunity for the dialogue that you had last night which could, I think, be very, very helpful in promoting the passage of fast-track, because protections for labor and the environment, of course, represent part of our core principles in the United States.

critical importance of the Western Hemisphere to this country's economy cannot help but work to support this goal. The Western Hemisphere, last year, was the recipient of nearly 40 percent of all U.S. exports. We exported more to the Western Hemisphere than we did to the European Union, more to the Western Hemisphere than we did to the Pacific Rim. Many citizens of the United States are not aware of the profound new volume of exports from the United States within this hemisphere, and the reason is they have increased so rapidly. **Trade with Latin America has grown three-fold in less than the last 10 years.** This is a new reality that our business leaders are tuning in to very rapidly. Now it's true that in the aftermath of NAFTA, Mexico's financial difficulties in 1995 (unrelated to NAFTA) tested the strength of NAFTA. But even during that period of adversity, look at what happened. Europe's exports and Asia's exports to Mexico dropped 40

percent. Exports from the United States during the same period went up almost 10 percent, and the reason is the new agreement safeguarded the flow of trade. Today, we all can be proud that President Clinton did the right thing, both by the United States and Mexico, to protect global prosperity. The Mexican economy now is approaching full recovery, and last year, U.S. exports reached record levels, all-time record levels, and are continuing upward. And of course, if you look at the overall trade within NAFTA, it is just astonishing.

Our future depends so greatly on seizing these opportunities. Creating a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) will expand the benefit of trade to all the people in our hemisphere, not just for the United States, but for all our nations. And you know, in Latin America last year, inflation was lower than in any year since 1977. Net capital flows were up. Just last month, my good friend Enrique Iglesias predicted that if these economic reforms stay on track, Latin America's growth rate could soon double from the average of 3 percent in the early 1990s.

We've all witnessed the tigers of the Pacific Rim in Asia with their rapid growth rates. This is beginning to happen in places in Latin America, and with continued progress and reform, it will happen. We need to prepare ourselves here in the United States to take advantage of this new reality. **Shouldn't we be concerned that MERCOSUR now is beginning to do more trade with Europe than with the United States?** Shouldn't we see that as a warning for us to move more rapidly toward locking in these gains, opening up these markets, tearing down these barriers, creating the jobs here in the United States that will result? **Of course we should. ...**

...Trade from Georgia to NAFTA countries increased by one-third during the last two years. Georgia's exports to Mexico alone were up by 64 percent, and overall, Georgia's jobs that are a direct result of exports, grew by almost 20 percent. At the airport, I talked with the employees at Delta Air Lines, who have thousands of jobs that are a direct result of this new flow of trade with Latin America. **Now, opening markets, building prosperity, and engaging the new international economy are among the most important pillars of our foreign policy, and that is why President Clinton and I support speedy passage of fast-track legislation. The time is now to move forward. Our position is clear. We need**

support. It's a winner. It's a win-win for the United States and all the other nations that will be affected by it, and that is why we're actively laying the groundwork with our Congress, particularly in the House, to build support for the administration's approach. I want especially to thank the assembled members of this Council for creating the opportunity for the dialogue that you had last night which could, I think, be very, very helpful in promoting the passage of fast-track, because protections for labor and the environment, of course, represent part of our core principles in the United States and in many other countries as well. And recognizing that they have to be addressed in the course of expanding trade is only a responsible approach. So if we don't seize these opportunities, we will be foolish indeed. Our competitors certainly will fill the vacuum. **It is high time for us to move on passing fast-track and getting on with the business of creating an FTAA.**

We also must focus on a second goal, and that is taking steps to share the benefits of higher productivity that can come with the new technologies that are so central to this new era that we're entering into—the information superhighway, the global information infrastructure. It is important that we help one another to adapt to these new technologies.

We also have to address the problems of poverty and hopelessness. It is critically important that social justice be a part of our agenda. We are working very hard on problems like education and health care. In fact, the first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, has made several productive trips to Latin America, most recently to attend the First Ladies Summit in La Paz, where USAID inaugurated the Partnership for Education Revitalization in the Americas. Also, the Pan American Health Organization, with our active participation, has launched a hemisphere-wide program to eliminate measles, a disease that has caused so much pain to so many thousands of young children throughout the family of the Americas.

This brings me to my fourth core principle. We must promote stability and peace in the hemisphere. We have addressed the challenge of reforming and reshaping the militaries in the Western Hemisphere and enhancing confidence and security-building measures. It is

absolutely critical that we consolidate the gains as we have moved away from militarism in the Western Hemisphere. It also is critical that we enhance stability by continuing the fight against corruption. President Sánchez de Lozada, who left earlier, taught me an insight about corruption that has stayed with me. He said that corruption is like inflation. You always will have a little bit, but you must, at all costs, avoid the hyper variety because it causes the diversion of energy and resources to accommodate the problem instead of allowing work on the solution. And, of course, the fight against corruption means that we must do all in our power to fight drug trafficking. You had a very productive discussion of this topic here at your conference, and you heard from Gen. Barry McCaffrey and others. I just want to reaffirm, as he did, our absolute determination that drug traffickers will not prevail, and they will be defeated.

Now finally, the fifth and final principle that forms the policy that President Clinton will be taking with him on his journeys into Santiago, is the need to be responsible stewards of our environment. This was the subject of discussions among regional leaders at the Summit on Sustainable Development in Santa Cruz last year that some of you attended, and it is critical to our future. Working for sustainable development is good citizenship and good business. Next year, sales of U.S. environmental products to Latin America are expected to reach \$8 billion. Whether it's contracts for wastewater treatment equipment in San Paulo or auto emission inspection systems in Mexico, our companies are doing well by doing good.

And so in conclusion, whether we are addressing sustainable development or the fight against corruption, or the fight for stability, the promotion of democracy, we are in this together. We can move forward together as we did in Miami, as we can in Santiago at the Summit next March. For all of our citizens, let us strive for more openness, more cooperation, more modernization, and more sharing of our experiences in how we can enhance our democracies and our freedom. Together, let us continue our epochal march toward progress and peace. ■

Agenda for the Americas for the 21st Century
**The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government,
 The Carter Center
 Monday, April 28, 1997**

A Summary of the Public Plenary Session, 8:45 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

I. Introduction

Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and Dr. Robert Pastor welcomed the participants and observers of the consultation. President Carter emphasized that the purpose of the conference was to look back to assess the state of Western Hemispheric relations and to look forward with encouragement. At the Miami Summit of the Americas, an ambitious agenda was set, but rapid action has not been taken. The purpose of the "Agenda for the Americas for the 21st Century" was to focus on the key issues of the Miami Summit and to emphasize the opportunities ahead for the Western Hemisphere. Specifically, four important issues were placed on the agenda to be addressed at this conference: promoting free trade, addressing the drug trade, discussing security issues, and promoting democratic and social progress.

II. Free Trade

First, the central recommendation of the Miami Summit was a call for a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) by the year 2005. Three speakers gave their perspectives regarding the advantages and challenges of establish-

ing an FTAA, though all agreed that free trade promotes economic prosperity and hemispheric cooperation. In addition, they said that an FTAA required U.S. leadership and that provisions must be made for labor, the environment, and the smaller, more vulnerable nations of the Caribbean Basin.

Bolivian President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada advocated hemispheric integration rather than the development of several regional trading blocs which are distinct from one another. Currently, with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and MERCOSUR, the hemisphere is deepening regional trade blocs, but regional integration should be the goal. He also noted that free-trade zones can contribute to sustainable development by providing



Linda Chavez-Thompson outlines the AFL-CIO's position on trade during the Public Plenary.

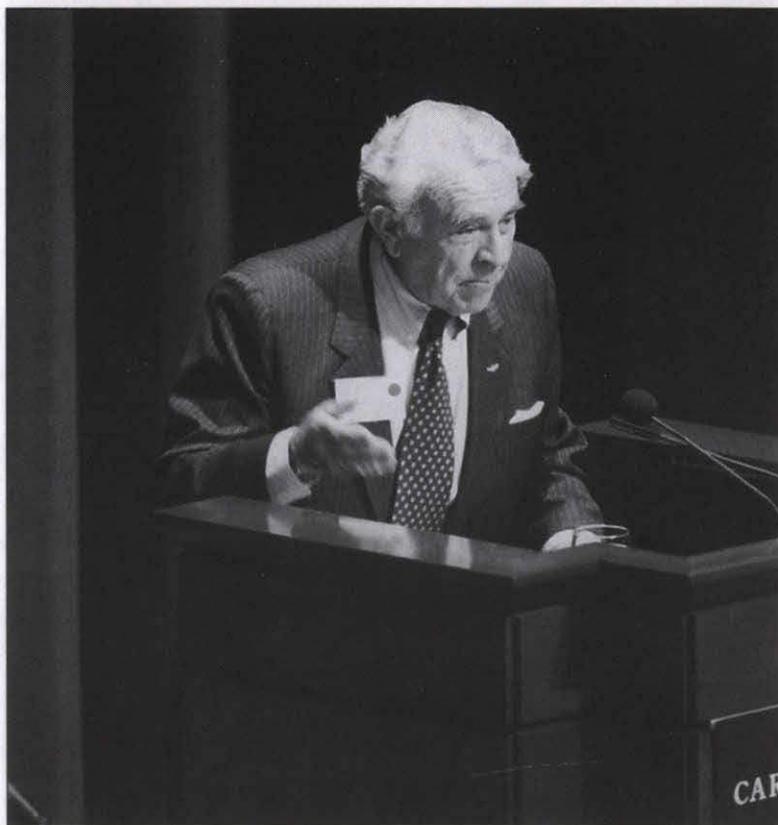
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Congressman Benjamin Gilman outlines his position on drug-trafficking during the Public Plenary.

jobs and opportunities. Dominican Republic President Leonel Fernández argued that trade has a great deal of influence on the development of Latin America and the Caribbean. He reiterated the strong desire and need to establish an FTAA by 2005. Linda Chavez-Thompson, executive vice president of the AFL-CIO, agreed that free trade can promote development and advance the plight of workers in the region.

