

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

+ + + + +

SECTION 301 INVESTIGATION: NICARAGUA'S ACTS,
POLICIES, AND PRACTICES REGARDING LABOR RIGHTS,
HUMAN RIGHTS, AND RULE OF LAW

+ + + + +

THURSDAY
JANUARY 16, 2025

+ + + + +

The Public Hearing convened at the
U.S. International Trade Commission, 500 E Street
SW, Washington, D.C., at 10:00 a.m. EST, Megan
Grimball, Panel Chair, presiding.

PRESENT

MEGAN GRIMBALL, USTR, Panel Chair
LEIGH BACON, USTR
WILLIAM (STU) HUFFMAN, Department of State
KAYLA SAVAGE, Department of Commerce
SUMMER SILVERSMITH, Department of Labor
TYLER VAN PATTEN, Department of the Treasury

WITNESSES PRESENT

JUAN SEBASTI N CHAMORRO GARC A
MANUEL OROZCO, The Inter-American Dialogue
AN BAL TORUÑO, Radio Darjo
JEAN MARC BRISSAU, Notre Dame Law School Global
Human Rights Clinic, on behalf of Amaru Ruiz
Alem n, Fundaciñ del Rjo
JOSEMARIA RODRIGUEZ CONCA, Notre Dame Law School
Global Human Rights Clinic
BARRY APPLETON, on behalf of Riverside Coffee
DOLILFA REBECA MORA, on behalf of Max Jerez,
Nicaraguan University Alliance

ROSAL A GUTI RREZ-HUETE MILLER, on behalf of
Eliseo Nuñez, Concertación Democrática
Nicaragense
L STHER LENIN ALEM N ALFARO, Nicaraguan
University Alliance
LEONARDO PASTOR, Mesa de Concertación
Democrática
JESSENIA VALESKA VALLE DUARTE, Movimiento
Universitario 19 de Abril
YUBRANK SUAZO HERRERA, Civic Alliance for
Justice & Democracy
JULIO MART NEZ, Expediente Abierto, Fundación
del Río, and the Patrol Campaign
ANEXA ALFRED, Indigenous Peoples Rights
MEDARDO MAIRENA SEQUEIRA, Movimiento Campesino
de Nicaragua

C-O-N-T-E-N-T-S

Opening Remarks from the Section 301 Chair	4
Panel 1	
Juan Sebastian Chamorro Garcia10
Manuel Orozco.15
Anibal Toruno.20
Barry Appleton30
Panel 2	
Dolilfa Rebeca Mora.85
Rosalja Guti,rrez-Huete Miller88
L,sther Lenin Alem n Alfaro.94
Leonardo Pastor.98
Jessenia Valeska Valle Duarte.	103
Panel 3	
Yubrank Suazo Herrera.	135
Julio Mart;nez	140
Anexa Alfred	146
Medardo Mairena Sequeira	154

1 P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S

2 (10:02 a.m.)

3 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Good morning, and
4 welcome. The Office of the United States Trade
5 Representative, in conjunction with the
6 interagency Section 301 Committee, is holding
7 this public hearing in connection with the
8 Section 301 investigation of Nicaragua's acts,
9 policies, and practices related to labor rights,
10 human rights, and rule of law.

11 The United States Trade Representative
12 initiated this investigation on December 10th,
13 2024, pursuant to Section 302(b)(1)(a) of the
14 Trade Act of 1974 as amended. The Federal
15 Register notice published on December 13th, 2024,
16 announcing the initiation of this investigation
17 also invited written comments and announced this
18 hearing.

19 The December 13th notice invited
20 comment on whether the issues covered in the
21 investigation are actionable under the statute.
22 Actionable matters under Section 301 include

1 acts, policies, and practices of a foreign
2 country that are unreasonable or discriminatory
3 and burden or restrict U.S. commerce. The
4 December 13th notice is available on the USTR
5 website under the Section 301 Investigations page
6 and is published in the Federal Register at 89
7 Fed Reg 101088.

8 The purpose of this hearing is to
9 receive public testimony regarding the issues
10 raised in the December 13th notice. The Section
11 301 Committee will carefully consider today's
12 testimony and all written comments in response to
13 the Federal Register notice, including post-
14 hearing rebuttal comments. Post-hearing rebuttal
15 comments are due January 23rd, 2025, and should
16 be limited to rebutting or supplementing
17 testimony at this hearing.

18 At the outset, I would state that the
19 subject matter of this investigation is unique
20 from any other investigation we have conducted
21 under Section 301 of the Trade Act. Indeed, this
22 is the first ever investigation under Section 301

1 to investigate acts, policies, and practices that
2 may violate labor rights, human rights, and
3 dismantle the rule of law that may burden U.S.
4 commerce.

5 Given the uniqueness of this
6 investigation, we recognize that many of you will
7 speak today about very personal experiences in
8 Nicaragua, including harassment by the police,
9 arrest and imprisonment, cruel, inhumane, and
10 degrading treatment and torture while a prisoner,
11 and the banishment and revocation of your
12 nationality. We appreciate that you are willing
13 to share these very personal experiences publicly
14 for purposes of this investigation.

15 While we will carefully consider such
16 testimony, please note that we also intend to ask
17 questions to further understand how the
18 information provided here today may relate to the
19 statutory criteria under which all this
20 information must be considered.

21 After the Section 301 Committee has
22 completed its investigation, the Committee will

1 make a recommendation to the U.S. Trade
2 Representative on whether the acts, policies, and
3 practices are actionable under the statute. If
4 it is determined under the statute that the acts,
5 policies, and practices are actionable, the Trade
6 Representative will determine whether further
7 action is appropriate and, if so, what action to
8 take, which would involve an additional notice
9 and comment period.

10 We are pleased to have international
11 trade and economic experts from a range of U.S.
12 government departments and agencies here this
13 morning. If you would please introduce
14 yourselves.

15 MR. VAN PATTEN: Tyler Van Patten,
16 Department of Treasury.

17 MS. SAVAGE: Good morning. Kayla
18 Savage, Department of Commerce.

19 MS. BACON: Good morning. Leigh
20 Bacon, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

21 MS. SILVERSMITH: Summer Silversmith,
22 U.S. Department of Labor.

1 MR. HUFFMAN: Stu Huffman, U.S.
2 Department of State.

3 CHAIR GRIMBALL: And I am Megan
4 Grimball, the Chair of the Section 301 Committee.
5 At this time, I'm going to go over some
6 procedural and administrative instructions.

7 Today's hearing will be conducted in
8 English. If you are unable or uncomfortable
9 providing your testimony in English, we ask that
10 you submit your testimony or response to any
11 questions of the Panel in writing with an English
12 translation.

13 The hearing is scheduled for one day,
14 today, Thursday, January 16th. The December 13th
15 notice indicated that post-hearing comments will
16 be due seven days after the public hearing.
17 Again, that is January 23rd, 2025.

18 Today we will have three panels of
19 witnesses, with 15 individuals scheduled to
20 testify, and the provisional schedule has been
21 posted to the USTR website. We will have a brief
22 break in between each panel, and we'll take a 15

1 -- a 50-minute, excuse me -- lunch break from
2 12:30 to 1:20, or thereabout, depending on the
3 flow of today's hearing.

4 Each witness appearing today is
5 limited to five minutes of oral testimony. The
6 light before you will be green when you begin
7 your testimony. Yellow means you have one minute
8 left, and red means your time has expired.

9 After the testimony from each panel of
10 witnesses, the Section 301 Committee will have an
11 opportunity to ask you all questions. All
12 questions will be from department or agency
13 representatives. There will be no questions
14 accepted from the floor. Committee
15 representatives will generally direct their
16 questions to one or more specific witnesses.

17 Again, post-hearing comments,
18 including any written responses to questions from
19 the Committee, are due on January 23rd. The
20 rules and procedures for written submissions are
21 set out in the December 13th notice.

22 Given the number of witnesses and the

1 schedule, we request that witnesses, when
2 responding to questions, be as concise as
3 possible. We likewise ask witnesses to be
4 understanding if and when the Chair asks that a
5 witness conclude their testimony or response. In
6 this regard, witnesses should recall that they
7 will have a full opportunity to provide more
8 extensive responses in their post-hearing
9 submissions.

10 No cameras or video or audio recording
11 will be allowed. If you are observed using
12 cameras, a member of our staff may ask you to
13 discontinue use. A written transcript of this
14 hearing will be posted on the USTR website as
15 soon as possible after the conclusion of today's
16 hearing.

17 We are now ready to begin.

18 MS. THOMPSON: Panel 1, we have Juan
19 Sebastian Chamorro Garcia.

20 DR. CHAMORRO: Thank you very much,
21 and good morning. Since 2018, as a member of the
22 opposition, I have faced countless threats,

1 beatings, and persecution from government
2 sympathizers, paramilitaries, and the police.
3 Without a warrant, I was prohibited from leaving
4 the country, then from leaving the capital city,
5 and finally to leave my own house.

6 In January 2021, under harsh
7 conditions of repression, I announced my
8 candidacy for the presidency of Nicaragua in the
9 November elections. On the night of June 8th,
10 2021, dozens of police officers stormed my house,
11 arbitrarily arrested me, and took me to prison.

12 While in prison, I endured enforcement
13 disappearance for three months. I was denied
14 family visits, any form of communication, and
15 access to legal counsel. I was sentenced to 13
16 years in prison for so-called crimes against the
17 homeland. Despite my lawyer explaining all the
18 legal avenues, the Nicaraguan legal system, an
19 instrument of repression, ignored all my
20 arguments.

21 In February 2023, the Ortega
22 dictatorship banished me and 221 other political

1 prisoners from the country, stripping us of our
2 Nicaraguan nationality. I have filed an
3 international petition to hold the State of
4 Nicaragua accountable for violating my political
5 rights, freedom of expression, association,
6 personal liberty, and integrity, as well as
7 subjecting me to torture and cruel, inhuman, and
8 degrading treatment. I have also accused the
9 State of violating my right to religion, health,
10 judicial guarantees, justice, nationality,
11 movement, residence, honor, dignity, and private
12 property.

13 Both as a victim and activist, I have
14 witnessed the erosion and destruction of the rule
15 of law in my country. The violations I endured
16 are part of the systematic pattern inflicted to
17 all Nicaraguans. The new constitution being
18 pushed by the regime eliminates the separation of
19 powers. International treaties are excluded from
20 the legal framework, allowing the country to
21 ignore commitments on trade, labor rights, human
22 rights, and more.

1 Union leaders I have met confirmed
2 that their rights have been systematically
3 infringed. The Ortega regime has dismantled
4 several labor unions. Testimonies reveal
5 blacklisting, unjust firings, and the absence of
6 legal recourse with workers too afraid to protest
7 for fear of retaliation.

8 As Executive Director of FUNIDES, a
9 think tank illegally dissolved in 2022, we
10 documented numerous business complaints, tax
11 pressures, extortions, and exaggerated fines are
12 now the norm. Most companies in Nicaragua are
13 under constant tax audits with no avenue for
14 independent assessment. They must simply pay
15 whatever the government demands. Even American
16 companies are barred from governing procurement
17 processes, which are now reserved for vendors
18 from China -- have evidence of that.

19 I witnessed the legal dissolution of
20 an entire array of employers' organizations,
21 which once played a crucial role in promoting
22 investment and defending investors. Investors

1 now are at the mercy of a regime focused on
2 extracting illegal revenues through taxes.

3 My own family experience is
4 emblematic. My wife's properties in Managua were
5 illegally expropriated through fraudulent legal
6 process and tax extortions. This harassment
7 mirrors the plight of thousands of business
8 owners who remain silent out of fear.

9 Members of the Panel, for commerce to
10 thrive and investment to flourish, any economy
11 requires five basic conditions: property rights,
12 rule of law, sound fiscal policies, labor rights,
13 and the rights of employers to associate. None
14 of these exist in Nicaragua. Investors face
15 confiscations. Courts are weaponized for
16 oppression. Taxes serve as extortion. Labor
17 rights are violated, and employers are denied the
18 right to organize.

19 You might ask, if conditions are so
20 terrible, why aren't investors filing complaints
21 against the Ortega regime? The answer is fear.
22 Today you are hearing from victims of abuse who

1 have lost everything. We speak on behalf of
2 those too afraid to raise their voices because
3 doing so could lead to imprisonment or
4 banishment, consequences that we have personally
5 endured. Thank you very much.

6 MS. THOMPSON: Thank you.

7 Our next panelist is Manuel Orozco of
8 the Inter-American Dialogue.

9 DR. OROZCO: Good morning, and thank
10 you to the Committee for making the space for
11 this testification on the investigation of
12 Nicaragua. My testimony responds to questions
13 about evidence regarding actionable matters from
14 Nicaragua's political practices tied to
15 dictatorial infrastructure to constitute
16 unreasonable or discriminatory and burden or
17 restrict U.S. commerce.

18 The country's practices facilitate
19 unfair competition favorable to the Ortega-
20 Murillo regime. First, the regime crafted an
21 architecture of power consisting of five pillars,
22 namely international isolation, monopoly of

1 force, state capture, criminalization of
2 democracy, and propaganda.

3 As part of the criminalization of
4 democracy, the Government of Nicaragua dismantled
5 the rule of law, including changing the
6 constitution to concentrate power and eliminate
7 institutional checks and balances. There is no
8 independence in the country's legislature or
9 judiciary system.

10 The effects of this include
11 consequences to the United States. For example,
12 the recently approved sanctions law forces
13 financial institutions to not recognize or obey
14 international and UN sanctions on individuals
15 that have committed transgressions, including
16 human rights and financial crimes. They are
17 threatened to face penalties and accusations of
18 treason if they don't follow that law.

19 The law raises a red flag among U.S.
20 banks, putting the country and its financial
21 institutions and transactions, including trade
22 settlements (phonetic) and money transfers, at

1 high financial risk. Another example is how the
2 regime turned an actionable practice of migration
3 as a threat to essential security interest,
4 directly violating Articles 21 of the General
5 Agreement on Trade and Tarriffs as well as the
6 CAFTA, the Central American Free Trade Agreement,
7 Article -- or Chapter 21.

8 It weaponized migration as a means to
9 directly affect the U.S. national interest,
10 allowing the country to operate as a bridge for
11 regular migration through thousands of chartered
12 flights, for which we accounted at least 70,000
13 people using those flights to go to Nicaragua and
14 then come to the United States.

15 Second, as part of the political
16 orientation that Nicaragua has funneled through
17 the system, it has committed a number of human
18 rights violations against citizens of Nicaragua
19 and foreign residents, including U.S. nationals.
20 Nicaragua has faced systematic range of
21 violations. Ninety percent of civil society has
22 been eliminated or banned. There is widespread

1 religious persecution. Over 300 journalists have
2 been expelled out of the country, as well as
3 practically all the media, independent media
4 outlets, have been banned from the country.

5 There is expropriation of small and
6 large businesses that have taken place since
7 2018. Police persecution in the street is a
8 regular practice. The elimination of NGOs, for
9 example, reduced foreign assistance to at least
10 \$100 million, affecting over one million people
11 or beneficiaries, reduced employment of at least
12 20,000 people, and it affected several U.S.
13 philanthropic and charitable organizations
14 operating in the country.

15 This in itself constitutes a
16 discriminatory practice. The expulsion of
17 Nicaraguans, which led to a large migration wave
18 to the United States and an inflow -- an outflow
19 of remittances rescuing Nicaraguan economy from
20 poorly performing regime created a burden put on
21 Nicaraguans and the U.S. economy to rescue the
22 Nicaraguan economy during these times.

1 Expropriation and denial of
2 citizenship have curtailed all kinds of plans and
3 opportunities for Nicaraguans affected. They
4 will not be able to retire or establish business
5 activities in both countries.

6 Third, the Government of Nicaragua has
7 committed or allowed violations and abuses of
8 international recognized labor practices. These
9 include arbitrary firing practices, working
10 longer hours, hours between 12 and 15 hours a
11 day, and unfair pay and wage deductions have
12 taken place in the country.

13 There is also tax extortion, which
14 also refer to physical harassment against
15 businesses that establish relationships or
16 business activities with businesses and
17 operations in the free trade zone.

18 Overall, the regime has acted with
19 premeditation, means, and motive to impress
20 actions against Nicaraguan citizens and the
21 United States. This includes the premeditated
22 expulsion of Nicaraguans to the United States.

1 It includes systemic labor relations that have
2 enhanced trade relations with the United States.
3 At this point, Nicaragua's annual growth between
4 2018 and 2024 is greater than any other member of
5 the Central America Free Trade Agreement to the
6 expense of the Nicaraguan labor rights
7 violations. Thank you very much.

8 MS. THOMPSON: Thank you.

9 Our next panelist is Anibal Toruno of
10 Radio Dario.

11 MR. TORUNO: Thank you very much. On
12 April 20, 2018, Radio Dario building in the City
13 of Leon was set on fire while the staff was
14 working inside the radio station. Although we
15 were able to evacuate it before the building
16 collapsed, our lives were seriously threatened.

17 The perpetrators were known operatives
18 of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, a
19 group of paramilitaries armed with war weapons,
20 balaclavas, and fuel drums to set the station on
21 fire. The attack left the security guard
22 seriously injured and destroyed the radio and all

1 the equipment of the Radio Dario studio.

2 More than five years after these
3 events occurred, the State has not carried out
4 any investigation that would lead to identifying,
5 prosecuting, and if it's necessary, punishing
6 those responsible as well as compensating for the
7 damage caused by the destruction of Radio Dario
8 and the lost job for more than 10 workers.

9 In May 2018, individuals dressed as
10 soldier with their faces covered with armed AK-47
11 rifles, stole the radio transmitter equipment in
12 the power generating plant. On June 13, 2018,
13 hooded individuals armed with AK rifles
14 surrounded my house in the city, preventing me
15 and my family leaving the house.

16 On December 2018, the new temporary
17 facility for the radio station were raided by the
18 police. During the operation, we were ordered to
19 cease the transmission, and much of the radio
20 equipment was seized. Several of the radio
21 station employees were interrogated. Journalists
22 Francisco Torres and four others were also

1 detained for several hours.

2 We continued to work and managed to
3 keep Radio Dario on the air. On June 2019, four
4 police units with about 20 members of the special
5 operation forces and the national police
6 surrounded the radio station facility for at
7 least 45 minutes. The officials went inside and
8 destroyed media equipment again.

9 In September 2018, upon my return from
10 exile, paramilitary besieged my house. Armed men
11 on motorcycles with helmets to avoid being
12 identified robbed my home, intimidated and
13 threatened with their gun if anyone do not obey
14 the orders. They left graffiti on the walls of
15 my home prescribing threats and death. They went
16 few blocks away and surrounded the radio station.

17 On the morning of the same day, during
18 my visit to the facility Radio Dario, I was
19 persecuted and attacked. At the time, I was with
20 several members of the Ortega's opposition, a
21 movement called Civic Alliance for Justice and
22 Democracy. The paramilitaries attacked them with

1 sticks, stones, and bullets.

2 June the 2021, I had to make one of
3 the hardest decisions of my life. I left the
4 country. I was no longer safe, and my family was
5 under constant attack and numerous threats by the
6 Sandanista's authorities and their supporters.

7 From neighboring Costa Rica, I kept
8 working remotely, but that would soon change. On
9 2022, I was notified by telecommunication
10 authorities that the operations license that
11 allowed Radio Dario to transmit on 89.3 FM in the
12 city and the rest of the country, was being
13 cancelled permanently. With that, the
14 dictatorship closed Radio Dario. Radio Dario had
15 been part of the City of Leone in Nicaragua since
16 my father founded it in 1949. And after 73 years
17 on the air, the frequency of Radio Dario went
18 silent.

19 I was also notified of the
20 cancellation of the second and third low profile
21 station owned by myself. On February 2023, the
22 country of Nicaragua, by resolution of the

1 Sandanista judge -- the Managua District Criminal
2 Court ordered that I be stripped of my
3 nationality and citizen right in perpetuity,
4 along with 93 other Nicaraguans.

5 We were accused by the Public Ministry
6 of the alleged crime of treason to the homeland.
7 In addition, the order was issued to immobilize
8 and confiscate in favor of the state all the real
9 estate we own. In March the 2023, I denounced to
10 the authorities of Nicaragua expropriated our
11 homestead, which was registered as belonging to
12 my children.

13 During the same month, the State of
14 Nicaragua ordered the local bank to block my
15 three bank accounts. To this day, for security
16 reasons, I cannot mention journalists who are
17 still behind bars.

18 After six and a half years, my family
19 and I, radio journalists, and collaborators
20 continue to seek justice for those who destroyed
21 our life, imprisoned, persecuted, attacked, and
22 forced our family to live in exile, which in

1 itself is like a long arm representation of the
2 Daniel Ortega regime.

3 Today, Dario Medios Internacional
4 after 76 years, we continue to overcome the
5 censorship, which is why, on behalf of the
6 journalists and media outlets that have been
7 closed, I have made the decision to come and
8 publicly testify with the strength and
9 determination to denounce the horror and the
10 tragedy that Daniel Ortega has imposed us. Thank
11 you very much.

12 MS. THOMPSON: Thank you.

13 Next on our panel is Notre Dame Law
14 School Global Human Rights Clinic on behalf of
15 Amaru Ruiz Aleman, Fundacion del Rio.

16 MR. BRISSAU: Dear members of the
17 Committee, thank you very much for this
18 opportunity to testify about human rights
19 violation that has been committed by Daniel
20 Ortega's regime in Nicaragua.

21 My name is Jean Marc Brissau. I'm the
22 staff attorney at the Global Human Rights Clinic

1 at Notre Dame Law School, together with my
2 colleague Josemaria. We are legal counsel for
3 our client, Amaru Ruiz Aleman. Amaru Ruiz has
4 authorized me to speak on his behalf before you
5 today.

6 Mr. Ruiz is a Nicaraguan citizen in
7 exile and former president of a non-governmental
8 organization called Fundacion del Rio, known for
9 its work on environmental protection and human
10 rights.

11 Fundacion del Rio is one of 5,000
12 organizations whose legal existence was
13 arbitrarily terminated and assets confiscated
14 wholesale, all without due process or any form of
15 legal redress afforded to these organizations and
16 their personnel as a result of the measures taken
17 by the Nicaraguan regime and by President Daniel
18 Ortega and his wife, Co-President, Rosario
19 Murillo.

20 Fundacion del Rio is a not-for-profit
21 organization established in 1990, dedicated to
22 the preservation and protection of territorial

1 and natural resources, as well as the promotion
2 of and defense of the right of Indigenous
3 populations, Afro-descendent communities, and
4 peasant communities.

5 The cancellation of the foundation and
6 legal personhood was -- as has been the case for
7 the overwhelming majority of the cancelled NGOs -
8 - without any due process of law or guarantee of
9 individual or collective rights. Fundacion del
10 Rio was subjected to the arbitrary, abrupt, and
11 unilateral cancellation of its legal status and
12 confiscation of assets.

13 Affective only upon the directive of
14 the Minister of Governance, the Minister alleged
15 that the organization, along with others, had
16 been involved in supporting the failed coup
17 attempt in the wake of the social movement in
18 April 2018. Neither Mr. Ruiz or any other member
19 of the organization were given opportunity by the
20 Ministry to legally challenge these allegations.

21 The government moved and proceeded to
22 forcibly confiscate all assets of the foundation

1 without legal proceedings and due process. The
2 government seized all of the foundation's assets,
3 including offices, community radio stations,
4 reforestation sites, and conservation areas.

5 It also seized Mr. Amaru Ruiz's
6 properties, and he himself suffered from human
7 rights violations and persecutions. These
8 included infringements on his right to freedom of
9 association, property, due process, equal
10 protection under the law, fair trial, judicial
11 protection, right to work, freedom of movement
12 and residence, freedom of thought and expression,
13 and the right to nationality.

14 In addition to confiscating the bank
15 account of the organization, the Murillo regime
16 also confiscated and froze his bank account. The
17 persecution he suffered at the hands of the
18 government forced him into exile. He now lives
19 under refugee status in Costa Rica.

20 The Ortega-Murillo regime deployed
21 Nicaragua's judicial system as a tool of
22 oppression against Mr. Ruiz in falsely initiating

1 two procedures, one for the alleged crime of
2 conspiracy to undermine national integrity, and
3 the other one for the alleged crime of
4 propagating false news through information and
5 communication technologies. It's all based on
6 Article 30 of the Special Law on Crimes and
7 enforced in December 2020.

8 Mr. Ruiz was not allowed to
9 meaningfully challenge the legality of the
10 persecution initiated against him that stripped
11 him of his nationality and which makes him
12 stateless. The accusation leveled against Mr.
13 Ruiz is inextricably linked to his legitimate
14 activities as a human rights advocate, especially
15 because of his efforts to expose and denounce the
16 Nicaraguan government systemic abuses and
17 violation of the right of Indigenous people
18 within the country.

19 The second process was initiated in
20 absentia, which means that even after he had left
21 Nicaragua, he was still victim and being
22 persecuted by the regime. The situation of Mr.

1 Ruiz is one of the many cases of persecution by
2 Nicaraguan regime and shows the weaponization of
3 the judicial system to persecute those who are
4 considered dissidents.

5 We respectfully submit this testimony
6 for the Committee's consideration under the
7 ongoing Section 301 investigation against
8 Nicaragua. Thank you.

9 MS. THOMPSON: Thank you.

10 Our last panelist is Barry Appleton on
11 behalf of Riverside Coffee.

12 DR. APPLETON: Thank you very much.
13 I'm Professor Barry Appleton. I'm joined here
14 with Lillian De Pena, who is an international
15 legal counsel at Appleton & Associates. We
16 represent Riverside Coffee. Riverside Coffee is
17 a U.S. corporation that has invested in Nicaragua
18 in the agricultural sector for more than 25
19 years.

20 We have actual factual evidence on
21 matters before this interagency Committee and the
22 USTR, and we thank you for the opportunity to

1 appear on these very significant issues today.

2 The Republic of Nicaragua has a trade
3 agreement with the United States, the DR-CAFTA.
4 Our testimony highlights egregious violations by
5 Nicaragua in contravention of CAFTA and U.S.
6 trade interests. These violations undermine the
7 international rule of law, peace and security,
8 and present an ongoing threat to U.S. investors
9 operating under CAFTA. Nicaragua's foundational
10 disrespect for liberty, human rights, and other
11 rights impairs U.S. commerce.

12 Now, in the summer of 2018, state-
13 sponsored armed groups acting violently seized
14 Hacienda Santa Fe, a 3,000-plus acre Hass avocado
15 plantation that was the investment of Riverside
16 Coffee. This long-standing investment,
17 representing decades of development, had
18 significant U.S. investment and management. At
19 harvest time, the facility had worker housing for
20 over 1,500 employees, to give you a sense of the
21 scope and the scale of what we're talking about.

22 Riverside asked for police protection

1 against the armed invaders, but the police
2 refused to take diligent or timely steps to
3 protect the Americans against these physical
4 threats to public safety. Local police stood by,
5 refusing to intervene, despite the violence,
6 death threats against management, looting, and
7 massive environmental degradation of rare
8 hardwood forests.

9 Riverside's commercial Hass avocado
10 plantations were destroyed. Now, eventually,
11 Nicaragua put its name on the legal title to the
12 local lands and created a community forest
13 nursery on Riverside's lands, in violation of the
14 rule of law. No notice was given. No
15 compensation was offered. Riverside's personnel
16 endured violent assaults and death threats, cruel
17 and inhumane treatment, driving many of them into
18 exile.

19 Nicaragua's measures violate CAFTA's
20 protections against uncompensated expropriation
21 and the requirement to provide full protection
22 and security and fair and equitable treatment,

1 and also violates nondiscrimination provisions.

2 Riverside commenced a Chapter 10
3 investor state process under the CAFTA. A public
4 hearing took place in July of 2024. Extensive
5 evidence of Nicaragua's CAFTA treaty
6 inconsistencies impacting American business is
7 available in that public record, and an award is
8 expected this year in that matter.

9 But the record and the findings
10 provide significant opportunities for this
11 interagency Committee and the USTR to be able to
12 consider the issues and carry out its mandate.
13 Nicaragua admitted, for example, that they
14 provided no police protection to Riverside while,
15 at that very same time, providing local
16 investments in Nicaragua with police protection
17 at the same time in the same circumstances.

18 As detailed in Riverside's comments,
19 Nicaragua's admissions and findings issued by the
20 tribunal itself confirmed violations of due
21 process and the significant erosion of the rule
22 of law. These are admissions, as well, in that

1 record of serious human rights violations and the
2 clear violations of international law and trade
3 agreements, which we believe is material for this
4 Committee. These violations go beyond trade.
5 They include breaches of human rights. And these
6 are all noted in our written submissions.

7 Nicaragua's actions have inflicted
8 millions of dollars in losses on Riverside.
9 They've destroyed livelihoods and created a
10 hostile environment for U.S. companies. Such
11 lawlessness undercuts the stability and
12 practicability that CAFTA was designed to
13 guarantee, deterring future U.S. investments and
14 trade in the region.

15 And I want to just briefly talk about
16 Section 301 because Section 301 addresses
17 unreasonable and discriminatory foreign acts that
18 burden U.S. commerce. And Nicaragua's conduct
19 meets every threshold under the statute, whether
20 we're talking about Section 301(a)(1) or (b).
21 And we respectfully urge the USTR to consider our
22 facts when it's dealing with its consideration.

1 Now, we've made no sanction
2 recommendations here other than to underscore
3 that given the pervasive erosion of the rule of
4 law in Nicaragua, this interagency body and the
5 USTR should consider it advisable to have robust
6 and enhanced CAFTA compliance-monitoring
7 mechanisms to ensure accountability and CAFTA
8 trade treaty compliance because we cannot just
9 rely on the mere assertion of the Republic of
10 Nicaragua to act in good faith in these
11 extensively pervasive erosion of rule of law
12 situations.

13 And so we thank the USTR for your
14 attention today, and we stand ready to provide
15 any additional evidence to answer your questions.
16 Thank you very, very much.

17 MS. THOMPSON: Thank you. This
18 concludes Panel 1's testimony.

19 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you for your
20 testimony this morning. At this time, we are
21 going to proceed to questions from the government
22 representatives.

1 MR. VAN PATTEN: All right, well, I'd
2 like to thank all the panelists for their
3 testimony today. It's very well appreciated.
4 This first question will be directed for Dr.
5 Chamorro Garcia. I believe all of our questions
6 will start with Dr. Garcia and then go down each
7 of the panelists in the order you presented your
8 testimony.

9 Dr. Chamorro Garcia, our first
10 question for you, as an economist, how would you
11 assess the impact of the deterioration of rule of
12 law in Nicaragua on U.S. commerce, exports, and
13 investment in Nicaragua? And could you please
14 provide us with some examples of the opportunity
15 costs for U.S. firms incurred by the political
16 climate in Nicaragua after 2018? Thank you.

17 DR. CHAMORRO: Thank you. I will be
18 very brief, but to the final part of your
19 question, opportunity costs for lack of
20 investment is extremely difficult to measure
21 because we're talking about the investors that
22 are not willing any more to continue their

1 investments or new investments to go ahead and go
2 through Nicaragua for investing in new
3 enterprises. So, this kind of contrafactual kind
4 of information is extremely difficult to assess.
5 However, we do have anecdotal evidence of lots of
6 investors who have seen the deterioration of the
7 rule of law and said there is no way of investing
8 in a country like Nicaragua.

9 You have also evidence of the loss of
10 jobs. You have Free Trade Zones and diminishing
11 amounts of investments from different sources.
12 In addition to that, the foreign assistance in
13 the forms of donations and loans have been
14 reduced considerably and the state of Nicaragua,
15 the regime has used financing from China. As my
16 colleague, Manuel Orozco was mentioning, the only
17 reason why the economy is growing at this moment
18 is the result of the remittances as a result of
19 more than 15 percent of the population live in
20 the country in the last 5 years.

21 MR. HUFFMAN: Thank you. My question
22 is also for Dr. Chamorro Garcia. Referring to

1 the CISA Exportadora case you referred to in your
2 submission, how would you characterize the impact
3 of the Nicaraguan government's seizure of that
4 asset? What impact does this have on creditors
5 following the Mercon Coffee Group's bankruptcy
6 case filed in New York?

