Buyers Up • Congress Watch • Critical Mass • Global Trade Watch • Health Research Group • Litigation Group
Joan Claybrook, President

For Immediate Release:
Jan. 1, 2006

Contact: Chris Slevin (202) 454-5140
Todd Tucker (202) 454-5105

Missed January 1 Deadline for Start of CAFTA Underlines the NAFTA Record and Threats of its Expansion

As CAFTA's End-Run Around Democratic Process Becomes Clear, Polls Show Popularity of the Deal – and Public Opinion of the United States – Plummeting in Central America

WASHINGTON, D.C. – The myth that people in Central America were clamoring for the controversial expansion of NAFTA – purveyed by corporate and Bush administration CAFTA supporters – has been refuted yet again.

Days before the Central America Free Trade Agreement was to go into effect, news reports indicate that several of the CAFTA countries' parliaments – confronted by the reality of having to make far-reaching, retrograde changes to public health and other domestic laws required by the commercial agreement – are reluctant to actually implement the deal. In Costa Rica's case, the Congress is simply unwilling to ratify the controversial agreement.

In reaction, the Bush administration has decided to delay the planned Jan. 1, 2006, implementation until it can push through the anti-public interest changes to each Central American country's domestic laws.

"After sitting on the signed agreement for over a year because they knew they didn't have the support in the U.S. Congress for NAFTA expansion, the Bush administration was able to pass the deal by a one-vote margin only after cutting shady deals that cost U.S. taxpayers billions," said Lori Wallach, director of Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch. "Now the administration has come face to face with the reality that the agreement that it promised would bolster economic performance and democracy in Central America is in fact seriously unpopular because it forces the nations to implement an anti-development model that has proven to cause serious economic and social trauma."

Ironically, the final argument used to shove CAFTA through Congress – that CAFTA was essential to U.S. foreign policy objectives – is being invalidated. A recent poll shows that after several years of beating Latin Americans over the head with CAFTA and other misguided trade deals – which have constituted Washington's only major policy initiative and public relations strategy for its neighbors to the south – 61 percent of Latin Americans now have little or no confidence in the United States, with President Bush receiving only a 4.8 approval rating on a scale of 10 – among the lowest for leaders in the Western Hemisphere.[1]

"For all the hot air about promoting democracy worldwide, the Bush administration's actions tell the real story, with CAFTA as exhibit No. 1 in the administration's repeated end-runs around the democratic process at home and in Central America," Wallach said. "The bottom line is that CAFTA is a means to impose, top-down, an array of policies designed to engorge the profits of large U.S. drug, construction, energy and other corporations; these are the same policies that are now being rejected by the majority in these countries within their own domestic democratic processes. If CAFTA countries experience anywhere near the economic disaster experienced by Mexico under NAFTA, we should expect to see the administration's CAFTA crusade further erode the standing of the United States in the region."

The economic turmoil that CAFTA is expected to cause Central America may actually decrease the prospects for stronger democracy there, as a recent poll indicated that 55 percent of Latin Americans wouldn't mind a non-democratic government if it solved economic problems. In Mexico, and every CAFTA target country except for Costa Rica, this percentage is even higher: 70 percent in Honduras and Nicaragua, 67 percent in Mexico, 62 percent in the Dominican Republic, 57 percent in Guatemala and 56 in El Salvador.[2]

Plummeting Popularity of CAFTA in Central America:
Costa Rica: 58% Say Renegotiate or Reject CAFTA **Dominican Republic:** 60.8% Oppose **El Salvador:** 76% Say CAFTA Doesn't Help or Makes Situation Worse **Guatemala:** 65% Say CAFTA Will Harm Country **Honduras:** 77% Say Pro-CAFTA Government is Corrupt **Nicaragua:** Opinions on Economy Worsen in CAFTA's Wake