Second, the speakers agreed that the United States is a critical player in negotiating and implementing an FTAA. President Sánchez de Lozada was concerned that the internal politics and seeming disinterest of the United States may hinder this process. He challenged the United States to become more involved and active in the process of promoting free trade and development in the region. President Fernández agreed that the first challenge to establishing an FTAA is the lack of fast-track negotiating authority in the United States. The U.S. Congress must pass fast-track authority in order to increase the speed and effectiveness of negotiations. Ms. Chavez-Thompson agreed that fast-track authority for negotiating must be obtained from Congress, but she insisted that specific provisions regarding labor and the environment must be contained in the core of any free trade agreement.

Finally, President Fernández and Ms. Chavez-Thompson argued that adjustments must be made for those not ready to compete in a free market. President Fernández said that Caribbean Basin Enhancement legislation must be approved to permit adjustment for those countries. He also stated that Latin American countries must renegotiate the terms of their debt agreements in order to enhance their ability to compete in a free market and to generate well-being and prosperity. Similarly, Ms. Chavez-Thompson argued that efforts must be made to retrain displaced workers and that any free trade initiative must help labor by promoting respect and workers' rights.



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III. The Drug Trade

The general consensus was that the drug trade threatens all nations of the Western Hemisphere by increasing crime, decreasing productivity, affecting economic prosperity, and creating divisions among nations. This is a hemispheric problem that needs hemispheric solutions. The speakers provided both Latin American and U.S. perspectives, and they focused on issues of supply and demand, the certification process, and alternative ways to address the drug trade.

Former Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle provided the perspective of a Latin American country that is not a producer or a major transit nation. He argued that the issue could not be addressed by focusing on just supply or demand but also by viewing it as part of a larger package.

Jamaican Prime P.J. Minister Patterson primarily spoke about curtailing the supply of drugs through activities such as crop eradication, crop substitution,

Pierre Trudeau, former prime minister of Canada; José Octavio Bordón, president of Argentina's PAIS Party; and Osvaldo Hurtado, former president of Ecuador; ponder the issues of the Democracy/ Security Working Group.



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and promotion of alternatives for those involved in the drug trade.

Gen. Barry

McCaffrey spoke of the U.S. administration's efforts to reduce the demand for drugs in the United States by promoting prevention and treatment programs, thereby de-emphasizing the role of the United States in reducing the supply of drugs. Congressman Benjamin Gilman advocated asset seizures, interdictions, and crop eradication, as well as education and treatment.

Neither President Lacalle nor Prime Minister Patterson supported the U.S. certification policy. They viewed this process as inconsistent and arbitrary, and added that it creates resentment within the region. Gen. McCaffrey noted that certification is a U.S. law, not an administration policy, and he assured the participants that the administration was looking into other, more multilateral alternatives. Congressman Gilman said that the certification process is misunderstood. He argued that it is one way to oversee the U.S. Executive Branch and is an effective tool for influencing the actions of other states.

Because of the prevailing sentiment against certification, some alternatives were suggested to address the drug trade through a multilateral, cooperative approach. President Lacalle suggested the creation of an international commission or director to review the policies and activities in the hemisphere to

deter the drug trade. Prime Minister Patterson suggested increasing information exchanges; coordinating law enforcement efforts; and addressing arms smuggling, as well as money laundering, as part of the drug trade. Gen. McCaffrey agreed that multilateral action and organization were answers to the drug problem. Sen. Paul Coverdell advocated creating a forum so countries can address this issue in a collaborative, nonadversarial way.

IV. The Security Agenda

Two security-related issues were on the agenda—territorial disputes and arms restraint. OAS Secretary-General César Gaviria, former Costa Rica President Oscar Arias, and former Venezuela President Carlos Andrés Pérez agreed that multilateral approaches would work best to resolve territorial disputes and that there was a real danger of an arms race in South America.

Secretary-General Gaviria stated that a multilateral approach would be effective in preventing and resolving security problems, but this would depend on confidence-building measures and joint military exercises. Similarly, President Pérez said that border disputes often are used as a justification for arms expenditures, which adds a second reason for resolving such disputes.

Secretary-General Gaviria argued that the hemisphere should find a multilateral approach to solving border disputes. President Pérez agreed, noting that these disputes cannot be solved bilaterally. He added that the only solution for border conflicts is to create a group of mediators who can propose solutions and provide good offices.

President Arias proposed a plan to limit arms acquisitions. He suggested that Latin American governments adopt a two-year moratorium on arms purchases while they begin talks for a conventional arms restraint agreement. He also asked for arms sales to adhere to such a moratorium. He was very critical of the possible end of the U.S. restrictions on selling high-technology planes to Latin America. Without these restrictions, an arms race in South America could start, possibly resulting in conflict, increased poverty, and decreased standards of living. President Arias advocated a regional treaty to limit high-technology weapons. He also suggested the development of a code of conduct to prevent arms transfers to undemocratic states, states ruled by dictators or aggressors, terrorist states, and states that do not respect human rights. President Pérez reiterated the need for the United States to restrict its arms sales to Latin America, as well as the need for Latin American countries to limit their purchases.

V. Democratic and Social Agendas

Three major issues were on the agenda for promoting democracy and social progress: 1) the deepening of democratic institutions by improving electoral processes, party systems, and social equality; 2) corruption; and 3) freedom of the press.

First, regarding democratic institutions, former Canadian Prime Minister Joe Clark reviewed Canada's Election Expenses Law, which promotes public financing of campaigns, tax credits, spending limits, transparency of contributions, real penalties for violations, guaranteed access to the media, and close monitoring

by the media as a result of the transparency. He noted that this process has worked well in Canada and may be a model for other countries. Former Chilean President Patricio Aylwin echoed the sentiment that campaign spending should be transparent and controlled in order to ensure that the people's will rules and that corruption is avoided. Former Ecuadoran President Osvaldo Hurtado said that the fragmentation of the party system and frequent minority governments contribute to political instability and problems of governability. He also argued that attention must be paid to electoral laws to enhance democratic stability and to improve the quality of Latin American democracy. Without such stability, social and economic progress cannot occur. President Aylwin noted that poverty and social inequality can endanger democratic stability, so these issues must be addressed.

Second, corruption can endanger democracy. Fritz Heimann of Transparency International argued for the advancement of anti-bribery resolutions, and he called on international organizations, such as the OAS, and on Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development countries to discuss anti-bribery efforts and to criminalize bribery. Luis Moreno Ocampo, also of Transparency International, argued that bribery hurts the poor by diverting funds which may have been marked to combat poverty. He advocated volunteer efforts to combat bribery and developing a data base to discover the social costs of corruption and the areas in which to combat it.

Finally, a free press is essential to democracy. Luis Gabriel Cano, president of the Inter-American Press Association, said we must prevent the control and censorship of the press. The Treaty of Chapultepec contains 10 principles regarding the freedom of expression, and he urged the Council to endorse it. He added that a conference must be convened to address issues such as the public punishment of offenders to deter future crimes against expression and the training of journalists so they can practice without restrictions. ■

Agenda for the Americas for the 21st Century Schedule

Monday, April 28, 1997

PUBLIC PLENARY

8:45 a.m. Jimmy Carter, former U.S. President, and Chair, Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government
Dr. Robert Pastor, Executive Secretary of Council

Panel 1: Trade

9:05 a.m. Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, President of Bolivia
Leonel Fernández, President of the Dominican Republic
Linda Chavez-Thompson, Executive Vice President, AFL-CIO

Panel 2: Drugs

9:40 a.m. Luis Alberto Lacalle, former President of Uruguay
P.J. Patterson, Prime Minister of Jamaica
Gen. Barry McCaffrey, Director, White House Office for National Drug Control Policy
Congressman Benjamin Gilman, Chair, House International Relations Committee

Panel 3: Security Agenda: Arms Restraint/Border Disputes

11:00 a.m. César Gaviria, Secretary-General, Organization of American States
Oscar Arias Sánchez, former President of Costa Rica
Carlos Andrés Pérez, former President of Venezuela

Panel 4: Democratic and Social Agendas

11:30 a.m. Joe Clark, former Prime Minister of Canada
Patricio Aylwin, former President of Chile
Luis Gabriel Cano, President, Inter-American Press Association, Colombia
Luis Moreno Ocampo and Fritz Heimann, Transparency International
Osvaldo Hurtado, former President of Ecuador