7 DR. CHAMORRO: I'm sorry, so the
8 question was about the CISA Exportadora? Yes,
9 this the largest export of coffee in the country.
10 They have commercial relationship with banks
11 internationally and as a result of some
12 difficulties that the company had worldwide, had
13 to close operations.

14 Now there were debtors, either both in
15 Nicaragua and international debtors that were
16 claiming to get some rights for the company to
17 continue operation. Basically what the regime
18 did was to manu militari invade the properties,
19 confiscated in an arbitrary way and leaving the
20 debtors without their rights. Pretty much the
21 same modus operandi that they implemented in the
22 case of Riverside.

1 MS. BACON: My question is also for
2 Dr. Chamorro Your testimony mentioned the
3 Nicaraguan government's use of tax audits and
4 fines against companies in Nicaragua. Are you
5 able to elaborate on these situations and do you
6 have any particular examples of assets being
7 confiscated by the government due to an alleged
8 failure to pay fines?

9 DR. CHAMORRO: Absolutely. The
10 operation starts with a regular audit. I have to
11 say that most companies are under the services of
12 the tax administration agency. They come in.
13 They try to basically dump any cost from the
14 companies in order to reduce their profits and
15 they're extremely smart in making a fine because
16 there's always fining. They try to fine a
17 company in a way that make them pay the fine, but
18 not break their - go bankrupt. So basically,
19 this is a very sophisticated system of extortion
20 that goes from export companies, investors and
21 real estate. So it's part of the persecution of
22 the private sector that we have seen throughout

1 the economy.

2 So as a director of this economic
3 think tank, we obviously had lots of investors
4 who will come to the country and tell us about
5 the lack of conditions with regard to the tax
6 administration agency and the lack of capacity to
7 defend themselves. We were kind of a centerpiece
8 of receiving all these complaints because they
9 were also asking for asking for advice and
10 economic data. But this is a generalized
11 procedure that goes especially to large firms,
12 but it's not limited to large firms. This
13 extortion is throughout the economy.

14 Unfortunately, as I mentioned and this
15 is the way I wanted to finish my testimony today,
16 was that because of fear, all of these companies
17 prefer to pay the fine and not make any noise
18 about that for fear of retaliation. But when I
19 did that in my country, when I denounced the
20 persecution, the tax exposure to risk my family,
21 my daughter is an American citizen, many
22 investors, many business owners came to me and

1 showed me lots of evidence of their own cases
2 that I was able to collect.

3 MS. SILVERSMITH: Dr. Chamorro, you
4 stated in your testimony that as a business owner
5 and opposition leader you have seen the decline
6 of labor unions and the infringement of labor
7 rights under the current government. Could you
8 please elaborate on how, in your experience,
9 labor rights in Nicaragua have been impacted by
10 the government since 2018?

11 DR. CHAMORRO: I can mention a couple
12 of examples. The first that comes to my mind is
13 the Maria Elena Cuadra labor union movement.
14 It's concentrated on the defense of the rights of
15 women in Free Trade Zone. This organization was
16 eliminated by the regime in 2022 and their
17 offices were stormed. This is just an example of
18 one labor union, a very large organization in the
19 Free Trade Zone and I wanted to relate that to
20 commerce in the U.S., with the U.S.

21 The reason why this movement was
22 banished, was eliminated, is because it was part

1 of the wave of eliminating more than 5,000 NGOs,
2 as my colleagues had mentioned, but also because
3 they were consistently denouncing violations of
4 labor rights. About 30 percent of the workers in
5 the Free Trade Zone, for example, were
6 interviewed, and they didn't know anything about
7 their labor rights or they didn't know there was
8 a labor union within the company and they were
9 forced to only go to the bathroom like three
10 times a day. So all these reports are in the
11 web. And I'm sure the regime of Nicaragua saw
12 those reports as a threat to their own policies
13 or whatever, so they decided to close. This is
14 just an example of one labor union that I can
15 think of at this moment, but the list goes on, in
16 favor of pro-government, labor unions have been
17 in control of the labor movements for more than
18 40 years, very close to the Sandanista regime.

19 This obviously has also an impact on
20 the negotiation of the minimum wage because in
21 Nicaragua, the minimum wage used to be negotiated
22 between the Government of Nicaragua, the private

1 sector, and labor unions. The private sector
2 doesn't exist anymore. Labor unions, independent
3 labor unions, don't exist anymore, so that's
4 another way of the government to control and to
5 pass legislation to pass minimum wages according
6 to what their interests are.

7 MS. SAVAGE: So, Dr. Chamorro Garcia,
8 in your view, has the elimination of the think
9 tank FUNIDES' legal status affected the business
10 environment in Nicaragua? If so, how?

11 DR. CHAMORRO: Can you repeat the
12 question, please?

13 MS. SAVAGE: Sure. In your view, has
14 the elimination of the think tank FUNIDES' legal
15 status affected the business environment in
16 Nicaragua? If so, how?

17 DR. CHAMORRO: I use FUNIDES as a
18 personal example because I was the Executive
19 Director, but I will refer to the elimination of
20 all the business chambers in Nicaragua. The
21 Nicaragua Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of
22 Industry, the Nicaraguan Chamber of Commerce, and

1 the Chambers of Commerce of Spain, Italy, and so
2 many other countries, and the elimination of
3 COSEP, the umbrella organization that used to
4 gather all these.

5 So when you do not have these types of
6 organizations, investors do not have anywhere to
7 go. They cannot go to FUNIDES for economic
8 information. They cannot go to look for support
9 from the Chamber of Commerce if something, some
10 rights of importation of their goods, for
11 example, are infringed. So, the absence of all
12 these institutions are extremely damaging for the
13 business environment, and that's the reason why
14 the World Bank has placed Nicaragua among the
15 lowest in the world in the business environment,
16 especially related to property rights, invasion
17 of properties, for example, their rule of law,
18 and the capacity to enforce agreements or
19 contracts.

20 So in a place where there's no rule of
21 law, obviously, as I mentioned in my first
22 intervention, the possibility of doing business,

1 to defend your right as an investor, to defend
2 your right as an owner of a property are
3 completely extinguished by a regime that only
4 seeks financial resources through tax extortion.

5 MS. SAVAGE: Moving on to questions
6 for Dr. Manuel Orozco.

7 And Dr. Manuel Orozco with the Inter-
8 American Dialogue, you referenced tax extortion
9 and fiscal harassment by the Nicaraguan
10 government forcing businesses to keep a low
11 profile and participate in a national dialogue.

12 Can you please elaborate on these
13 circumstances? What do you mean by national
14 dialogue? Do you have an understanding of which
15 businesses or sectors have been the subject of
16 this government behavior? I'm happy to repeat
17 the first part if you had a hard time hearing me.

18 DR. OROZCO: Thank you. Between 2018
19 and early 2020, well, to July 2019, basically,
20 the Ortega government agreed to engage into talks
21 with the Nicaraguan civil society with organized
22 democratic groups in order to arrive at the

1 political reform process. During that process,
2 Ortega basically decided when he realized that he
3 was high unpopular, that there was no way to
4 fulfill this national dialogue. He had agreed in
5 March 2019 to introduce a number of political
6 reforms that will turn the country into a more
7 democratic transition, but he rejected to do
8 that.

9 One of the key partners and members of
10 the national dialogue included the private
11 sector, the private sector, individuals of the
12 organizations like the ones that Dr. Chamarro
13 mentioned, the private sector organizations, the
14 U.S. Chamber of Commerce, among others. The
15 businesses, as well as the individuals, were to
16 some extent to put it roughly in a list by the
17 government to be harassed, to be intimidated in
18 different forms. One of those forms has been the
19 tax extortion or the fiscal harassment. The
20 modus operandi, the way it operates, basically,
21 is that you will reach out to a business and say
22 you owe \$1 million in back due taxes, and there

1 was no records of evidence that there was that
2 debt, but in exchange, to forgive you or ask you
3 pay one tenth of that million dollars, you were
4 asked to basically keep a low profile during the
5 national dialogue that was taking place. This is
6 an example, but the intimidation occurred in at
7 least 10 to 20 different businesses. Some of the
8 business owners actually were confiscated
9 eventually in 2021. Many of them actually left
10 the country and some of them actually have U.S.
11 relationships, trade relationships, with the U.S.

12 MS. BACON: Thank you. My question
13 is also for Dr. Orozco.

14 Dr. Orozco, in your summary of your
15 testimony, you describe the impact that the
16 actions of the Government of Nicaragua have had
17 on the Nicaraguan economy and you stated that the
18 elimination of nonprofit organizations in
19 Nicaragua has led to foregone funds for these
20 organizations and affected millions of former
21 beneficiaries.

22 You describe immigration for Nicaragua

1 and the resulting influx of remittances and you
2 also describe the effects that property
3 expropriations and denial of citizenship has had
4 on the opportunities and plans of Nicaraguans and
5 their economy, including international
6 activities.

7 Do you consider that, what appear to
8 be direct impacts of the Government of Nicaragua
9 on the Nicaraguan economy, may have or have had
10 impacts on the U.S. economy as well? For
11 example, are there opportunities in Nicaragua
12 that are inaccessible to U.S. firms due to the
13 investment climate or because of human or labor
14 rights issues related to the workforce in
15 Nicaragua? Are firms from -- are there foreign
16 firms not from the United States able to take
17 advantage of those kinds of opportunities?

18 DR. OROZCO: Yes. I can give you a
19 huge list. I can give you one example, one very
20 simple example. With the care that -- I cannot
21 provide you with specific names because there is
22 eventual retaliation against those businesses,

1 but one example is the digital financial
2 industry. This is a business I worked on the
3 money transfer remittances. Currently, Nicaragua
4 is less than three percent of remittance payments
5 are performed digitally into the digital economy
6 in the country. Whereas in the rest of Central
7 America, it's a larger percent. It's up to 20
8 percent, the case of Guatemala, for example.

9 Now, the main difference is that there
10 is the issue of insecurity among U.S.
11 corporations, fintech companies that do not want
12 to go and work in Nicaragua. They also have
13 evidence and examples of fintech companies that
14 have been confiscated by the Nicaraguan regime
15 preventing them from doing the business of these
16 types of operations. This is just one example,
17 but the list can operate at different levels in
18 the media sector, as well as in other trade
19 activities. You have an example here from
20 Riverside as another illustration.

21 But for the most part, what you need
22 to understand is that what is operating in

1 Nicaragua is an effective illustration of the
2 state capture where the regime basically has
3 decided to pass the bill on economic performance
4 to the United States by expending migrants 30
5 percent of the Nicaraguan economy is coming from
6 remittances from Nicaraguans in the United States
7 -- 80 percent of the \$5 billion in remittances
8 are originating from the United States.

9 In the process, the state capture
10 allows the Nicaraguan regime to enrich themselves
11 by externally borrowing funds from the
12 international financial institutions and using
13 those funds to facilitate enrichment of the
14 family clan. One example is construction in real
15 estate including investments in the Free Trade
16 Zone, and the real estate leasing to the free
17 trade companies operating there.

18 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Before you move on,
19 just to note one thing, we're very interested in
20 your answer on this, Dr. Orozco, and just for
21 everyone's awareness to the extent that you want
22 to further elaborate on your answer with those

1 specific examples, we do have a means on our
2 website for you to submit that information
3 confidentially. So I would urge you to do use
4 the rebuttal period to do so and provide the
5 information if you're able. Thank you.

6 MS. SILVERSMITH: Dr. Orozco, you
7 stated in the summary of your testimony that
8 despite the Ministry of Labor, or MITRAB's,
9 recent efforts to engage FTZ companies in
10 dialogue, workers today remain without access to
11 basic labor rights and proper oversight.

12 What recent efforts of MITRAB are you
13 referring to? And what are the specific
14 challenges workers face when seeking legal
15 recourse for labor rights of uses in Nicaragua
16 including the roles of unions, MITRAB, and the
17 judiciary in addressing or exacerbating these
18 issues since 2018?

19 DR. OROZCO: Well, basically, there is
20 no tribunalization in Nicaragua unless you belong
21 to the Sandanista Workers Union. Second of all,
22 you do not have the confidence as a worker to

1 rely on the Ministry of Labor to seek redress in
2 case of any type of labor violation. Whether
3 these are people who are asked to work extra
4 hours without additional extra payment or whether
5 there is continued vigilance on the side of the
6 Nicaraguan police when workers leave the premises
7 from the Free Trade Zone.

8 So, there is no recourse at all to
9 reach out to any type of government support
10 because the government itself is conspiring
11 against the worker rights. So, to a large extent
12 it's basically an elimination of any type of
13 labor rights available to individuals in that
14 context. This is a closed society. This is not a
15 country where you can do on-site inspections like
16 in Costa Rica or even Honduras. So one has to
17 find ways to identify how the Ministry of Labor
18 have to be compliant in a way. And in order to
19 do that, you basically have to introduce
20 democratic reforms in the country.

21 MS. SILVERSMITH: Thank you, one more
22 question, Dr. Orozco. You noted that claims of

1 labor rights violations in the FTZ have risen in
2 recent years. Do you have an explanation for the
3 increase in claims?

4 DR. OROZCO: I think it's the lack of
5 protection of labor rights that have led to
6 people to complain as there is more of a
7 systematic practice. For example, the wage
8 discrimination is one case. If you look at the
9 data, productivity has increased even though the
10 number of workers has not increased in the
11 country and the wages have actually, relative to
12 productivity, have actually been declining in the
13 past six years.

14 And when a worker talks to you, they
15 tell you, basically, we're working extra hours,
16 we're getting the same pay or less, and we don't
17 have no one to recourse. So it's becoming more
18 of a system-wide pattern. And it begs the
19 question, for example, to some of the businesses,
20 to the extent to which they are aware of this
21 equation, because the Labor Ministry is not
22 providing any type of information. There is not

1 a possibility to open up the Labor Councils under
2 Chapter 16 of the CAFTA agreement. So it's a
3 difficult situation for everyone.

4 MR. VAN PATTEN: Thank you. Dr.
5 Orozco, the short titled Productivity and Wages
6 in the Free Trade Zones of Nicaragua that you
7 included in your summary of testimony appears to
8 show that workers' wages in FTZs have gone up
9 since 2018, but not commensurately with their
10 productivity as the ratio of wages to
11 productivity has fluctuated, but overall
12 decreased since 2018.

13 Could you please describe in more
14 detail your understanding of how wages and
15 productivity in Nicaragua have changed since 2018
16 and the potential suppressive effective that
17 these changes have had on wages in the region?

18 DR. OROZCO: Basically, there hasn't
19 been a chance to establish negotiated agreements
20 over wages over the course of the five years and
21 that has been evident among workers in the Free
22 Trade Zone. The way to look at it is comparing

1 2018 wages to 2024. They have only increased
2 less than 6 percent on an annual basis. When we
3 looked at the other wages increases in Free Trade
4 Zone countries like Honduras and Guatemala, there
5 has been a far greater improvement. In the case
6 of Honduras, during six years the wages have
7 increased more than 50 percent.

8 There is definitely a lack of
9 compensation to workers in addition to other
10 types of wage discrimination or the subsidies
11 that they were entitled to that were removed in
12 2021.

13 MS. SAVAGE: Dr. Orozco, in your
14 testimony, you outlined the Nicaraguan government
15 maintaining policies that exploit Nicaraguan
16 workers. So if so, are these policies enabling
17 unfair competition with U.S. workers?

18 DR. OROZCO: I think it does in the
19 sense that there is no labor rights protection.
20 This is basically sweatshop 2.0 in the 21st
21 century operating right in our backyard in
22 Nicaragua. Workers are completely unprotected.

1 They see no recourse to stay outside of the Free
2 Trade Zone because you are basically going to the
3 informal economy which pays even less. So you
4 have two options, to stay there, migrate, or go
5 to the informal economy.

6 MR. HUFFMAN: My question is for Mr.
7 Toruño. You report a series of attacks on Radio
8 Dario and its employees including arson, raids,
9 and harassment. Why do you believe Radio Dario
10 and its employees were targeted for these
11 actions? Are you aware of other media outlets
12 that have been subject to similar actions?

13 MR. TORUÑO: Thank you for giving me
14 the opportunity. What happened to Radio Dario,
15 it happened to La Prensa. It's the most
16 important media outlet in Nicaragua. It happened
17 to Confidencial. It happened to Cien por Ciento
18 Noticias. More than 275 journalists are in exile
19 and more than 57 independent media have been
20 canceled, destroyed, taken away, confiscated.
21 And actually, in Nicaragua, it is totally silent,
22 all the media are gone. Journalists that exist

1 are underground. We still have been persecuted.
2 I have a journalist right now, after six and a
3 half years, they have been incarcerated. And the
4 reason is because Daniel Ortega knows that.
5 Silent on that. Country -- it is very important
6 to take away the free press and take away, to be,
7 or know, the explanation that Juan Sebastian
8 expressed or Orozco, the other, explained. So it
9 is an important point. What's happening to that,
10 it's just an example.

11 MS. BACON: Thank you, Mr. Toruño. If
12 I could just follow up, are there press freedoms
13 that currently exist in Nicaragua? And what role
14 does the press play in protecting human rights
15 and labor rights and the rule of law in
16 Nicaragua?

17 MR. TORUÑO: Well, actually, media
18 outlets are being canceled. There is no free
19 press. There are journalists that are working
20 underground in a very hard and difficult
21 situation, dangerous to losing their liberty or
22 finishes in jail.

1 And human rights, it's main line for
2 the media, independent outlets. And even though
3 it has been canceled, 59 media outlets, all these
4 medias are working in exile and something that
5 has been downsized for Daniel Ortega that we have
6 media independent in exile putting that picture
7 of what's going on in Nicaragua. That is the
8 horror, what's happening to us.

9 Daniel Ortega has been killing more
10 than 300 individuals, Nicaraguan people. He's
11 facing, actually, the international justice.
12 We're still working and being an important Main
13 Street for the Nicaraguan people and to tell the
14 world what's happening in Nicaragua shouldn't
15 happen anymore.

16 MR. HUFFMAN: Thank you. My next
17 question is for the representative of Notre Dame
18 Law School Global Human Rights Clinic.

19 Your pre-hearing submission indicates
20 that the Nicaraguan government harassed employees
21 of the NGO Fundacion del Rio and abruptly and
22 arbitrarily canceled its legal status and

1 confiscated its assets. What impact, in your
2 view, has the closure of NGOs in Nicaragua had on
3 Nicaragua's reputation as a place that might
4 welcome U.S. trade and investments?

5 MR. BRISSAU: Well, the reason that
6 the NGO was cancelled, it was because of NGO's
7 work to defend and protect the indigenous people
8 and also the Afro-descendant community that were
9 operating in the areas where they were. And
10 there would be companies that would come and take
11 their land.

12 And then the organization would
13 prevent those kind of companies to come and then
14 take their land without any due process. Because
15 those organizations, they are the owner of the
16 land. And, therefore, they are guaranteed --
17 they should be guaranteed of liberty to explore
18 their land.

19 So the government, when they came,
20 there is no due process, and they take their
21 land. And then because of the work of the NGOs,
22 then, you know, they were pushed out.

1 So any other institutions that would
2 come to a country without any legal procedure,
3 you know, to do expropriation, because there are
4 laws in Costa Rica that protect expropriation.
5 And without doing that would endanger not just
6 the life of the Afro-descendant and peasant and
7 indigenous communities, but also the assets of
8 those companies.

9 Because they would be exposed to
10 outside, to the constant fight between them and
11 the indigenous people. Because there is no real
12 protection for them and also for the communities
13 that are occupying the land.

14 And therefore, having a law that
15 protects both the investment from international
16 companies, and the land from those organizations
17 and those communities, would protect both, would
18 help both the investment of the corporation, from
19 international corporations, but also the local
20 communities.

21 So I think that's where the law is
22 weak, and it needs to be strong so that the

1 international investment companies, corporations,
2 could know exactly what they are entitled to do
3 and then what they should not be doing in those
4 protected lands.

5 MS. SILVERSMITH: Mr. Brissau, could
6 you please elaborate on the work of Fundaci n del
7 R o before its closure?

8 MR. BRISSAU: Fundaci n del R o is a
9 foundation that was created in 1990 with the
10 ultimate work to protect the environment and to
11 protect also human rights of the indigenous
12 people, and also Afro-descendant communities that
13 are communities that have been, I would say,
14 limited to what they could do by the government,
15 because there is no one really to defend them.

16 And therefore, the organization, what
17 they do, they have registration, community
18 registration to talk to them about, to educate
19 them about their rights, to train them on how to
20 protect their rights, and then protect also the
21 human rights.

22 And they have also sites, conservation

1 sites, that are protected. They are protecting,
2 they are showing them their rights and to protect
3 those conservation. They also have sites where
4 they do reforestation.

5 And those reforestation sites, that's
6 where the government, you know, were giving out
7 to corporations to just destroy the trees, you
8 know. And then those reforestation sites, you
9 know, they were trained on how to protect them
10 and how to grow trees. And then they were all
11 seized by the government.

12 So they are left now without any
13 support, any legal support, any legal means of
14 defending themselves. Because the whole assets
15 of the organization were seized by the
16 government, including Mr. Amaru's own bank
17 account was frozen, and the lien also was put on
18 all of his property. So therefore, he cannot do
19 anything. And now he lives in exile.

20 MS. BACON: And Mr. Brissau, what does
21 the closure of Fundaci3n del R;o say about the
22 rule of law and protection of human and labor

1 rights in Nicaragua? And specifically, can you
2 describe the process for cancelling the legal
3 status of the NGO in Nicaragua?

4 MR. BRISSAU: Well, there was no legal
5 process that was put in place to cancel any of
6 the 5,000 NGOs. They just saw the decree from
7 the Ministry of Governance asking them to, you
8 know, close up shop, like other presenters have
9 said. There was no legal process that was put in
10 place to do it.

11 They just based on, sorry, on the law,
12 the communication law that the government has
13 put. And they just decided to cancel all, based
14 on Article 30 of the special law on cyber crimes.
15 So they are practically using the law to
16 persecute those organizations.

17 Because there's not really a law that
18 said okay, here's the point, A to Z, how to
19 cancel an organization. They based on, the
20 allegation's based on cyber crimes, most of them.
21 And that's practically the way they proceeded to
22 cancel all the organizations that were against

1 them. Every one was a decision they are out.

2 MR. HUFFMAN: Thank you.

3 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Before you move to the
4 next question, I see that, Mr. Garcia, you wanted
5 to respond to this question as well. If you
6 could do so briefly, that's fine.

7 DR. CHAMORRO: It's unrelated.

8 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Sure.

9 DR. CHAMORRO: It's an unrelated
10 comment. But

11 CHAIR GRIMBALL: It's an unrelated
12 comment to that question?

13 DR. CHAMORRO: Yes.

14 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Should we save it for
15 the end of this panel?

16 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Okay.

17 MR. VAN PATTEN: Okay, last question for
18 you, Mr. Brissau. Your summary of testimonies
19 suggests that Article 16 of the Nicaraguan penal
20 code is facilitating prosecution of individuals
21 who have been exiled.

22 If possible, could you clarify whether

1 Article 16 is a recent provision or if it's one
2 that is being used in new ways under President
3 Ortega?

4 MR. RODR GUEZ: With the permission of
5 the committee, I would like to answer that
6 question. The Article 16 in the constitution has
7 a long time, but it was submitted to reform a
8 paragraph about the persecution of any Nicaraguan
9 citizen or a foreigner that attacks or attempts
10 to subvert a sovereignty of Nicaragua.

11 So in that sense, the article has been
12 used by the government in a new way to allow them
13 to persecute political opposition. But also what
14 they define as a foreign audience that it can be
15 foreigners that are seen by the government as
16 conducting activities against them.

17 So in that regard, we consider that it
18 also imperils the U.S. economic interest as their
19 own business audience or corporation could be
20 targeted because of the work they do if the
21 government considers they are in some way
22 attacking their national sovereignty.

1 MS. SAVAGE: Thank you. The next
2 question is for Barry Appleton on behalf of
3 Riverside Coffee.

4 Your testimony alleges selective
5 inaction by the Nicaraguan government with
6 respect to Riverside's property as compared to 18
7 other properties. Can you elaborate on how the
8 eviction constitutes discrimination against
9 Riverside or U.S. companies more broadly?

10 DR. APPLETON: Thank you very much. I'd
11 be delighted to answer that question. What's
12 quite remarkable in this situation is that we
13 actually have a hearing and a factual record. We
14 have admissions and police reports from the
15 government of Nicaragua.

16 The government of Nicaragua has actually
17 admitted, through police reports, that there was
18 active police protection on those cases. They
19 also admitted, in their cross examinations, that
20 they had a specific policy to not provide this
21 protection to Riverside Coffee.

22 They also had a report sent to the

1 national police chief who is the son-in-law of
2 the dictator. And that actually identified the
3 company as being owned by Americans and
4 identified the management as being Americans.

5 And so when you put this together and
6 you see it all very clearly, you see exactly the
7 type of invidious nationality-based
8 discrimination that we negotiated protections
9 against in the CAFTA, and the type of
10 discrimination that even goes beyond that as the
11 type of elements of customary international law.

12 And we have it not only in the area of
13 that, but you also have the issue of the failure
14 of full protection security.

15 And what's even more astonishing on
16 that, and we referenced that in our comments to
17 you already, is that the police sub-commissioner
18 admitted that he would just follow whatever
19 orders he was given, that he would not have a
20 command review. That whatever it was, if he had
21 those orders, he would carry them out.

22 If those were orders involved that would

1 be oppressive to human rights, that would be
2 violative of personal safety, if they would be
3 engaged in inappropriate police brutality and
4 murder, he would just carry them out without
5 question.

6 And this is astonishing. And the reason
7 why we are here today is because we had an
8 independent investigative process that is
9 unavailable to those in Nicaragua, because their
10 courts are not independent. Those courts can't
11 have that type of evidence.

12 And I also identify that this body, this
13 interagency body, under the leadership of the
14 USTR, also provides key fact-finding information
15 that will assist those in Nicaragua and other
16 places in the world in being able to deal with
17 identifying the gross violations of the
18 independent judiciary and the rule of law.

19 I'm sorry, this was a little bit long,
20 but it's so important what you're doing. I
21 wanted to share exactly why this was there and
22 the record that would deal with it. But it's

1 itemized in the materials that we gave you. And
2 of course, if you want we could also identify it
3 again in a post-hearing brief.

4 MS. BACON: Thank you, Mr. Appleton. We
5 were hoping that you could elaborate further on
6 the legal authority cited by the Nicaraguan
7 government for seizing Hacienda Santa Fe.

8 And we would also like to know how the
9 Nicaraguan government and judicial system
10 responded, have responded when you pursued a
11 remedy under Nicaraguan law or international
12 arbitration.

13 DR. APPLETON: I'm going to break that
14 down. So first of all, the government of
15 Nicaragua has an expropriation law but didn't use
16 it. They didn't notify us of a process. In
17 fact, it eventually did a protective process that
18 it was ordered to notify us of, and it failed to.

19 And the International Tribunal reviewing
20 the matter in a specific finding found that to be
21 a violation of due process in the rule of law.
22 Because they were ordered to give us notice, and

1 they failed to. And there was no excuse.

2 And in fact, when we look at what was
3 there, we actually discovered that they had
4 fabricated evidence of communications with
5 Riverside which didn't take place. And then
6 since we were not given notice to have due
7 process to be able to oppose it, we couldn't
8 challenge that, because we had no knowledge of
9 it.

10 And we filed an expert legal opinion
11 under the law of Nicaragua as part of the
12 international hearing process, and that person
13 was actually cross examined, but they didn't
14 actually go and challenge that material
15 whatsoever.

16 So with respect to that process, the
17 domestic side of it, we had nothing. Because the
18 rule of law is not respected, it's the absence of
19 the rule of law, as you've heard from the other
20 witnesses before you already and I suspect you'll
21 hear later today.

22 I also identify that we filed two expert

1 reports which we put on the record here from
2 Tulane University's Professor Justin Wolfe. And
3 he has summarized the findings of the OAS and of
4 the UN experts dealing with a number of these
5 issues dealing with the erosion of the rule of
6 law and the violations of human rights.

7 And it provides a very useful summary
8 for you as to all of the extensive recent
9 evidence that's taken place. So with respect to
10 domestic process, none.

11 With respect to their arguments, the
12 arguments that took place were either they didn't
13 do it, they were not engaged in state-sponsored
14 activities, even though the legislative leader of
15 the government, Congressman Edwin Castro, met
16 with the leaders and told them that they should
17 remain in occupation of the American property and
18 they would eventually find money to pay for it,
19 because they recognized it was private property.
20 And they didn't do it.

21 This is the type of poster child that we
22 would have for everything that you're not

1 supposed to do. Governments may expropriate, but
2 they can't do it in this way. And so the process
3 was broken. The foundational aspects of human
4 rights, which are respected here, were broken.
5 The lack of independence of the judiciary are
6 broken, the rule of law was broken.

7 And the only remedy that was available
8 was because of the CAFTA, because it had
9 independent abilities. And even in that
10 situation, our witnesses were under threat and
11 intimidated for their own testimony. And several
12 of them have had to flee the country, because
13 speaking truth to justice in Nicaragua has a
14 cost.

15 I am fortunate. I come to you from the
16 New York Law School. I have liberty and freedom
17 in this country. I can speak the truth. And you
18 don't have to agree with me. I can still speak
19 it, and you will not put me in jail for doing
20 that, I hope. But that's not the case here. And
21 so that's why this is so important. I hope I
22 answered your question.

1 MR. VAN PATTEN: Thank you Dr. Appleton.
2 You make reference in your summary of testimony
3 that other companies besides Riverside have
4 experienced lost investment and business
5 opportunities in Nicaragua which has, in your
6 words, created a high risk environment in which
7 to invest and conduct business.

8 Are you aware of other specific
9 instances where the Nicaraguan government's
10 policies discouraged investment or business from
11 U.S. companies? And could you share your
12 assessment as to why there is a high risk
13 environment in which to invest and conduct
14 business for U.S. companies in Nicaragua?

15 DR. APPLETON: Yes I can, again I
16 commend to you the excellent expert report from
17 Professor Justin Wolfe who has identified that in
18 his reports. I put them on the record here for
19 your assistance. And we'll flag some of that in
20 our post-hearing comments.

21 But to identify in particular there were
22 a large number of companies and, in fact, you

1 heard that today from the other witnesses that
2 referenced Riverside, that Riverside's one of
3 many. There are state-sponsored takings.

4 And often just being an American is
5 enough to be the basis for all of this activity,
6 that if you are not paying fealty to the regime
7 by being actively a supporter of the regime --
8 Riverside Coffee was just neutral. It just did
9 business. That wasn't enough. And it lost
10 everything, and massive amounts of investment.

11 And we also, my client is deeply
12 environmentally committed. And they had a
13 sustainable forest and a preserve that they had
14 been developing for years. And it was massively
15 deforested after their property had been taken
16 over, hundreds of years -- we brought actual
17 witnesses in to the hearing, hundreds of years of
18 growth of rare preserve destroyed.

19 So the environmental degradation, the
20 economic degradation, the degradation to the rule
21 of law, the degradation to human rights, the
22 resulting impacts in labor rights, it's not

1 surprising this is caused such destabilization in
2 the region.

3 And that impairs and nullifies the
4 impacts for U.S. business and commerce in a very
5 significant way, as well as the absolute and
6 specific violations of the CAFTA.

7 MR. HUFFMAN: Professor Appleton, in
8 your summary of testimony, you state that the
9 destruction of the rule of law by the Ortega-
10 Murillo dictatorship has significantly burdened
11 U.S. commerce. This appears to include direction
12 by the police not to protect U.S. interests.

13 Could you please expand on how, in your
14 opinion, the current rule of law under the
15 current government of Nicaragua burdens or
16 restricts U.S. commerce?

17 DR. APPLETON: Thank you. And this is
18 important to understand. And it can be a little
19 complicated. I'm going to make it as simple as
20 possible. And then if something needs more,
21 we'll add it into our post-hearing comment.