By bringing to light serious Bush administration double standards, the row over CAFTA's implementation has further antagonized the Democratic leaders to whom the administration has been claiming to reach out to on future trade deals. Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), a lead Democrat on trade issues, noted that "the hastily crafted CAFTA [is] stumbling out of the gate."[3] A letter from key House Ways and Means Committee members – including Reps. Rangel, Benjamin Cardin (D-Md.), Sander Levin (D-Mich.) and Xavier Becerra (D-Calif.) – noted that the Bush administration appears to be forcing changes to CAFTA target country law in regards to intellectual property and agricultural market access, while failing to do the same to bring the countries' labor laws into compliance with international standards. "The Administration once again appears to be applying a double standard when it comes to the question of including basic international standards of decency and fairness for working people in US FTAs [free trade agreements]," the four members of Congress wrote in a letter to U.S. Trade Representative Rob Portman.[4]

Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch has launched a new **CAFTA Accountability Project** which will closely monitor the outcomes of CAFTA at home and in Central America. To review the information the initial investigations have uncovered regarding the deals and outlandish statements of the 30 members of Congress considered most responsible for CAFTA's narrow passage, please visit www.tradewatch.org.

Background

After weeks of speculation in the Central American media that CAFTA would not be implemented on Jan. 1 as planned, on Dec. 19 the Bush administration reversed its stance of not seeing "any obstacle" to January implementation,[5] and confirmed that the agreement may not go into effect with all or any of the CAFTA target countries by that date, and that implementation would only occur "with those countries that the United States has determined to have taken sufficient steps to complete their commitments."[6] A subsequent Dec. 30 statement confirmed that CAFTA implementation would be conducted "on a rolling basis."[7] Media reports have indicated that the United States is also not ready to implement the agreement, dogged by a whole set of problems such as U.S. failure to sort out new customs rules for CAFTA's increased sugar imports.[8] The following is a summary of the status of CAFTA implementation in each target country.

Honduras and El Salvador

In an attempt to bid for Washington's favor, the ruling parties of both Honduras and El Salvador passed sweeping legislation in mid-December that contains new protectionist policies benefiting U.S.-controlled industries such as digital media and pharmaceutical companies. A Salvadoran police department official gave some indication of the road ahead when he said that the new protections would be enforced, "As we enforce our drug laws: you'll be prosecuted for possession" of "pirated" copyrighted materials.[9]

Plummeting Popularity of CAFTA in Central America:

"It is unfortunate that laws are getting made to protect large transnational companies to the detriment of the country's very poorest people."
-- Pedro Julian Hernández, Coordinator of the Salvadoran National Association of Pirate Vendors, Quoted in *La Prensa Gráfica,* Jan. 4, 2006

But some remorse has been in evidence in the weeks following passage of the new legislation, as a Salvadoran official indicated when he acknowledged that there could be thousands of people put out of work if CAFTA's rules were to mandate a crack down on the vendors of "pirated" CDs and software. When he raised the possibility of allowing these vendors to continue selling their wares, he received a harsh rebuke from the U.S.-based Business Software Alliance (BSA), which told reporters, "We're very sorry that many people will be out of work, but it is not our problem."[10] Days later, a BSA spokesman spun in a separate interview that enhanced monopoly rights for copyright holders would bring El Salvador "enhanced economic growth like they have in Mexico and Costa Rica."[11] These claims, however, are in sharp contrast to the historical record and even basic economic theory: after Mexico implemented greater monopoly protection for copyright and patent holders as a condition of NAFTA and World Trade Organization membership, its average economic growth rate has been paltry by its own historical standards. Meanwhile, even the World Bank has acknowledged that increased patent protection represents a drain on developing countries' economies, as it involves using scarce national resources to pay royalties and other tribute to copyright- and patent-holders who are usually in developed countries.[12]

In Honduras, President Ricardo Maduro experienced record low approval ratings following the signing of CAFTA, with less than a third of the population rating his performance as good or very good, while 77 percent of the population rate Maduro's government as more corrupt or as corrupt as previous governments.[13] Maduro's party was voted out of office in the most recent elections. These sentiments were captured by Cardinal Óscar Rodríguez Maradiaga, bishop of Tegucigalpa, who recently was discussed as one of the probable candidates to become the next Pope. He told reporters in November that he was worried that CAFTA would produce more poverty in the region.[14]