12:20 p.m. Sen. Paul Coverdell (R-Ga.), Senate Foreign Relations Committee

PRIVATE WORKING GROUPS

- 1:45 p.m. Working Groups Discuss Drugs, Trade, Poverty, Security, and Democracy
- 3:30 p.m. Working Groups Reconvene and Prepare Recommendations
- 7:00 p.m. Reception, Dinner, and Remarks, King & Spalding
- The Honorable Thomas "Mack" McLarty, U.S. Special Envoy to the Americas and Councilor to the President of the United States
 - His Excellency Ernesto Zedillo, President of Mexico
 - The Honorable Newt Gingrich, U.S. Speaker of the House of Representatives

Tuesday, April 29, 1997

- 8:30 a.m. Discussion of Reports from Working Groups
- 12:00 p.m. Luncheon Remarks by the Honorable Enrique Iglesias, President, Inter-American Development Bank
- 1:15 p.m. Council Members Private Session To Discuss Its Recommendations
- 4:00 p.m.-
5:30 p.m. Press Conference and Presentation of Council Report
- 7:00 p.m. Reception, Dinner, and Speeches with CNN World Report
- P.J. Patterson, Prime Minister of Jamaica
 - Oscar Arias, former President of Costa Rica
 - Al Gore, Vice President of the United States

Agenda for the Americas for the 21st Century

List of Consultation Participants

Co-Chairs

Former President Jimmy Carter, United States

Former President Gerald Ford, United States

Council Members and Current Heads of State

President Leonel Fernández, Dominican Republic

Prime Minister P.J. Patterson, Jamaica

President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, Bolivia

President Ernesto Zedillo, Mexico

Former President Oscar Arias Sánchez, Costa Rica

Former President Patricio Aylwin, Chile

Former President Rodrigo Carazo, Costa Rica

Former President Marco Vinicio Cerezo, Guatemala

Former Prime Minister Joe Clark, Canada

Former President Osvaldo Hurtado, Ecuador

Former President Luis Alberto Lacalle, Uruguay

Former President Carlos Andrés Pérez, Venezuela

Former Prime Minister George Price, Belize

Former Prime Minister Erskine Sandiford, Barbados

Former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Canada

Vice President Carlos Federico Ruckauf, Representative of Council Member President Carlos Saúl Menem, Argentina

Ambassador Ronaldo Sardenberg, Minister of Strategic Affairs and Representative of Council Member President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Brazil

Rodolfo Terragno, President, National Committee, Unión Cívica Radical Party, and Representative of Council Member Raúl Alfonsín, Argentina

Dr. Robert Pastor, Executive Secretary of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government and Director of the Latin American and Caribbean Program, The Carter Center

Representatives of International Organizations

Secretary-General César Gaviria, Organization of American States (OAS)

Secretary-General Kofi Annan, United Nations

Enrique Iglesias, President, Inter-American Development Bank

Gert Rosenthal, Executive Secretary, U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, Chile

Muni Figueres, External Relations Advisor, Inter-American Development Bank

U.S. Administration

Vice President Al Gore

Thomas "Mack" McLarty, Special Envoy to the Americas and Counselor to the President

Gen. Barry McCaffrey, Director, U.S. Office for National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP)

James Dobbins, National Security Council, Director of Latin American Affairs

Ronald Scheman, U.S. Executive Director, Inter-American Development Bank

Mark Schneider, Assistant Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development

Peter Romero, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs,
State Department

Benjamin Harvey, Staff Director, Office of Supply Reduction, ONDCP

Joseph Donovan, ONDCP

U.S. Congress

Congressman Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives

Congressman Benjamin Gilman, Chair, House International Relations Committee

Sen. Paul Coverdell, Chair, Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, Senate Foreign
Relations Committee

Other International Participants

Marcelo Carlos Avogadro, Undersecretary for Economic Negotiation and International Trade,
Argentina

Adhemar Gabriel Bahadian, Deputy Secretary-General of External Relations, Brazil

José Octavio Bordón, President, PAIS Party, Argentina

Luis Gabriel Cano, President, Inter-American Press Association, Colombia

Luis Alberto Cordero, Director, CAPEL, Costa Rica

Pedro Pablo Diaz, Vice President, Corporate Communications, Latin American Group,
The Coca-Cola Company

Fernando Duran, Director, The Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress

Raúl Fernandez, First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chile

Mónica Inés González de Bordón, Director, Social Development, Institute of Economics and
Organization (INSTECON), Argentina

Ambassador Cedric Grant, Professor of Political Science, Clark Atlanta University; former Guyanese
Ambassador to the United States; and Delegate to the OAS, Guyana

José Angel Gurria, Foreign Minister, Mexico

Sergio González Galvez, Undersecretary for Multilateral Affairs, Mexico

Michael Kergin, Assistant Deputy Minister for the Americas, Foreign Ministry, Canada

Ambassador Juan Martabit, Chilean Government Coordinator for the Santiago Summit of the
Americas, March 1998, Chile

Maureen McTeer, Professor of Law, University of British Columbia, Canada

Luis Moreno Ocampo, President, Transparency International, Argentina

Beatrice Rangel, Senior Vice President, Corporate Strategies, Cisneros Group, Venezuela

Miguel Rodríguez, Professor of Economics at IESA, Caracas, and former Minister of Planning,
Venezuela

Daniel Romero, International Affairs Coordinator for former President Carlos Andrés Pérez,
Venezuela

José Serrano, President, TTM, and Board Member, Kansas City Southern

Representatives of Argentina, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica

Berndt Abendroth, National Secretary for Industry and Commerce, Bolivia

Virgilio Alcántara, Press Director, National Palace, Dominican Republic

Basil Bryan, Deputy Chief of Mission, Jamaican Embassy

Alejandro Benjamín Dosoretz, Advisor to President of the Argentine Senate

Miguel Cocco, Director of Customs and Duties, Dominican Republic

Fernando Cossio, Ambassador to the United States, Bolivia

Eduardo Latorre, Minister of Foreign Relations, Dominican Republic

Juan Marichal, Minister of Sports, Dominican Republic

Danilo Medina, Minister of the Presidency, Dominican Republic

Gerónimo Meleán, Executive President for the National Fund for Alternative Development, Bolivia

Ambassador Richard Pierce, Senior Director, International Relations and Trade, Jamaica

Victor Rico, National Secretary for International Economic Relations, Bolivia

Ignacio Sánchez de Lozada, Special Assistant to the Bolivian President

Temístocles Montas, Director, Dominican Electric Company (CDE), Dominican Republic

Bernardo Vega, Ambassador to the United States, Dominican Republic

Other U.S. Participants

Peter Bell, President and CEO, CARE, and Co-Chair, Inter-American Dialogue

Thomas Cardamone, Director, Conventional Arms Transfer Project, Council for a Livable World

Linda Chavez-Thompson, Executive Vice President, AFL-CIO

Neal Creighton, President, McCormick Tribune Foundation

Michael Criszt, Coordinator, Latin American Research, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta

Carlos Diaz, President, Latin American Sales, Turner International, CNN

Richard Feinberg, Dean, University of California-San Diego Graduate School in International
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Peter Hakim, President, Inter-American Dialogue

Fritz Heimann, Chair, Transparency International, U.S. Chapter

Sol Linowitz, Co-Negotiator of Panama Canal Treaties and Chair Emeritus of
Inter-American Dialogue

James McClatchy, former President, Inter-American Press Association, and Chair,
McClatchy Newspapers

Melissa Metcalfe, Georgia State Director, Common Cause

Sam Nunn, Partner, King & Spalding; former U.S. Senator; and former Chair,
Senate Armed Services Committee

Roberto Peon, President, Latin America, BellSouth

Robert J. Ratliff, Chair, AGCO

Landon Rowland, President, Kansas City Southern Industries

Jim Wright, former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

Andrew Young, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations and former Mayor of Atlanta
Randall Ashley, Foreign Affairs Commentator, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*
Charles Krause, Commentator, Lehrer News Hour
Christopher Marquis, Columnist, *The Miami Herald*
Linda Robinson, Latin America Correspondent, *U.S. News & World Report*
Stephen Rosenfeld, Editorial Page, *The Washington Post*
Vijay Vaitheeswaran, Contributor, Mexico City Bureau, *The Economist*

The Carter Center and Emory University Participants

Rosalynn Carter, Vice Chair, The Carter Center, and former First Lady, United States
William Chace, President, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.
John Hardman, Executive Director, The Carter Center
Gordon Streeb, Acting Associate Executive Director-Prevention and Resolution of Conflict Programs,
The Carter Center, and former U.S. Ambassador to Zambia
Harry Barnes, Director, Conflict Resolution and Human Rights Programs, The Carter Center, and former
U.S. Ambassador to Chile
Marion Creekmore, Vice Provost for International Affairs, Emory University, and former U.S.
Ambassador to Sri Lanka
Steven Sanderson, incoming Vice President for Arts and Sciences and Dean of Emory College,
Emory University, beginning July 1997
Juan del Aguila, Professor, Political Science, Emory University
Robin Moriarty, Ph.D. Candidate, Political Science, Emory University
Jeffrey Rosensweig, Professor, Finance, Goizueta School of Business, Emory University

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Dr. David Carroll, Associate Director
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Harish Padmanaba, Emory University
Selin Sol, Georgia State University
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- Beatrice Rangel, Senior Vice President, Corporate Strategy

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- Madeleine Wiener, Vice President, Marketing, Latin America, Turner International

Delta Air Lines Inc.