22 So the state has taken over every

1 element of independence within the states. So
2 for example, there were some questions earlier
3 about administrative discretion on tax issues.

4 In our own case, we had the defense
5 being filed by the government that -- and there
6 were eight different government regulators sort
7 of telling us that, even though we were in
8 business operations for 30 years, that everything
9 we were doing in every area was illegal and
10 therefore couldn't be done through the use of
11 discretion.

12 That, of course, would violate
13 foundational principles of due process and the
14 rule of law. We had never been notified of
15 anything. And, in fact, we had actually, less
16 than a year before the invasion, had government
17 report done which actually notified that we were
18 in full compliance with all, for example,
19 environmental regulations, so actually something
20 positive, but yet declaration after declaration.

21 We brought in an expert on Nicaraguan
22 law who is based in the United States. So he

1 could actually speak fairly and accurately,
2 trained at Harvard. And he identified that this
3 was completely false.

4 He identified, in his expert opinion,
5 about the lack of independence now in the courts.
6 He identified how the business registries have
7 now been taken over and the property registries
8 have been taken over by the state. So now
9 there's no independent assessments.

10 So take the property registry, it no
11 longer is done in an independent way. If the
12 state decides it would like to change something,
13 it just does it. And you'll have to have notice.

14 And that is, in fact, what happened to
15 us. We had exclusive property ownership, de jure
16 title. And all of a sudden, one day we didn't.
17 They put their name on the title to our property,
18 no process, no payments, no notification.
19 Another time they took part of our property,
20 created a forest reserve, no notice to us.

21 Now again, the government's entitled to
22 do these things, but not without a process, not

1 without compensation. We probably wouldn't have
2 opposed that. We're all in favor of protecting
3 the environment. It's part of the corporate DNA
4 of this particular company. But at the end of
5 the day, this is all wrong.

6 And then we have the issue of the
7 government, the Attorney General's Department,
8 actually fabricating evidence of rejections of
9 offers that were never made, never there.

10 And when the actual evidence was put
11 before the International tribunal, the Attorney
12 General of the State of Jinotega, the local area,
13 had to admit that the documents didn't say
14 anything that was put in the documents before the
15 court that she actually had to sign off on as the
16 Attorney General.

17 So we are talking about the absence of
18 the rule of law. You're talking about somebody's
19 worst -- this is rotten documentation. This is
20 falsehood at the center of it.

21 I've been involved, I'm the co-director
22 of the International Law Center at the New York

1 Law School, I've been involved in international
2 law. This was for more than 30 years. This is
3 the worst situation I have ever seen in terms of
4 the erosion of foundational rule of law, the
5 absence of following law, where all we have is
6 might over right.

7 And that, not surprisingly, causes
8 tremendous impacts for U.S. businesses that rely
9 on the carefully crafted treaties that we have.
10 And it's not, by the way, our trade treaties,
11 which are very important, but our international
12 human rights treaties, and our labor treaties,
13 and the foundational treaties that we have.
14 Nothing is followed. And you don't know.
15 There's no commercial stability, no
16 predictability. We don't know.

17 And if you speak up, if you question, if
18 you say this can't be right, can you help me to
19 understand it, all of a sudden your family's at
20 risk and you are at risk. And you may be in jail
21 without habeas corpus.

22 Let me just check with my colleague.

1 Did I miss anything?

2 I'm sorry, it is an outrageous
3 situation. It is so bad that it is clearly why,
4 when I had raised it earlier, why I believe that
5 the situation under Section 301(b) is present
6 here. And that's why I underscore it. I'm
7 sorry, I don't mean to talk like a lawyer. But
8 it is occasionally helpful.

9 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you. Mr.
10 Chamorro Garcia, I understand you had a --

11 DR. CHAMORRO: Thank you very much for
12 this special opportunity. I just wanted to call
13 the attention of the panel that on January 1st,
14 2024, enter into force a free trade agreement
15 with China.

16 And there is no way, there is no way
17 that investor from other countries like the
18 United States will be able to have the same
19 benefits, the same preferences this Chinese
20 investor will have, therefore posing clear danger
21 to U.S. investors.

22 And that opened the possibility of the

1 entrance to the U.S. of intermediate goods in
2 which, for example, Chinese forced labor was
3 used. So I just wanted to call the attention to
4 the panel of this current situation that might
5 happen. Thank you.

6 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you.

7 MR. HUFFMAN: Mr. Toruño, this is kind
8 of a follow-up question also. I'll ask it to you
9 and then kind of open it up, because I know there
10 are some economists here as well.

11 Prior to the closure of Radio Darío, and
12 the number of other media organizations that were
13 closed down by the regime, to what degree did
14 businesses, including United States businesses
15 operating in Nicaragua, rely on the media and the
16 free flow of information to operate efficiently?

17 MR. TORUÑO: Our media outlets were one
18 of the best in Central America. And since Ortega
19 came back in 2007, his main purpose was to take
20 over the media outlet, TV, radio station,
21 newspaper. He wipe out everything. Because it
22 was important for him, for his project, to

1 silence Nicaragua.

2 And I want to take this opportunity, and
3 I thank you, the social media networking has been
4 taken away from the Nicaraguan people. There is
5 a package all over when make a delinquent action.
6 People have been in jail, has been sent in a
7 jail, because things are being expressed through
8 the social media.

9 So it has been the new law for
10 communication, for example, allow the government
11 to ask the providers of internet all requirement
12 the data, the communication, emails,
13 communication between telephone and everything.
14 They control totally the communication in
15 Nicaragua. There is totally silent in my
16 country.

17 One thing that we're ready for it, but
18 I hope it's not going to happen, if it's Daniel
19 Ortega decided to take away the internet and
20 control the internet as a Venezuelan country,
21 then we will be in really trouble.

22 As of right now, I think one segment

1 that we have been successful is that we have an
2 excellent media outlet on exile (phonetic). And
3 that's one thing that we still have, we're still
4 fighting for.

5 And I want to thank you, all of you,
6 because of the time actually to hear all the
7 expectation that we have. I think it is
8 important to take step forward, actually to make
9 decisions on that Ortega cannot keep going on
10 even with DR-CAFTA.

11 Everything he's taken from the United
12 States, all the income in majority is coming from
13 this country. And actually he's looking back to
14 the other way doing all the things that you hear
15 from all he companies and everything.

16 And he still manage to take 70 percent,
17 or more than 80 percent of income from this
18 country and take it away from us. And he's
19 comfort, he's happy with everything. Nothing
20 happened to Daniel Ortega, even the business from
21 America, from the United States. He stealing
22 from this country. And nothing happened to him.

1 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you. Thank you
2 Panel 1. So I can release this panel?

3 While you all are going back into the
4 audience, I wanted to announce some adjustments
5 to the schedule. We are moving a little bit
6 ahead of time, and while we had originally
7 planned for Panel 2 to begin after lunch, what we
8 would propose, since I am told that all of our
9 Panel 2 witnesses are here, would be to begin
10 with the Panel 2 direct testimony.

11 If we all stick to our five minutes or
12 so of direct testimony, we can still be on
13 schedule for lunch at 12:30. So I would invite
14 Panel 2, assuming everyone is here, to come take
15 your seats. We'll proceed with your direct
16 testimony, break for lunch at about 12:30, and
17 then return at 1:20. Thank you. Thank you all.

18 And I also should mention, we're going
19 to take a -- let's return at 11:45, let's take a
20 brief break, return to our seats at 11:45. Thank
21 you.

22 (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter

1 went off the record at 11:38 a.m. and resumed at
2 11:52 a.m.)

3 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Okay. If everyone
4 could take your seats, we're going to proceed
5 with Panel Two.

6 MS. THOMPSON: We will now begin with
7 Panel Two testimony. Our first panelist is
8 Dolilfa Rebeca Mora, on behalf of Max Jerez,
9 Nicaraguan University Alliance.

10 MS. MORA: My name is Dolilfa Mora, and
11 today I have the honor of reading the testimony
12 of Max Jerez, friend and nice person, our
13 organization the Nicaraguan University Alliance.

14 My name is Max Jerez. I am a former
15 political prisoner. I share my testimony today
16 not only as a witness of the atrocities of the
17 Daniel Ortega regime, but also as a voice for the
18 thousands of Nicaraguans who cannot speak because
19 they are in exile, in prisons, or have been
20 silenced forever.

21 In 2018, while studying political
22 science at the Politecnica University of

1 Nicaragua, I joined the peaceful protest against
2 the social security reforms. What began as a
3 legitimate expression of discontent was brutally
4 repressed by the regime.

5 My active participation in the student
6 movement made me a target of the regime. In
7 2019, I was detained and beaten during a protest.

8 In 2021, after months of constant
9 surveillance and harassment, I was arbitrarily
10 arrested and taken to the infamous torture center
11 known as El Chipote.

12 I spent two and a half months in total
13 isolation without access to communication, family
14 visits, or legal representation.

15 During my detention, my mother fell
16 seriously ill. All the efforts requesting that I
17 be allowed to say goodbye to her, were denied by
18 the regime.

19 My mother passed away on September 17,
20 2021, while I was still behind bars. And, I was
21 not informed of her death.

22 In February 2023, along with 221

1 political prisoners, I was stripped of my
2 nationality and forced into exile in the United
3 States. The regime ordered the confiscation of
4 all of my assets in Nicaragua.

5 It is ironic that the opposition has
6 been accused of destabilizing the country, when
7 in fact the Ortega-Murillo administration has
8 been the main promoter of violence, chaos, and
9 illegality.

10 This regime has turned Nicaragua into an
11 open field for organized crime, drug trafficking,
12 irregular migration, and other illicit activities
13 that not only undermine democracy and free trade,
14 but also hinder the economic and social
15 development of the entire region.

16 This crisis is not only a problem for
17 Nicaraguans, the suppression of the rule of law
18 and the absence of judicial guarantees has
19 created an environment of legal insecurity, which
20 manifests itself in the persecution of opponents.

21 The imprisonment of political and social
22 leaders and the right without due process but

1 also in economic instability, lack of
2 opportunities, confiscations, and
3 institutionalized corruption.

4 I appreciate all the efforts and actions
5 taken by the United States government for my
6 freedom and for the freedom of more than 350
7 political prisoners released in February 2023 and
8 September 2024.

9 And, I call on you to continue taking
10 concrete actions to defend democratic interests,
11 free trade, and the economic and social
12 development of the continent.

13 Thank you.

14 MS. THOMPSON: Thank you. Our next
15 panelist is Rosal;a Guti,rrez-Huete Miller, on
16 behalf of Eliseo Nuñez, Concertaciϕn Democr tica
17 Nicarag ense.

18 MS. MILLER: Thank you and good morning.
19 Testimony of the Concertaciϕn Democr tica
20 Nicarag ense.

21 We the governing board of the
22 Concertaciϕn Democr tica Nicarag ense represent

1 civil society organizations, private sector
2 leaders, political parties, NGOs, and leaders of
3 the Afro-Caribbean ethnic and indigenous
4 communities.

5 We declare that all 40 of our members
6 have suffered political prosecution by the Ortega
7 dictatorship. Our members have faced threats,
8 house arrest, jail, degrading treatments,
9 torture, stripping of nationality, exile, erasure
10 of civil registration, confiscation of
11 properties, and seizure of pension funds.

12 Small scale farmers opposed to the
13 Chinese financed Interoceanic Canal Project face
14 repression. Student academic records were
15 literally erased. Legal profession licenses were
16 revoked, depriving them of employment
17 opportunities.

18 The political persons of the private
19 sector guilds and NGOs were summarily cancelled
20 without cause. And indigenous and Afro-
21 descendant communities were massacred by
22 government-sponsored thugs.

1 Deprivation of social security rights.
2 The arbitrary succession of pension payments and
3 confiscation of pension accounts for elderly, CDN
4 leaders were off, undermines the economic
5 stability.

6 Human rights advocacy. The CDN has
7 denounced these violations at various
8 international forums, including the OAS, UN,
9 IACHR, ILO, and U.S. Congress.

10 Most CDN members have filed petitions
11 with human right organizations and led media
12 campaigns for the release of political prisoners
13 and against human rights violations and the
14 impunity when committing crimes against humanity.

15 Absence of rule of law. CDN has
16 highlighted the absence of the rule of law in
17 Nicaragua, where judges sentence opposition
18 leaders without due process.

19 The new authoritarian constitution
20 presently under ratification, will eliminate the
21 separation of power and turn Nicaragua literally
22 into a non-democratic state.

1 Articles protecting private property,
2 prohibiting wage discrimination, are in the
3 process of removal.

4 The constitutional process itself was
5 flawed and it was conducted by a legislative
6 assembly whose electoral process was considered
7 illegitimate by the OAF.

8 Additionally, no vetting process was
9 provided, because there as not a free and open
10 consultation with civil society. Finally, the
11 process is not being submitted for ratification
12 through a referendum.

13 CDN members have denounced the
14 elimination of NGOs that worked on human rights,
15 environment, education, health, and more. The
16 regime has closed over 500 NGOs and ended
17 political parties representing the opposition.

18 Private sector leaders have faced
19 imprisonment and the elimination of business
20 organizations.

21 Labor rights. The Nicaraguan regime has
22 violated labor rights and denounced by concept

1 before the ILO.

2 The arbitrary cancellation of business
3 organizations, harassment of employees, workers
4 contravened ILO conventions 87 and 98. The U.S.
5 should censure Nicaragua for noncompliance with
6 cast of the art labor centers.

7 Commercial rights of the U.S. and
8 others. Recent decrees prioritizing state
9 purchases of Chinese products, violates liberty
10 oppositions and various trade agreements
11 including customs.

12 CDN has warned that these violations
13 endanger Nicaragua's commercial relations to the
14 AU, EU, excuse me, and the U.S. and other trading
15 partners. The Ortega regime is responsible for
16 any negative economic consequence.

17 National security concerns. The Ortega-
18 Murillo regime during the last three years has
19 been waging a hybrid war against its main trading
20 partner, the United States of America.

21 Hundreds of thousands of Africans,
22 Middle Eastern, and Central Asian nationals,

1 mostly men of fighting age, have been allowed to
2 pass through Nicaragua or have been brought to
3 Nicaragua by charter.

4 Their passage through Nicaragua
5 facilitated by the Ortega-Murillo regime later to
6 be sent northward to the U.S. border,
7 weaponizing, I want to repeat, weaponizing
8 migration against the national security
9 interest's of the United States.

10 Both Article 21 of Act of 1997 and
11 Article 21 of CAFTA, contain provisions to put
12 remedies to this.

13 In conclusion, Nicaragua Federation of
14 International Labor Conventions and fundamental
15 rights have not yet restricted access to
16 resources from multilateral organizations.

17 This allows the Ortega regime policies
18 to continue unabated and end up bolstering a
19 dictatorial regime which undermines a market-
20 friendly free and equal trade environment,
21 impairing trade with the U.S. and other
22 democratic countries.

1 Thank you very much for the opportunity.

2 MS. THOMPSON: Thank you. Our next
3 panelist is L,sther Lenin Alem n Alfaro, of
4 Nicaraguan University Alliance.

5 MR. ALEMAN: I thank you for the
6 opportunity to testify today at this hearing. My
7 name is L,sther Alem n Alfaro, a Nicaraguan
8 citizen and the President of the Nicaraguan
9 University Alliance, AUN.

10 Since April 2018, I have been the victim
11 of constant violations of my rights and the
12 systematic persecution by armed police and
13 paramilitary of the dictatorship of Daniel Ortega
14 and Rosario Murillo.

15 Months after my participation in the
16 national dialog, the U.S. Ambassador to Managua,
17 Laura Dogu, informed me of a planned
18 assassination attempt against me, which forced me
19 to leave the country, returning to Nicaragua in
20 October 2019.

21 I have also detailed how every press
22 conference, peaceful demonstration, or

1 organizational event I participated in, was
2 beseeched and violently interrupted by heavily
3 armed police officers, violating our rights to
4 free expression, assembly, association, and
5 protest.

6 On July 5, 2021, I was violently
7 arrested without a judicial order. During my
8 transfer to the Judicial Assistance Directorate,
9 El Chipote, a torture center of the Sandinistas
10 under the control of Commissioner Luis Alberto
11 Perez Oliva, I was brutally beaten by police
12 officers.

13 For 580 days I suffered constant and
14 prolonged interrogations, physical and
15 psychological torture. In February 2022, I was
16 subjected to an illegal trial, where I was denied
17 the right to a defense and the presumption of
18 innocence.

19 Captain Jairo Orozco presented
20 fabricated evidence against me, such as a
21 photograph from a family trip to Disney World
22 when I was ten years old, the testimony of seven

1 national police officers led by Inspector Carlos
2 Quintana, and interviews I gave to the
3 international media.

4 This was enough for Judge Nadia Camila
5 Tardencilla to sentence me to 15 years in prison
6 and charges of treason. According to her words,
7 I was a CIA agent from the United States.

8 My family was also victims of arbitrary
9 actions and illegal practices. My mother was
10 monitored, threatened, and her rights were
11 violated. After leaving Nicaragua, she was
12 informed that she could not return or recover her
13 identity documents de facto.

14 My father was stripped of his labor
15 rights and his contract and professional licenses
16 were suspended. Rosario Murillo directly
17 informed him that he was denied entry into the
18 country.

19 These are the consequences that a
20 Nicaraguan citizen or a foreign citizen can face
21 under the charge of Daniel Ortega.

22 Since April 2018, thousands of

1 Nicaraguan youth have been victims of
2 persecution. The regime has closed and
3 confiscated 27 universities, leaving our youth
4 without access to higher education, without job
5 prospects, without opportunities for development,
6 and without professional skills.

7 Can we truly speak of sustainable
8 investments in a country where human capital flee
9 every day. And, those who stay, live under a
10 state of terror.

11 Or, in a country where without the
12 remittances for migrants expelled to the United
13 States, the economy would collapse. These
14 remittances account for 29 percent of our GDP.

15 Daniel Ortega and Rosario Murillo
16 promote the immigration crisis as a state policy,
17 even turning it into a business model that uses
18 the national territory as a route for illegal
19 migration, as has been stated by the State
20 Department of the United States.

21 A country with a brain drain under the
22 influence of China, Russia, and Iran, and

1 controlled by a family dictatorship, is a country
2 that cannot have good relations with the United
3 States, cannot have good commercial partners, or
4 attract secure investments, nor achieve
5 sustainable economic development.

6 Thank you.

7 MS. THOMPSON: Thank you. Our next
8 panelist is Leonardo Pastor, Mesa de Concertaci n
9 Democr tica.

10 MR. PASTOR: Thank you very much for
11 your invitation. Again, I do represent the
12 Democratic Concertaci n Table. And, we're based
13 in D.C. and Florida.

14 And, I want to tell you my story,
15 because, I think, through four years of living in
16 the United States and being a United States
17 citizen, I can present some sort of picture of
18 what really we have in front of us.

19 And, I think what we have is a narco-
20 terrorist system that is moving up across Latin
21 America and putting the United States system in
22 danger.

1 So, in the 1980s, I was a professor at
2 the University of Nicaragua. My background is in
3 engineering. I am a civil engineer and I love to
4 teach. And, I love my students.

5 The first two years of the revolution,
6 70, 80 percent of my students were taken from my
7 classrooms and put into war zones. Picked up
8 right from my classroom and dropped into vehicles
9 of the government, trucks, and moved to the war
10 zones with no preparation, no one telling them,
11 their parents that they were leaving.

12 And, one day, one of my students with a
13 very depression face, showed me a paper that they
14 show them that they have to go to war. And, that
15 was it for me.

16 I said, there was nothing I can do here.
17 There's no future for this country. And so, I
18 packed my bags and basically under pressure of
19 the government too, I basically exiled myself.

20 And, I'm so glad I did it, because I
21 came here. My son is in the military, I guess,
22 protecting the ideals that we have.

1 And, maybe I am a dreamer, but I believe
2 that this country is based on ideals. And, those
3 ideals we fight for them every day.

4 So, through the years that I decided to
5 fight for those kids that were taken from my
6 classroom. And so, I always dedicated my work
7 and technology for kids, the young fellows that
8 they need help in this country too.

9 So, in that process, I have always
10 joined efforts to change things in Nicaragua.
11 And luckily, in the 1990s, during the Reagan
12 Administration, and I want to bring that because
13 what happened during the Reagan Administration is
14 there was a war declared to the Nicaraguan
15 government by some group called the Contras.

16 And, basically what they did was
17 accelerated a process of economical
18 deterioration. But, here we are, 40 years later,
19 under the same situation.

20 And, what happened is, Sandinistas
21 version one didn't work. It was, they wanted to
22 implement what they did in Cuba.

1 And so, they basically waited for 23
2 years after they lost the elections, and they
3 began with version now five. And, that's the one
4 we have now.

5 So, also my family owned a piece of
6 land. And, we were driven into bankruptcy,
7 because we used to be coffee producers and
8 basically the government will pay us whatever
9 they want us to pay, which basically ended up
10 putting us in a bad situation.

11 So, after that I joined forces with
12 groups here that some of them are here already.
13 And then, we tried to change things and we did
14 some, a little bit of lobbying, trying to move
15 things in different ways.

16 But, this corruption, this system works
17 so well, that it would corrupt everything else.
18 So, the politics and the political system was
19 corrupted.

20 And so, they bargained with people.
21 There was Alem n, who was supposed to be in jail
22 and the bargained with him to stay in power so

1 they will gain only about 20 percent of the votes
2 to really become the president of the country.

3 So, and now I want you to look, when
4 they were there, El Salvador on the FMLA, they
5 were invading basically. El Salvador and we have
6 a big turmoil in the '80s.

7 Now, I want you to look at Costa Rica
8 and look at the numbers of criminality and the
9 things that are happening.

10 So, in my testimony here, I also want to
11 bring that as a Mesa de Concertación Democrática,
12 we bring testimonies of people that cannot be
13 present.

14 One of my friends who is a journalist
15 and my wife who is a journalist, basically when I
16 talk to my friend in Nicaragua, they do it by
17 signs. They are so afraid to even say something
18 on the communication software.

19 So, as that I have many cases. We have
20 people to fight online, like Azul y Blanco and
21 Manny Bull (phonetic). She is afraid to even say
22 who she is. Her son just got --

1 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Mr. Pastor, I cannot
2 tell how far, how much longer you are going to
3 be.

4 MR. PASTOR: I'm done. I'll finish my
5 time.

6 CHAIR GRIMBALL: But, if you could
7 conclude. Thank you.

8 MR. PASTOR: Yeah. Sure. Like, three
9 more minutes. I mean, three more minutes, five
10 more seconds.

11 So, basically all the information is
12 there for the cases that we are trying to
13 represent.

14 And so, I appreciate that you give us
15 this space to present this case. Thank you.

16 MS. THOMPSON: Thank you. Our last
17 panelist will be Jessenia Valeska Valle Duarte,
18 Movimiento Universitario 19 de Abril.

19 MS. DUARTE: Thank you Committee
20 Members. It's an honor for me being here today.

21 My name is Jessenia Valeska Valle
22 Duarte. I am President of the University

1 Movement April 19.

2 I was born in Masaya, Nicaragua. And,
3 my testimony today carries the voice of the
4 weight of the Nicaraguan youth struggle for
5 democracy and liberty.

6 I was delegate in the national dialog of
7 May 2018, and part of the negotiation team
8 against the Sandinista regime in February 2019,
9 giving me this, giving me a firsthand perspective
10 of the intersection of human rights violations
11 with economic degradation.

12 My testimony is crucial, as it outlines
13 how the regime's oppressive policies not only
14 infringe upon human rights, but also
15 significantly undermines U.S. commerce and
16 investment in Nicaragua.

17 I was involved in this process in 2018,
18 with the students like me at the Universidad
19 Centroamericana, UCA. On that date, I was 20
20 years old in that moment, and the UCA temporarily
21 closed its doors to protect students from state
22 violence outside.

1 So, I joined the civic and peaceful
2 process at both Universidad Nacional de
3 Ingenieria and Universidad Polit,cnica who are
4 both complicated at this moment.

5 There we encountered no dialog but a
6 violent response from the government in that
7 moment leading to the tragic loss of students'
8 lives.

9 My life changed irrevocably on April 25,
10 2018, when our movement publically denounced
11 these atrocities to the student community across
12 the country, demanding and investigation and the
13 arrest of these involved the massacre and
14 violence.

15 That was the last day I spent in my
16 house. The persecution that followed forced me
17 into hiding since I left the country, the March
18 27, 2023.

19 And, both in 2018 and 2023, there were
20 attempts to detain me under law 1042, falsely
21 accusing me of terrorism and cyber crimes for my
22 advocacy and unofficially stripping of my

1 nationality according to the officer, Carlos
2 Olivera of the Police Intelligence, which, this
3 outrage breeches Article Five the Nicaraguan
4 Constitution, which ensures citizens by birth.

5 The use of a stateless as a tool of
6 repression not only affects individuals, but also
7 deter U.S. investors who see these as a sign of
8 unstable legal environment where property and
9 personal rights can be arbitrarily revoked.

10 The continuous threats follow in Costa
11 Rica where the regime sent death threats to me
12 and my family in that moment.

13 This instability to safety return or
14 invest in ones homeland results in a brain drain
15 in our country where skilled individuals like me,
16 vital for economic development, seek refuge
17 elsewhere, thus reducing the human capital that
18 could benefit this investment.

19 I would like to add that we are taking
20 about Daniel Ortega, who in 2021, declared
21 himself President, which was unconstitutional.

22 This reelection was condemned

1 internationally as unconstitutional, involved,
2 and involved recent reforms right now to the
3 Constitution, centralizing the power without
4 public participation, undermining the Article
5 138, which ensures the separation of power of
6 Nicaragua.

7 This was documented by several
8 organizations of human rights and democracy.
9 And, this violation has led to monopolistic
10 practices in sectors like agriculture and where
11 companies like Gildan Activewear and U.S. Rice
12 also support the regime benefitting from
13 favorable conditions without real market
14 competition, both distorting market dynamics and
15 disadvantaging U.S. firms or investments.

16 These companies can operate with fewer
17 regulatory hurdles and gain from state-controlled
18 markets.

19 Additionally, I would add that in
20 Nicaragua, no one is safe, regardless of age,
21 gender, religious belief, or whether you are a
22 internal investor or foreign national like

1 students.

2 If you are not willing to be part of the
3 oppressive regime that they have, you become a
4 target and you become an enemy. Political
5 prisoners were students, minors, businessmen,
6 social activists, political activists, and also
7 one of them a U.S. citizen.

8 Thank you.

9 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you. And, thank
10 you for all the witnesses on this panel. At this
11 moment, we are going to take a break for lunch.

12 So, let's return here at, I believe the
13 schedule says 1:20. Let's just do 1:30. Let's
14 return at 1:30.

15 And, we will proceed with questions from
16 the government representatives. Thank you all.

17 And, just so you all are aware, there
18 will be a pretty significant line if you leave
19 the building to go get food.

20 So, I would encourage you all to
21 probably get back to the building at 1:15 so you
22 can check in through the security and be back in

1 your seats by 1:30. Thank you all.

2 (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter
3 went off the record at 12:26 p.m. and
4 resumed at 1:33 p.m.)

5 MS. THOMPSON: Will the room please come
6 to order? Will the room please come to order?

7 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you, everyone.
8 We are going to continue with Panel 2 and begin
9 with questions to witnesses. Again, if you --
10 you are welcome and invited rather to -- in
11 addition to responding to questions here today
12 also provide a written supplement to your -- to
13 the responses that you provide.

14 Can you all hear me? Yes? Okay. Not
15 really? Okay. Let's try again. How about now?

16 I was saying to our witnesses and also
17 to those in the audience that you all are welcome
18 and invited to supplement -- those who are
19 speaking, to supplement what you say here today
20 with a written submission as well.

21 In addition to those that are in the
22 audience, if you would like to respond to any of

1 the questions that the government panel asks
2 today, you can also file responsive comments on
3 the docket.

4 (Off microphone comment.)

5 CHAIR GRIMBALL: The 23rd.

6 Okay. And we shall begin.

7 MS. BACON: Good afternoon, everyone.

8 My first question is for Ms. Mora. Could you
9 please tell us more about your organization and
10 the work that it does; that is, more about the
11 Alianza Universitaria Nicaragense?

12 MS. MORA: The Alianza Universitaria
13 Nicaragense formed in April 2018 during the
14 protests and we helped formed the alianza civica,
15 the Civic Alliance for Justice and Democracy,
16 which played a key role in the dialogues. We are
17 a youth movement, youth of different backgrounds,
18 but primarily university students. We
19 participated in the national dialogue. L, sther
20 was our representative, and the person I'm here
21 for, Max Jerez, also participated in the 2019
22 dialogue with the national government.

1 We've been active for six years now to
2 -- in the fight for democracy to reestablish
3 freedoms and guarantees in Nicaragua and we have
4 had also had different moments of advocacy both
5 inside Nicaragua and internationally.

6 And I'll close by saying we've also paid
7 the cost. Several of us have been political
8 prisoners, have gone into exile, have been
9 persecuted and we continue to work for Nicaragua.

10 MS. BACON: Thank you.

11 MS. SAVAGE: Thank you, Ms. Mora. Can
12 you please elaborate on what you understand the
13 Nicaraguan government's motivation has been to
14 transform private universities into publicly-run
15 institutions and how in your view has that
16 impacted human rights, labor rights, and the rule
17 of law in Nicaragua?

18 MS. MORA: During the 2018 protests we,
19 youth, and particularly students, played a very
20 important role. The universities became a space
21 of civic protests and civic resistance and we
22 young people participated in the civic protest

1 fighting for justice and democracy. And this
2 brought about a process whereby different youth
3 became leaders, youth of different backgrounds.

4 And so the Ortega regime saw in the
5 universities and the youth a threat and so he
6 took the public universities and confiscated
7 them. And so there has been a mass exiling of
8 youth. And this has also meant that the talent
9 in Nicaraguan youth have been displaced outside
10 the country limiting employment inside the
11 country. It seems that we youth don't have
12 opportunities for professional growth in our own
13 country and so we have to migrate or go into
14 exile because of the persecution we suffer in
15 Nicaragua.

16 MS. SILVERSMITH: Ms. Mora, could you
17 please elaborate on how the government of
18 Nicaragua in your opinion does not respect human
19 and labor rights and the rule of law? What
20 impact does this have on its trade relationship
21 with the United States?

22 MS. MORA: Unfortunately under the

1 Ortega regime there's no constitutional
2 guarantees or respect for constitutional rights
3 and there's no rule of law in the country. I can
4 site some examples: Public sector state workers,
5 say physicians and teachers, university
6 professors as well as teachers in public high
7 schools were dismissed for supporting the
8 protests or for in way or another supporting
9 human rights. In Nicaragua there are no
10 guarantees for anyone, but public sector
11 employees in particular live under constant
12 threat.

13 And in particular, there's no
14 opportunities for organizing independent trade
15 unions. And mention was made of this earlier
16 when it was noted that the women's trade union of
17 women workers and unemployed women known as the
18 Maria Elena Cuadra Union was canceled by Ortega.
19 And because of the persecution and surveillance
20 in Nicaragua under the current dictatorship,
21 under the regime no one really enjoys any
22 guarantees.

1 MS. BACON: Thank you, Ms. Mora.

2 My next question is for Ms. Guti,rrez-
3 Huete. Can you please elaborate on your
4 organization's membership? You mentioned leaders
5 from the private sector. What sectors,
6 especially as relevant to U.S. trade?

7 MS. GUIT RREZ-HUETE: Thank you. I can
8 attest that the -- a high percentage, a number of
9 the impresarios, the business sector is actually,
10 I would say, in chains. It's at the very mercy
11 of the discretionary practices of the government.
12 And in turn, these actions become discriminatory
13 against the U.S. businesses and not willing to
14 cooperate with the dictator terms.