In El Salvador, where the recent CAFTA-related overhaul of the country's laws passed by a tiny majority, the leading opposition party walked out of Congress as the legislation was passed, pointing out that the overhaul of national law could well harm the public interest since no attempt had been made to predict the impact on local communities. The opposition party also noted that the Bush administration was demanding changes, not only to trade law, but also to criminal law and laws affecting telecommunications, security transactions and sanitary standards.[15] Polls show record opposition to CAFTA in El Salvador, where 76 percent of the population believe the agreement will not improve the country's situation or will make it worse.[16]

Despite the passage of these draconian changes to the Central American countries' domestic laws, the Bush administration has refused to notify the Organization of American States of its acceptance of the changes it forced on El Salvador and Honduras, leaving open the possibility of renewed pressure for further changes to domestic laws in the coming weeks. Both countries governments have suggested a new deadline of Feb. 1 for CAFTA to go into effect, but the Bush administration has not officially confirmed this delayed date.[17]

Guatemala

In Guatemala, polls found that 65 percent of respondents believed that CAFTA would harm their country.[18] When the country ratified CAFTA in March 2005, tens of thousands of people filled the streets in protest of the agreement. The government responded by unleashing the military on protestors across the country, in violation of the 1996 peace accords ending Guatemala's civil war, which forbid the use of military action against civilians. Two indigenous *campesino* farmers participating in the protest were murdered. Bishop Álvaro Ramazzini of Guatemala, the president of the Central American Conference of Catholic Bishops, summarized local sentiment when he said, "CAFTA did not come down from God. It is the flawed work of man," adding that it "may well make conditions here worse."[19]

Plummeting Popularity of CAFTA in Central America:

"CAFTA did not come down from God. It is the flawed work of man. [It] may well make conditions here worse."
-- Bishop Álvaro Ramazzini of Guatemala

In recent days, Guatemala's Vice President Eduardo Stein pointed out that the Bush administration's efforts to force changes in Central American law have taken a divide-and-conquer approach, targeting each country one by one. He added that it "makes one think that they are renewing pressure for the [Central American countries] to make more changes in their intellectual property laws."[20] This was in reference to the Bush administration's successful campaign to get Guatemala to repeal a public health law that would have allowed more generic competition in the pharmaceutical market, a reversal that "ensure(d) that thousands of Central Americans in need of such medications will have to go without," according to columnist Harold Meyerson of the *Washington Post.*[21] *Inside U.S. Trade* reported that administration officials are now targeting for elimination Guatemalan laws that allow exemptions from the pharmaceutical industry's data exclusivity rights "for the protection of plants, animals and the environment." Data exclusivity rules effectively extend the period of patent protection for pharmaceutical drugs from the 20 years mandated under World Trade Organization rules to 25 years – an outrageous instance of corporate protectionism. Public health activists in Guatemala and beyond have been trying to press for exemptions from these extreme CAFTA rules for public health and environmental reasons.

The Bush administration is also upset that proposed Guatemalan law on copyright protection "does not clearly state that there are *no limits on criminal sanctions* in the case of intellectual property rights" [emphasis added].[22] In other words, the administration has insisted on new domestic laws that would throw people in jail for listening to recorded copies of music if that recording were made by someone else in violation of CAFTA copyright rules and the listener thus was an unknowing listener to "pirated" materials. However, the proposed law to implement this extreme policy apparently has not gone far enough for the Bush administration, which wants to do away with any limitations on the criminal liability of end-users of "pirated" materials. Such changes to domestic law could theoretically open up music listeners to long prison sentences and absurdly steep fines.[23]

The latest press reports indicate that Guatemala might be ready to implement CAFTA in February.[24] Vice President Stein publicly criticized the approached of the Bush administration during the CAFTA implementation process: "It's an affront to Latin America when a government says it wants to be a 'partner,' but then is only interested in our money and commodities, while seeing our people as an epidemic… They treat us as if we were a region of delinquents."[25] In another interview, Stein has announced that Guatemala will be looking to form partnerships "at other latitudes, where they respect people more." He has mentioned that the government is taking steps towards Mercosur, the trading bloc whose core members include Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay.[26]

Costa Rica

CAFTA still has not been ratified by the legislature of Costa Rica, a country which the U.S. State Department describes as the oldest and strongest democracy in the Central American region.[27] *Inside U.S. Trade* has reported that a vote is unlikely until May 2006, after national elections take place.[28]