- Rudi Forster, Regional Director, Mexico and Central/South America
- Mike Boynton, Director, Sales

INVESCO PLC

- Luis Aguilar, General Counsel, INVESCO
- Lindsay Davidson, Portfolio Manager, INVESCO Global

ITOCHU

- Toru Hikasa, CEO, Latin America
- Tsuneharu Takeda, Senior Vice President and General Manager

Kansas City Southern Industries

- Landon Rowland, President, Kansas City Southern Industries
- José Serrano, President, TTM, and Board Member, Kansas City Southern Industries

King & Spalding

- Horace Sibley, Senior Partner
- Ed Hawie, Senior Partner

McCormick Tribune Foundation

- Neal Creighton, President

NationsBank

R.R.E. Investors

Southern Company

- Ben Harris, Assistant to the Senior Vice President, External Affairs

Time Warner

United Parcel Service

- Arnie Wellman, Vice President
- José Creamer, Vice President



Council members Marco Vinicio Cerezo and George Price co-chair the Security Working Group.



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Former Sen. Sam Nunn and Carter Center Executive Director John Hardman speak during a break.



Berndt Abendroth, national secretary for industry and commerce in Bolivia, and Ademar Bahadian, deputy secretary-general of external relations in Brazil, listen as a working group discusses trade.

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Joe Clark, former prime minister of Canada; Sol Linowitz, co-negotiator of the Panama Canal Treaties; and Landon Rowland, president of Kansas City Southern Industries; contemplate the ideas presented during the discussion on drugs and trade.

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“Thank you for your letter and for your report on the April 28-29 Carter Center conference on the Americas. I am glad Al Gore, Mack McLarty, and Barry McCaffrey were able to join you. ... Thank you for your continuing efforts to promote a positive U.S. engagement with the hemisphere.”

—from a letter written by President Bill Clinton to former President Jimmy Carter



Former President Gerald Ford and U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan exchange views during a plenary session.

BILLY HOWARD



Carlos Federico Ruckauf, Argentine vice president; Jimmy Carter; and Rodolfo Terragno, president of Union Cívica Radical Party; demonstrate bipartisanship at the King & Spalding dinner.

BILLY HOWARD

“The main subjects were effectively engaged, and I think that the breakthrough in fast-track and certification are significant and full of promise for the future.”

—Luis Alberto Lacalle,
former president of Uruguay

“For once, it really was a blue-ribbon meeting. Jimmy Carter had brought together at his centre in Atlanta a small crowd of former western hemisphere presidents and four now in office, to look at key issues . . . The men at Atlanta were opening doors that Mr. Clinton may be happy to slip through.”

—The Economist,
May 3, 1997



Ernesto Zedillo, president of Mexico; Juan Marichal, minister of sports for the Dominican Republic; Gerald Ford, former U.S. president; and Bernardo Vega, ambassador to the United States for the Dominican Republic; converse after the King & Spalding dinner.

BILLY HOWARD



Stephen Rosenfeld of The Washington Post; Oscar Arias, former president of Costa Rica; and Jim Wright, former U.S. speaker of the house; chat during one of the consultation breaks.

BILLY HOWARD



Ted Turner of Time Warner and Council members Rodrigo Carazo, George Price, and Jimmy Carter greet one another before the Carter Center/CNN World Report dinner.

BILLY HOWARD

Council members Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, Vinicio Cerezo, and Osvaldo Hurtado, listen while Carlos Andrés Pérez speaks to the working group.



BILLY HOWARD

Appendices

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, April 27, 1997

CARTER CENTER CONFERENCE:
LATIN AMERICA'S 21ST CENTURY

Looking South

Talking over the Latin America of the 21st century will bring dozens of presidents, former presidents, prime ministers, ambassadors, members of Congress and captains of industry to the Carter Center this week. The conference may preview issues that will be discussed during President Clinton's first presidential trip to Latin America on May 5.

But understanding — and exploring new ways to achieve common goals — is what former president Jimmy Carter had in mind in calling the meeting as a follow-up to the Summit of the Americas in 1994, hosted by Clinton. Today we outline some of the vital issues.

■ Jimmy Carter on our neighbors

"Latin America has been transformed politically, as well as economically, in the past 10 years. The possibility of building a community of market-oriented democracies in the Western Hemisphere has never been greater." **Q&A, F3.**

■ Georgia's stake in trade

The conference will touch on trade as the United States looks south to this market of a half-billion people. Coca-Cola Co. has long had a southern strategy. Now other Georgia-based companies are looking to Latin America. **Report, F3.**

■ Selling danger in Latin America?

Some of the trade the United States is going after is deadly, says former Costa Rican president Oscar Arias. Selling too many U.S. weapons south will threaten Latin America's march to democracy. **Below.**

OPINION FROM COSTA RICA

Weapons overtures may signal the end of peace, tranquillity

By Oscar Arias

There is a certain irony about a country living in peace: The world tends to lose interest in its fate.

Mechanisms that maintain and foster peace, promote human development or resolve conflicts peacefully are much less interesting than a good show of force on CNN. That our society celebrates violence and is bored by peace should give us cause for concern.

Nowhere is this phenomenon more visible than in the relations the United States maintains with Latin America. As the region struggles to establish firm and lasting democracies so that peace can flourish, we see little moral or active assistance from the international community. With reduced foreign aid, empty coffers and war-tired people, Latin America continues to inch toward a democratic reality and a brighter future for its children. None of this makes headline news. Yet Latin America may soon be the focus of world attention as its militaries start stockpiling high-technology weapons.

Until recently, U.S. weapons manufacturers had little, if any, interest in exploiting a Latin American arms market. Other regions proved to be much more lucrative outlets for their wares. Furthermore, the industry was faced with a decades-old policy restricting the sale of high technology weapons to Latin America: The informal ban had a tradition of being upheld since its initiation during President Carter's administration.

However, the Clinton administration, upon the advice of former Secretary of Defense William Perry

and pressure from arms manufacturers, has allowed Lockheed Martin Corp. to negotiate a bid for the sale of F-16 fighter jets to Chile. And Chile is just the beginning. Brazil has expressed interest in acquiring its own set of F-16s within the next eight years.



Oscar Arias

Peru and Ecuador are shopping around as well. Even Argentina, whose military spending has plummeted drastically in the past few years and who originally disapproved of lifting this ban, is now considering acquiring high-tech weapons if Chile proceeds with its plans.

The deadly trade that the United States is promoting is, at the very least, disconcerting. Although democracies exist throughout Latin America,

one would be naive to believe they are strong. Introducing high-technology weapons to Latin America bodes a future of violent eruptions, regional instability and a growing arms race. Border skirmishes will be intensified; fragile civilian control over traditionally strong militaries will be weakened; national resources will be diverted to satisfy professional soldiers' egos rather than address the needs of the peo-

ple. How can a continent progress into the 21st century when governments are busy building arsenals and not schools? How can a people continue their struggle for peace when more money is spent modernizing fighter planes than hospitals? How can the hope for a brighter future not be broken when violence wields more clout than peace?

We are all conscious of the excruciatingly painful and costly process that Latin America has undergone in the recent past to move beyond its bloody history. As tentative steps are taken toward human development and peaceful reconciliation, one cannot help but question the logic behind the U.S. government's current maneuvers.

Perhaps the answer lies in the political contributions that defense contractors made during the 1995/96 election cycle. Lockheed Martin contributed more than \$1.6 million and, not coincidentally, happens to be the Pentagon's top contractor and the United States' leading weapons exporter.

There is a shred of hope. The U.S. government has not yet given its final permission to carry out the sale. Perhaps the Clinton administration will acknowledge Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's advice to respect the emerging democracies in Latin America by maintaining the informal ban on advanced weaponry sales. At the same time, President Clinton should limit Secretary of Defense William Cohen to acting on behalf of U.S. national defense and not the marketing aspirations of weapon manufacturers.

More important, Latin American governments should be encouraged to define a regional weapons purchasing agreement that will not upset the exist-

ing power balances. The United States should support such a regional measure. Furthermore, the United States could create a more supportive environment by endorsing an International Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers. Building on similar proposals being debated in the U.S. Congress and the European Union, there is an International Code of Conduct that has already been drafted by 15 Nobel Peace Prize laureates, including myself. This code would stress that any decision to export arms should take into account several characteristics pertaining to the country of final destination. The recipient country must endorse democracy in terms of free and fair elections, the rule of law and civilian control over the military and security forces. Its government should not engage in gross violations of internationally recognized human rights. The International Code of Conduct would not permit arms sales to any country responsible for armed aggression in violation of international law. Finally, the code would require the purchasing country to participate fully in the U.N. Register of Conventional Arms.

With the Carter Center's Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government meeting to discuss an agenda for the 21st century in Latin America and the Caribbean, I sincerely hope that these security suggestions will be taken to heart by national and international leaders alike.

Oscar Arias, the former president of Costa Rica, won a Nobel Peace Prize in 1987 for his Central American peace plan.