15 MR. VAN PATTEN: Thank you. Ms.
16 Guit,rrez-Huete, the CDN submission for this
17 hearing described --

18 MS. GUIT RREZ-HUETE: Could you speak a
19 little louder? I'm sorry.

20 MR. VAN PATTEN: Yes. Is this better?

21 MS. GUIT RREZ-HUETE: Thank you. Yes.

22 MR. VAN PATTEN: Your submission for

1 this hearing described legal elimination of
2 organizations including COSEP, the employer's
3 organization, and various chambers of commerce
4 including the American Chamber. How if at all
5 have these closures affected foreign firms doing
6 business in Nicaragua, in particular U.S.
7 companies?

8 MS. GUIT RREZ-HUETE: Excellent
9 question. And in fact that is the damage that is
10 being done by canceling and not allowing the
11 business to actually do the trade like they need
12 to do. And I refer to my previous answer. The
13 way that I can express is to you is it's almost
14 like Russian roulette. It is totally at the
15 discretionary -- at the will of the Ortega regime
16 who can operate and who doesn't, who cannot. And
17 you can imagine the result of this. So I leave
18 it at that.

19 MR. VAN PATTEN: Thank you.

20 MS. SAVAGE: Ms. Guit,rrez-Huete, in
21 CDN's summary of testimony it says that CDN has
22 made explicitly that the violations of the rights

1 of Nicaraguans by the Ortega regime put in danger
2 the commercial relations Nicaragua still enjoys
3 with important markets such as the European Union
4 and the United States. Could you please
5 elaborate on how the acts, policies, and
6 practices of the government of Nicaragua put in
7 danger the commercial relations Nicaragua has
8 with the United States?

9 MS. GUIT RREZ-HUETE: That is exactly
10 why this is in the testimony, because the result
11 of these laws that are being violated every
12 single day prevent the flow of the commerce
13 between the two countries and other countries
14 including the European countries.

15 I'm happy to elaborate further in
16 written form, but that is the reason why this is
17 in the testimony, because it is happening -- it
18 is damaging a country that's already fragmented
19 in so many ways, as we have mentioned here by the
20 elimination of the NGOs and the issues with the
21 business sector.

22 MR. VAN PATTEN: Thank you. One more

1 question for you. CDN states in its testimony
2 that the government of Nicaragua has
3 indiscriminately repressed economic rights
4 regardless of the nationality of investors. Are
5 you aware of any specific instances of the
6 government of Nicaragua repressing the economic
7 rights of U.S. investors? And if you need to
8 submit in writing confidentially, that's --

9 MS. GUIT RREZ-HUETE: I will. Thank
10 you. I choose to do that. I will submit it in
11 writing. Thank you.

12 The issue -- the reason why I am saying
13 that is because there's no -- I would like to
14 give you a concrete answer rather than mention
15 several of the ones that you are asking. And I
16 think it's fair that you get the exact examples
17 that you are requesting. Thank you.

18 MS. SILVERSTEIN: Ms. Guit,rrez-Huete,
19 CDN notes in its summary of testimony that there
20 is a climate of harassment and repression against
21 employers and workers in Nicaragua. Can you
22 please describe this in more detail? What kind

1 of repression are employers and workers facing
2 and are certain types of employers or certain
3 types of workers targeted for repression? And if
4 so, why?

5 MS. GUIT RREZ-HUETE: Very much so. In
6 fact, it's ironic that the very people
7 who have pledge allegiance to the regime who are
8 working as government employees of the Ortega-
9 Murillo regime are the very ones who are being
10 targeted through intimidation.

11 And what does that look like? For
12 instance, they have -- they cannot -- they're
13 being watched, they're being intimidated and
14 cannot -- I believe that if they could attempt to
15 leave the country passports will be confiscated.
16 And already they have been warn not to leave the
17 country. And this is happening.

18 We see examples of this. And we know
19 about how those who have remained there are also
20 being punished including the legislative branch
21 of Nicaragua as we have court judges and so on
22 who have been removed from their positions. So

1 that is -- so what is going on is that they're
2 creating a climate of intimidation and targeting
3 those very employees, as I mentioned, who have
4 pledge allegiance to the regime.

5 MR. HUFFMAN: Hi, my question is for Mr.
6 Alem n Alfaro. You state that you currently
7 serve as the President of Nicaraguan University
8 Alliance.

9 MR. ALEM N: Yes.

10 MR. HUFFMAN: Could you give any more
11 information about the organization in detail that
12 we've not already gotten? And I'd like you to
13 discuss what impact the government of Nicaragua
14 has had on the ability of independent higher
15 education institutions to operate in Nicaragua.

16 MR. ALEM N: Thank you very much.
17 Organization has done political and
18 organizational work for young people. And these
19 young people are from the central part, the
20 northern part, the Pacific part of the country;
21 that is, the whole country. Everyone has come
22 together to defend democracy, justice, and

1 freedom.

2 So we emerged in the universities in
3 2018, but in 2021 we also began to prepare for
4 the elections. So we are an organization of
5 students, but also politically engaged. So the
6 universities then were closed because we were
7 meeting peacefully in the universities to try to
8 come up with solutions for education and
9 solutions for democracy for our country. So the
10 crime was being a young person and being a
11 student. And that's why they shut down 27
12 private universities and the public universities
13 were converted into indoctrination centers to get
14 people to be faithful to the dictatorship. So to
15 be able to be accepted into one of these
16 universities you needed to secure the approval of
17 the dictator, you need to pledge loyalty to them.

18 MS. BACON: Mr. Alem n Alfaro, in your
19 opinion what has the cancellation of independent
20 higher education institutions in Nicaragua done
21 to Nicaragua's reputation as a place that is
22 friendly to the United States' trade and

1 investment?

2 MR. ALEM N: The persons who were
3 studying in these universities were pursuing
4 dreams, a dream of becoming an engineer,
5 architect, pursuing science -- studies in the
6 sciences but ended up having to find work either
7 in free trade zones or in call centers because
8 they were simply not going to have any job
9 opportunities in their chosen fields. And many
10 of the people who've been working in the call
11 centers are being dismissed either because of
12 their own political participation or because
13 they've engaged in one or another activity
14 characterized by the government as being
15 criminal.

16 And this has had its consequences.
17 They've been dismissed from the call centers or
18 elsewhere without any benefits or recognition of
19 any rights whatsoever. The business persons,
20 both national and foreign, running these
21 businesses are forced to fire these persons
22 who've been so signaled by the government because

1 otherwise they might be -- fall on the bad side
2 of the government.

3 And I'll just close with something which
4 is quite basic, which is when these youth are
5 dismissed from these places, they have no other
6 options because they continue to be persecuted
7 because of their political beliefs or political
8 actions and their only choice is to leave the
9 country.

10 MS. SILVERSTEIN: Thank you. This next
11 question is for Mr. Pastor. Mr. Pastor, you said
12 in your submission for this hearing that Bayardo
13 Arce Castano's position as an economic advisor to
14 President Ortega allows him to shape agricultural
15 policies to benefit regime-aligned businesses
16 while ignoring labor and human rights abuses in
17 the sector. Can you give us some examples of
18 this?

19 MR. PASTOR: Well, Bayardo Arce is one
20 of the founders of the Sandinista Movement in the
21 '80s. And after the fail attempt to sustain the
22 government during the '80s, when the Sandinistas

1 were moving under the other governments and when
2 they took power again in 2006, Bayardo Arce was
3 called to be the main guy between doing business
4 with United States.

5 Now, as far as we know, he is under --
6 either he owns business doing rice, production of
7 rice, but also he has created this kind of
8 monopoly among all these organizations that
9 produce rice. And I can tell you in the case of
10 the coffee we were pressured to sell to the
11 government. And so the only thing I can think of
12 is that they're using the same tactic. It's the
13 same way they did it, just in a little bit
14 different fashion. And I'm sure that at the end
15 of the rope Bayardo, as we mentioned, is part of
16 the mastermind in getting this business to end.

17 Now, I want to separate two different
18 things: There are businesses that are investing
19 in Nicaragua and there are also business that are
20 doing business with Nicaragua where they may not
21 have a great investment. So the Rice
22 Association, as they presented there -- I guess

1 they're trading with producers from Nicaragua.
2 But what the government has created is a monopoly
3 among the one that are close to them.

4 And I want to say that it's not too
5 tight yet, but is in the process of tightening
6 this process because eventually they do not want
7 to do business with United States. It's just a
8 matter of time, either in 10 years or 15 years,
9 because their objective is either Soviet Union,
10 China, whatever that may come in the future. But
11 because they are still attached to United States,
12 they have to follow that rule, that process. So
13 it's just a strategy.

14 So and Bayardo Arce is one of the main
15 element in the whole process of the rice industry
16 in Nicaragua. And that's the way it works.

17 MR. HUFFMAN: Thank you. You note that
18 Arce's position in the government allows him to
19 ignore labor rights abuses in the agriculture
20 sector. And can you elaborate on these labor
21 rights abuses in the rice sector that you've
22 mentioned here and any other sectors such as the

1 coffee sector? Can you be more specific about
2 these labor rights abuses?

3 MR. PASTOR: So you can through any
4 system, but I think because Bayardo has a lot of
5 investment in the rice sector makes it a more
6 visible element. But all the systems work the
7 same way. Either if you are business that work
8 with the government -- because the government
9 actually has given a lot of their partners lands
10 and -- the same thing they did in the '80s.
11 Actually some of -- it's interesting because some
12 of the military attach, have been officers, that
13 they get a piece of land and they do develop
14 their own businesses. But they're close to the
15 government. And so these are the first candidate
16 to really work with this group.

17 Now, other people that through the
18 years, they've been doing rice production, they
19 still may be working with the government. What
20 happened though is that, as in our case with
21 coffee, the international price was something and
22 then the government offer you something else

1 which is much lower. So the only way you can
2 afford to sustain this business is by keeping the
3 wages very low for the people in the countryside,
4 or the farmers. So it's the same system across
5 the system.

6 And so -- and I -- that's the same way
7 we -- it happened. The farmer, the laborer, they
8 get at the end this little amount of money that
9 is not equally distributed. As I think Mr.
10 Orozco was saying is the money doesn't go there.
11 So whatever business, whatever economical
12 advantages these were getting through CAFTA is
13 not going through the farmer, through the
14 peasant.

15 And also in the case of the farm that we
16 have, which is no longer productive because of
17 those cases, the people that we had working there
18 -- I can't afford to pay them more because I live
19 here in United States. But the farm doesn't
20 produce anything really beside giving them enough
21 plantain or some sort of fruits that they can
22 live out of. But that's basically it.

1 MS. SAVAGE: Mr. Pastor, you described
2 the Nicaraguan government's control over the rice
3 sector. How does that control over the sector
4 impact its ability to trade with the United
5 States?

6 MR. PASTOR: As many of the people that
7 have been here have been saying about the
8 economical situation, the regime needs still
9 survey, right? There is a difference in the '80s
10 and now, which a lot of money come from all these
11 people that have been sent to United States
12 through deferral and exile and all that. Even
13 when I look at Mr. Alem n, I figure that is the
14 same story I live when I left, right? As a civil
15 engineer what future I had in Nicaragua? There
16 was no future. Actually the dean of the
17 university was -- told me once, like I'd rather
18 have a bad engineer but a good revolutionary guy.
19 So that's what we have.

20 And so it's the same thing here. The
21 dynamic you have in the rice sector is that
22 little by little -- and this is just a matter of

1 time -- it will be squeezed. So like the
2 business of the coffee here, because they have
3 investment in Nicaragua, they suffer the first
4 wave of attack, is I'll take your land if I like
5 it.

6 And so the same thing. I have friends
7 that do tobacco production. That doesn't take
8 couple of years to build it. They've been doing
9 this since the Chamorro regime came, or the
10 Chamorro government came in power. Would allow a
11 little bit more business to come in and do all
12 that. Now these businesses are being squeezed.

13 Now sooner or later the rice industry
14 will be impacted. It is because they're trading,
15 you know, getting the rice from the production,
16 internal production. But I will say that they
17 may have the great investment as Gildan. Gildan
18 needs to have this production of shirts. And so
19 it's just a matter of time.

20 And that's what I said at the beginning.
21 You have to look at this as a narcoterrorism. It
22 is just squeezing little by little. And they

1 know they're -- how they work. They work really
2 well. They have taken over the government
3 branches. They're using laws and rules. Like I
4 can write here right now a rule and that will be
5 applied to a person like they did with Mr. Alem n
6 and anybody else. And that's it. It works
7 really well. So the rule of law according to the
8 rule of law really works well in that case.

9 MR. VAN PATTEN: Thank you, Mr. Pastor.
10 One more question for you. You state in your
11 summary that the regime's control over critical
12 sectors like rice is not merely economic; it is a
13 tool of political influence. Could you please
14 expand on what you mean by that statement? And
15 you've alluded to some, but I was hoping you
16 could discuss other critical sectors that are
17 controlled by the government of Nicaragua.

18 MR. PASTOR: Right. Well, when you look
19 at the docket, right, and you see what companies
20 are asking for the -- for CAFTA not to be taken,
21 right -- and thus you have the rice industry, you
22 have Gildan, you have the shoe industries. And

1 those play a role to oppose what we're saying
2 here. It's like, no, don't hurt them. We need
3 that. But at the end that's the tool, how they
4 use it. So they have the companies fighting for
5 them.

6 Besides that, I mean how much we can put
7 -- in money-wise, how much money we can put here,
8 we're all struggling. People -- most people are
9 struggling to find ways to come to these meetings
10 and all that. But the government of Nicaragua,
11 the regime, is just have the funds, have the
12 resources. And so this is the critical aspect.
13 They use that as a political tool to come and
14 say, no, no, don't do that. CAFTA should be
15 okay. And the worst part of it is 15, 20 years
16 ago I came to some of these meeting to fight for
17 CAFTA for Nicaragua and now I'm here to say like
18 let's try to put some teeth to this CAFTA program
19 project.

20 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you. For the
21 record I would just state that our final witness,
22 Mrs. Valle Duarte, was unable to join us for

1 additional questions after lunch, so we'll just
2 note that in the record.

3 Two witnesses have signaled that they
4 have additional comments. So at this time we
5 will give the floor to Ms. Guitierrez-Huete and
6 them Ms. Mora. And then we will take a brief
7 break and then begin with Panel 3. Thank you.

8 MS. GUIT RREZ-HUETE: Thank you. I feel
9 that I want to provide more clarity to you, the
10 Department of Labor, question. And if you permit
11 me, I'd like to take a look at my notes.

12 So Nicaragua is not complying with the
13 regulatory requirements of the existing trade
14 regimes with the U.S. There is no transparency
15 or accountability to determine the extent of
16 labor rights violations, indigenous rights, as
17 well as other trade-related violations such as
18 competitive financial and commercial access.

19 And moreover, the extent of discretion
20 that the government use to favor one business
21 over the other has created this discriminatory
22 practice that makes for unfair competition

1 against the United States businesses, at times
2 favoring other companies. I hope that was a
3 better -- a clearer answer. And thank you for
4 the opportunity.

5 MS. MORA: I just want to add something
6 on the question on rule of law. To this day the
7 government continues to kidnap, jail, and convict
8 citizens arbitrarily without any due process and
9 wit the complicity of the judicial system, which
10 has been entirely co-opted by the Sandinista
11 regime. But I would also add that the government
12 is adopting new organizational forums,
13 particularly paramilitary groups that are
14 supportive of the regime.

15 Just yesterday and in recent weeks, but
16 continuing yesterday, about 3,000 individuals
17 have been sworn in to become members of these
18 groups in order to persecute, control, and
19 maintain surveillance over citizens. And the
20 government is now legalizing these paramilitary
21 groups, institutionalizing them so they continue
22 this work of surveillance and persecution.

1 That's all I wanted to add. Thank you.

2 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you. And we
3 release Panel 2. Thank you for your
4 participation and your very personal testimony at
5 times. We'll take all of this information and
6 any supplementary comments into consideration.

7 Let's regroup at 2:25 for Panel 3.
8 Thank you.

9 (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter
10 went off the record at 2:12 p.m. and resumed at
11 2:25 p.m.)

12 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you.

13 Before moving on to Panel 3, I
14 understand that there was some question from the
15 audience about the opportunity to present
16 rebuttal submissions and what exact is meant by
17 that.

18 So, beginning at 12:01 tomorrow, an
19 electronic portal will open to receive written
20 submissions. It's going to be the same website
21 that you all went to in order to provide your
22 request to appear and summary of testimony and

1 comments. And that website is comments.ustr.gov.
2 It is also listed in The Federal Register. Once
3 you navigate to that page, you will click on the
4 appropriate docket to provide your written
5 submission.

6 And again, if you would like to provide
7 confidential submissions in any format, there is
8 an opportunity to do that and a number for our
9 hotline, so that you can get guidance on how to
10 do that, should you have any questions.

11 To clarify, the opportunity for rebuttal
12 submissions and responses is just a written
13 opportunity. There will not be a second hearing
14 for that purpose. And again, those comments are
15 due on the 23rd and that portal opens tomorrow
16 morning at 12:01 a.m.

17 And so, with those housekeeping details,
18 we shall begin with Panel 3. I understand we
19 only have four witnesses for Panel 3 instead of
20 the five.

21 And we can begin, if you would like to.

22 MS. THOMPSON: Our first panelist will

1 be Yubrank Suazo Herrera of Civic Alliance for
2 Justice and Democracy.

3 MR. SUAZO (Speaking through translator):

4 My name is Yubrank Suazo Herrera. I was a
5 political prisoner under the Daniel Ortega and
6 Rosario Murillo regime from September 2018 to
7 2019, and again, from May 2022 to February 2023.

8 I have been a victim of persecution,
9 state violence, the revocation of my citizenship,
10 and forced exile, due to my peaceful activism in
11 defense of human rights. Today, I testify to
12 these grave human rights violations and the
13 absence of the rule of law in my home country
14 Nicaragua.

15 Since April 2018, the Sandinista regime
16 has responded with extreme brutality to any form
17 of dissent. As a leader of the April 19 civil
18 movement in Masaya, I witnessed how government
19 forces violently suppressed protests, resulting
20 in over 30 deaths and the destruction of numerous
21 businesses and homes in my community.

22 The repressive policies and climate of

1 insecurity fostered by the Ortega-Murillo regime
2 have had devastating consequences for producers,
3 Americans, artisans, and workers.

4 On July 4, 2018, paramilitary forces set
5 fire to my family's business of handmade
6 hammocks, a trade that had sustained us for over
7 40 years and allowed us to export to the United
8 States and Europe.

9 My case is one of many. I could also
10 mention the case of the confiscation of the
11 building, the American States Organization,
12 representation OAS, in Nicaragua was renting,
13 which was owned by American citizens; the
14 arbitrary shutdown of trade union organizations
15 like the Maria Elena Cuadra Union; the suspension
16 of business licenses, and the revocation of legal
17 status for over 5,000 non-government
18 organizations whose properties were confiscated.

19 The regime of Daniel Ortega and Rosario
20 Murillo spares no one. Its strategy of
21 repression has impacted investors and
22 entrepreneurs and both national and foreign

1 organizations.

2 In Nicaragua, there is no rule of law.
3 Investments can be confiscated or violently
4 destroyed at the whim of the regime operatives.
5 Under the regime, there are no legal guarantees.

6 After the destruction of my home and
7 business, I was arrested on September 10th, 2018,
8 in Chichigalpa and taken to El Chipote Prison.
9 There, I endured violent interrogations, threats,
10 and inhumane conditions. I spent 14 days in a
11 2x3-meter cell infested with roaches and
12 mosquitos with no access to water and inadequate
13 meals; no access to hygiene products. I was then
14 transferred to the maximum security prison in
15 Tipitapa, where I suffered both physical and
16 psychological abuse.

17 On March 7, 2019, the prison director,
18 Roberto Guevara, brutally assaulted me until he
19 broke my nose and I suffered permanent damage to
20 my left eye. Following this attack, I was placed
21 in a punishment cell known as "El Infiernillo,"
22 or "The Little Hell."

1 On May 18th, 2022, I was arrested a
2 second time without a court order during a
3 violent raid on my home, during which my father
4 was assaulted and our property damaged.

5 For six months, I was held in a
6 punishment cell under constant surveillance with
7 no access to books or even a Bible. I was
8 forbidden from praying or communicating with
9 other prisoners.

10 During a severe hypertensive crisis, I
11 was taken to the maximum security clinic, but my
12 family was not informed of my condition. And
13 repeated requests from the International Red
14 Cross to access my medical records were denied.

15 We were also forced to sign a silence
16 agreement under threat of reprisals. Despite
17 that the Inter-American Commission on Human
18 Rights extended precautionary measures for my
19 protection in June 2022, the regime ignored them.

20 On February 9, 2023, I was deported
21 alongside 221 political prisoners, stripped of my
22 citizenship, and forced into exile.

1 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Before you begin, we
2 are approaching or we have surpassed the time.
3 Are you able to conclude, and then, provide your
4 additional comments in writing?

5 Could you communicate (speaking to the
6 interpreter)?

7 MR. SUAZO: The absence of the rule of
8 law not only has shattered our social fabric of
9 our country, but has also dismantled the economy,
10 trapping the nation in a vicious cycle of
11 underdevelopment, poverty, and dependency.
12 Without justice, transparency, or strong
13 institutions, no country can hope to prosper or
14 secure a dignified future for its citizens.

15 I call on this office to take decisive
16 action. It is imperative to condemn this regime
17 that undermines democracy and to implement robust
18 measures that ensure respect for human rights,
19 labor rights, and the rule of law in Nicaragua.

20 Thank you.

21 MS. THOMPSON: Thank you.

22 Our next panelist will be Julio

1 Martinez, Expediente Abierto, Fundacion del Rio,
2 and the Patrol Campaign.

3 MR. MART NEZ: Chairperson and Members
4 of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity
5 to speak today.

6 Nicaragua's prosperity and peace fully
7 depend on the establishment of the rule of law to
8 protect its most vulnerable populations and the
9 preservation of its forests and water sources.

10 Towards those goals, Expediente Abierto,
11 Fundacion del Rio, and the Patrol Campaign have
12 submitted a report providing evidence on how
13 certain aspects of the country's commerce with
14 the United States are being exploited to the
15 detriment of these basic needs -- all while
16 distorting international trade.

17 The first sector I would like to
18 highlight is mining. Despite American sanctions,
19 the Nicaraguan mining industry remains the
20 largest in Central America with the U.S. as its
21 biggest importer. However, this sector
22 significantly contributes to the economic

1 advantages for those connected to the government
2 and to the deterioration of the rule of law in
3 the country.

4 It achieves this through opaque mineral
5 sourcing practices; imposing concessions on
6 indigenous and Afro-descendant communities
7 without consultation; repressing these
8 communities' ability to protest, and causing
9 environmental degradation. I'll provide a few
10 examples.

11 Around 30 percent of Nicaraguan gold
12 comes from artisanal mining, which Fundacion del
13 Rio has demonstrated includes illegal mining
14 within protected areas. This gold, which is
15 extremely difficult to trace, is then processed
16 by international firms in the country and
17 exported.

18 Meanwhile, opaque accounting means that
19 Nicaragua exports approximately 30 percent more
20 gold than is reported as being produced in the
21 country. This situation raises important
22 questions about which undisclosed entities

1 aligned with the regime benefitted from those
2 exports.

3 However, the human suffering that this
4 industry causes is clear. To generate these
5 exports, indigenous and Afro-descendant
6 communities are displaced to provide these
7 concessions without the process of free, prior,
8 and informed consent required by international
9 norms.

10 Meanwhile, the arbitrary shutdown of
11 environmental and human rights organizations
12 allows the government and its allies to operate
13 without facing local dissent. It is evident that
14 the human rights of the most vulnerable people in
15 the country are sacrificed for the benefit of
16 entities in the mineral sector aligned with the
17 government.

18 Similarly, beef that reaches the U.S.
19 markets from Nicaragua has also been tied to
20 illegal deforestation and human rights abuses.
21 Nicaragua exports about 140 million pounds of
22 beef to the United States every year. Despite

1 assurances from the local industry regarding the
2 traceability of their product, the research
3 provided by the Patrol Campaign as part of its
4 investigation presents definitive evidence that
5 some of the exported beef originates from cattle
6 illegally grazed in protected areas. This
7 activity occurs with the government's complicity
8 involving cows that are part of a national
9 traceability system established with USDA and IDB
10 support meant to prevent such practices.

11 Furthermore, these lands are seized
12 forcefully from indigenous and Afro-descendant
13 communities on the Caribbean coast who depend on
14 it for their livelihoods, culture, and survival.
15 As I speak, 12 rangers and indigenous leaders are
16 imprisoned in Nicaragua for defending their
17 territories, and this forcible expropriation of
18 land has led to the deaths of 46 community
19 members and indigenous rangers since 2018.

20 In summary, the Nicaraguan beef industry
21 benefits from price distortions made possible by
22 illegal grazing in protected areas in violation

1 of indigenous rights.

2 The environmental impact of the beef
3 industry is also devastating. Since Ortega
4 returned to power in 2007, the country has lost
5 almost 30 percent of its primary forests, driven
6 primarily by illegal cattle ranching producing
7 beef for international markets, particularly in
8 protected areas and indigenous territories like
9 Indio Maiz and Bosawas as protected reserves.
10 This practice also negatively affects the
11 country's water sources and increases its
12 vulnerability to droughts and climate change.

13 Our report also highlights labor
14 violations in the country. The Nicaraguan state
15 has dismantled institutions protecting workers'
16 rights, defying national and international norms.
17 It has accomplished this by severely reducing and
18 weakening unions; dismantling institutions that
19 safeguard labor rights; ignoring worker
20 complaints, and suppressing any attempt to
21 protest or strike. This has left workers
22 vulnerable and unprotected when facing unfair

1 working conditions, even though Nicaragua is a
2 signatory to international labor conventions.

3 To address these urgent issues, our
4 organizations urge all international actors
5 conducting business with Nicaragua, particularly
6 in the beef and minerals industries, to take
7 measures to ensure their operations do not
8 contribute to enriching individuals associated
9 with the totalitarian regime; the death and
10 displacement of vulnerable communities, or
11 environmental destruction in the country.

12 Some necessary actions should include:

13 Prohibiting the import of beef sourced
14 from illegally deforested land and minerals
15 without legitimate traceability into the U.S.
16 market.

17 Implementing measures to penalize or
18 sanction individuals and companies benefitting
19 from these illegal activities.

20 Demand the establishment of public and
21 transparent traceability systems and independent
22 verification mechanisms for minerals and beef.

1 The establishment of efficient complaint
2 mechanisms for communities.

3 Providing public information on mining
4 concessions.

5 And requiring companies to perform due
6 diligence on forest-risk communities to ensure
7 they are not contributing to deforestation and
8 human rights abuses.

9 These points should also be incorporated
10 into any future trade agreements within country,
11 including during any renegotiation of the
12 CAFTA-DR trade deal.

13 Taking these steps will ensure that
14 commerce between Nicaragua and the United States
15 genuinely benefits both populations without
16 inflicting the immense harm we currently see.

17 Thank you for your time and I look
18 forward to answering any questions you may have.

19 MS. THOMPSON: Thank you.

20 Our next panelist is Anexa Alfred,
21 indigenous peoples' rights.

22 MS. ALFRED: (Foreign language spoken)

1 -- greeting in my mother tongue, Miskito.

2 My name is Anexa Alfred Cunningham. I
3 am a Miskito leader from the Mayangna indigenous
4 territory, a defender of indigenous and
5 collective rights of indigenous people and Afro-
6 descendants, persecuted, criminalized, banished,
7 and stigmatized by the government of Nicaragua.
8 My crime -- to be a woman, to be indigenous, to
9 be a defender, to be a U.N. expert.

10 Today I address you as one of more
11 victims who voice dissent against the government
12 that Ortega has wanted to silence, and who today
13 is the voice of many indigenous women leaders who
14 would like to be here and are silenced by the
15 policy of terror, persecution, exile threat of
16 the government of Nicaragua.

17 Allow me to introduce my background. I
18 hold a master's degree in indigenous people, law,
19 and policy from the University of Arizona. For
20 20 years, I have been working at the local,
21 regional, and international level on indigenous
22 peoples' rights.

1 I contribute to the process of
2 demarcation and tightening of indigenous people
3 and Afro-descendant territories, promoting
4 different legislation reform relating to the
5 rights of the indigenous peoples in Nicaragua.

6 I was the first indigenous lawyer and
7 the first Nicaraguan who worked as a Human Rights
8 Specialist at the Secretariat of the Inter-
9 American Commission on Human Rights.

10 Forbes magazine named me amongst the 100
11 most Powerful Women in Central America in 2024.

12 In April of 2022, I was appointed as a
13 member of the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of
14 Indigenous Peoples of the United Nations, a
15 subsidiary body of the Human Rights Council.

16 Because of my work as a human rights
17 defender, indigenous leader, and a U.N. expert,
18 in 2022, I was banished by the Ortega regime and
19 forced to exile in Switzerland, where I am
20 currently living under refugee status.

21 My testimony is not in my capacity of a
22 U.N. expert. I will provide information

1 regarding the persecution, criminalization, and
2 banishment that I am being subjected to by the
3 Sandinista government.

4 The persecution takes place within the
5 framework of our ethnic genocide policy against
6 indigenous people and Afro-descendants. It's a
7 process ongoing and it shows in the persecution,
8 criminalization, banishment, and forced exile of
9 indigenous community leaders, as well as the
10 displacement from their land, ancestral
11 territory, and natural resources, which
12 constitutes violation of human rights, labor, and
13 the rule of law.

14 Thirty percent of Nicaraguans recognize
15 themselves as indigenous people or Afro-
16 descendants. They live in 304 communities in 23
17 territories, which represented 32 percent of
18 Nicaraguan territories. These communities
19 maintained their traditional way of life, social
20 and political organization, and relation with
21 their ancestral land, and their governance
22 originates out of autonomy based on the right of

1 self-determination.

2 In recent years, the enjoyment of these
3 collective and individual rights, including the
4 right over land, territory, and natural
5 resources, as well as the self-determination of
6 life and liberty, have dramatically deteriorated
7 as a result of the widespread invasion of the
8 territories and an ongoing governance conflict
9 with the indigenous settlers and companies, and
10 the illegal trafficking of timber and other
11 natural resources.

12 The situation has significantly worsened
13 with the close of civic space and the
14 consolidation of the totalitarian recent
15 government in Nicaragua. Let me now give you
16 some specific examples regarding this pattern.

17 The invasion, displacement, and locking
18 of territory by known indigenous settlers, as
19 well as by national and foreign companies,
20 generate violence and incite it in the
21 communities, the most affected being girls and
22 women.

1 Between 2020 and 2023, three massacres
2 took place in the Miskito and Mayangna
3 communities in the North Caribbean Region. This
4 is the case of the Alal community in 2020, the
5 Kiwakumbai in 2021, and the Wilu community in
6 2023. These massacres perpetrated by foreign
7 settlers led to a total of 20 indigenous deaths,
8 including women and children; torture and gender
9 violence first, and displacement of entire
10 communities, generating an unprecedented
11 humanitarian crisis.

12 All the pattern is the repression,
13 persecution, and criminalization of individuals
14 and communities and organizations. An example of
15 this: the arbitrary arrest, enforced
16 displacement, and other reprisal measures against
17 indigenous peoples' leaders and human rights
18 defenders, including religious leaders such as
19 the case of Brooklyn Rivera, who reminds us that
20 ever since his arrest in September 2023 and still
21 not found since September 2024.

22 The prohibition entirely to the country

1 incited expulsions, civil unrest, and others just
2 like my case. Regarding my personal situation,
3 after my first time I participated an expert
4 member of the U.N., and the night of July when
5 was about to board the flight from Geneva to
6 Nicaragua, I was informed by the airline that I
7 could not board the flight because the government
8 of Nicaragua did not authorize my entrance into
9 the country.

10 Imagine leaving your home one morning,
11 leaving your children, husband, wife, mother, or
12 father, and going to a trip for five days, and
13 then, not being able to return to your house
14 because a government decided. Wake up and
15 realize that everything you've built in your life
16 no longer exists -- your career, your home, your
17 homeland. Imagine waking up with nowhere to go,
18 nowhere to be, nowhere to return.