Here too, the Bush administration is attempting to run rough-shod over the domestic political process. The recent USTR announcement declared that only countries which ratify and implement CAFTA by April 1 will be eligible for certain agricultural benefits.[29] Meanwhile, Rep. Gregory Meeks (D-N.Y.), one of the few Democrats who supported CAFTA, implied that Costa Rica should not expect to see continued benefits under an existing trade program called the Caribbean Basin Initiative. Rep. Rubén Hinojosa (D-Texas), another CAFTA supporter, echoed this sentiment when he said, "If Costa Rica does not join this pact, while the other 5 countries have approved it, the opportunity will pass you by."[30] Hinojosa also said that only the Bush administration will decide whether Costa Rican laws meet CAFTA requirements, which he added are "not negotiable."[31]

Fortunately, Meeks and Hinojosa's threats, made on a recent delegation of U.S. congressional CAFTA supporters to Costa Rica, are only ill-informed bluster, as it would require an explicit act of Congress to eliminate the CBI program, which was made permanent some years ago. However, the claim parrots the line employed by the Bush administration throughout the CAFTA debate to bully Central American countries into accepting a CAFTA many in Central American deemed against their interests. For instance, in March 2005, Ways and Means ranking Democrat Charlie Rangel attempted to dispel the CBI threat – first perpetrated by the Bush administration – by pointing out that CBI is a "congressionally mandated program [whose] benefits are guaranteed on a permanent basis, unless the Congress amends current U.S. law." Rangel announced that he would oppose such an amendment of U.S. law, characterizing the administration's remarks as "thinly veiled blackmail."[32]

According to a September 2005 poll by the University of Costa Rica, 58 percent of that country's population thinks CAFTA should be renegotiated or rejected outright, while a solid majority of the population – 69 percent – believes that the agreement should be put to a binding national referendum.[33] Former President Rodrigo Carazo Odio (1978-1982) shared these conclusions, telling a Washington audience that, "Costa Rica wants to maintain its friendship with the United States, but CAFTA, as it currently stands, is not in the best interest of Costa Rica and should therefore not be approved."[34] Opposition to CAFTA is also evidenced by the continued strength of presidential candidate Ottón Solis, who is running on an anti-CAFTA platform, and won over a quarter of the votes when he ran for president in 2002 – an extraordinary showing for a third-party candidate.[35] On the other hand, Abel Pacheco, the president who signed CAFTA, is set to leave office in February with record low approval numbers.[36]

Apparently concerned that the already heavy-handed tactics in Costa Rica were not being adequately understood by local officials, the Bush administration's ambassador to Costa Rica, Mark Langdale – appointed in October 2005 after being one of the largest donors to Bush's past campaigns and president of a hotel management company with extensive interests throughout Latin America[37] – has started waging a campaign in the local press to raise the volume of the already-loud threats. According to wire service reports, Langdale has said that "it will be easy to lose your reputation" if CAFTA does not pass in Costa Rica, adding that "the first thing that will suffer is its reputation as a preferred investment location in Central America" if CAFTA is not ratified by May 2006. He also said that it would be "very unusual" for a country to continue to enjoy CBI benefits if it "rejects a treaty already approved by the [U.S.] Congress." Finally, he implied that Costa Rica should subordinate its own internal democratic process to the Bush administration's interests, saying that "Costa Rica has the right to carry on its democratic process, *but always in reference to what is going on around it*" [emphasis added].[38]

<u>Plummeting Popularity of CAFTA in Central America</u>:

"Costa Rica wants to maintain its friendship with the United States, but CAFTA, as it currently stands, is not in the best interest of Costa Rica and should therefore not be approved."
-- Former President Rodrigo Carazo Odio (1978-1982)

These outrageous statements have further inflamed Costa Rican public opinion, with the country's largest labor union denouncing Langdale's "intervention" in the country's internal affairs, calling it "an unacceptable attempt to psychologically blackmail the country."[39] The union has called CAFTA defeat its top priority in the new year, and promises a wave of strikes and other actions to make their point of view heard.[40]