2 summits begin today in Atlanta

At the Carter Center, CNN: "Blockbuster" participants will discuss Latin America and international media interests.

By Elizabeth Kurylo
STAFF WRITER

A bevy of world leaders, including the president of Mexico and the head of the United Nations, will be in Atlanta for conferences beginning today at the Carter Center and at CNN.

The Carter Center meeting focuses on U.S. policy toward Latin America. Participants will discuss trade, drug trafficking, democracy and border conflicts. Former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford will host the two-day meeting today and Tuesday.

CNN's World Report Contributor's Conference will draw more than 200 journalists from around the world. Speakers include U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan, who also will participate in the Carter Center meeting, and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Jordan's King Hussein. Netanyahu and Hussein will appear via satellite Wednesday.

Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo will participate in the Carter Center conference tonight at a dinner downtown at the Atlanta law firm King & Spalding. Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Newt Gingrich also will speak at the dinner.

Vice President Al Gore will address participants of both conferences at a dinner Tuesday at the Georgia World Congress Center.

Carter said in an interview from his home in Plains that the United States has been ignoring Latin America, missing an opportunity to expand trade in the region. "Most Americans don't know about" the dramatic economic and political changes in Latin America, he said.



Joining in the CNN conference via satellite will be Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (left) and Jordan's King Hussein.

"One of the objectives is to raise the profile of these issues, not just in the United States but to a broader audience," said Robert Pastor, coordinator of the Latin America conference.

Pastor said the Carter Center meeting is a "blockbuster conference," featuring four current and 17 former Latin American heads of state, two secretaries general (including the head of the Organization of American States), half a dozen foreign ministers, U.S. drug czar Gen. Barry McCaffrey and other Washington lawmakers.

Peter Hakim, president of Inter-American Dialogue, a Washington-based think tank, said U.S. policy toward Latin America has been "drifting," with no progress on creating a free trade zone. This was the chief topic during the Summit of the Americas, convened by President Clinton in Miami in December 1994.

In a related development, the White House confirmed Sunday that Massachusetts Gov. William Weld has been offered the job of U.S. ambassador to Mexico. President Clinton is expected to formally nominate Weld this week after conferring with Mexican officials. The nomination is subject to Senate confirmation. Weld said he expects to stay in the governor's job until he is confirmed.

■
CNN's global village

B8

EDITORIAL

The Atlanta Journal / The Atlanta Constitution

FOCUS ON LATIN AMERICA

At conference, U.S. should be good listener

Could the United States learn some things from its Latin American neighbors? As the region's democratic leaders converge at the Carter Center this week, listening will be as important as talking for U.S. officials—and for the rest of us as well.

During the 1980s, Americans became accustomed to thinking of Latin America as fraught with military dictators or communist regimes, as saddled with hopeless economic systems. But as members of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of State gather in Atlanta, it's clear that view is outdated. Not only have democratic regimes imposed stiff economic reforms, but progressive political and economic institutions are proliferating. In the past five years, U.S. trade with Latin America has increased eight times faster than with Japan and 15 times faster than with Europe.

There's no question that the United States has played a strong



Martha Ezzard is a member of The Journal's editorial board. Her column runs in The Journal on Monday.

MARTHA EZZARD

role as mentor to many of the struggling democracies. But there's also no question that the United States needs to revise its drug certification program that has antagonized friends without hurting enemies. Professor Robert Pastor, director of the Carter Center's Latin American program, said in a speech at Emory University that the United States can pick up some innovative ideas for solving our own problems from our southern neighbors.

For example, said Pastor, we could learn two lessons about campaign finance reform from Chile—don't equate money to free speech and limit expenditures as well as contributions. We might pick up some ideas from President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada's unusual poverty-fighting efforts in Bolivia, Latin America's poorest nation. Sanchez has sold off state-owned firms, used "federal" proceeds as pension funds for workers and distributed money to local officials to fashion social programs from the ground up.

Conservative think tanks have also pointed recently to Chile's successful savings and retirement program. At a time when a graying America faces reforming an outdated social security system, Chile offers a privatization model. Chileans are now allowed to save tax-free for old age, and the country's savings rate is 28 percent, compared with a U.S. rate of 10 percent.

Vice President Al Gore will be

in Atlanta for the Carter Center conference. Gore needs to revive the notion that expanding trade and sharing environmental protection go hand-in-hand. The much-touted safeguards of the North American Free Trade Agreement have not materialized and the Clinton administration has paid little heed to them.

Expanding free trade is the focal point of the important gathering, which is also attracting the region's top business leaders as well as GOP leaders Speaker Newt Gingrich and Sen. Paul Coverdell, who is working on a new drug certification approach. President Clinton will soon seek fast-track authority to include Chile in NAFTA, but a bold free-trade zone for the Americas doesn't seem far-fetched as we approach the end of the century.

What happens to our Latin American neighbors happens to us. In the post Cold War world, the hemisphere's economic security is as important to America's future as military security is.

The Miami Herald

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1997, THE HERALD 3A

Gingrich urges break for drug war allies

Remarks may boost hemisphere policy

By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS
Herald Staff Writer

ATLANTA — House Speaker Newt Gingrich on Monday endorsed calls to revise the U.S. certification process of drug war allies, a congressionally mandated review that has antagonized many nations in the hemisphere.

In remarks to the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government at the Carter Center here, Gingrich said Congress should pursue a more subtle multilateral approach to judging the performance of other nations' anti-narcotics efforts.

"I think certification in its current form by the United States just doesn't make sense," said Gingrich, who noted that it angers what he called the "legitimate sensitive patriot."

Gingrich said the United States is in no position to pass judgment on others when "we can't police ourselves."

"I'd like to see us rethink this entire process," he said.

At the same time Gingrich told the leaders from across the hemisphere that he favors approval of fast-track negotiating authority for President Clinton, and would not object to the inclusion of labor and environmental standards in a future trade pact with Chile.

"I am dedicated deeply to passing fast track legislation this year," the speaker said. "I think it will be good for America and good for the hemisphere."

Gingrich also expressed a desire to extend full parity for the North American Free Trade Agreement to nations of the Caribbean.

Taken together, his remarks appeared to help clear the way for the Clinton administration to reinvigorate its often-strained relationship with Latin American nations. The gesture comes a week before Clinton is scheduled

THE AMERICAS

to leave on a three-nation trip to the region, his first extended visit since he became president nearly five years ago.

U.S. relations with Mexico — the first stop on Clinton's itinerary — were roiled earlier this year when U.S. officials openly debated whether to deny certification to Mexico's anti-drug campaign, a move that would have opened the door to sanctions.

Amid a fierce Mexican outcry, Clinton ultimately backed off despite a mushrooming scandal that led to the imprisonment of Mexico's drug czar.

Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo, in remarks obviously pointed toward Washington, urged nations to avoid "self-complacency and blaming others."

"We need to move beyond labeling each other as suppliers, transporters and users," he said. "The truth of the matter is that ... only a coordinated effort will ensure success."

In Latin America, only Colombia was denied certification — for the second consecutive year.

U.S. drug czar Barry McCaffrey acknowledged Monday that the certification process is flawed and offensive to many nations.

"Certification is a process that will need to be relooked at by the U.S. Congress and the executive branch," McCaffrey said.

But Rep. Benjamin Gilman, R-N.Y., the chairman of the House International Relations Committee, argued that the certification process had been misunderstood.

"The certification process ensures that for at least a few weeks out of the year, this problem is accredited the attention it deserves," said Gilman, an original sponsor of the certification law.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, April 29, 1997

The Atlanta Journal / The Atlanta Constitution

NEWS

U.S. drug oversight challenged

Latin American leaders say law is vague and arrogant, but drug czar says it is unlikely to change.

By Elizabeth Kurylo
STAFF WRITER

Several Latin American leaders said Monday that the United States should change the way it judges efforts to control illegal drug trafficking, but the U.S. drug czar told them the process probably won't change any time soon.

"It is a federal law, it is not a policy option," Gen. Barry McCaffrey said at a Carter Center conference on Latin American issues.

U.S. Rep. Ben Gilman (R-N.Y.) defended how the U.S. law works, but acknowledged that it is "so misunderstood by so many governments." He said Congress created the "certification" process, linked to foreign aid, so it could judge how other countries and the White House are fighting illegal drug trafficking.

As a donor nation, Gilman said, the United States is "entitled to know on foreign policy just how well the people who are getting some of our funds are utilizing these funds.

"While they may not like what we're finding, if they're not cooperating, why should we be cooperating with them?" Gilman said.

The meeting, which concludes today, has drawn more than 100 world leaders, including U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, Mexico's President Ernesto Zedillo and Vice President Al Gore.

The meeting began with general comments on free trade, democracy, arms control and border conflicts. Then talks turned to illegal drug trafficking. It became clear that some Latin Americans resent U.S. certification, which penalizes countries that do not perform satisfactorily in the war on drugs.