19 It's a nightmare that I haven't waked up
20 from yet and I was left in limbo with nothing.
21 As a single mother, the situation of my two
22 underaged children and was unconcerned. The

1 house where we lived in Nicaragua, in Mayangna,
2 under constant government against -- which put my
3 children in a fit, unfortunately. After three
4 months, they arrived to Switzerland where they
5 live with me.

6 And the ongoing prohibition to enter my
7 own country of my nationality constitutes a
8 denial of human rights, including the right of
9 freedom of movement under Article 12 of the
10 Convention on Civil and Political Rights,
11 referred by Nicaragua.

12 Moreover, as an expert with a mandate
13 from the U.N. --

14 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Please conclude.

15 MS. ALFRED: -- nation body and for the
16 duration of the mandate, I enjoy full privilege
17 and immunity granted by the Convention of
18 Privileges and Immunities.

19 To conclude, I would like to say that
20 the government of Ortega has been promoting ethnic
21 genocide, the policy against indigenous and Afro-
22 descendant people to give way to a policy of

1 extensive economic production that favors a large
2 stock of manufacturers of timber and mining
3 industries, amongst others, and involves
4 extensive exploitation of land and the resources
5 of indigenous territory which has generated
6 systematic violence and first displacement of
7 indigenous communities from their ancestral land.

8 Instead, Nicaragua is responsible for
9 zero systematic help --

10 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Please conclude, Ms.
11 Alfred. Please conclude.

12 MS. ALFRED: -- with brave endurance --

13 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you. Thank you.

14 MS. THOMPSON: Our last panelist is
15 Medardo Mairena Sequeira, Movimiento Campesino de
16 Nicaragua.

17 MR. MAIRENA (Speaking through
18 translator): Thank you.

19 My name is Medardo Mairena Sequeira,
20 founder and former coordinator of the Peasant
21 Farmer Movement of Nicaragua, MCN.

22 I was a pre-candidate for President. I

1 was unjustly sentenced to 229 years in prison,
2 banished to the United States, and stripped of my
3 nationality.

4 Our movement faced the claims of the
5 Ortega-Murillo regime to build, or their effort
6 to build an Interoceanic Canal that was going to
7 happen through a corrupt agreement to sell out
8 our national sovereignty, seeking to deprive us
9 of our right to work the land, our only means of
10 subsistence, without fair compensation, without
11 any alternatives for relocation.

12 Ours was a civic struggle, and through
13 legal remedies that went nowhere because of state
14 control by these dictators, what we got was
15 repression and persecution, which continues
16 against all members of our movement.

17 The crimes against humanity detailed by
18 the group of experts on human rights in Nicaragua
19 and by the Special Roundtable in Nicaragua of the
20 OAS Human Rights Commission have affected many
21 members of our peasant movement with imprisonment
22 for members and leaders throughout Nicaragua,

1 assassination of local leaders.

2 Personally, I've been jailed twice. I
3 was the victim of psychological and physical
4 torture, including threats made against my
5 family.

6 The first time I was detained
7 arbitrarily by the national police on July 13th,
8 2018, in the first 13 days of this detention I
9 was interrogated and beaten; I was physically and
10 psychologically tortured. They interrogated me
11 and they wanted information about my family
12 members. The objective of that torture was for
13 me to make accusations against the Nicaraguan
14 Catholic Church Bishops Council to be supposedly
15 plotting a coup d'etat.

16 They tortured me, threatening to kill my
17 family -- first, my children. They said that
18 they would bring me a video where they would show
19 me my 3-year-old daughter cut up into little
20 pieces, then they would go after my two young
21 sons, their mother, then, my father, my sisters,
22 until finishing off my entire family. When I

1 refused to give in, they transferred me to a
2 punishment cell in subhuman conditions.

3 I was convicted with no due process
4 guarantees, no evidence, and no right to defense
5 by judges who acted as executioners. After I was
6 in La Modelo Prison for 330 days, I was released
7 through an amnesty law.

8 The second time I was arbitrarily
9 arrested, national police agents and
10 paramilitaries arrested with the use of excessive
11 violence without showing any judicial warrant and
12 without respecting the international measures of
13 protection that had been issued by the Inter-
14 American Commission on Human Rights and the
15 Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

16 I was in prison for 19 months, until on
17 9 February 2023, I was expatriated, along with
18 221 political prisoners to the United States.

19 In addition, the peasant farmers of
20 Nicaragua continue suffering serious human rights
21 violations and labor rights violations without
22 the state adopting any measures to protect them

1 with total impunity.

2 The Group on Human Rights in Nicaragua
3 adopted a Report on Violations and Abuses of
4 Human Rights Against Peasant Farmers in
5 Nicaragua.

6 The group of experts has determined that
7 there have been serious violations of human
8 rights, human rights abuses against peasant
9 farmers who organized around our movement,
10 participating in protests in 2018. These include
11 violations and abuses of the rights to freedom or
12 the rights to personal liberty and personal
13 security; procedural guarantees for a fair trial;
14 being subjected to acts of torture and other
15 cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or
16 punishment, among others, which are crimes
17 against humanity. These include being in prison,
18 tortured, exiled, and persecuted for political
19 reasons.

20 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Please conclude just
21 within one minute, please.

22 MR. MAIRENA: Being banished and

1 forcibly exiled is a form of permanent torture.
2 Nonetheless, we have continued to commit to
3 defending human rights and fundamental freedoms
4 of Nicaraguans, especially the most unprotected
5 and vulnerable sectors, which include peasant
6 farmers.

7 We hope that our voice is heard through
8 this inquiry.

9 Thank you so much for allowing me to
10 come before you today.

11 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you.

12 And thank you to the witnesses, and I
13 appreciate you all being understanding of the
14 time, as we try to facilitate those with
15 translators and those without.

16 At this time, we will turn to questions
17 from the government agencies.

18 MS. SILVERSMITH: Thank you.

19 This first question is for Mr. Suazo
20 Herrera.

21 You described in your testimony your
22 experiences as a leader of the April 19th civic

1 movement, including being attacked by Sandinistas
2 with police support while protesting; that your
3 home and business was burned; that you were
4 arrested without court order; that you suffered
5 cruel, inhumane, and degrading treatment and
6 torture while a prisoner, and that you were
7 banished from Nicaragua and your nationality was
8 stripped.

9 Has the forced dissolution of civil
10 society organizations, like the April 19th
11 movement, affected the investment climate and
12 market access to the Nicaraguan market for U.S.
13 firms?

14 MR. SUAZO (Speaking through translator):
15 Not just our 19th of April movement, which has
16 been an expression of citizens coming forward to
17 support and defend our constitutional rights;
18 it's also had a negative impact on various
19 commercial entities, especially those that have
20 been supportive of our rights and of the idea
21 that folks in Nicaragua should have rights.

22 MS. BACON: Thank you.

1 This question is also for Mr. Suazo.

2 Could you clarify, when you were
3 imprisoned, were you granted any access to a
4 lawyer and did you have any trial or other legal
5 proceedings?

6 MR. SUAZO: This right was denied to me,
7 like it was for the other political prisoners who
8 were arrested in the wake of the protests of
9 2018, when I was arrested at that time.

10 Also, when I was arrested once again in
11 2021, these rights were denied, particularly the
12 right to due process and the right to defense.

13 MR. HUFFMAN: I'll continue on that
14 track.

15 When you were stripped of your
16 Nicaraguan nationality, was there any type of
17 trial or legal proceeding where you were able to
18 mount a defense or be heard? Did you have an
19 opportunity during that process for legal
20 representation?

21 MR. SUAZO: None of the 222 former
22 political prisoners, those of us who were sent to

1 the United States, were able to appeal this
2 arbitrary decision taken against us. This is a
3 violation of our constitutional rights and of our
4 human rights.

5 There are, indeed, more than 300
6 Nicaraguans who have been illegally stripped of
7 their nationality, and today, there are
8 approximately 100 Nicaraguans who de facto are
9 stateless persons today.

10 MS. BACON: Thank you.

11 My next question is for Mr. Martinez.

12 How significant a role do U.S. companies
13 play in the mining and processing of minerals in
14 Nicaragua?

15 MR. MART NEZ: Most of the mining is
16 carried out by Canadian and Colombian companies.
17 The U.S. presence is more through investments.
18 As a report shows, there's been many investors in
19 those companies, about 48 U.S. entities that have
20 been linked to mining in Nicaragua.

21 I think that the biggest connection is
22 more with the import, where the majority of the

1 imports, or the exports of those minerals are to
2 the United States.

3 MR. SAVAGE: Thank you, Mr. Martinez.

4 Are there any particular acts, policies,
5 or practices of the government of Nicaragua
6 relating to the mining sector that have
7 negatively impacted human rights, labor rights,
8 and the rule of law in Nicaragua?

9 MR. MART NEZ: Yes. To start, they have
10 incited that the plants that process minerals in
11 Nicaragua accept artisanal mining, which in many
12 cases is done in the national reserves. So, the
13 whole issue of traceability is something that
14 encourages both the ecological devastation of the
15 country, and also, there is the fact that in many
16 cases those concessions -- Fundacion del Rio
17 found over 140 cases in which concessions were
18 done without the process of prior consultation.
19 So, essentially, the local communities were
20 pushed out of their lands without this
21 consultation to give those rights to mining
22 companies.

1 MR. VAN PATTEN: Thank you.

2 Similarly to my colleague, I'd like to
3 ask about any particular acts, policies, and
4 practices of the government of Nicaragua related
5 to the beef sector that negatively impact human
6 rights, labor rights, and rule of law, and how
7 these practices impact U.S. commerce.

8 MR. MART NEZ: Sure. Nicaragua is
9 responsible for overseeing the national
10 traceability system of the beef in the country.
11 So, they have a system where every head of cattle
12 has a number. Correct? And so, they provide the
13 supervision for that along with the industry.

14 However, what the Patrol Campaign found,
15 and has provided evidence to this as part of this
16 investigation, is that the cattle with these
17 numbers are also in the national reserves. The
18 cattle are grown in the national reserves, also
19 displacing indigenous and Afro-descendant
20 communities in the autonomous regions in the
21 Carribean Coast. And that cattle is later sold
22 to the major meat-processing plants, which are

1 then going to export.

2 And as I mentioned before, the vast
3 majority of exports of beef from Nicaragua comes
4 to the United States. So, there's many
5 statements and laws that have been passed that
6 talk about traceability and that assure
7 traceability, that one can trace the meat that
8 comes into the U.S. to specific cows and legal
9 farms. However, as you will see in our reports,
10 there's plenty of evidence of photos and
11 satellite imagery that show that this is really
12 done in the natural reserves.

13 And part of what we say here is not only
14 is it a complete degradation of the environment
15 Nicaragua and of the communities affected by the
16 displacement, it also means that they are working
17 on free land, which is a price distortion for
18 anyone that's competing with that beef.

19 So, what we urge is that there's an
20 independent accountability system to ensure that
21 the beef being imported into the U.S. can truly
22 be traced to legal sources and not part of the

1 destruction of the country's ecology.

2 MR. HUFFMAN: Thank you.

3 Similarly to that, can you explain a
4 little more -- you know, you described the
5 country exports about 30 percent more gold than
6 it reports as being mined. Can you describe how
7 that has an impact on U.S. commerce?

8 MR. MART NEZ: Sure. So, as much of
9 Nicaraguan civil society has pointed out, the
10 numbers of -- for example, gold exports are about
11 30 percent larger than what's reported by the
12 Ministry of Mines as being produced. And there's
13 no explanation for this and there's been
14 continuous questions about his.

15 The biggest way that we think that it
16 contributes, first, to the degradation of the
17 rule of law is that there's really no way of
18 knowing who is benefitting from this. Is it even
19 gold that's produced in the country? There's
20 been accusations from other groups -- for
21 example, Venezuelan groups -- that assure that
22 Nicaraguan gold is Venezuelan gold, subject to

1 the sanctions as being laundered through
2 Nicaragua.

3 So, the first large worry is, what
4 groups that could be affecting human rights in
5 Nicaragua are benefitting from this trade which
6 is currently non-traceable?

7 I believe, surely, that also affects and
8 puts American companies and investors who import
9 them at risk, given that they may be importing
10 from groups that they would not like to be
11 importing from, but the traceability is not
12 possible at this moment.

13 MS. SILVERSMITH: Mr. Martinez, you
14 stated that the Nicaraguan state has dismantled
15 the institution set up to protect workers'
16 rights, which has left workers vulnerable and
17 unprotected when facing unfair working
18 conditions. Could you please elaborate on how
19 the government of Nicaragua has affected labor
20 rights --

21 MR. MART NEZ: Yes.

22 MS. SILVERSMITH: -- in 2018, and what

1 impact, if any, the government's acts, policies,
2 and practices with respect to labor rights have
3 had on the wages of workers in the region?

4 MR. MART NEZ: Thank you for the
5 question.

6 So, as many of my colleagues have
7 mentioned, the majority of civil society
8 organizations in the country have been cancelled.
9 Of those, over 500 were unions, were labor
10 organizations. So, first, they've been
11 cancelled.

12 Second, the government has refused to
13 provide certifications, repeatedly refused to
14 provide certifications for new unions in the
15 country. And that's been documented, also, by
16 the national labor organization.

17 In many cases in which the cases have
18 been brought to the courts of labor violations
19 within the free trade areas, for instance, many
20 of those cases have been brushed aside,
21 essentially. We cite one case, one, say, legal
22 organization that represents workers who say that

1 they used to normally be able to win cases of
2 workers against companies, but, say, for last
3 year, out of 30 that they represented, only one
4 won their case.

5 In general, there's a huge, I'd say,
6 bias towards the companies that also align to the
7 government against the workers.

8 Also, say, the number of cases that have
9 made it to the labor courts has been severely
10 reduced and they are no longer published.

11 Before, there used to be legal public processes
12 that were published on their website and they
13 haven't been published since 2016.

14 And I could go on. There are other
15 examples. Protesting in the country has been
16 illegal since 2018 and that includes labor
17 protests. So, limiting the right of Nicaraguan
18 workers to express any kind of dissatisfaction
19 with their situation definitely affects their
20 ability to improve, say, the state of their work.

21 I would say that one way in which this
22 affects trade in general and trade with the

1 United States is that this is, essentially, not
2 only violating their rights, but it's also wage
3 suppression. If they can't in different ways
4 work towards improving their wages and work
5 towards protecting their rights, it means that
6 they will be paid less than they would be
7 otherwise, and as an effect, it's also an unfair
8 distortion of prices from the country, which also
9 affects trade with any potential partner.

10 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Hi, Mr. Martinez. I
11 have an additional question for you.

12 And also, Ms. Alfred, you should feel
13 free to answer this as well, because I think you
14 both spoke on the subject of indigenous lands and
15 use of indigenous resources.

16 Can you hear me okay?

17 MS. ALFRED: Yes.

18 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Okay. So, when
19 discussing indigenous lands and resources, you
20 both used the term "illegally"; that these things
21 are being done illegally by the government. And
22 I believe you both referenced free and informed

1 prior consent coming from the UNDRIP likely.

2 But my question on illegality: prior to
3 this government administration coming into place,
4 did Nicaragua have specific laws that protected
5 -- I mean, national legislation that protected
6 indigenous lands and provided for indigenous
7 peoples' rights, independent of the international
8 instruments that you all mentioned? And if so,
9 where did those laws go? When did that happen?
10 What were the circumstances underlying that?
11 What do you think the motivation was?

12 So, to Mr. Martinez first, and, Ms.
13 Alfred, if you wanted to answer that, as you are
14 up next anyway, feel free to as well.

15 Thank you.

16 MR. MART NEZ: Actually, maybe I'll let
17 Anexa start, and I'll complement.

18 MS. ALFRED: Thank you so much for the
19 question, but I'm going to respond in Spanish
20 because I feel more comfortable. So, maybe I can
21 have the translator.

22 MS. ALFRED (Speaking through

1 translator): Collective rights of Afro-
2 descendant and indigenous peoples in Nicaragua
3 have been protected by the constitution of
4 Nicaragua. This is the result of lengthy
5 struggles, both political struggles and
6 indigenous peoples' struggles, and demands from
7 the international community.

8 Nicaragua is a signatory to several
9 international human rights instruments and, also,
10 specific instruments on indigenous peoples'
11 rights. And this includes the U.N. Declaration
12 on Indigenous Peoples' Rights, the Inter-American
13 Declaration on Indigenous Peoples' Rights, and
14 ILO Convention 169, which recognizes the rights
15 to land and territory of indigenous peoples.

16 Nicaragua has always been at the
17 vanguard, indeed, in recognizing indigenous
18 peoples' rights in its constitution and
19 legislation, but this is not just because this is
20 what those who framed those instruments decided.
21 It's the result of long struggles of the
22 indigenous peoples themselves. And as a result,

1 oftentimes, the rights have not been respected,
2 even though they're on the books, and this has
3 led to many actions before international fora,
4 such as the Inter-American Commission on Human
5 Rights, to seek enforcement of those rights.

6 So, indeed, there was an emblematic case
7 in the Inter-American Human Rights system known
8 as the Awas Tingni case, which is the first time
9 that collective property rights of peoples were
10 recognized in inter-American human rights law.
11 That was in 2001 and it recognized rights to
12 land, rights to natural resources, and it's been
13 cited as a key case.

14 But, in practice, these very same
15 communities have been victims in violations of
16 their rights. So, a new case was brought in
17 2005, for example, by the indigenous political
18 organization Yatama. And it was a case of the
19 failure to recognize the right to self-
20 determination in relation to political rights.

21 There was another case that was brought
22 by the Rama and Kriol peoples before the Inter-

1 American system and that had a more recent
2 decision. And this was against the building of
3 the Interoceanic Canal, which was going to have a
4 very detrimental impact on these peoples as well.

5 And these projects went forth without
6 consultation with these peoples. So, yes,
7 formally, there's great recognition of rights,
8 but, in practice, there has been actually
9 genocidal attacks against our peoples.

10 And just one more thing. All these
11 legislative advances that have been the result of
12 the struggle and even many people dying --
13 indigenous peoples, and particularly, the
14 Miskito, of which I'm a part of -- are being
15 rolled back under a current constitutional reform
16 which seeks to repudiate prior recognition and to
17 place all decisions over indigenous lands and
18 territories under the presidential couple who
19 are, basically, at the helm of this dictatorial
20 government.

21 MR. MART NEZ: So, I think that Anexa
22 gave a perfectly comprehensive explanation of the

1 legalities. So to connect it to what we were
2 saying, essentially despite all those legal
3 protections, not only are some of the lands being
4 provided to mining concessions without that prior
5 consent but also the illegal deforestation for
6 the beef industry is also going into those lands,
7 without any kind of pushback.

8 Both of these industries working often
9 very close to state or military bases, and so
10 there's never any kind of pushback. So, the
11 complicity with the agents that are pushing
12 people away, off these lands, is clear.

13 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you. Does anyone
14 else?

15 MS. BACON: If I could follow up on the
16 -- on what you've described as the taking of
17 indigenous lands, I just was wondering if -- and
18 this is perhaps again for either Mr. Martinez or
19 Ms. Alfred, or both of you -- if you could
20 elaborate on how those takings impact U.S.
21 commerce?

22 I think I understood Mr. Martinez to be

1 saying that the cattle grazing is part of that --
2 if I've misunderstood that, please correct me.
3 But if you could provide some further thinking on
4 that, either now or this is something that you
5 could also include in your -- in post-hearing
6 submissions as well, that would be helpful.

7 Thanks.

8 MR. MART NEZ: Exactly, so what seems to
9 the industry like free land is the result of
10 these human rights violations. And, of course,
11 part of what we're saying is that that does
12 distort, say, international commerce, because one
13 of the main, say, variables of the production is
14 done through illegal sources, and makes it
15 cheaper. So, clearly this would affect, say, the
16 competition against perhaps U.S. beef producers.
17 That is one thing that we're seeing.

18 Of course, our major interest is the
19 livelihoods of people being affected and the
20 deforestation but, when it comes to the commerce,
21 we do see that as a way that it is affecting
22 international commerce as well. Does that

1 respond your?

2 MS. BACON: Yes, thank you.

3 MR. HUFFMAN: Thank you. I will
4 continue with a question for Ms. Alfred. So, not
5 specific to indigenous land, but could you please
6 describe the Nicaraguan government's acts,
7 policies and practices with respect to human
8 rights of indigenous and Afro-descendant people
9 in Nicaragua?

10 MS. ALFRED: Thanks. The situation of
11 persecution and banishment, criminalization, and
12 death of indigenous peoples is something -- or in
13 general has not been limited to the, or isolated
14 to the Pacific side of Nicaragua, where most of
15 the population is. Most of the indigenous
16 population is on the Atlantic or Caribbean side
17 of the country, occupying about 32 percent of the
18 land.

19 And these difficult and -- situations of
20 violations of human rights predate 2018 by many
21 years. So for example, in 2015 the Inter-
22 American system Commission and Court issued

1 precautionary and provisional measures, to
2 safeguard the lives of indigenous leaders and
3 community members who were working to safeguard
4 indigenous rights.

5 So, this shutdown of the civic space in
6 the country has had a specifically negative
7 effect for the indigenous peoples, there's
8 organizations, Nicaraguan organizations and
9 religious organizations, that have supported the
10 indigenous people. So, with these being
11 persecuted, there's a negative impact for the
12 indigenous peoples as well, because this
13 accompaniment that we've had for so many years
14 has then been stripped back.

15 So, we've gone from a situation of being
16 vulnerable to being even more vulnerable. And
17 today what we're seeing is all these years of
18 progress are being rolled back consistently, to
19 the point that what we see is that the Nicaraguan
20 State today, under the current regime, is
21 interested in seeing the indigenous peoples
22 simply disappear and have no rights.

1 And what they're particularly interested
2 is control over land and natural resources. So,
3 in addition to total control of the population,
4 the whole point of that in these areas is to get
5 the natural resources without the free -- prior
6 free and informed consent required by
7 international instruments.

8 And also, they have -- so important for
9 the indigenous peoples has been conservation, and
10 so, ironically, the government has taken some of
11 the monies from a green fund for example, which
12 was set up in order to protect resources and the
13 environment, and the government, in the name of
14 doing so, has taken the resources for itself.

15 So, they've invaded our lands in order
16 to get the resources, but also have negated,
17 completely, the right to indigenous
18 self-determination. There's 23 indigenous
19 territories in all of Nicaragua, each has its own
20 governing structure, and all 23 have been taken
21 over by the dictatorship.

22 And I would just like to close by

1 saying, the lack of effective protection for our
2 collective rights has resulted in an
3 unprecedented humanitarian crisis, people have
4 been driven off their lands, many have had to
5 leave the country -- many going to the, Costa
6 Rica, and even some here to the United States,
7 simply to safeguard their lives and integrity.

8 MR. VAN PATTEN: Thank you, Ms. Alfred.
9 One more question for you. Could you please
10 elaborate more on the circumstances that led to
11 the various NGOs you have worked with having
12 their legal status canceled, and to the
13 persecution of their directors, activists, and
14 family members? And are you aware of the
15 cancellation of the legal status of any other
16 NGOs that have operated in Nicaragua? Thank you.

17 MS. ALFRED: Can you repeat the
18 question, please?

19 MS. ALFRED (Speaking for self): I'm
20 sorry.

21 MR. VAN PATTEN: No, worries. Happy to
22 repeat.

1 THE TRANSLATOR: If you could just speak
2 a little louder.

3 MR. VAN PATTEN: Sure, yes. Could you
4 please elaborate more on the circumstances that
5 led to the various NGOs that you have worked with
6 having their legal status canceled, and to the
7 persecution of their directors, activists, and
8 family members? And are you aware of the
9 cancellation of the legal status of any other
10 NGOs that have operated in Nicaragua?

11 MS. ALFRED (Speaking for self): Thank
12 you for the question. I'm sorry, since I'm
13 traveled from Geneva I have a lot different
14 hours.

15 (Foreign language spoken.)

16 MS. ALFRED: So yeah, on the question of
17 the cancellation of NGOs -- and there's been more
18 than 5,000 of them canceled under some law
19 supposedly on foreign funding or foreign
20 involvement in Nicaragua -- well, in the
21 indigenous areas of the Caribbean coast, the NGOs
22 have been made up of indigenous leaders and

1 indigenous community members. And this is so
2 important because of the very distinct nature and
3 particularities of our communities in the
4 Caribbean coast. Other -- many other NGOs have
5 also been impacted.

6 Well, in that sense the attacks on
7 indigenous leaders really go beyond the
8 communities in the sense that indigenous leaders
9 are recognized as natural leaders, unlike, say,
10 in other -- the rest of the country. They're not
11 necessarily political leaders.

12 For example, a person -- a woman who
13 offers traditional medicine in the community, she
14 is a fundamental part of the community, a
15 fundamental part of the social fabric of the
16 community. So, when she is attacked it's an
17 attack on the entire community. Same with those
18 who look out for the preservation of the forests,
19 they are a fundamental part of the social fabric.
20 So, when the government acts against them that
21 ends up tearing up the social fabric, and that's
22 why we talked about genocide.

1 For example, the political -- the
2 organization, Yatama, was forced to convert to
3 the -- take the form of a traditional political
4 party. That was what the decision in 2005 was
5 all about, it was an initial attempt to gain
6 access to spaces where we, the indigenous
7 communities, had generally been excluded from or
8 marginalized from or completely kept out of.

9 Yatama, this organization, has now been
10 around for 40 years, but right now the top
11 leadership has been disappeared, subject to
12 forced disappearance. And this sends a message
13 to anyone who wants to put up resistance to the
14 dominant ways, that they will be eliminated.

15 It's my case, too, I'm the first
16 indigenous woman from Nicaragua to hold a UN
17 mandate, and they've gone after me as well. So,
18 this is a message saying, even if you have that
19 kind of connection internationally, that's not
20 going to protect you either.

21 MS. SAVAGE: Thank you. This next
22 question is for Mr. Mairena Sequeira. Could you

1 please explain your work with the Movimiento
2 Campesino de Nicaragua and the challenges you
3 faced from the Nicaraguan government in pursuing
4 the organization's mission?

5 THE TRANSLATOR: Could you please repeat
6 the question? I'm so sorry.

7 MS. SAVAGE: Sure. This question is for
8 Mr. Mairena Sequeira. Could you please explain
9 your work with Movimiento Campesino de Nicaragua
10 and the challenges you faced from the Nicaraguan
11 government in pursuing the organization's
12 mission?

13 MR. MAIRENA: The Movimiento Campesino
14 was established in 2013 in the wake of a law that
15 was to expropriate vast expanses of Nicaragua, in
16 order to build the Interoceanic Canal project.
17 And this was to defend our human rights, our
18 property rights, our natural resources, which
19 were threatened by this concession that was given
20 over to a Chinese entrepreneur, Wang Xing, who we
21 never met.

22 And when we say that they were selling

1 out our sovereignty, that's because the
2 government adopted a special law that would give
3 this concession autonomy over our lands, our
4 natural resources, taking away our ability as
5 peasant farmers, as indigenous, to make use of
6 our lands as we saw fit.

7 And so we began a legal process in
8 Nicaragua, to see how we could have that law
9 repealed. And all that we got in return was
10 repression, persecution, imprisonment, torture,
11 and now banished to exile.

12 MS. SAVAGE: Thank you. And this
13 question is also for Mr. Mairena, is your
14 organization, Movimiento Campesino de Nicaragua,
15 able to operate in Nicaragua today?

16 MR. MAIRENA: It's almost impossible,
17 for the repression has been so brutal that most
18 of the local leaders have had to leave the
19 country. We're now spread out across -- in
20 different parts of the world, and we've had to
21 leave the country in order to save our lives.

22 And so, while human rights defense

1 organizations have been able to document many
2 violations, including the 365 persons who've been
3 assassinated, in the territories and regions
4 where we operate it's not been possible to
5 document all that has happened, because of the
6 brutal repression -- including, the killings of
7 many peasant farmers.

8 So, we have tried several times, but the
9 police and paramilitary forces have not allowed
10 the human rights organizations to come into our
11 territories to do this documentation. So, we
12 don't really have any statistics. The modality
13 that this repression took on after 2018 was that
14 producers and local leaders would be
15 assassinated, would show up assassinated in these
16 various regions.

17 MS. SILVERSMITH: Mr. Mairena, could you
18 please describe how, in your opinion, the
19 government of Nicaragua has engaged in
20 unreasonable acts, policies and practices towards
21 its citizens, with respect to their human rights
22 and labor rights?

1 MR. MAIRENA: They violated our rights
2 through state repression, particularly with the -
3 - through the use of the police and paramilitary
4 groups -- and these paramilitary groups, sadly,
5 are now being legalized in the constitutional
6 reform. And they -- and this effort includes
7 taking, for example, the Sandinista Youth
8 movement, giving them weapons and having them go
9 out and attack and assassinate people. And this
10 is not only against peasant farmers, but against
11 others who are standing up for their rights as
12 well.

13 And the fact that the group in power
14 maintains economic control -- well, part of the
15 economic control is that they set the prices on
16 the products that peasant farmers and rural
17 producers produce. And so, this is yet another
18 dimension of exploitation -- those in power
19 become illicitly enriched by imposing such
20 controls, and, of course, to the detriment of
21 those who receive less for their output.

22 CHAIR GRIMBALL: Thank you. That

1 concludes our questioning to the witnesses, and
2 that concludes today's hearing. We are very
3 appreciative of all your time, those in the
4 audience, our witnesses, for coming here today
5 and providing the testimony and support that some
6 of your organizations have provided with respect
7 to translators and such. We do appreciate it, I
8 appreciate the government representatives that
9 are here today, USTR staff that have assisted
10 with bringing this hearing to bear.

11 Once again as a reminder, January 23 is
12 that final date to provide responses,
13 supplementary responses, to the testimony
14 provided here today. That website will open
15 tomorrow at 12:01 a.m., the same website that you
16 used initially. And with that, please do have a
17 great evening, stay warm out there. Thank you.