Dominican Republic

Like Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic is also at risk of losing some agricultural benefits as threatened by the Bush administration if it does not implement the trade agreement by April 1; recent press reports indicate the government will delay CAFTA implementation until July 1, 2006.[41] Dominican government officials have indicated that they have already sent "all the documentation" requested by the Bush administration, but that they have been told that the U.S. Trade Representative's office has been busy and that it has been "impossible" to read the papers that the USTR itself had requested of the Dominican government.[42]

According to press reports, Dominican officials have decided to implement a CAFTA-mandated regressive tax reform that will raise the price of basic consumer goods even though the agreement has not gone into effect. Opposition party legislators from the PRD have blasted the decision, characterizing the move as a "beating in the making."[43]

Polls show that 60.8 percent of the population opposes the agreement,[44] while 65 percent think the country's economy is headed in the wrong direction.[45]

Nicaragua

In Nicaragua, the Bush administration used the threat of removal of foreign aid and withdrawal of diplomatic relations to force a realignment in Nicaragua's domestic politics in order to advance CAFTA. In September, Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.), a strong supporter of CAFTA and the Bush administration, implied that Nicaragua would lose trade preferences if CAFTA were not ratified, saying that "a failure to sign CAFTA would put in jeopardy many jobs in the free trade zones,"[46] in reference to the exports that received preferential access to the U.S. market under CBI that would merely continue under CAFTA.

Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick flew to Central America to further interfere in domestic politics there by attacking a Nicaraguan political coalition comprising two major parties as a "corrupt pact" that represents "Nicaragua's past." "I want to be frank," he said. "That's a path that will lead Nicaragua to lose the Millennium Challenge Account assistance, to lose the opportunity of CAFTA, to lose the opportunities of investment, to lose the opportunities of integration with your neighbors […] Relations with the United States will depend on the commitment to democracy and constructive links with the United States along the development and democracy agenda that I've outlined." As if declaring that he ought to dictate Nicaragua's domestic policies was not a sufficient outrage, Zoellick went on to endorse a set of candidates for the president whom he approvingly described as a "Third Way movement."[47] The *Latin American Weekly Report,* a publication that calls itself the "leading source of political and economic intelligence on Latin America since 1967," characterized the move as "Washington's most overt intervention in a Latin American electoral process since 1946."[48]

Polls indicate that the No. 1 concern of Nicaraguans is economic woes such as unemployment,[49] problems likely to be exacerbated by CAFTA.

Most recently, a Nicaraguan official has indicated that the government hopes to have CAFTA implemented by February or March but that the Bush administration has as of yet refused to give "feedback" on the qualification status of Nicaragua's laws. The official added that "after April, it will be more difficult to put CAFTA into effect,"[50] echoing the Bush administration's threat heard first in Costa Rica.

Updated Jan. 4, 2006.

For more information on the consequences of CAFTA implementation for the United States and Central America, please contact Todd Tucker, Research Director of Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch, at 202-454-5105 or ttucker@citizen.org.