Luis Alberto Lacalle, former



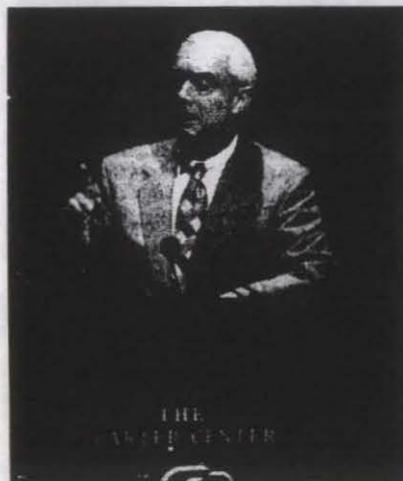
Photos by KIMBERLY SMITH / Staff

president of Uruguay, chided "the attitude of superiority" of the United States on the issue of illegal drug trafficking. He said the certification process "has caused damage to the struggle in the war against drugs."

Jamaican Prime Minister P.J. Patterson said the United States uses "vague" criteria to judge how other countries deal with illegal drugs.

"When the threat of decertification is used as a lever to coerce agreement for a particular aspect in the fight against drugs, it is obvious that the process does more harm than good," Patterson said. Conference participants will discuss alternatives to certification, such as having international organizations outside the United States assess how each country is doing in the war on drugs.

Former President Jimmy Carter, who is co-host of this week's meeting along with former President Gerald Ford, said in an interview before the conference that "enormous and almost unrestrained demand in the United



Close ties: Former President Jimmy Carter (above, left) listens with Bolivian President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada to a speech Monday at the Carter Center. The center is hosting a two-day conference on the Americas. Barry McCaffrey, U.S. drug czar, (left) discusses drug control.

States" is a major factor in illegal drug trafficking.

Carter said the Latin America conference is "one of the most meaningful we've ever held at the Carter Center." Its recommendations will be shared with President Clinton, who is scheduled to travel to Mexico and other Latin

American countries in May.

Carter said it is "crucial" for the U.S. United States to move forward on free trade in Latin America. "If the United States gets bypassed, we're going to be usurped in one of the most wonderful opportunities in the future."

Mexico's president calls for respect, free trade



FRANK NIEMEIR / Staff
Ernesto Zedillo says
in Latin America,
democracy is the rule,
not the exception.

By Elizabeth Kurylo
STAFF WRITER

Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo said Monday in Atlanta his country has reformed its electoral process and deserves to be treated respectfully by the United States on such issues as drug trafficking, illegal immigration and trade.

"The U.S.-Mexican . . . relation is one of the most complex in the world," Zedillo told 140 people at a Carter Center dinner downtown at King & Spalding law firm. "We need an open relationship — respectful and transparent — if we are to address our common concerns."

This summer, Mexico will have "the most competitive elections in our country's history," Zedillo said.

He also urged trade with Latin America. "Free trade agreements throughout the Americas are transforming our economies and making us stronger competitors in the world marketplace," Zedillo said.

In the audience were former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Mack McLarty, Latin American envoy. President Clinton will make his first trip to Latin America next week, stopping in Mexico, Costa Rica and Barbados.

Gingrich said he is committed to passing "fast-track negotiating authority" Clinton needs to expand free trade with Latin America.

Gingrich said the United States should rethink how it judges how well other countries are fighting

illegal drug trafficking, because it is "offensive" to judge Colombia and Mexico when the United States is struggling to fight drugs at home.

"I think certification in its current form by the United States just doesn't make sense," he said.

"Let us agree our goal is to wipe out the drug dealers, to wipe out the cartels, to save our children, to protect our political structures, and let us work together. Let us find an appropriate kind of certification, with an appropriate kind of measurement and let us do it hand in hand."

■
Meeting aims to mend fences A3
Trade high on agenda F2

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, April 30, 1997

A4 Wednesday, April 30, 1997 *****

NEWS

LATIN AMERICA SUMMIT

Conferees: Just say yes to trade

By Elizabeth Kurylo
STAFF WRITER

Latin American leaders ended two days of talks at the Carter Center on Tuesday by asking the United States to stop bullying them about the war on drugs and start taking them seriously as trading partners.

The group, which is composed primarily of former heads of state from 29 countries in the hemisphere, also urged the U.S. Congress and President Clinton to "repeal or significantly modify" the Helms-Burton law, which penalizes trade with Cuba. In addition, they asked current leaders in Latin America to stop buying high-tech weapons for two years, because they are concerned about the possibility of an arms race in the region.

The recommendations came at the conclusion of the conference, "Agenda for the Americas for the 21st Century."

Later Tuesday, Vice President Al Gore gave a whole-hearted endorsement to the council's call for fast-tracking trade negotiations with Latin American countries. But he signaled a sharp division with the council over an issue in the drug war, saying the administration will not back down from linking foreign aid to "certification" of countries involved in eradicating drug production and transport.

Gore's position on certification flew in the face of some Latin American delegates, who argue the U.S. does not meet its obligation to lower demand. It was one of Gore's few points that was not roundly applauded, possibly because he indicated drug flow stems from corruption in government.

"Corruption causes a diversion of energy and resources to accommodate the problem rather than allowing work on the solution," Gore said. "And of course we must do all in our power to stop drug trafficking."

"You had a very productive discussion of this topic here," Gore said. "You heard from Gen. Barry McCaffrey (U.S. drug czar), and others, and I just want to reaffirm, as he did, our absolute determination that drug traffickers will not prevail and they will be defeated."

In a final statement, conference participants said it is time to scrap the "certification policy," in which the United States imposes sanctions on countries it believes have not performed satisfactorily in the fight against drug trafficking. The Latin American leaders described the policy as vague, secretive and counterproductive.

They said they were encouraged by House Speaker Newt Gingrich's support of the "fast-track negotiating authority," which the U.S. government needs to expand free trade in Latin America. They said



RIC FELD / Associated Press

Touring Atlanta joints: Vice President Al Gore and Delta Air Cargo facility manager Jack Wingo look at a huge universal joint during a tour Tuesday at Hartsfield International Airport.

it was "vitaly important" that the United States gets fast-track authority "to begin serious trade negotiations." The group wants a "Free Trade Area of the Americas" by 2005.

Gingrich, who met with the group Monday, said he supports fast-track negotiating authority that includes provisions to protect labor rights and the environment. He also said the U.S. certification policy is "offensive and senseless," and should be re-evaluated.

The vice president was upbeat on the fast-tracking issue. Gore praised the group for the meeting at which Gingrich voiced his support for swiftly lowering trade barriers with some nations.

"Opening markets, building prosperity and engaging the new

international commerce are among the most important pillars of our foreign policy," Gore said. "That is why President Clinton and I support speedy passage of fast-track legislation."

"It's win-win for the U.S. and for the other nations that will be affected, and that is why we are actively laying the groundwork with our Congress, particularly in the House, to build support for the administration's support," Gore said. "With protection for labor and the environment, of course. They represent the core principles of the U.S. and other countries, and making sure they are addressed is the only responsible approach."

— Staff writer David Pendered contributed to this report.



THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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Editorials

Speaker shows statesmanship

Newt Gingrich impresses Latin America with his support of issues concerning the hemisphere

This week's Carter Center conference on Latin America generated solid proposals to improve cooperation throughout the hemisphere, but none more so than those advanced by Newt Gingrich. Why? Because as speaker of the House, he is well-placed to help carry them out.

The support he voiced for giving President Clinton fast-track trade authority will be crucial in broadening the 1993 North American Free Trade Agreement to include other prospective members. Prospering Chile would be first in line.

The benefits of the 3-year-old NAFTA agreement between the United States, Mexico and Canada deserve to be shared with others. According to the enthusiastic testimonial of Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo at the Carter Center meeting, NAFTA has increased U.S.-Mexican trade by 70 percent and is a major factor in helping Mexico over its recent financial crisis.

Fast-track authority, which must be approved by Congress, would allow Clinton to send a trade agreement to Capitol Hill for an up-or-down vote — without amendments or reservations. Without it, lawmakers who seek to safeguard special interests might undo the work of negotiators who draft the agreement with the broad national interest in mind. That shouldn't be allowed.

Gingrich also delighted Zedillo and other

Latin Americans at the conference when he denounced the U.S. certification policy on the hemisphere-wide war on drugs as inconsistent, even nonsensical. The United States has raised hackles, especially in Colombia and Mexico, with its yearly evaluation of the drug-fighting efforts of our Latin compatriots.

Last year Colombia was decertified, thereby cutting the amount of U.S. aid it receives. This year Mexico was subjected to an intense review before the Clinton administration gave its seal of approval. However, many congressional Republicans strongly disagreed with certification, which was resented by most Mexicans.

Gingrich identified the flaw in American complaints about the shortcomings of other countries in combating drug trafficking. "For us to say to Mexico and Colombia that you should do better than we do strikes me as wrong," he said. In other words, until this country does a superior job of reducing

demand for narcotics, treating addicts and policing the drug trade itself, it should concentrate on encouraging, not badgering, its neighbors to do better, too.

Gingrich made an excellent impression on the Latin Americans. Now all he has to do is sell a majority of his colleagues on writing these initiatives into law. For Gingrich, often mired in bareknuckled partisan quarrels, that will be a refreshing exercise in bipartisanship and statesmanship.



Associated Press

Newt Gingrich

The Miami Herald

THE FOREMOST DAILY NEWSPAPER OF FLORIDA

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1997

U.S. Latin policies get friendly advice

Rethink them, hemisphere leaders say

By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS
Herald Staff Writer

ATLANTA — Hoping to jump-start the Clinton administration's languishing agenda for Latin America and the Caribbean, former and current heads of state from the region called on the United States on Tuesday to overhaul the process by which it certifies partners in the fight against illegal narcotics.