18 (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter
19 went off the record at 3:53 p.m.)
20
21
22

A

a.m 1:10 4:2 85:1,2
134:16 188:15
Abierto 2:6 140:1,10
abilities 72:9
ability 119:14 127:4
141:8 169:20 185:4
able 19:4 20:15 33:11
39:5 41:2 48:16 51:5
68:16 70:7 80:18
120:15 139:3 152:13
161:17 162:1 169:1
185:15 186:1
above-entitled 84:22
109:2 133:9 188:18
Abril 2:5 103:18
abrupt 27:10
abruptly 58:21
absence 13:5 44:11
70:18 78:17 79:5
87:18 90:15,16
135:13 139:7
absentia 29:20
absolute 75:5
Absolutely 39:9
abuse 14:22 137:16
abuses 19:7 29:16
122:16 124:19,21
125:2 142:20 146:8
158:3,8,11
academic 89:14
accelerated 100:17
accept 163:11
accepted 9:14 120:15
access 11:15 51:10
86:13 93:15 97:4
131:18 137:12,13
138:7,14 160:12
161:3 183:6
accompaniment
178:13
accomplished 144:17
account 28:15,16 62:17
97:14
accountability 35:7
131:15 165:20
accountable 12:4
accounted 17:12
accounting 141:18
accounts 24:15 90:3
accurately 77:1
accusation 29:12
accusations 16:17
156:13 166:20
accused 12:8 24:5 87:6
accusing 105:21
achieve 98:4
achieves 141:4

acre 31:14
act 4:14 5:21 35:10
93:10
acted 19:18 157:5
acting 31:13
action 7:7,7 82:5
139:16
actionable 4:21,22 7:3
7:5 15:13 17:2
actions 19:20 34:7
47:16 56:11,12 88:4
88:10 96:9 114:12
122:8 145:12 173:3
active 66:18 86:5 111:1
actively 74:7
Activewear 107:11
activism 135:10
activist 12:13
activists 108:6,6
180:13 181:7
activities 19:5,16 29:14
48:6 49:19 65:16
71:14 87:12 145:19
activity 74:5 121:13
143:7
actors 145:4
acts 1:3 4:8 5:1 6:1 7:2
7:4 34:17 116:5
158:14 163:4 164:3
168:1 177:6 182:20
186:20
actual 30:20 74:16
78:10
add 75:21 106:19
107:19 132:5,11
133:1
addition 24:7 28:14
37:12 55:9 109:11,21
157:19 179:3
additional 7:8 35:15
52:4 131:1,4 139:4
170:11
Additionally 91:8
107:19
address 145:3 147:10
addresses 34:16
addressing 51:17
adjustments 84:4
administration 39:12
40:6 87:7 100:12,13
171:3
administrative 8:6 76:3
admissions 33:19,22
66:14
admit 78:13
admitted 33:13 66:17
66:19 67:18
adopted 158:3 185:2

adopting 132:12 157:22
advances 174:11
advantage 48:17
advantages 126:12
141:1
advice 40:9
advisable 35:5
advisor 122:13
advocacy 90:6 105:22
111:4
advocate 29:14
affect 17:9 176:15
Affective 27:13
afford 126:2,18
afforded 26:15
afraid 13:6 15:2 102:17
102:21
Africans 92:21
Afro- 89:20 147:5
149:15 153:21 172:1
Afro-Caribbean 89:3
Afro-descendant 59:8
60:6 61:12 141:6
142:5 143:12 148:3
164:19 177:8
Afro-descendants
149:6
Afro-descendent 27:3
afternoon 110:7
age 93:1 107:20
agencies 7:12 159:17
agency 9:12 39:12 40:6
agent 96:7
agents 157:9 175:11
ago 130:16
agree 72:18
agreed 45:20 46:4
agreement 17:5,6 20:5
31:3 54:2 80:14
138:16 155:7
agreements 34:3 44:18
54:19 92:10 146:10
agricultural 30:18
122:14
agriculture 107:10
124:19
ahead 37:1 84:6
air 22:3 23:17
airline 152:6
AK 21:13
AK-47 21:10
Alal 151:4
Alberto 95:10
Alem 1:19 2:2 3:7 94:3
94:7 101:21 119:6,9
119:16 120:18 121:2
127:13 129:5
Aleman 25:15 26:3 94:5

Alfaro 2:2 3:7 94:3,7
119:6 120:18
Alfred 2:7 3:11 146:20
146:22 147:2 153:15
154:11,12 170:12,17
171:13,18,22 175:19
177:4,10 180:8,17,19
181:11,16
alianza 110:11,12,14
align 169:6
aligned 142:1,16
allegation's 63:20
allegations 27:20
alleged 24:6 27:14 29:1
29:3 39:7
alleges 66:4
allegiance 118:7 119:4
Alliance 1:21 2:3,5
22:21 85:9,13 94:4,9
110:15 119:8 135:1
allies 142:12
allow 65:12 82:10
128:10 147:17
allowed 10:11 19:7
23:11 29:8 86:17 93:1
136:7 186:9
allowing 12:20 17:10
115:10 159:9
allows 50:10 93:17
122:14 124:18 142:12
alluded 129:15
alongside 138:21
alternatives 155:11
Amaru 1:18 25:15 26:3
26:3 28:5
Amaru's 62:16
Ambassador 94:16
amended 4:14
America 20:5 49:7
81:18 83:21 92:20
98:21 140:20 148:11
American 13:15 17:6
33:6 40:21 45:8 71:17
74:4 115:4 136:11,13
140:18 148:9 157:14
167:8 174:1 177:22
Americans 32:3 67:3,4
136:3
amnesty 157:7
amount 126:8
amounts 37:11 74:10
ancestral 149:10,21
154:7
anecdotal 37:5
Anexa 2:7 3:11 146:20
147:2 171:17 174:21
Anibal 3:4 20:9
announce 84:4

announced 4:17 11:7
announcing 4:16
annual 20:3 55:2
answer 14:21 35:15
 50:20,22 65:5 66:11
 115:12 117:14 132:3
 170:13 171:13
answered 72:22
answering 146:18
anybody 129:6
anymore 43:2,3 58:15
anyway 171:14
appeal 162:1
appear 31:1 48:7
 133:22
appearing 9:4
appears 54:7 75:11
Appleton 1:20 3:5
 30:10,12,13,15 66:2
 66:10 69:4,13 73:1,15
 75:7,17
applied 129:5
appointed 148:12
appreciate 6:12 88:4
 103:14 159:13 188:7
 188:8
appreciated 36:3
appreciative 188:3
approaching 139:2
appropriate 7:7 134:4
approval 120:16
approved 16:12
approximately 141:19
 162:8
April 20:12 27:18 94:10
 96:22 104:1 105:9
 110:13 135:15,17
 148:12 159:22 160:10
 160:15
arbitrarily 11:11 26:13
 58:22 86:9 106:9
 132:8 156:7 157:8
arbitrary 19:9 27:10
 38:19 90:2 92:2 96:8
 136:14 142:10 151:15
 162:2
arbitration 69:12
Arce 122:13,19 123:2
 124:14
Arce's 124:18
architect 121:5
architecture 15:21
area 67:12 76:9 78:12
areas 28:4 59:9 141:14
 143:6,22 144:8
 168:19 179:4 181:21
arguments 11:20 71:11
 71:12

Arizona 147:19
arm 25:1
armed 20:19 21:10,13
 22:10 31:13 32:1
 94:12 95:3
array 13:20
arrest 6:9 89:8 105:13
 151:15,20
arrested 11:11 86:10
 95:7 137:7 138:1
 157:9,10 160:4 161:8
 161:9,10
arrive 45:22
arrived 153:4
arson 56:8
art 92:6
article 17:7 29:6 63:14
 64:19 65:1,6,11 93:10
 93:11 106:3 107:4
 153:9
Articles 17:4 91:1
artisanal 141:12 163:11
artisans 136:3
Asian 92:22
aside 168:20
asked 31:22 47:4 52:3
asking 40:9,9 63:7
 117:15 129:20
asks 10:4 110:1
aspect 130:12
aspects 72:3 140:13
assassinate 187:9
assassinated 186:3,15
 186:15
assassination 94:18
 156:1
assaulted 137:18 138:4
assaults 32:16
assembly 91:6 95:4
assertion 35:9
assess 36:11 37:4
assessment 13:14
 73:12
assessments 77:9
asset 38:4
assets 26:13 27:12,22
 28:2 39:6 59:1 60:7
 62:14 87:4
assist 68:15
assistance 18:9 37:12
 73:19 95:8
assisted 188:9
associate 14:13
associated 145:8
Associates 30:15
association 12:5 28:9
 95:4 123:22
assuming 84:14

assurances 143:1
assure 165:6 166:21
astounding 67:15 68:6
Atlantic 177:16
atrocities 85:16 105:11
attach 125:12
attached 124:11
attack 20:21 23:5 128:4
 137:20 182:17 187:9
attacked 22:19,22
 24:21 160:1 182:16
attacking 65:22
attacks 56:7 65:9 174:9
 182:6
attempt 27:17 94:18
 118:14 122:21 144:20
 183:5
attempts 65:9 105:20
attention 35:14 80:13
 81:3
attest 114:8
attorney 25:22 78:7,11
 78:16
attract 98:4
AU 92:14
audience 65:14,19 84:4
 109:17,22 133:15
 188:4
audio 10:10
audit 39:10
audits 13:13 39:3
AUN 94:9
authoritarian 90:19
authorities 23:6,10
 24:10
authority 69:6
authorize 152:8
authorized 26:4
autonomous 164:20
autonomy 149:22 185:3
available 5:4 33:7 52:13
 72:7
avenue 13:13
avenues 11:18
avocado 31:14 32:9
avoid 22:11
award 33:7
aware 53:20 56:11 73:8
 108:17 117:5 180:14
 181:8
awareness 50:21
Awes 173:8
Azul 102:20

B

b 34:20
back 46:22 81:19 83:13
 84:3 108:21,22

174:15 178:14,18
background 99:2
 147:17
backgrounds 110:17
 112:3
backyard 55:21
Bacon 1:12 7:19,20
 39:1 47:12 57:11
 62:20 69:4 110:7
 111:10 114:1 120:18
 160:22 162:10 175:15
 177:2
bad 80:3 101:10 122:1
 127:18
bags 99:18
BAL 1:17
balACLavas 20:20
balances 16:7
banished 11:22 41:22
 147:6 148:18 155:2
 158:22 160:7 185:11
banishment 6:11 15:4
 149:2,8 177:11
bank 24:14,15 28:14,16
 44:14 62:16
bankrupt 39:18
bankruptcy 38:5 101:6
banks 16:20 38:10
banned 17:22 18:4
bargained 101:20,22
barred 13:16
Barry 1:20 3:5 30:10,13
 66:2
bars 24:17 86:20
based 29:5 63:11,13,19
 63:20 76:22 98:12
 100:2 149:22
bases 175:9
basic 14:11 51:11 122:4
 140:15
basically 38:17 39:13
 39:18 45:19 46:2,20
 47:4 50:2 51:19 52:12
 52:19 53:15 54:18
 55:20 56:2 99:18,19
 100:16 101:1,8,9
 102:5,15 103:11
 126:22 174:19
basis 55:2 74:5
bathroom 42:9
Bayardo 122:12,19
 123:2,15 124:14
 125:4
bear 188:10
beaten 86:7 95:11
 156:9
beatings 11:1
becoming 53:17 121:4

beef 142:18,22 143:5
143:20 144:2,7 145:6
145:13,22 164:5,10
165:3,18,21 175:6
176:16
began 86:2 101:3 120:3
185:7
beginning 128:20
133:18
begs 53:18
behalf 1:18,20,21 2:1
15:1 25:5,14 26:4
30:11 66:2 85:8 88:16
behavior 45:16
belief 107:21
beliefs 122:7
believe 34:3 36:5 56:9
80:4 100:1 108:12
118:14 167:7 170:22
belong 51:20
belonging 24:11
beneficiaries 18:11
47:21
benefit 106:18 122:15
142:15
benefits 80:19 121:18
143:21 146:15
benefitted 142:1
benefitting 107:12
145:18 166:18 167:5
beseched 95:2
besieged 22:10
best 81:18
better 114:20 132:3
beyond 34:4 67:10
182:7
bias 169:6
Bible 138:7
big 102:6
biggest 140:21 162:21
166:15
bill 50:3
billion 50:7
birth 106:4
Bishops 156:14
bit 68:19 84:5 101:14
123:13 128:11
blacklisting 13:5
Blanco 102:20
block 24:14
blocks 22:16
board 88:21 152:5,7
body 35:4 68:12,13
148:15 153:15
bolstering 93:18
books 138:7 173:2
border 93:6
born 104:2

borrowing 50:11
Bosawas 144:9
brain 97:21 106:14
branch 118:20
branches 129:3
brave 154:12
breaches 34:5
break 8:22 9:1 39:18
69:13 84:16,20
108:11 131:7
breeches 106:3
bridge 17:10
brief 8:21 36:18 69:3
84:20 131:6
briefly 34:15 64:6
bring 100:12 102:11,12
156:18
bringing 188:10
Brissau 1:18 25:16,21
59:5 61:5,8 62:20
63:4 64:18
broadly 66:9
broke 137:19
broken 72:3,4,6,6
Brooklyn 151:19
brought 74:16 76:21
93:2 112:2 168:18
173:16,21
brushed 168:20
brutal 185:17 186:6
brutality 68:3 135:16
brutally 86:3 95:11
137:18
build 128:8 155:5,6
184:16
building 20:12,15
108:19,21 136:11
174:2
built 152:15
Bull 102:21
bullets 23:1
burden 5:3 6:3 15:16
18:20 34:18
burdened 75:10
burdens 75:15
burned 160:3
business 13:10 14:7
19:4,16 33:6 40:22
41:4 43:9,15,20 44:13
44:15,22 46:21 47:8
49:2,15 65:19 73:4,7
73:10,14 74:9 75:4
76:8 77:6 83:20 91:19
92:2 97:17 114:9
115:6,11 116:21
121:19 123:3,6,16,19
123:20 124:7 125:7
126:2,11 128:2,11

131:20 136:5,16
137:7 145:5 160:3
businesses 18:6 19:15
19:16 45:10,15 46:15
47:7 48:22 53:19 79:8
81:14,14 114:13
121:21 122:15 123:18
125:14 128:12 132:1
135:21
businessmen 108:5

C

C-O-N-T-E-N-T-S 3:1
CAFTA 17:6 31:5,9 33:3
33:5 34:12 35:6,7
54:2 67:9 72:8 75:6
93:11 126:12 129:20
130:14,17,18
CAFTA's 32:19
CAFTA-DR 146:12
call 80:12 81:3 88:9
121:7,10,17 139:15
called 22:21 26:8
100:15 123:3
cameras 10:10,12
Camila 96:4
Campaign 2:7 140:2,11
143:3 164:14
campaigns 90:12
Campesino 2:8 154:15
184:2,9,13 185:14
Canadian 162:16
Canal 89:13 155:6
174:3 184:16
cancel 63:5,13,19,22
canceled 56:20 57:18
58:3,22 113:18
180:12 181:6,18
canceling 115:10
cancellation 23:20 27:5
27:11 92:2 120:19
180:15 181:9,17
cancelled 23:13 27:7
59:6 89:19 168:8,11
cancelling 63:2
candidacy 11:8
candidate 125:15
capacity 40:6 44:18
148:21
capital 11:4 97:8
106:17
Captain 95:19
capture 16:1 50:2,9
care 48:20
career 152:16
carefully 5:11 6:15 79:9
Caribbean 143:13
151:3 177:16 181:21
182:4
Carlos 96:1 106:1
Carribean 164:21
carried 21:3 162:16
carries 104:3
carry 33:12 67:21 68:4
case 27:6 38:1,6,22
49:8 52:2 53:8 55:5
72:20 76:4 103:15
123:9 125:20 126:15
129:8 136:9,10 151:4
151:19 152:2 168:21
169:4 173:6,8,13,16
173:18,21 183:15
cases 30:1 41:1 66:18
102:19 103:12 126:17
163:12,16,17 168:17
168:17,20 169:1,8
cast 92:6
Castano's 122:13
Castro 71:15
Catholic 156:14
cattle 143:5 144:6
164:11,16,18,21
176:1
cause 89:20
caused 21:7 75:1
causes 79:7 142:4
causing 141:8
CDN 90:3,6,10,15 91:13
92:12 114:16 115:21
117:1,19
CDN's 115:21
cease 21:19
cell 137:11,21 138:6
157:2
ensorship 25:5
censure 92:5
center 78:20,22 86:10
95:9
centerpiece 40:7
centers 92:6 120:13
121:7,11,17
central 17:6 20:5 49:6
81:18 92:22 119:19
140:20 148:11
centralizing 107:3
Centroamericana
104:19
century 55:21
certain 118:2,2 140:13
certifications 168:13
168:14
chains 114:10
Chair 1:10,12 3:2 4:3
8:3,4 10:4 35:19
50:18 64:3,8,11,14,16
80:9 81:6 84:1 85:3

103:1,6 108:9 109:7
 110:5 130:20 133:2
 133:12 139:1 153:14
 154:10,13 158:20
 159:11 170:10,18
 175:13 187:22
Chairperson 140:3
challenge 27:20 29:9
 70:8,14
challenges 51:14 184:2
 184:10
Chamarro 46:12
Chamber 43:21,21,22
 44:9 46:14 115:4
chambers 43:20 44:1
 115:3
Chamorro 1:16 3:3
 10:19,20 36:5,9,17
 37:22 38:7 39:2,9
 41:3,11 43:7,11,17
 64:7,9,13 80:10,11
 128:9,10
chance 54:19
change 23:8 77:12
 100:10 101:13 144:12
changed 54:15 105:9
changes 54:17
changing 16:5
chaos 87:8
Chapter 17:7 33:2 54:2
characterize 38:2
characterized 121:14
charge 96:21
charges 96:6
charitable 18:13
charter 93:3
chartered 17:11
cheaper 176:15
check 79:22 108:22
checks 16:7
Chichigalpa 137:8
chief 67:1
child 71:21
children 24:12 151:8
 152:11,22 153:3
 156:17
China 13:18 37:15
 80:15 97:22 124:10
Chinese 80:19 81:2
 89:13 92:9 184:20
Chipote 86:11 95:9
 137:8
choice 122:8
choose 117:10
chosen 121:9
Church 156:14
CIA 96:7
Cien 56:17

Ciento 56:17
circumstances 33:17
 45:13 171:10 180:10
 181:4
CISA 38:1,8
cite 168:21
cited 69:6 173:13
citizen 24:3 26:6 40:21
 65:9 94:8 96:20,20
 98:17 108:7
citizens 17:18 19:20
 106:4 132:8,19
 136:13 139:14 160:16
 186:21
citizenship 19:2 48:3
 135:9 138:22
city 11:4 20:12 21:14
 23:12,15
civic 2:5 22:21 105:1
 110:15 111:21,21,22
 135:1 150:13 155:12
 159:22 178:5
civica 110:14
civil 17:21 45:21 89:1
 89:10 91:10 99:3
 127:14 135:17 152:1
 153:10 160:9 166:9
 168:7
claiming 38:16
claims 52:22 53:3 155:4
clan 50:14
clarify 64:22 134:11
 161:2
clarity 131:9
classroom 99:8 100:6
classrooms 99:7
clear 34:2 80:20 142:4
 175:12
clearer 132:3
clearly 67:6 80:3
 176:15
click 134:3
client 26:3 74:11
climate 36:16 48:13
 117:20 119:2 135:22
 144:12 160:11
clinic 1:18,20 25:14,22
 58:18 138:11
close 38:13 42:13,18
 63:8 111:6 122:3
 124:3 125:14 150:13
 175:9 179:22
closed 23:14 25:7
 52:14 81:13 91:16
 97:2 104:21 120:6
closure 59:2 61:7 62:21
 81:11
closures 115:5

co-director 78:21
co-opted 132:10
Co-President 26:18
coast 143:13 164:21
 181:21 182:4
code 64:20
coffee 1:20 30:11,16,16
 31:16 38:5,9 66:3,21
 74:8 101:7 123:10
 125:1,21 128:2
collaborators 24:19
collapse 97:13
collapsed 20:16
colleague 26:2 37:16
 79:22 164:2
colleagues 42:2 168:6
collect 41:2
collective 27:9 147:5
 150:3 172:1 173:9
 180:2
Colombian 162:16
come 17:14 25:7 39:12
 40:4 59:10,13 60:2
 72:15 84:14 109:5,6
 119:21 120:8 124:10
 127:10 128:11 130:9
 130:13 159:10 186:10
comes 41:12 141:12
 165:3,8 176:20
comfort 83:19
comfortable 171:20
coming 50:5 83:12
 160:16 171:1,3 188:4
command 67:20
commenced 33:2
commend 73:16
commensurately 54:9
comment 4:20 7:9
 64:10,12 75:21 110:4
comments 4:17 5:12,14
 5:15 8:15 9:17 33:18
 67:16 73:20 110:2
 131:4 133:6 134:1,14
 139:4
comments.ustr.gov
 134:1
commerce 1:13 5:3 6:4
 7:18 14:9 15:17 31:11
 34:18 36:12 41:20
 43:21,22 44:1,9 46:14
 75:4,11,16 104:15
 115:3 116:12 140:13
 146:14 164:7 166:7
 175:21 176:12,20,22
commercial 32:9 38:10
 79:15 92:7,13 98:3
 116:2,7 131:18
 160:19

Commission 1:9
 138:17 148:9 155:20
 157:14 173:4 177:22
Commissioner 95:10
commit 159:2
commitments 12:21
committed 16:15 17:17
 19:7 25:19 74:12
committee 4:6 5:11
 6:21,22 8:4 9:10,14
 9:19 15:10 25:17
 30:21 33:11 34:4 65:5
 103:19 140:4
Committee's 30:6
committing 90:14
communicate 139:5
communicating 138:8
communication 11:14
 29:5 63:12 82:10,12
 82:13,14 86:13
 102:18
communications 70:4
communities 27:3,4
 60:7,12,17,20 61:12
 61:13 89:4,21 141:6
 142:6 143:13 145:10
 146:2,6 149:16,18
 150:21 151:3,10,14
 154:7 163:19 164:20
 165:15 173:15 182:3
 182:8 183:7
communities' 141:8
community 28:3 32:12
 59:8 61:17 105:11
 135:21 143:18 149:9
 151:4,5 172:7 178:3
 182:1,13,14,16,17
companies 13:12,16
 34:10 39:4,11,14,20
 40:16 49:11,13 50:17
 51:9 59:10,13 60:8,16
 61:1 66:9 73:3,11,14
 73:22 83:15 107:11
 107:16 115:7 129:19
 130:4 132:2 145:18
 146:5 150:9,19
 162:12,16,19 163:22
 167:8 169:2,6
company 38:12,16
 39:17 42:8 67:3 78:4
compared 66:6
comparing 54:22
compensating 21:6
compensation 32:15
 55:9 78:1 155:10
competing 165:18
competition 15:19
 55:17 107:14 131:22

176:16
competitive 131:18
complain 53:6
complaint 146:1
complaints 13:10 14:20
 40:8 144:20
complement 171:17
complete 165:14
completed 6:22
completely 45:3 55:22
 77:3 179:17 183:8
compliance 35:8 76:18
compliance-monitori...
 35:6
compliant 52:18
complicated 75:19
 105:4
complicity 132:9 143:7
 175:11
complying 131:12
comprehensive 174:22
CONCA 1:19
concentrate 16:6
concentrated 41:14
concept 91:22
concerns 92:17
Concertación 2:1,3
 88:16,19,22 98:8,12
 102:11
concession 184:19
 185:3
concessions 141:5
 142:7 146:4 163:16
 163:17 175:4
concise 10:2
conclude 10:5 103:7
 139:3 153:14,19
 154:10,11 158:20
concludes 35:18 188:1
 188:2
conclusion 10:15 93:13
concrete 88:10 117:14
condemn 139:16
condemned 106:22
condition 138:12
conditions 11:7 14:11
 14:19 40:5 107:13
 137:10 145:1 157:2
 167:18
conduct 34:18 73:7,13
conducted 5:20 8:7
 91:5
conducting 65:16
 145:5
conference 94:22
confidence 51:22
Confidential 56:17
confidential 134:7

confidentially 51:3
 117:8
confirmed 13:1 33:20
confiscate 24:8 27:22
confiscated 26:13
 28:16 38:19 39:7 47:8
 49:14 56:20 59:1 97:3
 112:6 118:15 136:18
 137:3
confiscating 28:14
confiscation 27:12 87:3
 89:10 90:3 136:10
confiscations 14:15
 88:2
conflict 150:8
Congress 90:9
Congressman 71:15
conjunction 4:5
connect 175:1
connected 141:1
connection 4:7 162:21
 183:19
consent 142:8 171:1
 175:5 179:6
consequence 92:16
consequences 15:4
 16:11 96:19 121:16
 136:2
conservation 28:4
 61:22 62:3 179:9
consider 5:11 6:15
 33:12 34:21 35:5 48:7
 65:17
considerably 37:14
consideration 30:6
 34:22 133:6
considered 6:20 30:4
 91:6
considers 65:21
consistently 42:3
 178:18
consisting 15:21
consolidation 150:14
conspiracy 29:2
conspiring 52:10
constant 13:13 23:5
 60:10 86:8 94:11
 95:13 113:11 138:6
 153:2
constitute 15:15
constitutes 18:15 66:8
 149:12 153:7
constitution 12:17 16:6
 65:6 90:19 106:4
 107:3 172:3,18
constitutional 91:4
 113:1,2 160:17 162:3
 174:15 187:5

construction 50:14
consultation 91:10
 141:7 163:18,21
 174:6
contain 93:11
context 52:14
continent 88:12
continue 24:20 25:4
 36:22 38:17 88:9
 93:18 109:8 111:9
 122:6 132:21 157:20
 161:13 177:4
continued 22:2 52:5
 159:2
continues 132:7 155:15
continuing 132:16
continuous 106:10
 166:14
contract 96:15
contracts 44:19
contrafactual 37:3
Contras 100:15
contravened 92:4
contravention 31:5
contribute 145:8 148:1
contributes 140:22
 166:16
contributing 146:7
control 42:17 43:4
 82:14,20 95:10 127:2
 127:3 129:11 132:18
 155:14 179:2,3
 187:14,15
controlled 98:1 129:17
controls 187:20
convened 1:9
Convention 153:10,17
 172:14
conventions 92:4 93:14
 145:2
convert 183:2
converted 120:13
convict 132:7
convicted 157:3
cooperate 114:14
coordinator 154:20
corporate 78:3
corporation 30:17
 60:18 65:19
corporations 49:11
 60:19 61:1 62:7
corpus 79:21
correct 164:12 176:2
corrupt 101:17 155:7
corrupted 101:19
corruption 88:3 101:16
COSEP 44:3 115:2
cost 39:13 72:14 111:7

Costa 23:7 28:19 52:16
 60:4 102:7 106:10
 180:5
costs 36:15,19
Council 148:15 156:14
Councils 54:1
counsel 11:15 26:2
 30:15
countless 10:22
countries 19:5 44:2
 55:4 80:17 93:22
 116:13,13,14
country 5:2 11:4 12:1
 12:15,20 16:20 17:10
 18:2,4,14 19:12 23:4
 23:12,22 29:18 37:8
 37:20 38:9 40:4,19
 46:6 47:10 49:6 52:15
 52:20 53:11 57:5 60:2
 72:12,17 82:16,20
 83:13,18,22 87:6
 94:19 96:18 97:8,11
 97:21 98:1 99:17
 100:2,8 102:2 105:12
 105:17 106:15 112:10
 112:11,13 113:3
 116:18 118:15,17
 119:20,21 120:9
 122:9 135:13 139:9
 139:13 141:3,16,21
 142:15 144:4,14
 145:11 146:10 151:22
 152:9 153:7 163:15
 164:10 166:5,19
 168:8,15 169:15
 170:8 177:17 178:6
 180:5 182:10 185:19
 185:21
country's 15:18 16:8
 140:13 144:11 166:1
countryside 126:3
coup 27:16 156:15
couple 41:11 128:8
 174:18
course 54:20 69:2
 76:12 176:10,18
 187:20
court 24:2 78:15 118:21
 138:2 157:15 160:4
 177:22
courts 14:15 68:10,10
 77:5 168:18 169:9
covered 4:20 21:10
cows 143:8 165:8
crafted 15:20 79:9
created 18:20 32:12
 34:9 61:9 73:6 77:20
 87:19 123:7 124:2

131:21
creating 119:2
creditors 38:4
crime 24:6 29:1,3 87:11
 120:10 147:8
crimes 11:16 16:16
 29:6 63:14,20 90:14
 105:21 155:17 158:16
criminal 24:1 121:15
criminality 102:8
criminalization 16:1,3
 149:1,8 151:13
 177:11
criminalized 147:6
crisis 87:16 97:16
 138:10 151:11 180:3
criteria 6:19
critical 129:11,16
 130:12
cross 66:19 70:13
 138:14
crucial 13:21 104:12
cruel 6:9 12:7 32:16
 158:15 160:5
Cuadra 41:13 113:18
 136:15
Cuba 100:22
culture 143:14
Cunningham 147:2
current 41:7 75:14,15
 81:4 113:20 174:15
 178:20
currently 49:3 57:13
 119:6 146:16 148:20
 167:6
curtailed 19:2
customary 67:11
customs 92:11
cut 156:19
cyber 63:14,20 105:21
cycle 139:10

D

d'etat 156:15
D.C 1:10 98:13
damage 21:7 115:9
 137:19
damaged 138:4
damaging 44:12 116:18
Dame 1:18,19 25:13
 26:1 58:17
danger 80:20 98:22
 116:1,7
dangerous 57:21
Daniel 25:2,10,19 26:17
 57:4 58:5,9 82:18
 83:20 85:17 94:13
 96:21 97:15 106:20

135:5 136:19
Darjo 1:17 81:11
Dario 20:10,12 21:1,7
 22:3,18 23:11,14,14
 23:17 25:3 56:8,9,14
data 40:10 53:9 82:12
date 104:19 188:12
daughter 40:21 156:19
day 8:13 19:11 22:17
 24:15 42:10 77:16
 78:5 97:9 99:12 100:3
 105:15 116:12 132:6
days 8:16 95:13 137:10
 152:12 156:8 157:6
de 2:3,5,8 30:14 77:15
 96:13 98:8 102:11
 103:18 105:2 154:15
 162:8 184:2,9 185:14
deal 68:16,22 146:12
dealing 34:22 71:4,5
dean 127:16
Dear 25:16
death 22:15 32:6,16
 86:21 106:11 145:9
 177:12
deaths 135:20 143:18
 151:7
debt 47:2
debtors 38:14,15,20
decades 31:17
December 4:12,15,19
 5:4,10 8:14 9:21
 21:16 29:7
decided 42:13 46:2
 50:3 63:13 82:19
 100:4 152:14 172:20
decides 77:12
decision 25:7 64:1
 162:2 174:2 183:4
decisions 23:3 83:9
 174:17
decisive 139:15
declaration 76:20,20
 172:11,13
declare 89:5
declared 100:14 106:20
decline 41:5
declining 53:12
decreased 54:12
decree 63:6
decrees 92:8
dedicated 26:21 100:6
deductions 19:11
deeply 74:11
defend 40:7 45:1,1 59:7
 61:15 88:10 119:22
 160:17 184:17
defender 147:4,9