ENDNOTES

[1] Indira A.R. Lakshmanan, "Cool Bush Welcome Seen at Latin Talks," *Boston Globe,* Nov. 4, 2005.
[2] "The Latinobarómetro Poll: Democracy's Low Level Equilibrium," *The Economist,* Aug. 12, 2004.
[3] Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), "Hastily Crafted CAFTA Stumbling Out of the Gate," Congressional Press Release, Dec. 19, 2005.
[4] Letter from Representatives Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), Benjamin Cardin (D-Md.), Sander Levin (D-Mich.), and Xavier Becerra (D-Calif.) to USTR Rob Portman, dated Dec. 15, 2005. On file with Public Citizen.
[5] "[U.S. Secretary of Commerce Carlos] Gutierrez, speaking at the same press conference in the Salvadoran presidential palace, remarked that 'it's a matter of work, of implementation, of doing some pending things,' but he added that 'we don't see any obstacle' to CAFTA's taking effect at the beginning of next year." *See* "CentAm leaders meet w/ US trade official, OK CAFTA start date," EFE English, Oct. 20, 2005.
[6] Statement of Christin Baker, USTR Spokesperson Regarding the Implementation of the U.S., Central American, Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement, Dec. 19, 2005.
[7] CAFTA's delay was confirmed officially by USTR Spokesman Stephen Norton on Dec. 30, 2005.
[8] "DR-CAFTA Implementation Lagging As USTR Flags Host Of Problems," *Inside U.S. Trade,* Dec. 9, 2005.
[9] "'A toda persona que esté comercializando mercadería de marcas exclusivas (sin autorización) o que viole las leyes de propiedad intelectual, se le va decomisar el producto, y según la ley hay detenciones,' advirtió Luis Núñez Cárcamo, jefe de la división de finanzas de la PNC. Núñez agregó que la aplicación de las enmiendas se realizará tal como se hace en la actualidad con el combate antidrogas. El jefe policial, reconoció, sin embargo, que aún desconocen los cambios puntuales hechos a las normativas, pues estas aún no son sancionadas por el presidente. 'Va ser como la ley de drogas: por tenencia y portación del producto. Serán más inmediato los decomisos,' dijo." *See* Claudia Contreras, "Persecución de mercancía pirata será como decomisar drogas," *La Prensa* (El Salvador), Jan. 3, 2006.
[10] "'Lamentamos que muchos se van a quedar sin empleo, pero no es una cuestión nuestra, es un problema que debe solventarse con políticas que el Estado debe implementar para ver en qué actividades esta gente aplica,' expresó tajante en clara alusión a que en la industria que maneja no hay cabida para ofrecer empleo a los distribuidores de mercancía pirata. Lejos de ofrecer alternativa, Chacón defendió a capa y espada las reformas. 'No se puede justificar que por pobreza se cometa un delito. Entonces, habría que comprender el robo de una cartera o un teléfono celular,' arremetió. *See* Claudia Contreras, "Gobierno buscará alternativa para vendedores piratas," *La Prensa* (El Salvador), Jan. 1, 2006.
[11] "'Si El Salvador bajara 10 puntos en materia de piratería, el rubro del software generaría un crecimiento económico muy fuerte como Costa Rica y México,' consideró Mauricio Chacón, vocero de BSA." *See* Claudia Contreras, "Persecución de mercancía pirata será como decomisar drogas," *La Prensa* (El Salvador), Jan. 3, 2006.
[12] Cited in Mark Weisbrot and Dean Baker, "The Relative Impact of Trade Liberalization on Developing Countries," Center for Economic and Policy Research Briefing Paper, June 12, 2002.
[13] Angus-Reid Global Scan, "Hondurans Review Government Corruption," Feb. 8, 2005; Angus-Reid Global Scan, "Few Satisfied with President Maduro in Honduras," May 27, 2005.
[14] "El arzobispo de Tegucigalpa, el cardenal Óscar Rodríguez Maradiaga, expresó en San Salvador su preocupación porque el Tratado de Libre Comercio (TLC) entre Centroamérica y Estados Unidos pueda provocar más pobreza … En una rueda de prensa, Rodríguez expresó que 'para mí una de las grandes interrogantes frente a estos tratados es si son verdaderamente para que la humanidad progrese o para que progrese el mercado.' Indicó que 'porque cada vez que el ser humano quiere divinizar sus criaturas, cae en la idolatría y tarde o temprano fracasa y se le pasa la factura, la factura para mí es una pobreza creciente que lejos de disminuir va aumentando.'" *See* "TLC producirá más pobreza," EFE, Nov. 19, 2005; "Oscar Rodriguez Maradiaga, Honduras," *Washington Post,* April 16, 2005.
[15] "Parlamento hondureño inicia aprobación leyes para vigencia de TLC," EFE, Dec. 14, 2005; "Parlamento salvadoreño ajustó leyes para entrada en vigencia TLC," EFE, Dec. 15, 2005; Statement of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional, "El FMLN rechaza y condena el paquete de leyes aprobadas por la derecha de El Salvador," Dec. 15, 2005; "FMLN Legislators Walk Out in Protest to Assembly Vote on CAFTA Reforms," CISPES Update, Dec. 19, 2005.
[16] Angus-Reid Global Scan, "Many in El Salvador Wary of CAFTA," Dec. 8, 2005.
[17] "El Salvador: CAFTA comenzaría a operar en febrero," Associated Press, Dec. 24, 2005; Iván Vásquez, "CAFTA sería hasta el 1 de febrero," *El Heraldo* (Honduras), Dec. 27, 2005; Claudia Contreras and Miguel Álvarez, "País ya notificó ante OEA, Estados Unidos aún no," *La Prensa* (El Salvador), Dec. 28, 2005. According to Contreras and Álvarez, CAFTA will go into effect 30 days after the Bush administration notifies the OAS, creating the possibility for yet another delay.
[18] Cited in Matthew Kennis, "Despite Ratification Anti-CAFTA protests Continue in Guatemala," IRC Americas Program, (Silver City, NM: International Relations Center, April 13, 2005).