The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government — 27 former elected officials from Canada to Argentina — also pressed Washington to swiftly pursue negotiating authority to expand free trade and challenged it to support a two-year moratorium on high-tech weapons sales to the region.

The group, which was co-founded by former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, also declared that the Helms-Burton law affecting trade with Cuba is "counterproductive" because it primarily antagonizes U.S. allies and asserted: "The most . . . effective way to bring democracy to Cuba is through a policy of engagement rather than isolation."

Council's mission

At a press conference unveiling the findings Tuesday, Carter said the council's mission is partly to address the vast expectations for regional cooperation raised by the 1994 Summit of the Americas in Miami.

"Major promises were made about the expansion of trade and other issues" at the summit, Carter said. "Very few of those promises have been realized."

The council's recommendations come less than a week before President Clinton is scheduled to make his first extended trip to Latin America, visiting Mexico, Costa Rica and Barbados. Administration officials, scurrying for the customary accords to unveil during the tour, privately voiced gratitude for some of the ideas raised at the two-day conference in Atlanta, including some unexpected help from Republican House Speaker Newt Gingrich.

On Monday night, Gingrich stunned his Carter Center audience by declaring that the administration's annual report card of other nations' performance in the drug war — a congressionally mandated review — is unduly harsh and merely antagonizes the governments whose help Washington needs most.

Questions process

"Certification in its current form by the United States just doesn't make sense," Gingrich said, adding: "I'd like to see us rethink the entire process."

The remarks capped hours of complaints from representatives of nations including Jamaica and Mexico — which recently barely escaped the sting of decertification — and culminated in the council's call to replace the report card with multilateral review, perhaps under the control of the Organization of American States or a blue-ribbon panel.

Noting the resentment stirred by Washington's unilateral review, Mexican Foreign Minister Jose Angel Gurría said, "We feel as threatened by the certification process as by the drug problem itself."

U.S. officials said they would seek to capitalize on a growing consensus to push through legislation that would free them from a process that they say has burdened their diplomacy more than it has provided leverage.

The council also sought to capitalize on remarks by Gingrich that he would fully support granting Clinton fast-track authority to begin negotiations with Chile and other nations, with the aim of achieving a hemispheric free-trade area by 2005. In a departure from the Republican line, Gingrich said he would support provisions to protect labor rights and the environment within the bill, provided they were trade-related.

The call for a moratorium on sophisticated weapons sales and purchases in the region, presented by former Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, comes as the administration appears poised to give the green light to Lockheed-Martin to sell F-16 fighter jets to Chile.

Under the council's proposal, the governments of Latin America would pledge to refrain from any such sophisticated purchases for two years, while Washington would maintain its ban, first imposed by Carter, on such sales.

INTERNATIONAL

The United States looks south

ATLANTA



Goodbye to one Mexican's dream of wealth

FOR once, it really was a blue-ribbon meeting. Jimmy Carter had brought together at his centre in Atlanta a small crowd of former western-hemisphere presidents and four—those of Mexico, Bolivia, Jamaica and the Dominican Republic—now in office, to look at key issues: trade, drugs and arms control. From the United States came, among others, Vice-President Al Gore and Newt Gingrich, Republican speaker of the House. The meeting was timed to provide President Clinton, due in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean next week, with fresh ideas. And there were some.

The big issue—as seen from Washington—when Mr Clinton reaches Mexico will be drugs. Latin Americans accept that this is important: Mexico this week announced the complete replacement of its anti-drug machinery. But the Latins also have bones to pick with the United States. Its annual process of unilaterally certifying—or decertifying—other countries as allies in the drugs war greatly irritates them. Here Mr Gingrich dropped a bombshell. "Clumsy, offensive and senseless," he called the process, to the surprise of General Barry McCaffrey, Mr Clinton's top drug fighter, who thinks much the same but did not expect to hear his thoughts in that mouth. Mr

Gingrich said he would push for a co-operative, hemispheric approach.

Trade is the top priority for most Latin American leaders. At Miami in December 1994, the region's presidents agreed to forge a free trade area of the Americas (FTAA) within a decade. President Clinton also promised to expand the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to include Chile. For whatever reason—one former adviser blames Mr Clinton's need for re-election and sundry promises to Cuban-Americans, labour groups and so on—two years have passed without real progress.

Now, maybe, things will change. Mr Clinton has said that 1997 will be the year Latin American issues come to the fore. His trip next week will be the first of three, building up to a pan-American summit in Santiago, Chile, next March. Yet the outlook has been bleak. A meeting of trade ministers in Brazil later this month seemed until recently to be heading mainly into a wall. But there has been progress. And Atlanta brought Mr Clinton some good news on this issue from his home front.

One basic trouble on the road toward an FTAA is the Brazilians wish to get Mercosur—the customs union involving them, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay—

consolidated and enlarged first, as a counterweight to NAFTA. Mercosur has already brought in Chile and Bolivia as associate members. Bolivia's President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada foresees a South American "SAFTA" emerging as early as next year.

One can doubt that. But certainly if the United States wants progress on the lines it favours, Mr Clinton will have to show leadership—as he has not done in looking for the "fast-track" authority from Congress that he needs to negotiate trade deals. His hesitation has been understandable: powerful lobbies on one side have insisted that fast-track deals must be Christmas-treed with onerous labour and environmental provisions, while free-market Republicans vowed to kill any fast-track so adorned. But Atlanta brought a potential breakthrough. For the first time, Mr Gingrich agreed to push through fast-track fast, even with labour and environmental provisions—not even as "side accords"—so long as these were truly trade-related. A swift compromise, unthinkable till now, seems possible.

Thus far the men at Atlanta were opening doors that Mr Clinton may be happy to slip through. Not so on regional disarmament. Pushed by weapons makers, he recently eased a ban imposed 20 years ago by Mr Carter on the sale of high-tech arms to Latin America. Chile is already shopping for fighters. Some Latin Americans, such as Oscar Arias, former president of (army-free) Costa Rica, are dismayed: he fears regional arms races, and argues that it is still up to the United States to prevent them.

The United States is unlikely to do any such thing. Sam Nunn, until recently the American Senate's most powerful voice on security matters, argued that his country should restrict arms sales to its southern neighbours only if they agreed among themselves to a ban. That is not unreasonable: other suppliers will not hesitate to tread where the Americans do not. Here too Mr Carter may have helped: he won the backing of the gathered Latin leaders to a two-year moratorium on high-technology arms purchases. In coming weeks, they are to lobby their countries' governments.

Yet in the end the man who must make things happen in the hemisphere is Mr Clinton. He has much that is essentially bilateral to discuss during next week's trip. For Mexico—and other near neighbours—one big issue is new American legislation on immigrants. This has caused near-panic among such people, and rage in their home countries, to whom it typifies gringo blindness—at best, contempt at worst. But Mr Clinton must think more widely. During his first term, he did, if belatedly, work hard to win congressional support for the NAFTA treaty; his men did, if less than brilliantly at first, prepare the Miami summit. But then he largely forgot the region. His coming trip will be his first official visit south of the border. With the concession from Mr Gingrich on fast track, and the push on decertification, he has the chance at home to show leadership abroad.

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The Miami Herald, May 9, 1997

The Americas: Friendly neighbors

Jim Wright is a former speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

LATIN AMERICAN leaders talked frankly with U.S. policy makers in Atlanta last week about the broad range of problems and opportunities, from trade to drugs to arms sales, that face our increasingly interdependent hemisphere.

The meeting, led jointly by former U.S. Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford at Carter's conference center, included 29 current and former presidents, prime ministers, and other national leaders from 17 countries.

--An irresistible democratic tide has swept this hemisphere in the 20 years since Carter began his presidency, preaching human rights. Latin America's political character is transformed. In 1977 most of the nations to our south were headed by military rulers who had seized power by armed coups. Today, throughout the whole region, every existing government save that of Cuba was popularly chosen in constitutional elections.

The challenge now is to show that democracy works, by using these democratic modalities to deliver on the oft-uttered promises of economic opportunity and social equality to people long denied.

Discussions probed ways to settle old border disputes, keep arms races from flaring anew, and reduce the economic drag of costly armaments, thus freeing money badly needed for schools, roads, and public health. One session addressed the region's joint commitment to eradicating illicit drugs.

Prime Minister P.J. Patterson of Jamaica posed a poignant question. He wondered how people in the United States might react if a Latin American parliament set itself up as judge and jury of our performance in trying to stop the smuggling of U.S.-supplied automatic firearms into their countries. Contraband shipments of arms and explosive devices from north of the Rio Grande are being sold to narcotraffickers who use them to kill Latin American police.

United against drug trafficking

A drug-free hemisphere is the common goal. Most Latin leaders want it even more desperately than we do. Gen. Barry McCaffrey, U.S. drug czar, acknowledged one embarrassing truth at the meeting: Although cocaine use is down by 75 percent from 15 years ago, the fastest-growing addiction is to methamphetamines. And most of these new chemically produced "boutique" drugs originate in the United States.