148:17
defenders 151:18
defending 13:22 62:14
 143:16 159:3
defense 27:2 41:14
 76:4 95:17 135:11
 157:4 161:12,18
 185:22
deferral 127:12
define 65:14
definitely 55:8 169:19
definitive 143:4
deforestation 142:20
 146:7 175:5 176:20
deforested 74:15
 145:14
defying 144:16
degradation 32:7 74:19
 74:20,20,21 104:11
 141:9 165:14 166:16
degrading 6:10 12:8
 89:8 158:15 160:5
degree 81:13 147:18
del 1:19 2:7 25:15 26:8
 26:11,20 27:9 58:21
 61:6,8 62:21 140:1,11
 141:12 163:16
delegate 104:6
delighted 66:11
delinquent 82:5
Demand 145:20
demanding 105:12
demands 13:15 172:6
demarcation 148:2
Democr 2:1,4 88:16,19
 88:22 98:9 102:11
democracy 2:6 16:2,4
 22:22 87:13 104:5
 107:8 110:15 111:2
 112:1 119:22 120:9
 135:2 139:17
democratic 45:22 46:7
 52:20 88:10 93:22
 98:12
demonstrated 141:13
demonstration 94:22
denial 19:1 48:3 153:8
denied 11:13 14:17
 86:17 95:16 96:17
 138:14 161:6,11
denounce 25:9 29:15
denounced 24:9 40:19
 90:7 91:13,22 105:10
denouncing 42:3
department 1:13,13,14
 1:14 7:16,18,22 8:2
 9:12 78:7 97:20
 131:10

departments 7:12
depend 140:7 143:13
dependency 139:11
depending 9:2
deployed 28:20
deported 138:20
depression 99:13
Deprivation 90:1
deprive 155:8
depriving 89:16
descendant 89:21
 153:22 172:2
descendants 147:6
 149:16
describe 47:15,22 48:2
 54:13 63:2 117:22
 166:6 177:6 186:18
described 114:17 115:1
 127:1 159:21 166:4
 175:16
designed 34:12
despite 11:17 32:5 51:8
 138:16 140:18 142:22
 175:2
destabilization 75:1
destabilizing 87:6
destroy 62:7
destroyed 20:22 22:8
 24:20 32:10 34:9
 56:20 74:18 137:4
destruction 12:14 21:7
 75:9 135:20 137:6
 145:11 166:1
detail 54:14 117:22
 119:11
detailed 33:18 94:21
 155:17
details 134:17
detain 105:20
detained 22:1 86:7
 156:6
detention 86:15 156:8
deter 106:7
deteriorated 150:6
deterioration 36:11
 37:6 100:18 141:2
determination 25:9
 173:20
determine 7:6 131:15
determined 7:4 158:6
deterring 34:13
detriment 140:15
 187:20
detrimental 174:4
devastating 136:2
 144:3
devastation 163:14
develop 125:13

developing 74:14
development 31:17
 87:15 88:12 97:5 98:5
 106:16
dialog 94:16 104:6
 105:5
dialogue 1:17 15:8 45:8
 45:11,14 46:4,10 47:5
 51:10 110:19,22
dialogues 110:16
dictator 67:2 114:14
 120:17
dictatorial 15:15 93:19
 174:19
dictators 155:14
dictatorship 11:22
 23:14 75:10 89:7
 94:13 98:1 113:20
 120:14 179:21
difference 49:9 127:9
different 37:11 46:18
 47:7 49:17 76:6
 101:15 110:17 111:4
 112:2,3 123:14,17
 148:4 170:3 181:13
 185:20
difficult 36:20 37:4 54:3
 57:20 141:15 177:19
difficulties 38:12
digital 49:1,5
digitally 49:5
dignified 139:14
dignity 12:11
diligence 146:6
diligent 32:2
dimension 187:18
diminishing 37:10
direct 9:15 48:8 84:10
 84:12,15
directed 36:4
direction 75:11
directive 27:13
directly 17:4,9 96:16
director 13:8 40:2
 43:19 137:17
Directorate 95:8
directors 180:13 181:7
disadvantaging 107:15
disappear 178:22
disappearance 11:13
 183:12
disappeared 183:11
discontent 86:3
discontinue 10:13
discouraged 73:10
discovered 70:3
discretion 76:3,11
 131:19

discretionary 114:11
 115:15
discrimination 53:8
 55:10 66:8 67:8,10
 91:2
discriminatory 5:2
 15:16 18:16 34:17
 114:12 131:21
discuss 119:13 129:16
discussing 170:19
dismantle 6:3
dismantled 13:3 16:4
 139:9 144:15 167:14
dismantling 144:18
dismissed 113:7
 121:11,17 122:5
Disney 95:21
displaced 112:9 142:6
displacement 145:10
 149:10 150:17 151:9
 151:16 154:6 165:16
displacing 164:19
disrespect 31:10
dissatisfaction 169:18
dissent 135:17 142:13
 147:11
dissidents 30:4
dissolution 13:19 160:9
dissolved 13:9
distinct 182:2
distort 176:12
distorting 107:14
 140:16
distortion 165:17 170:8
distortions 143:21
distributed 126:9
District 24:1
DNA 78:3
docket 110:3 129:19
 134:4
document 186:1,5
documentation 78:19
 186:11
documented 13:10
 107:7 168:15
documents 78:13,14
 96:13
Dogu 94:17
doing 15:3 44:22 49:15
 60:5 61:3 68:20 72:19
 76:9 83:14 115:5
 123:3,6,20 125:18
 128:8 179:14
Dolilfa 1:21 3:6 85:8,10
dollars 34:8 47:3
domestic 70:17 71:10
dominant 183:14
donations 37:13

doors 104:21
downsized 58:5
dozens 11:10
Dr 10:20 15:9 30:12
 36:4,6,9,17 37:22
 38:7 39:2,9 41:3,11
 43:7,11,17 45:6,7,18
 46:12 47:13,14 48:18
 50:20 51:6,19 52:22
 53:4 54:4,18 55:13,18
 64:7,9,13 66:10 69:13
 73:1,15 75:17 80:11
DR-CAFTA 31:3 83:10
drain 97:21 106:14
dramatically 150:6
dream 121:4
dreamer 100:1
dreams 121:4
dressed 21:9
driven 101:6 144:5
 180:4
driving 32:17
dropped 99:8
droughts 144:12
drug 87:11
drums 20:20
Duarte 2:4 3:8 103:17
 103:19,22 130:22
due 5:15 8:16 9:19
 26:14 27:8 28:1,9
 33:20 39:7 46:22
 48:12 59:14,20 69:21
 70:6 76:13 87:22
 90:18 132:8 134:15
 135:10 146:5 157:3
 161:12
dump 39:13
duration 153:16
dying 174:12
dynamic 127:21
dynamics 107:14

E

E 1:9
earlier 76:2 80:4 113:15
early 45:19
Eastern 92:22
ecological 163:14
ecology 166:1
economic 7:11 40:2,10
 44:7 50:3 65:18 74:20
 87:14 88:1,11 90:4
 92:16 98:5 104:11
 106:16 117:3,6
 122:13 129:12 140:22
 154:1 187:14,15
economical 100:17
 126:11 127:8

economist 36:10
economists 81:10
economy 14:10 18:19
 18:21,22 37:17 40:1
 40:13 47:17 48:5,9,10
 49:5 50:5 56:3,5
 97:13 139:9
educate 61:18
education 91:15 97:4
 119:15 120:8,20
Edwin 71:15
effect 170:7 178:7
effective 50:1 54:16
 180:1
effects 16:10 48:2
efficient 146:1
efficiently 81:16
effort 155:5 187:6
efforts 29:15 51:9,12
 86:16 88:4 100:10
egregious 31:4
eight 76:6
either 38:14 71:12
 121:6,11 123:6 124:8
 124:9 125:7 175:18
 176:4 183:20
EI 86:11 95:9 102:4,5
 137:8,21
elaborate 39:5 41:8
 45:12 50:22 61:6 66:7
 69:5 111:12 112:17
 114:3 116:5,15
 124:20 167:18 175:20
 180:10 181:4
elderly 90:3
elections 11:9 101:2
 120:4
electoral 91:6
electronic 133:19
element 76:1 124:15
 125:6
elements 67:11
Elena 41:13 113:18
 136:15
eliminate 16:6 90:20
eliminated 17:22 41:16
 41:22 183:14
eliminates 12:18
eliminating 42:1
elimination 18:8 43:8
 43:14,19 44:2 47:18
 52:12 91:14,19 115:1
 116:20
Eliseo 2:1 88:16
emails 82:12
emblematic 14:4 173:6
emerged 120:2
employees 21:21 31:20

56:8,10 58:20 92:3
113:11 118:8 119:3
employer's 115:2
employers 14:13,17
117:21 118:1,2
employers' 13:20
employment 18:11
89:16 112:10
enabling 55:16
encountered 105:5
encourage 108:20
encourages 163:14
endanger 60:5 92:13
ended 91:16 101:9
121:6
ends 182:21
endurance 154:12
endured 11:12 12:15
15:5 32:16 137:9
enemy 108:4
enforce 44:18
enforced 29:7 151:15
enforcement 11:12
173:5
engage 45:20 51:9
engaged 68:3 71:13
120:5 121:13 186:19
engineer 99:3 121:4
127:15,18
engineering 99:3
English 8:8,9,11
enhanced 20:2 35:6
enjoy 153:16
enjoyment 150:2
enjoys 113:21 116:2
enrich 50:10
enriched 187:19
enriching 145:8
enrichment 50:13
ensure 35:7 139:18
145:7 146:6,13
165:20
ensures 106:4 107:5
enter 80:14 153:6
enterprises 37:3
entire 13:20 87:15
151:9 156:22 182:17
entirely 132:10 151:22
entities 141:22 142:16
160:19 162:19
entitled 55:11 61:2
77:21
entrance 81:1 152:8
entrepreneur 184:20
entrepreneurs 136:22
entry 96:17
environment 34:10
43:10,15 44:13,15

61:10 73:6,13 78:3
87:19 91:15 93:20
106:8 165:14 179:13
environmental 26:9
32:7 74:19 76:19
141:9 142:11 144:2
145:11
environmentally 74:12
equal 28:9 93:20
equally 126:9
equation 53:21
equipment 21:1,11,20
22:8
equitable 32:22
erased 89:15
erasure 89:9
erosion 12:14 33:21
35:3,11 71:5 79:4
especially 29:14 40:11
44:16 114:6 159:4
160:19
essential 17:3
essentially 163:19
168:21 170:1 175:2
EST 1:10
establish 19:4,15 54:19
established 26:21
143:9 184:14
establishment 140:7
145:20 146:1
estate 24:9 39:21 50:15
50:16
ethic 153:20
ethnic 89:3 149:5
EU 92:14
Europe 136:8
European 116:3,14
evacuate 20:15
evening 188:17
event 95:1
events 21:3
eventual 48:22
eventually 32:10 47:9
69:17 71:18 124:6
everyone's 50:21
eviction 66:8
evidence 13:18 15:13
30:20 33:5 35:15 37:5
37:9 41:1 47:1 49:13
68:11 70:4 71:9 78:8
78:10 95:20 140:12
143:4 157:4 164:15
165:10
evident 54:21 142:13
exacerbating 51:17
exact 117:16 133:16
exactly 61:2 67:6 68:21
116:9 176:8

exaggerated 13:11
examinations 66:19
examined 70:13
example 16:11 17:1
18:9 33:13 41:17 42:5
42:14 43:18 44:11,17
47:6 48:11,19,20 49:1
49:8,16,19 50:14 53:7
53:19 57:10 76:2,18
81:2 82:10 151:14
166:10,21 173:17
177:21 179:11 182:12
183:1 187:7
examples 36:14 39:6
41:12 49:13 51:1
113:4 117:16 118:18
122:17 141:10 150:16
169:15
excellent 73:16 83:2
115:8
excessive 157:10
exchange 47:2
excluded 12:19 183:7
exclusive 77:15
excuse 9:1 70:1 92:14
executioners 157:5
Executive 1:1 13:8
43:18
exile 22:10 24:22 26:7
28:18 32:18 56:18
58:4,6 62:19 83:2
85:19 87:2 89:9 111:8
112:14 127:12 135:10
138:22 147:15 148:19
149:8 185:11
exiled 64:21 99:19
158:18 159:1
exiling 112:7
exist 14:14 43:2,3 56:22
57:13
existence 26:12
existing 131:13
exists 152:16
expand 75:13 129:14
expanses 184:15
expatriated 157:17
expectation 83:7
expected 33:8
Expediente 2:6 140:1
140:10
expelled 18:2 97:12
expending 50:4
expense 20:6
experience 14:3 41:8
experienced 73:4
experiences 6:7,13
159:22
expert 70:10,22 73:16

76:21 77:4 147:9
148:13,17,22 152:3
153:12
experts 7:11 71:4
155:18 158:6
expired 9:8
explain 166:3 184:1,8
explained 57:8
explaining 11:17
explanation 53:2 57:7
166:13 174:22
explicitly 115:22
exploit 55:15
exploitation 154:4
187:18
exploited 140:14
explore 59:17
export 38:9 39:20 136:7
165:1
Exportadora 38:1,8
exported 141:17 143:5
exports 36:12 141:19
142:2,5,21 163:1
165:3 166:5,10
expose 29:15
exposed 60:9
exposure 40:20
express 115:13 169:18
expressed 57:8 82:7
expression 12:5 28:12
86:3 95:4 160:16
expropriate 72:1
184:15
expropriated 14:5
24:10
expropriation 18:5 19:1
32:20 60:3,4 69:15
143:17
expropriations 48:3
expulsion 18:16 19:22
expulsions 152:1
extended 138:18
extensive 10:8 33:4
71:8 154:1,4
extensively 35:11
extent 46:16 50:21
52:11 53:20 131:15
131:19
externally 50:11
extinguished 45:3
extortion 14:16 19:13
39:19 40:13 45:4,8
46:19
extortions 13:11 14:6
extra 52:3,4 53:15
extracting 14:2
extreme 135:16
extremely 36:20 37:4

39:15 44:12 141:15
eye 137:20

F

fabric 139:8 182:15,19
 182:21
fabricated 70:4 95:20
fabricating 78:8
face 14:14 16:17 51:14
 89:13 96:20 99:13
faced 10:22 17:20 89:7
 91:18 155:4 184:3,10
faces 21:10
facilitate 15:18 50:13
 159:14
facilitated 93:5
facilitating 64:20
facility 21:17 22:6,18
 31:19
facing 58:11 118:1
 142:13 144:22 167:17
fact 69:17 70:2 73:22
 76:15 77:14 87:7
 115:9 118:6 163:15
 187:13
fact-finding 68:14
facto 96:13 162:8
facts 34:22
factual 30:20 66:13
fail 122:21
failed 27:16 69:18 70:1
failure 39:8 67:13
 173:19
fair 28:10 32:22 117:16
 155:10 158:13
fairly 77:1
faith 35:10
faithful 120:14
fall 122:1
false 29:4 77:3
falsehood 78:20
falsely 28:22 105:20
family 11:14 14:3 21:15
 23:4 24:18,22 40:20
 50:14 86:13 95:21
 96:8 98:1 101:5
 106:12 138:12 156:5
 156:11,17,22 180:14
 181:8
family's 79:19 136:5
far 55:5 103:2 123:5
farm 126:15,19
farmer 126:7,13 154:21
farmers 89:12 126:4
 157:19 158:4,9 159:6
 185:5 186:7 187:10
 187:16
farms 165:9

fashion 123:14
father 23:16 96:14
 138:3 152:12 156:21
favor 24:8 42:16 78:2
 131:20
favorable 15:19 107:13
favoring 132:2
favours 154:1
Fe 31:14 69:7
fealty 74:6
fear 13:7 14:8,21 40:16
 40:18
February 11:21 23:21
 86:22 88:7 95:15
 104:8 135:7 138:20
 157:17
Fed 5:7
Federal 4:14 5:6,13
 134:2
Federation 93:13
feel 131:8 170:12
 171:14,20
fell 86:15
fellows 100:7
fewer 107:16
field 87:11
fields 121:9
fight 60:10 100:3,5
 102:20 111:2 130:16
fighting 83:4 93:1 112:1
 130:4
figure 127:13
file 110:2
filed 12:2 38:6 70:10,22
 76:5 90:10
filing 14:20
final 36:18 130:21
 188:12
finally 11:5 91:10
financed 89:13
financial 16:13,16,20
 17:1 45:4 49:1 50:12
 131:18
financing 37:15
find 52:17 71:18 121:6
 130:9
finding 69:20
findings 33:9,19 71:3
fine 39:15,16,17 40:17
 64:6
finer 13:11 39:4,8
fining 39:16
finish 40:15 103:4
finishes 57:22
finishing 156:22
fintech 49:11,13
fire 20:13,21 121:21
 136:5

firing 19:9
firms 13:5
firms 36:15 40:11,12
 48:12,15,16 107:15
 115:5 141:16 160:13
first 5:22 15:20 36:4,9
 41:12 44:21 45:17
 69:14 85:7 99:5 110:8
 125:15 128:3 134:22
 140:17 148:6,7 151:9
 152:3 154:6 156:6,8
 156:17 159:19 166:16
 167:3 168:10 171:12
 173:8 183:15
firsthand 104:9
fiscal 14:12 45:9 46:19
fit 153:3 185:6
five 9:5 14:11 15:21
 21:2 54:20 84:11
 101:3 103:9 106:3
 134:20 152:12
flag 16:19 73:19
flawed 91:5
flee 72:12 97:8
flight 152:5,7
flights 17:12,13
floor 9:14 131:5
Florida 98:13
flourish 14:10
flow 9:3 81:16 116:12
fluctuated 54:11
FM 23:11
FMLA 102:4
focused 14:1
folks 160:21
follow 16:18 57:12
 67:18 106:10 124:12
 175:15
follow-up 81:8
followed 79:14 105:16
following 38:5 79:5
 137:20
food 108:19
fora 173:3
Forbes 148:10
forbidden 138:8
force 16:1 80:14
forced 24:22 28:18 42:9
 81:2 87:2 94:18
 105:16 121:21 135:10
 138:15,22 148:19
 149:8 160:9 183:2,12
forcefully 143:12
forces 16:12 22:5
 101:11 135:19 136:4
 186:9
forcible 143:17
forcibly 27:22 159:1

forcing 45:10
foregone 47:19
foreign 5:1 17:19 18:9
 34:17 37:12 48:15
 65:14 96:20 107:22
 115:5 121:20 136:22
 146:22 150:19 151:6
 181:15,19,19
foreigner 65:9
foreigners 65:15
forest 32:12 74:13
 77:20
forest-risk 146:6
forests 32:8 140:9
 144:5 182:18
forever 85:20
forgive 47:2
form 11:14 26:14
 116:16 135:16 159:1
 183:3
formally 174:7
format 134:7
formed 110:13,14
former 26:7 47:20
 85:14 154:20 161:21
forms 37:13 46:18,18
forth 174:5
fortunate 72:15
forums 90:8 132:12
forward 83:8 146:18
 160:16
fostered 136:1
found 69:20 151:21
 163:17 164:14
foundation 27:5,22
 61:9
foundation's 28:2
foundational 31:9 72:3
 76:13 79:4,13
founded 23:16
founder 154:20
founders 122:20
four 21:22 22:3 98:15
 134:19
fragmented 116:18
framed 172:20
framework 12:20 149:5
Francisco 21:22
fraudulent 14:5
free 17:6 19:17 20:5
 37:10 41:15,19 42:5
 50:15,16 52:7 54:6,21
 55:3 56:1 57:6,18
 80:14 81:16 87:13
 88:11 91:9 93:20 95:4
 121:7 142:7 165:17
 168:19 170:13,22
 171:14 176:9 179:5,6

freedom 12:5 28:8,11
28:12 72:16 88:6,6
120:1 153:9 158:11
freedoms 57:12 111:3
159:3
frequency 23:17
friend 85:12 102:16
friendly 93:20 120:22
friends 102:14 128:6
front 20:18 98:18
froze 28:16
frozen 62:17
fruits 126:21
FTZ 51:9 53:1
FTZs 54:8
fuel 20:20
fulfill 46:4
full 10:7 32:21 67:14
76:18 153:16
fully 140:6
fund 179:11
Fundación 1:19 2:6
61:6,8 62:21
Fundacion 25:15 26:8
26:11,20 27:9 140:1
140:11 141:12 163:16
fundamental 93:14
159:3 182:14,15,19
Fundacion 58:21
funding 181:19
funds 47:19 50:11,13
89:11 130:11
FUNIDES 13:8 43:17
44:7
FUNIDES' 43:9,14
funneled 17:16
further 6:17 7:6 50:22
69:5 116:15 176:3
Furthermore 143:11
future 34:13 99:17
124:10 127:15,16
139:14 146:10

G

gain 102:1 107:17
183:5
GARC 1:16
Garcia 3:3 10:19 36:5,6
36:9 37:22 43:7 64:4
80:10
gather 44:4
GDP 97:14
gender 107:21 151:8
general 17:4 78:12,16
169:5,22 177:13
General's 78:7
generalized 40:10
generally 9:15 183:7

generate 142:4 150:20
generated 154:5
generating 21:12
151:10
Geneva 152:5 181:13
genocidal 174:9
genocide 149:5 153:21
182:22
genuinely 146:15
getting 53:16 123:16
126:12 128:15
Gildan 107:11 128:17
128:17 129:22
girls 150:21
give 31:20 48:18,19
69:22 103:14 117:14
119:10 122:17 131:5
150:15 153:22 157:1
163:21 185:2
given 6:5 9:22 27:19
32:14 35:3 67:19 70:6
125:9 167:9 184:19
giving 56:13 62:6 104:9
104:9 126:20 187:8
glad 99:20
Global 1:18,20 25:14,22
58:18
go 8:5 17:13 34:4 36:6
37:1,1 39:18 42:9
44:7,7,8 49:12 56:4
70:14 99:14 108:19
112:13 126:10 152:17
156:20 169:14 171:9
182:7 187:8
goals 140:10
goes 39:20 40:11 42:15
67:10
going 8:5 35:21 56:2
58:7 69:13 75:19
82:18 83:9 84:3,18
85:4 103:2 108:11
109:8 119:1 121:8
126:13 133:20 152:12
155:6 165:1 171:19
174:3 175:6 180:5
183:20
gold 141:11,14,20
166:5,10,19,22,22
good 4:3 7:17,19 10:21
15:9 35:10 88:18 98:2
98:3 110:7 127:18
goodbye 86:17
goods 44:10 81:1
gotten 119:12
governance 27:14 63:7
149:21 150:8
governing 13:16 88:21
179:20

government 7:12 11:1
13:15 16:4 19:6 27:21
28:2,18 29:16 35:21
39:7 41:7,10 42:22
43:4 45:10,16,20
46:17 47:16 48:8 52:9
52:10 55:14 58:20
59:19 61:14 62:6,11
62:16 63:12 65:12,15
65:21 66:5,15,16 69:7
69:9,14 71:15 75:15
76:5,6,16 78:7 82:10
88:5 99:9,19 100:15
101:8 105:6 108:16
110:1,22 112:17
114:11 116:6 117:2,6
118:8 119:13 121:14
121:22 122:2,22
123:11 124:2,18
125:8,8,15,19,22
128:10 129:2,17
130:10 131:20 132:7
132:11,20 135:18
141:1 142:12,17
147:7,11,16 149:3
150:15 152:7,14
153:2,20 159:17
163:5 164:4 167:19
168:12 169:7 170:21
171:3 174:20 179:10
179:13 182:20 184:3
184:11 185:2 186:19
188:8
government's 38:3
39:3 73:9 77:21
111:13 127:2 143:7
168:1 177:6
government-sponsor...
89:22
governments 72:1
123:1
graffiti 22:14
granted 153:17 161:3
grave 135:12
grazed 143:6
grazing 143:22 176:1
great 123:21 128:17
174:7 188:17
greater 20:4 55:5
green 9:6 179:11
greeting 147:1
Grimball 1:10,12 4:3
8:3,4 35:19 50:18
64:3,8,11,14,16 80:9
81:6 84:1 85:3 103:1
103:6 108:9 109:7
110:5 130:20 133:2
133:12 139:1 153:14

154:10,13 158:20
159:11 170:10,18
175:13 187:22
gross 68:17
group 20:19 100:15
125:16 155:18 158:2
158:6 187:13
Group's 38:5
groups 31:13 45:22
101:12 132:13,18,21
166:20,21 167:4,10
187:4,4
grow 62:10
growing 37:17
grown 164:18
growth 20:3 74:18
112:12
guarantee 27:8 34:13
guaranteed 59:16,17
guarantees 12:10 87:18
111:3 113:2,10,22
137:5 157:4 158:13
guard 20:21
Guatemala 49:8 55:4
guess 99:21 123:22
Guevara 137:18
GUEZ 65:4
guidance 134:9
guilds 89:19
Guit, rrez-Huete 114:16
115:20 117:18 131:5
GUITRREZ-HUETE
114:7,18,21 115:8
116:9 117:9 118:5
131:8
gun 22:13
Guti, rrez- 114:2
Guti, rrez-Huete 3:7
88:15
GUTIRREZ-HUETE 2:1
guy 123:3 127:18

H

habeas 79:21
Hacienda 31:14 69:7
half 24:18 57:3 86:12
hammocks 136:6
handmade 136:5
hands 28:17
happen 58:15 81:5
82:18 155:7 171:9
happened 56:14,15,16
56:17 77:14 83:20,22
100:13,20 125:20
126:7 186:5
happening 57:9 58:8,14
102:9 116:17 118:17
happy 45:16 83:19

116:15 180:21
harassed 46:17 58:20
harassment 6:8 14:6
 19:14 45:9 46:19 56:9
 86:9 92:3 117:20
hard 45:17 57:20
hardest 23:3
hardwood 32:8
harm 146:16
harsh 11:6
Harvard 77:2
harvest 31:19
Hass 31:14 32:9
head 164:11
health 12:9 91:15
hear 70:21 83:6,14
 109:14 170:16
heard 70:19 74:1 159:7
 161:18
hearing 1:9 4:7,18 5:8
 5:14,17 8:7,13,16 9:3
 10:14,16 14:22 33:4
 45:17 66:13 70:12
 74:17 94:6 114:17
 115:1 122:12 134:13
 188:2,10
heavily 95:2
held 138:5
Hell 137:22
helm 174:19
helmets 22:11
help 60:18 79:18 100:8
 154:9
helped 110:14
helpful 80:8 176:6
Herrera 2:5 3:10 135:1
 135:4 159:20
Hi 119:5 170:10
hiding 105:17
high 17:1 46:3 73:6,12
 113:6 114:8
higher 97:4 119:14
 120:20
highlight 140:18
highlighted 90:16
highlights 31:4 144:13
hinder 87:14
hold 12:3 147:18
 183:16
holding 4:6
home 22:12,15 135:13
 137:6 138:3 152:10
 152:16 160:3
homeland 11:17 24:6
 106:14 152:17
homes 135:21
homestead 24:11
Honduras 52:16 55:4,6

honor 12:11 85:11
 103:20
hooded 21:13
hope 72:20,21 82:18
 132:2 139:13 159:7
hoping 69:5 129:15
horror 25:9 58:8
hostile 34:10
hotline 134:9
hours 19:10,10,10 22:1
 52:4 53:15 181:14
house 11:5,10 21:14,15
 22:10 89:8 105:16
 152:13 153:1
housekeeping 134:17
housing 31:19
Huete 114:3
Huffman 1:13 8:1,1
 37:21 56:6 58:16 64:2
 75:7 81:7 119:5,10
 124:17 161:13 166:2
 177:3
huge 48:19 169:5
human 1:4,18,20 4:10
 6:2 12:21 16:16 17:17
 25:14,18,22 26:9 28:6
 29:14 31:10 34:1,5
 48:13 57:14 58:1,18
 61:11,21 62:22 68:1
 71:6 72:3 74:21 79:12
 90:6,11,13 91:14 97:8
 104:10,14 106:17
 107:8 111:16 112:18
 113:9 122:16 135:11
 135:12 138:17 139:18
 142:3,11,14,20 146:8
 148:7,9,15,16 149:12
 151:17 153:8 155:18
 155:20 157:14,15,20
 158:2,4,7,8 159:3
 162:4 163:7 164:5
 167:4 172:9 173:4,7
 173:10 176:10 177:7
 177:20 184:17 185:22
 186:10,21
humanitarian 151:11
 180:3
humanity 90:14 155:17
 158:17
hundreds 74:16,17
 92:21
hurdles 107:17
hurt 130:2
husband 152:11
hybrid 92:19
hygiene 137:13
hypertensive 138:10

I
IACHR 90:9
IDB 143:9
idea 160:20
ideals 99:22 100:2,3
identified 22:12 67:2,4
 73:17 77:2,4,6
identify 52:17 68:12
 69:2 70:22 73:21
identifying 21:4 68:17
identity 96:13
ignore 12:21 124:19
ignored 11:19 138:19
ignoring 122:16 144:19
ill 86:16
illegal 14:2 76:9 95:16
 96:9 97:18 141:13
 142:20 143:22 144:6
 145:19 150:10 169:16
 175:5 176:14
illegality 87:9 171:2
illegally 13:9 14:5 143:6
 145:14 162:6 170:20
 170:21
illegitimate 91:7
illicit 87:12
illicitly 187:19
illustration 49:20 50:1
ILO 90:9 92:1,4 172:14
imagery 165:11
imagine 115:17 152:10
 152:17
immense 146:16
immigration 47:22
 97:16
immobilize 24:7
Immunities 153:18
immunity 153:17
impact 36:11 38:2,4
 42:19 47:15 59:1
 112:20 119:13 127:4
 144:2 160:18 164:5,7
 166:7 168:1 174:4
 175:20 178:11
impacted 41:9 111:16
 128:14 136:21 163:7
 182:5
impacting 33:6
impacts 48:8,10 74:22
 75:4 79:8
impairing 93:21
impairs 31:11 75:3
imperative 139:16
imperils 65:18
implement 100:22
 139:17
implemented 38:21
Implementing 145:17

import 145:13 162:22
 167:8
important 56:16 57:5,9
 58:12 68:20 72:21
 75:18 79:11 81:22
 83:8 111:20 116:3
 141:21 179:8 182:2
importation 44:10
imported 165:21
importer 140:21
importing 167:9,11
imports 163:1
imposed 25:10
imposing 141:5 187:19
impossible 185:16
impresarios 114:9
impress 19:19
imprisoned 24:21
 143:16 161:3
imprisonment 6:9 15:3
 87:21 91:19 155:21
 185:10
improve 169:20
improvement 55:5
improving 170:4
impunity 90:14 158:1
inaccessible 48:12
inaction 66:5
inadequate 137:12
inappropriate 68:3
incarcerated 57:3
incite 150:20
incited 152:1 163:10
include 4:22 16:10 19:9
 34:5 75:11 145:12
 158:10,17 159:5
 176:5
included 28:8 46:10
 54:7
includes 19:21 20:1
 141:13 169:16 172:11
 187:6
including 5:13 6:8 9:18
 16:5,15,21 17:19 28:3
 48:5 50:15 51:16 56:8
 62:16 81:14 90:8
 92:11 115:2,4 116:14
 118:20 146:11 150:3
 151:8,18 153:8 156:4
 160:1 186:2,6
income 83:12,17
inconsistencies 33:6
incorporated 146:9
increase 53:3
increased 53:9,10 55:1
 55:7
increases 55:3 144:11
incurred 36:15

- independence** 16:8
72:5 76:1 77:5
- independent** 13:14
18:3 43:2 56:19 58:2
58:6 68:8,10,18 72:9
77:9,11 113:14
119:14 120:19 145:21
165:20 171:7
- indicated** 8:15
- indicates** 58:19
- indigenous** 2:7 27:2
29:17 59:7 60:7,11
61:11 89:3,20 131:16
141:6 142:5 143:12
143:15,19 144:1,8
146:21 147:3,4,5,8,13
147:18,21 148:2,5,6
148:14,17 149:6,9,15
150:9,18 151:7,17
153:21 154:5,7
164:19 170:14,15,19
171:6,6 172:2,6,10,12
172:13,15,17,22
173:17 174:13,17
175:17 177:5,8,12,15
178:2,4,7,10,12,21
179:9,17,18 181:21
181:22 182:1,7,8
183:6,16 185:5
- Indio** 144:9
- indiscriminately** 117:3
- individual** 27:9 150:3
- individuals** 8:19 16:14
21:9,13 46:11,15
52:13 58:10 64:20
106:6,15 132:16
145:8,18 151:13
- indoctrination** 120:13
- industries** 129:22 145:6
154:3 175:8
- industry** 43:22 49:2
124:15 128:13 129:21
140:19 142:4 143:1
143:20 144:3 164:13
175:6 176:9
- inextricably** 29:13
- infamous** 86:10
- infested** 137:11
- Infiernillo** 137:21
- inflicted** 12:16 34:7
- inflicting** 146:16
- inflow** 18:18
- influence** 97:22 129:13
- influx** 48:1
- informal** 56:3,5
- information** 6:18,20
29:4 37:4 44:8 51:2,5
53:22 68:14 81:16
- 103:11 119:11 133:5
146:3 148:22 156:11
- informed** 86:21 94:17
96:12,17 138:12
142:8 152:6 170:22
179:6
- infrastructure** 15:15
- infringe** 104:14
- infringed** 13:3 44:11
- infringement** 41:6
- infringements** 28:8
- Ingenieria** 105:3
- inhuman** 12:7 158:15
- inhumane** 6:9 32:17
137:10 160:5
- initial** 183:5
- initially** 188:16
- initiated** 4:12 29:10,19
- initiating** 28:22
- initiation** 4:16
- injured** 20:22
- innocence** 95:18
- inquiry** 159:8
- insecurity** 49:10 87:19
136:1
- inside** 20:14 22:7 111:5
112:10
- inspections** 52:15
- Inspector** 96:1
- instability** 88:1 106:13
- instance** 118:12 168:19
- instances** 73:9 117:5
- institution** 167:15
- institutional** 16:7
- institutionalized** 88:3
- institutionalizing**
132:21
- institutions** 16:13,21
44:12 50:12 60:1
111:15 119:15 120:20
139:13 144:15,18
- instructions** 8:6
- instrument** 11:19
- instruments** 171:8
172:9,10,20 179:7
- integrity** 12:6 29:2
180:7
- Intelligence** 106:2
- intend** 6:16
- Inter-** 45:7 148:8 157:13
173:22 177:21
- Inter-American** 1:17
15:8 138:17 157:15
172:12 173:4,7,10
- interagency** 4:6 30:21
33:11 35:4 68:13
- interest** 17:3,9 65:18
176:18
- interest's** 93:9
- interested** 50:19 178:21
179:1
- interesting** 125:11
- interests** 31:6 43:6
75:12 88:10
- intermediate** 81:1
- Internacional** 25:3
- internal** 107:22 128:16
- international** 1:9 7:10
12:3,19 15:22 16:14
19:8 30:14 31:7 34:2
38:15 48:5 50:12
58:11 60:15,19 61:1
67:11 69:11,19 70:12
78:11,22 79:1,11 90:8
93:14 96:3 125:21
138:13 140:16 141:16
142:8 144:7,16 145:2
145:4 147:21 157:12
171:7 172:7,9 173:3
176:12,22 179:7
- internationally** 38:11
107:1 111:5 183:19
- internet** 82:11,19,20
- Interoceanic** 89:13
155:6 174:3 184:16
- interpreter** 139:6
- interrogated** 21:21
156:9,10
- interrogations** 95:14
137:9
- interrupted** 95:2
- intersection** 104:10
- intervene** 32:5
- intervention** 44:22
- interviewed** 42:6
- interviews** 96:2
- intimidated** 22:12 46:17
72:11 118:13
- intimidation** 47:6
118:10 119:2
- introduce** 7:13 46:5
52:19 147:17
- invade** 38:18
- invaded** 179:15
- invaders** 32:1
- invading** 102:5
- invasion** 44:16 76:16
150:7,17
- invest** 73:7,13 106:14
- invested** 30:17
- investigate** 6:1
- investigation** 1:3 4:8,12
4:16,21 5:19,20,22
6:6,14,22 15:11 21:4
30:7 105:12 143:4
164:16
- Investigations** 5:5
- investigative** 68:8
- investing** 37:2,7 123:18
- investment** 13:22 14:10
31:15,16,18 36:13,20
48:13 60:15,18 61:1
73:4,10 74:10 104:16
106:18 121:1 123:21
125:5 128:3,17
160:11
- investments** 33:16
34:13 37:1,1,11 50:15
59:4 97:8 98:4 107:15
137:3 162:17
- investor** 33:3 45:1
80:17,20 107:22
- investors** 13:22,22
14:14,20 31:8 36:21
37:6 39:20 40:3,22
44:6 80:21 106:7
117:4,7 136:21
162:18 167:8
- invidious** 67:7
- invitation** 98:11
- invite** 84:13
- invited** 4:17,19 109:10
109:18
- involve** 7:8
- involved** 27:16 67:22
78:21 79:1 104:17
105:13 107:1,2
- involvement** 181:20
- involves** 154:3
- involving** 143:8
- Iran** 97:22
- ironic** 87:5 118:6
- ironically** 179:10
- irregular** 87:12
- irrevocably** 105:9
- isolated** 177:13
- isolation** 15:22 86:13
- issue** 49:10 67:13 78:6
117:12 163:13
- issued** 24:7 33:19
157:13 177:22
- issues** 4:20 5:9 31:1
33:12 48:14 51:18
71:5 76:3 116:20
145:3
- Italy** 44:1
- itemized** 69:1
-
- J**
-
- jail** 57:22 72:19 79:20
82:6,7 89:8 101:21
132:7
- jailed** 156:2
- Jairo** 95:19