[19] Bishop Álvaro Ramazzini, "Bishop Ramazzini: CAFTA likely to hurt poor Central Americans," *National Catholic Reporter*, Nov. 17, 2005.
[20] "Las citas que lleva a cabo el Departamento de Comercio estadounidense con las naciones del Istmo, una a una, 'hace pensar que existe una nueva presión para que se hagan otros cambios en la Ley de Propiedad Intelectual,' reconoce Stein." *See* Beatriz Lix, "Sector privado de Guatemala propone negociar en bloque tratado con EEUU," *Siglo Veintiuno,* Dec. 14, 2005.
[21] Harold Meyerson, "CAFTA's Profit Motive," *Washington Post,* March 30, 2005.
[22] "DR-CAFTA Implementation Lagging As USTR Flags Host Of Problems," *Inside U.S. Trade,* Dec. 9, 2005.
[23] For more information on the demands of the Bush administration and the copyright-dependent industries, *see* "The Real Pirates of the Caribbean: U.S. High-tech Industry's False CAFTA Promises Disguise Bad Policy," Joint Report by Washington Alliance of Technology Workers (WashTech), Society of Professional Engineering Employees in Aerospace (SPEEA), IFPTE 2001, American Ingenuity Alliance (AIA), May 2005.
[24] According to a Honduran official, "Guerrero aseguró que Guatemala y Nicaragua aplazarían también por un mes su incorporación al CAFTA-RD." *See* Freddy Cuevas, "Honduras no se incorporaría al CAFTA-RD en enero," Associated Press, Dec. 28, 2005.
[25] "EEUU nos ve como delincuentes,' dice vicepresidente guatemalteco," Associated Press, Dec. 29, 2005.
[26] "La semana pasada, Stein dijo que Guatemala buscaría 'otras latitudes donde se respete más a la gente' en respuesta a la planificada construcción de un muro de 1.100 kilómetros en un tercio de la frontera entre México y Estados Unidos." *See* Juan Carlos Llorca, "Guatemala mira al Mercosur tras diferencias con EEUU," Associated Press, Jan. 3, 2006.
[27] According to the U.S. State Department, "Costa Rica is a democratic republic with a strong system of constitutional checks and balances," and "An era of peaceful democracy in Costa Rica began in 1899 with elections considered the first truly free and honest ones in the country's history." The State Department notes only two exceptions to that rule, and neither one of them were in the 1980s, or indeed even after 1948. S*ee* Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, "Background Note: Costa Rica," U.S. Department of State, Oct. 2005.
[28] "In Costa Rica, the legislature has not formally begun its deliberation of the DR-CAFTA and there is little interest in doing so before the February elections, according to Central American sources. The new Costa Rican government will come into power in May, at which point legislative action on DR-CAFTA would be likely, sources said." *See* "DR-CAFTA Implementation Lagging As USTR Flags Host Of Problems," *Inside U.S. Trade,* Dec. 9, 2005.
[29] "Moreover, U.S. partners for whom the Agreement enters into force by April 1 can retain their full-year agricultural quotas for 2006; treatment of quotas after that date will be determined, as appropriate." *See* Statement of Christin Baker, USTR Spokesperson Regarding the Implementation of the U.S., Central American, Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement, Dec. 19, 2005.
[30] "Por su parte, Gregory Meeks comentó que Costa Rica no puede depender de la Iniciativa de la Cuenca del Caribe (ICC) porque fue diseñada mientras se negociaba un TLC, el cual, según él, va a generar más empleos e inversión. … Hinojosa manifestó en una rueda de prensa que 'es muy difícil hacer un cambio. Si Costa Rica no entra a este acuerdo, donde los otros cinco países ya lo aprobaron, se le va a pasar la oportunidad.'" *See* "Congresistas EEUU se reúnen con homólogos de Costa Rica por TLC," EFE, Dec. 19, 2005.
[31] "El congresista advirtió, además, que las condiciones establecidas en esa negociación 'no son negociables' y que Washington decidirá también qué países han dado pasos para cumplir con el acuerdo pues sólo entrarán aquellos que adapten sus leyes a sus normas." *See* "Denuncian injerencia estadounidense en Costa Rica," *Prensa Latina,* Dec. 24, 2005.
[32] Rep. Charles B. Rangel, "Rep. Rangel Reacts to Reported 'Threat' from Administration Official to CAFTA Countries," Congressional Press Release, March 22, 2005. Rangel's release cited a Bush administration official's quote in Costa Rica's *La Nación* newspaper from March 18, 2005: "Allow me to be absolutely clear on this point: in order to benefit from duty-free access to the U.S., the countries of Central America and the Dominican Republic will have to ratify CAFTA."
[33] Larry Luxner, "Free Trade Agreement Divides Costa Rica," *Washington Diplomat,* Nov. 11, 2005; Leland Baxter-Neal, "New Poll Shows Mixed Support for CAFTA," *Tico Times* (Costa Rica), Sept. 20, 2005.
[34] Comment by Rodrigo Carazo Odio at a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace forum entitled "CAFTA-DR: A Look at the Regional Impact," recorded by Jennifer Maul, June 16, 2005.
[35] "Costa Rican candidates face apathy, each other," Associated Press, April 5, 2002.
[36] Angus-Reid Global Scan, "Costa Rica's Pacheco Will Depart with Low Numbers," Dec. 18, 2005.
[37] "Mark Langdale," Listing in Sourcewatch.org, Center for Media and Democracy, website accessed Dec. 28, 2005.
[38] "EEUU dice reputación Costa Rica se verá afectada si rechaza TLC," EFE, Dec. 23, 2005.