**JIM
WRIGHT**

Enrique Iglesias, head of the Inter American Development Bank, gave participants some mildly encouraging economic news. Inflation for the region has fallen steadily, to a current 11 percent from a deadly 500 percent just five years ago, with expectations for next year at 6 percent. Governments, meanwhile, are keeping their deficits low.

Even so, according to Iglesias, 200 million of the region's 460 million people live below the poverty level. In the distribution of its income, Latin America is "the most unequal region in the world." That fact makes it volatile.

There are, with it all, some success stories.

Central American nations dramatically have reduced their crushing arms burdens, with Nicaragua now budgeting only one-sixth what it spent on military activity in 1989. Costa Rica, which abolished its army in 1948, has developed the highest literacy rate, considerably above our own. Several Latin countries, when privatizing publicly owned

Nobody deserves more credit than President Jimmy Carter for today's peaceful inter-American relations.

businesses, wisely have used proceeds to endow permanent retirement funds for their people.

Former Canadian Prime Ministers Pierre Trudeau and Joe Clark, representing different political parties, told participants of Canada's successful campaign-reform law, which the group cited as a model for the hemisphere.

Mexico's President Ernesto Zedillo endorsed extending the North American Free Trade Agreement to the whole hemisphere. U.S. Vice President Al Gore and House Speaker Newt Gingrich expressed their support for legislation empowering President Clinton to pursue this goal. Costa Rica's former President and Nobel Peace Prize winner Oscar Arias appealed eloquently to fellow Latin Americans for a two-year moratorium on acquiring any new sophisticated weapons.

Excepting only the U.S. relationship with Cuba, every country in the hemisphere is on good diplomatic terms with each other. Many deeds by many people, notably including Arias, have contributed to the better spirit. But nobody deserves more credit than Jimmy Carter. It was his idea that began this series of informal dialogues 11 years ago. And it's his quiet persistence and friendly persuasion that have kept it going — and growing.

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The Atlanta Journal

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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Trade talks work in Clinton's favor

The post-Cold War leader who doesn't support free trade, like the Cold War leader who didn't oppose communism, is politically dead.

That's why leaders as philosophically diverse as House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) may soon support expanded fast-track authority for the president to negotiate a hemispheric trade agreement. Authorizing "fast track" means Congress can vote only up or down whatever treaty President Clinton negotiates — no amendments allowed.

Nevertheless, Clinton should thank former President Jimmy Carter and Robert Pastor, Latin America expert at the Carter Center, for clearing partisan obstacles to a possible trade agreement for the Americas, the kind of foreign-policy accomplishment that should give Clinton the place in the history books he covets.

After the recent Carter Center Latin America conference that tackled trade, drugs and arms sales, Pastor and Carter visited with Gingrich and AFL-CIO president John Sweeney in Washington to nail down commitments on the trade issue. Prior to the Atlanta conference, congressional Republicans were saying they wouldn't support fast-track legislation that contains environmental and labor provisions. And Democrats were vowing not to support any agreement without those guarantees. But in his



MARTHA EZZARD

conference remarks, Gingrich surprised everybody by committing to support such provisions if they are "trade-related." Pastor credited the speaker with sticking to that statesmanlike position in the private follow-up meeting.

But what's *not* "trade-related?" I asked Pastor. "Workplace and environmental requirements that are used in protectionist ways," he replied. Sweatshops and child labor violations *are* trade-related, he said. An example of a nontrade-related barrier would be prohibiting agricultural products treated with certain chemicals, or beef containing hormones, if there's no evidence of detriment to human health.

Pastor seemed less sure of labor (and therefore, some Democrats) than of Gingrich. But he said Sweeney is aware that labor's opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement left unions without a seat at the table. Environmentalists, who supported NAFTA, achieved stronger safeguards than labor did.

In the Atlanta meeting, Latin American leaders came up with two

tools Clinton can use: an ideal way to gradually admit countries to a broader free-trade area and a way to keep Latin America free of more weapons. The freely elected leaders want to set objective criteria for trading partners, agreed to by all countries. And their suggested two-year moratorium on arms purchases gives Clinton a graceful way to pull back from allowing Lockheed Martin Corp. to take the first step toward a possible sale of fighter jets to Chile. Carter and Oscar Arias, former Costa Rican president, are pushing countries to sign the moratorium pledge, knowing Chile will be pressured to abide by it.

The conference also sealed bipartisan support for replacing the paternalistic U.S. drug certification with a new hemispheric strategy. The plan is to give the Organization of American States or a nongovernmental organization such as the Carter Center responsibility for regular assessment and reporting.

Clinton hasn't always welcomed Carter's intervention, sometimes for good reason. Fresh from his successful Latin American trip, though, the president ought not waste any time taking advantage of a path to hemispheric leadership made smoother by Carter's Latin American conference.

Martha Ezzard is a member of the Journal editorial board. Her column appears Saturdays and Mondays (in the Journal).

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Banning Arms for Dictators

For years, a small band of peace activists pushed the entirely sensible but seemingly hopeless idea that the world should refuse to sell arms to dictatorships. Now it may be coming to pass. For the first time, a Code of Conduct setting out criteria for determining who can buy American arms has passed in the House of Representatives. The British Government has said it will adhere to an even stronger code, and support is growing in the European Union for a code that would apply to all members. Together the United States and the European Union account for 80 percent of the world's arms trade.

The code passed the House last week on a voice vote, with no one speaking in opposition. It has drawn fierce opposition from the Administration, which resists anything that ties its hands, and from the aerospace industry. But it has support across the spectrum in the House, where its sponsors are the liberal Cynthia McKinney of Georgia and the conservative Dana Rohrabacher of California.

The widespread support is due in part to the fact that the code is a watered-down version of previous efforts. It would require the President to make an annual list of countries eligible for American arms transfers, using several different tests of democracy and nonaggression. If the Administration wanted to sell to a country that does not meet the criteria, it could propose a waiver in the national security interest. Congress would then have eight months to block or condition the Administration's request. It is not, therefore, an automatic ban, but it is likely that the Administration would choose to duck many of the battles that selling to egregious violators might produce. The code might also encourage some borderline nations to democratize. About half of all American arms sales now go to countries that could be considered dictatorships.

Mr. Rohrabacher, who did not hesitate to support arming right-wing dictators when he worked in

the Reagan White House, says that with the fall of Communism, selling arms to dictators is no longer necessary. Indeed, such sales are often dangerous. American weapons have been turned against American soldiers in Somalia, Panama, Haiti and Iraq, to name a few places. Dictatorships are often unstable, and arms sold to the Shah of Iran end up in the hands of the Ayatollah Khomeini.

The sales also harm the buyers, who have better things to do with their resources. The former Costa Rican President and 1987 Nobel Peace Laureate Oscar Arias points out that 18 of the world's poorest countries spend more on their militaries than on education and health combined. Mr. Arias, who has led the effort for the Code of Conduct internationally, would like to see the money once spent on weapons go to demobilize armies instead. While most governments will not unilaterally renounce modern arms, many would be happy to join a ban that applies to their rivals as well. At a recent conference at the Carter Center in Atlanta, 15 former and current Latin American heads of state joined former Presidents Carter and Ford in endorsing the code.

Agreement by the major weapons-exporting nations is crucial. If the Code of Conduct is multilateral no one country will be the chump, losing market share to its competitors. Countries denied arms, moreover, will not be able to look elsewhere.

The Code of Conduct still faces obstacles before it becomes law here. It must win the agreement of Senate conferees. If it does, it will be an amendment to the State Department's authorization act, which has become a magnet for legal flotsam and could draw a Presidential veto. The code, while very worthwhile, is weaker than it should be and will face constant end runs by the Clinton Administration. But the House vote is a remarkable demonstration of the rewards that can come to a dogged movement with few resources but an important idea.

About The Carter Center

The Carter Center brings people and resources together to resolve conflicts; promote democracy; fight disease, hunger, and poverty; and protect and promote human rights worldwide. It is guided by the principle that people, with the necessary skills, knowledge, and access to resources, can improve their own lives and the lives of others.

Founded in 1982 by Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter in partnership with Emory University, the nonprofit Center undertakes action-oriented programs in cooperation with world leaders and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). In this way, the Center has touched the lives of people in more than 65 countries.

The Center's programs are directed by resident experts or fellows, some of whom teach at Emory University. They design and implement activities in cooperation with President and Mrs. Carter, networks of world leaders, other NGOs, and partners in the United States and abroad. Private donations from individuals, foundations, corporations, and multilateral development assistance programs support the Center's work.

The Center is located in a 35-acre park two miles east of downtown Atlanta. Four circular, interconnected pavilions house offices for the former president and first lady and most of the Center's program staff. The complex includes the nondenominational Cecil B. Day Chapel, other conference facilities, and administrative offices. The Jimmy Carter Library and Museum, which adjoins The Carter Center, is owned and operated by the National Archives and Records Administration of the federal government and is open to the public. The Center and Library are collectively known as The Carter Presidential Center.

More information about The Carter Center, including Center publications, press releases, and speeches, is available on the World Wide Web at: http://www.emory.edu/CARTER_CENTER.



PAUL DINGMAN

The Carter Center is located in a 35-acre park two miles east of downtown Atlanta.