[39] "La Asociación de Empleados Públicos y Privados (Anep) calificó como 'inaceptable el intento de chantaje psicológico al país.'" *See* "Critican a embajador de EEUU en Costa Rica," Associated Press, Dec. 26, 2005.
[40] "Auguran fuertes confrontaciones en Costa Rica para el 2006," *Prensa Latina,* Dec. 28, 2005.
[41] "Dominican Republic delays entry into CAFTA-DR until July," EFE English, Dec. 21, 2005.
[42] "Gobierno insiste cumplió requisitos de TLC aunque pospuso entrada," EFE, Dec. 26, 2005.
[43] "El senador Dagoberto Rodríguez (PRD-Independencia) dijo que la decisión del gobierno de poner en vigencia la reforma tributaria mientras aplazó el DR-CAFTA ha sido un 'palo acechao' a la población." "Palo acechao" can be translated as a "beating in the making" or "making off well at the expense of someone else." *See* Ramiro Estrella, "Legisladores PRD critican al gobierno por entrada en vigencia de Reforma Fiscal," *El Nuevo Diario* (Dominican Republic), Jan. 3, 2006;
[44] AII Data Processing, Ltd., "Dominican Republic's Chamber of Deputies Ratifies CAFTA," Latin America News Digest, Sept. 7, 2005.
[45] Angus-Reid Global Scan, "Country Following Wrong Path, Say Dominicans," Dec. 4, 2005.
[46] "Burton: 'Si triunfa Ortega veremos si trabaja con democracias,'" EFE, Sept. 20, 2005.
[47] Robert Zoellick, "Press Availability with President Enrique Bolaños," U.S. State Department Press Transcript, Oct. 4, 2005.
[48] "Zoellick brings US into electoral process," *Latin American Weekly Report*, Oct. 11, 2005; Latin American Weekly Report Website, "About Us" section, accessed Dec. 22, 2005.
[49] Angus-Reid Global Scan, "Unemployment Tops List of Worries in Nicaragua," Dec. 19, 2005.
[50] Gustavo Ortega Campos, "DR-Cafta sin fecha de vigencia," *La Prensa* (Nicaragua), Dec. 28, 2005.