January 1:7 5:15 8:14
8:17 9:19 11:6 80:13
188:11
Jean 1:18 25:21
Jerez 1:21 85:8,12,14
110:21
Jessenia 2:4 3:8 103:17
103:21
Jinotega 78:12
job 21:8 97:4 121:8
jobs 37:10
join 130:22
joined 30:13 86:1
100:10 101:11 105:1
Josemaria 1:19 26:2
journalist 57:2 102:14
102:15
journalists 18:1 21:21
24:16,19 25:6 56:18
56:22 57:19
Juan 1:16 3:3 10:18
57:7
judge 24:1 96:4
judges 90:17 118:21
157:5
judicial 12:10 28:10,21
30:3 69:9 87:18 95:7
95:8 132:9 157:11
judiciary 16:9 51:17
68:18 72:5
Julio 2:6 3:10 139:22
July 33:4 45:19 95:6
136:4 152:4 156:7
June 11:9 21:12 22:3
23:2 138:19
jure 77:15
justice 2:6 12:10 22:21
24:20 58:11 72:13
110:15 112:1 119:22
135:2 139:12
Justin 71:2 73:17

K

Kayla 1:13 7:17
keep 22:3 45:10 47:4
83:9
keeping 126:2
kept 23:7 183:8
key 46:9 68:14 110:16
173:13
kidnap 132:7
kids 100:5,7
kill 156:16
killing 58:9
killings 186:6
kind 37:3,3 40:7 59:13
81:7,9 117:22 123:7
169:18 175:7,10

183:19
kinds 19:2 48:17
Kiwakumbai 151:5
know 42:6,7 57:7 59:22
60:3 61:2 62:6,8,9
63:8 69:8 79:14,16
81:9 118:18 123:5
128:15 129:1 166:4
knowing 166:18
knowledge 70:8
known 20:17 26:8
86:11 113:17 137:21
150:18 173:7
knows 57:4
Kriol 173:22

L

L,sther 3:7 94:3,7
110:19
LSTHER 2:2
La 56:15 157:6
labor 1:4,14 4:9 6:2
7:22 12:21 13:4 14:12
14:16 19:8 20:1,6
41:6,6,9,13,18 42:4,7
42:8,14,16,17 43:1,2
43:3 48:13 51:8,11,15
52:1,2,13,17 53:1,5
53:21 54:1 55:19
57:15 62:22 74:22
79:12 81:2 91:21,22
92:6 93:14 96:14
111:16 112:19 122:16
124:19,20 125:2
131:10,16 139:19
144:13,19 145:2
149:12 157:21 163:7
164:6 167:19 168:2,9
168:16,18 169:9,16
186:22
laborer 126:7
lack 36:19 40:5,6 53:4
55:8 72:5 77:5 88:1
180:1
land 59:11,14,16,18,21
60:13,16 101:6
125:13 128:4 143:18
145:14 149:10,21
150:4 154:4,7 155:9
165:17 172:15 173:12
176:9 177:5,18 179:2
lands 32:12,13 61:4
125:9 143:11 163:20
170:14,19 171:6
174:17 175:3,6,12,17
179:15 180:4 185:3,6
language 146:22
181:15

large 18:6,17 40:11,12
41:18 52:11 73:22
154:1 167:3
larger 49:7 166:11
largest 38:9 140:20
Latin 98:20
laundered 167:1
Laura 94:17
law 1:4,18,19 4:10 6:3
12:15 14:12 16:5,12
16:18,19 25:13 26:1
27:8 28:10 29:6 31:7
32:14 33:22 34:2 35:4
35:11 36:12 37:7
44:17,21 57:15 58:18
60:14,21 62:22 63:11
63:12,14,15,17 67:11
68:18 69:11,15,21
70:11,18,19 71:6 72:6
72:16 74:21 75:9,14
76:14,22 78:18,22
79:1,2,4,5 82:9 87:17
90:15,16 105:20
111:17 112:19 113:3
129:7,8 132:6 135:13
137:2 139:8,19 140:7
141:2 147:18 149:13
157:7 163:8 164:6
166:17 173:10 181:18
184:14 185:2,8
lawlessness 34:11
laws 60:4 116:11 129:3
165:5 171:4,9
lawyer 11:17 80:7 148:6
161:4
lead 15:3 21:4
leader 41:5 71:14
135:17 147:3 148:17
159:22
leaders 13:1 71:16
87:22 89:2,2 90:4,18
91:18 112:3 114:4
143:15 147:13 149:9
151:17,18 155:22
156:1 178:2 181:22
182:7,8,9,11 185:18
186:14
leadership 68:13
183:11
leading 105:7
leasing 50:16
leave 11:5 52:6 94:19
108:18 115:17 118:15
118:16 122:8 180:5
185:18,21
leaving 11:3,4 21:15
38:19 96:11 97:3
99:11 152:10,11

led 18:17 47:19 53:5
90:11 96:1 107:9
143:18 151:7 173:3
180:10 181:5
left 9:8 20:21 22:14
23:3 29:20 47:9 62:12
105:17 127:14 137:20
144:21 152:20 167:16
legal 11:15,18,18 12:20
13:6,19 14:5 26:2,12
26:15 27:6,11 28:1
30:15 32:11 43:9,14
51:14 58:22 60:2
62:13,13 63:2,4,9
69:6 70:10 86:14
87:19 89:15 106:8
115:1 136:16 137:5
155:13 161:4,17,19
165:8,22 168:21
169:11 175:2 180:12
180:15 181:6,9 185:7
legalities 175:1
legality 29:9
legalized 187:5
legalizing 132:20
legally 27:20
legislation 43:5 148:4
171:5 172:19
legislative 71:14 91:5
118:20 174:11
legislature 16:8
legitimate 29:13 86:3
145:15
Leigh 1:12 7:19
lengthy 172:4
Lenin 2:2 3:7 94:3
Leon 20:13
Leonardo 2:3 3:8 98:8
Leone 23:15
let's 84:19,19 108:12,13
108:13 109:15 130:18
133:7
level 147:21
leveled 29:12
levels 49:17
Liberation 20:18
liberty 12:6 31:10 57:21
59:17 72:16 92:9
104:5 150:6 158:12
license 23:10
licenses 89:15 96:15
136:16
lien 62:17
life 23:3 24:21 60:6
105:9 149:19 150:6
152:15
light 9:6
likewise 10:3

Lillian 30:14
limbo 152:20
limited 5:16 9:5 40:12
 61:14 177:13
limiting 112:10 169:17
line 58:1 108:18
linked 29:13 162:20
list 42:15 46:16 48:19
 49:17
listed 134:2
literally 89:15 90:21
little 68:19 75:18 84:5
 101:14 114:19 123:13
 126:8 127:22,22
 128:11,22,22 137:22
 156:19 166:4 181:2
live 24:22 37:19 97:9
 113:11 126:18,22
 127:14 149:16 153:5
lived 153:1
livelihoods 34:9 143:14
 176:19
lives 20:16 28:18 62:19
 105:8 178:2 180:7
 185:21
living 98:15 148:20
loans 37:13
lobbying 101:14
local 24:14 32:4,12
 33:15 60:19 78:12
 142:13 143:1 147:20
 156:1 163:19 185:18
 186:14
locking 150:17
long 25:1 65:7 68:19
 172:21
long-standing 31:16
longer 19:10 23:4 77:11
 103:2 126:16 152:16
 169:10
look 44:8 53:8 54:22
 70:2 102:3,7,8 118:11
 127:13 128:21 129:18
 131:11 146:17 182:18
looked 55:3
looking 83:13
looting 32:6
losing 57:21
loss 37:9 105:7
losses 34:8
lost 15:1 21:8 73:4 74:9
 101:2 144:4
lot 125:4,9 127:10
 181:13
lots 37:5 40:3 41:1
louder 114:19 181:2
love 99:3,4
low 23:20 45:10 47:4

126:3
lower 126:1
lowest 44:15
loyalty 120:17
luckily 100:11
Luis 95:10
lunch 9:1 84:7,13,16
 108:11 131:1

M

magazine 148:10
main 49:9 58:1,12
 81:19 87:8 92:19
 123:3 124:14 176:13
maintain 132:19
maintained 149:19
maintaining 55:15
maintains 187:14
Mairena 2:8 3:11
 154:15,17,19 158:22
 183:22 184:8,13
 185:13,16 186:17
 187:1
Maiz 144:9
major 164:22 176:18
majority 27:7 83:12
 162:22 165:3 168:7
making 15:10 39:15
manage 83:16
managed 22:2
management 31:18
 32:6 67:4
Managua 14:4 24:1
 94:16
mandate 33:12 153:12
 153:16 183:17
manifests 87:20
Manny 102:21
manu 38:18
Manuel 1:17 3:4 15:7
 37:16 45:6,7
manufacturers 154:2
Marc 1:18 25:21
March 24:9 46:5 105:17
 137:17
marginalized 183:8
Maria 41:13 113:18
 136:15
market 107:13,14
 145:16 160:12,12
market- 93:19
markets 107:18 116:3
 142:19 144:7
MART 2:6 140:3 162:15
 163:9 164:8 166:8
 167:21 168:4 171:16
 174:21 176:8
Martínez 3:10

Martinez 140:1 162:11
 163:3 167:13 170:10
 171:12 175:18,22
Masaya 104:2 135:18
mass 112:7
massacre 105:13
massacred 89:21
massacres 151:1,6
massive 32:7 74:10
massively 74:14
master's 147:18
mastermind 123:16
material 34:3 70:14
materials 69:1
matter 5:19 33:8 69:20
 84:22 109:2 124:8
 127:22 128:19 133:9
 188:18
matters 4:22 15:13
 30:21
Max 1:21 85:8,12,14
 110:21
maximum 137:14
 138:11
Mayangna 147:3 151:2
 153:1
MCN 154:21
meals 137:13
mean 45:13 80:7 103:9
 129:14 130:6 171:5
meaningfully 29:9
means 9:7,8 17:8 19:19
 29:20 51:1 62:13
 141:18 155:9 165:16
 170:5
meant 112:8 133:16
 143:10
measure 36:20
measures 26:16 32:19
 138:18 139:18 145:7
 145:17 151:16 157:12
 157:22 178:1
meat 165:7
meat-processing
 164:22
Mechanism 148:13
mechanisms 35:7
 145:22 146:2
Medardo 2:8 3:11
 154:15,19
media 18:3,3 22:8 25:6
 49:18 56:11,16,19,22
 57:17 58:2,3,6 81:12
 81:15,17,20 82:3,8
 83:2 90:11 96:3
medias 58:4
medical 138:14
medicine 182:13

Medios 25:3
meeting 120:7 130:16
meetings 130:9
meets 34:19
Megan 1:10,12 8:3
member 10:12,21 20:4
 27:18 148:13 152:4
members 14:9 22:4,20
 25:16 46:9 89:5,7
 90:10 91:13 103:20
 132:17 140:3 143:19
 155:16,21,22 156:12
 178:3 180:14 181:8
 182:1
membership 114:4
men 22:10 93:1
mention 24:16 41:11
 84:18 113:15 117:14
 136:10
mentioned 39:2 40:14
 42:2 44:21 46:13
 114:4 116:19 119:3
 123:15 124:22 165:2
 168:7 171:8
mentioning 37:16
Mercon 38:5
mercy 14:1 114:10
mere 35:9
merely 129:12
Mesa 2:3 98:8 102:11
message 183:12,18
met 13:1 71:15 184:21
microphone 110:4
Middle 92:22
migrants 50:4 97:12
migrate 56:4 112:13
migration 17:2,8,11
 18:17 87:12 93:8
 97:19
militari 38:18
military 99:21 125:12
 175:9
Miller 2:1 3:7 88:15,18
million 18:10,10 46:22
 47:3 142:21
millions 34:8 47:20
mind 41:12
mined 166:6
mineral 141:4 142:16
minerals 145:6,14,22
 162:13 163:1,10
Mines 166:12
minimum 42:20,21 43:5
mining 140:18,19
 141:12,13 146:3
 154:2 162:13,15,20
 163:6,11,21 175:4
Minister 27:14,14

Ministry 24:5 27:20
51:8 52:1,17 53:21
63:7 166:12
minors 108:5
minute 9:7 158:21
minutes 9:5 22:7 84:11
103:9,9
mirrors 14:7
Miskito 147:1,3 151:2
174:14
mission 184:4,12
misunderstood 176:2
MITRAB 51:12,16
MITRAB's 51:8
modality 186:12
model 97:17
Modelo 157:6
modus 38:21 46:20
moment 37:17 42:15
104:20 105:4,7
106:12 108:11 167:12
moments 111:4
money 16:22 49:3
71:18 126:8,10
127:10 130:7
money-wise 130:7
monies 179:11
monitored 96:10
monopolistic 107:9
monopoly 15:22 123:8
124:2
month 24:13
months 11:13 86:8,12
94:15 138:5 153:4
157:16
Mora 1:21 3:6 85:8,10
85:10 110:8,12
111:11,18 112:16,22
114:1 131:6 132:5
morning 4:3 7:13,17,19
10:21 15:9 22:17
35:20 88:18 134:16
152:10
mosquitos 137:12
mother 86:15,19 96:9
147:1 152:11,21
156:21
motivation 111:13
171:11
motive 19:19
motorcycles 22:11
mount 161:18
move 50:18 64:3
101:14
moved 27:21 99:9
movement 12:11 22:21
27:17 28:11 41:13,21
86:6 104:1 105:10

110:17 122:20 135:18
153:9 154:21 155:4
155:16,21 158:9
160:1,11,15 187:8
movements 42:17
Movimiento 2:4,8
103:18 154:15 184:1
184:9,13 185:14
moving 45:5 84:5 98:20
123:1 133:13
multilateral 93:16
murder 68:4
Murillo 15:20 26:19
28:15 75:10 92:18
94:14 96:16 97:15
118:9 135:6 136:20

N

n 1:16,19 2:2 3:7 94:3,7
101:21 119:6,9,16
120:18 121:2 127:13
129:5
Nacional 105:2
Nadia 96:4
name 25:21 32:11
77:17 85:10,14 94:7
103:21 135:4 147:2
154:19 179:13
named 148:10
names 48:21
narco- 98:19
narcoterrorism 128:21
nation 139:10 153:15
national 17:9 20:18
22:5 29:2 45:11,13
46:4,10 47:5 65:22
67:1 92:17 93:8 94:16
96:1 97:18 104:6
107:22 110:19,22
121:20 136:22 143:8
144:16 150:19 155:8
156:7 157:9 163:12
164:9,17,18 168:16
171:5
nationality 6:12 12:2,10
24:3 28:13 29:11 87:2
89:9 106:1 117:4
153:7 155:3 160:7
161:16 162:7
nationality-based 67:7
nationals 17:19 92:22
Nations 148:14
natural 27:1 149:11
150:4,11 165:12
173:12 179:2,5 182:9
184:18 185:4
nature 182:2
navigate 134:3

necessarily 182:11
necessary 21:5 145:12
need 49:21 100:8
115:11 117:7 120:17
130:2
needed 120:16
needs 60:22 75:20
127:8 128:18 140:15
negated 179:16
negative 92:16 160:18
178:6,11
negatively 144:10
163:7 164:5
negotiated 42:21 54:19
67:8
negotiation 42:20
104:7
neighboring 23:7
Neither 27:18
networking 82:3
neutral 74:8
never 76:14 78:9,9
175:10 184:21
new 12:17 21:16 37:1,2
38:6 65:2,12 72:16
78:22 82:9 90:19
132:12 168:14 173:16
news 29:4
newspaper 81:21
NEZ 2:6 140:3 162:15
163:9 164:8 166:8
167:21 168:4 171:16
174:21 176:8
NGO 58:21 59:6 63:3
NGO's 59:6
NGOs 18:8 27:7 42:1
59:2,21 63:6 89:2,19
91:14,16 116:20
180:11,16 181:5,10
181:17,21 182:4
Nicaragense 2:2 88:17
88:20,22 110:11,13
Nicaragua 2:8 6:8 11:8
12:4 13:12 14:14
15:12 16:4 17:13,16
17:18,20 19:6 23:15
23:22 24:10,14 25:20
29:21 30:8,17 31:2,5
32:11 33:13,16 35:4
35:10 36:12,13,16
37:2,8,14 38:15 39:4
41:9 42:11,21,22
43:10,16,20,21 44:14
47:16,19,22 48:8,11
48:15 49:3,12 50:1
51:15,20 54:6,15
55:22 56:16,21 57:13
57:16 58:7,14 59:2

63:1,3 65:10 66:15,16
68:9,15 69:15 70:11
72:13 73:5,14 75:15
81:15 82:1,15 86:1
87:4,10 90:17,21 92:5
93:2,3,4,13 94:19
96:11 99:2 100:10
102:16 104:2,16
107:6,20 111:3,5,9,17
112:15,18 113:9,20
115:6 116:2,6,7 117:2
117:6,21 118:21
119:13,15 120:20
123:19,20 124:1,16
127:15 128:3 129:17
130:10,17 131:12
135:14 136:12 137:2
139:19 141:19 142:19
142:21 143:16 145:1
145:5 146:14 147:7
147:16 148:5 150:15
152:6,8 153:1,11
154:8,16,21 155:18
155:19,22 157:20
158:2,5 160:7,21
162:14,20 163:5,8,11
164:4,8 165:3,15
167:2,5,19 171:4
172:2,4,8,16 177:9,14
179:19 180:16 181:10
181:20 183:16 184:2
184:9,15 185:8,14,15
186:19
Nicaragua's 1:3 4:8
15:14 20:3 28:21 31:9
32:19 33:5,19 34:7,18
59:3 92:13 120:21
140:6
Nicaraguan 1:21 2:2
11:18 12:2 18:19,22
19:20 20:6 26:6,17
29:16 30:2 38:3 39:3
43:22 45:9,21 47:17
48:9 49:14 50:5,10
52:6 55:14,15 58:10
58:13,20 64:19 65:8
66:5 69:6,9,11 73:9
76:21 82:4 85:9,13
91:21 94:4,7,8 96:20
97:1 100:14 104:4
106:3 111:13 112:9
119:7 127:2 140:19
141:11 143:20 144:14
148:7 149:18 156:13
160:12 161:16 166:9
166:22 167:14 169:17
177:6 178:8,19 184:3
184:10

Nicaraguans 12:17
 18:17,21 19:3,22 24:4
 48:4 50:6 85:18 87:17
 116:1 149:14 159:4
 162:6,8
nice 85:12
night 11:9 152:4
nightmare 152:19
Ninety 17:21
noise 40:17
non-democratic 90:22
non-government
 136:17
non-governmental
 26:7
non-traceable 167:6
noncompliance 92:5
nondiscrimination 33:1
nonprofit 47:18
norm 13:12
normally 169:1
norms 142:9 144:16
North 151:3
northern 119:20
northward 93:6
nose 137:19
not-for-profit 26:20
note 6:16 50:19 124:17
 131:2
noted 34:6 52:22
 113:16
notes 117:19 131:11
Noticas 56:18
notice 4:15,19 5:4,10
 5:13 7:8 8:15 9:21
 32:14 69:22 70:6
 77:13,20
notification 77:18
notified 23:9,19 76:14
 76:17
notify 69:16,18
Notre 1:18,19 25:13
 26:1 58:17
November 11:9
Núñez 2:1 88:16
nullifies 75:3
number 9:22 17:17 46:5
 53:10 71:4 73:22
 81:12 114:8 134:8
 164:12 169:8
numbers 102:8 164:17
 166:10
numerous 13:10 23:5
 135:20
nursery 32:13

O**OAF** 91:7

OAS 71:3 90:8 136:12
 155:20
obey 16:13 22:13
objective 124:9 156:12
observed 10:11
obviously 40:3 42:19
 44:21
occasionally 80:8
occupation 71:17
occupying 60:13
 177:17
occurred 21:3 47:6
occurs 143:7
October 94:20
offer 125:22
offered 32:15
offers 78:9 182:13
office 1:1,1 4:4 7:20
 139:15
officer 106:1
officers 11:10 95:3,12
 96:1 125:12
offices 28:3 41:17
officials 22:7
oftentimes 173:1
okay 63:18 64:16,17
 85:3 109:14,15 110:6
 130:15 170:16,18
old 95:22 104:20
Oliva 95:11
Olivera 106:2
on-site 52:15
once 13:21 127:17
 134:2 161:10 188:11
ones 46:12 106:14
 117:15 118:9
ongoing 30:7 31:8
 149:7 150:8 153:6
online 102:20
opaque 141:4,18
open 54:1 81:9 87:11
 91:9 133:19 188:14
opened 80:22
Opening 3:2
opens 134:15
operandi 38:21 46:20
operate 17:10 49:17
 81:16 107:16 115:16
 119:15 142:12 185:15
 186:4
operated 180:16 181:10
operates 46:20
operating 18:14 31:9
 49:22 50:17 55:21
 59:9 81:15
operation 21:18 22:5
 38:17 39:10
operations 19:17 23:10

38:13 49:16 76:8
 145:7
operatives 20:17 137:4
opinion 70:10 75:14
 77:4 112:18 120:19
 186:18
opponents 87:20
opportunities 19:3
 33:10 48:4,11,17 73:5
 88:2 89:17 97:5
 112:12 113:14 121:9
opportunity 9:11 10:7
 25:18 27:19 30:22
 36:14,19 56:14 80:12
 82:2 94:1,6 132:4
 133:15 134:8,11,13
 140:4 161:19
oppose 70:7 130:1
opposed 78:2 89:12
opposition 10:22 22:20
 41:5 65:13 87:5 90:17
 91:17
oppositions 92:10
oppression 14:16
 28:22
oppressive 68:1 104:13
 108:3
options 56:4 122:6
oral 9:5
order 24:7 36:7 39:14
 45:22 52:18 95:7
 109:6,6 132:18
 133:21 138:2 160:4
 179:12,15 184:16
 185:21
ordered 21:18 24:2,14
 69:18,22 87:3
orders 22:14 67:19,21
 67:22
organization 26:8,21
 27:15,19 28:15 41:15
 41:18 44:3 59:12
 61:16 62:15 63:19
 85:13 110:9 115:3
 119:11,17 120:4
 136:11 149:20 168:16
 168:22 173:18 183:2
 183:9 185:14
organization's 114:4
 184:4,11
organizational 95:1
 119:18 132:12
organizations 13:20
 18:13 26:12,15 44:6
 46:12,13 47:18,20
 59:15 60:16 63:16,22
 81:12 89:1 90:11
 91:20 92:3 93:16

107:8 115:2 123:8
 136:14,18 137:1
 142:11 145:4 151:14
 160:10 168:8,10
 178:8,8,9 186:1,10
 188:6
organize 14:18
organized 45:21 87:11
 158:9
organizing 113:14
orientation 17:16
originally 84:6
originates 143:5 149:22
originating 50:8
Orozco 1:17 3:4 15:7,9
 37:16 45:6,7,18 47:13
 47:14 48:18 50:20
 51:6,19 52:22 53:4
 54:5,18 55:13,18 57:8
 95:19 126:10
Ortega 11:21 13:3
 14:21 25:2,10 26:18
 45:20 46:2 57:4 58:5
 58:9 65:3 81:18 82:19
 83:9,20 85:17 89:6
 92:15 93:17 94:13
 96:21 97:15 106:20
 112:4 113:1,18
 115:15 116:1 122:14
 135:5 136:19 144:3
 147:12 148:18 153:20
Ortega's 22:20 25:20
Ortega- 15:19 75:9
 92:17 118:8
Ortega-Murillo 28:20
 87:7 93:5 136:1 155:5
outflow 18:18
outlet 56:16 81:20 83:2
outlets 18:4 25:6 56:11
 57:18 58:2,3 81:17
outlined 55:14
outlines 104:12
output 187:21
outrage 106:3
outrageous 80:2
outset 5:18
outside 56:1 60:10
 104:22 112:9
overall 19:18 54:11
overcome 25:4
overseeing 164:9
oversight 51:11
overwhelming 27:7
owe 46:22
owned 23:21 67:3
 101:5 136:13
owner 41:4 45:2 59:15
owners 14:8 40:22 47:8

ownership 77:15
owns 123:6

P

P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S
4:1

p.m 109:3,4 133:10,11
188:19

P,rez 95:11

Pacific 119:20 177:14

package 82:5

packed 99:18

page 5:5 134:3

paid 111:6 170:6

panel 1:10,12 3:3,6,9

8:11,22 9:9 10:18

14:9 25:13 35:18

64:15 80:13 81:4 84:2

84:2,7,9,10,14 85:5,7

108:10 109:8 110:1

131:7 133:3,7,13

134:18,19

panelist 15:7 20:9

30:10 85:7 88:15 94:3

98:8 103:17 134:22

139:22 146:20 154:14

panelists 36:2,7

panels 8:18

paper 99:13

paragraph 65:8

paramilitaries 11:2

20:19 22:22 157:10

paramilitary 22:10

94:13 132:13,20

136:4 186:9 187:3,4

parents 99:11

part 12:16 16:3 17:15

23:15 36:18 39:21

41:22 45:17 49:21

70:11 77:19 78:3

104:7 108:2 119:19

119:20,20 123:15

130:15 143:3,8

164:15 165:13,22

174:14 176:1,11

182:14,15,19 187:14

participate 45:11

participated 95:1

110:19,21 111:22

152:3

participating 158:10

participation 86:5

94:15 107:4 121:12

133:4

particular 39:6 73:21

78:4 113:11,13 115:6

163:4 164:3

particularities 182:3

particularly 111:19

132:13 144:7 145:5

161:11 174:13 179:1

187:2

parties 89:2 91:17

partner 92:20 170:9

partners 46:9 92:15

98:3 125:9

parts 185:20

party 183:4

pass 43:5,5 50:3 93:2

passage 93:4

passed 86:19 165:5

passports 118:15

Pastor 2:3 3:8 98:8,10

103:1,4,8 122:11,11

122:19 125:3 127:1,6

129:9,18

Patrol 2:7 140:2,11

143:3 164:14

Patten 1:14 7:15,15

36:1 54:4 64:17 73:1

114:15,20,22 115:19

116:22 129:9 164:1

180:8,21 181:3

pattern 12:16 53:18

150:16 151:12

pay 13:14 19:11 39:8,17

40:17 47:3 53:16

71:18 101:8,9 126:18

paying 74:6

payment 52:4

payments 49:4 77:18

90:2

pays 56:3

peace 31:7 140:6

peaceful 86:1 94:22

105:1 135:10

peacefully 120:7

peasant 27:4 60:6

126:14 154:20 155:21

157:19 158:4,8 159:5

185:5 186:7 187:10

187:16

Pena 30:14

penal 64:19

penalize 145:17

penalties 16:17

pension 89:11 90:2,3

people 17:13 18:10,12

29:17 52:3 53:6 58:10

58:13 59:7 60:11

61:12 82:4,6 101:20

102:12,20 111:22

118:6 119:18,19

120:14 121:10 125:17

126:3,17 127:6,11

130:8,8 142:14 147:5

147:18 148:2 149:6

149:15 153:22 174:12

175:12 176:19 177:8

178:10 180:3 187:9

peoples 2:7 148:5,14

172:2,15,22 173:9,22

174:4,6,9,13 177:12

178:7,12,21 179:9

peoples' 146:21 147:22

151:17 171:7 172:6

172:10,12,13,18

percent 17:21 37:19

42:4 49:4,7,8 50:5,7

55:2,7 83:16,17 97:14

99:6 102:1 141:11,19

144:5 149:14,17

166:5,11 177:17

percentage 114:8

perfectly 174:22

perform 146:5

performance 50:3

performed 49:5

performing 18:20

period 7:9 51:4

permanent 137:19

159:1

permanently 23:13

permission 65:4

permit 131:10

perpetrated 151:6

perpetrators 20:17

perpetuity 24:3

persecute 30:3 63:16

65:13 132:18

persecuted 22:19 24:21

29:22 57:1 111:9

122:6 147:6 158:18

178:11

persecution 11:1 18:1

18:7 28:17 29:10 30:1

39:21 40:20 65:8

87:20 94:12 97:2

105:16 112:14 113:19

132:22 135:8 147:15

149:1,4,7 151:13

155:15 177:11 180:13

181:7 185:10

persecutions 28:7

person 70:12 85:12

110:20 120:10 129:5

182:12

personal 6:7,13 12:6

43:18 68:2 106:9

133:4 152:2 158:12

158:12

personally 15:4 156:2

personhood 27:6

personnel 26:16 32:15

persons 89:18 121:2,19
121:21 162:9 186:2

perspective 104:9

pervasive 35:3,11

petition 12:3

petitions 90:10

philanthropic 18:13

phonetic 16:22 83:2

102:21

photograph 95:21

photos 165:10

physical 19:14 32:3

95:14 137:15 156:3

physically 156:9

physicians 113:5

Picked 99:7

picture 58:6 98:17

piece 101:5 125:13

pieces 156:20

pillars 15:21

place 18:6 19:12 33:4

44:20 47:5 59:3 63:5

63:10 70:5 71:9,12

120:21 149:4 151:2

171:3 174:17

placed 44:14 137:20

places 68:16 122:5

planned 84:7 94:17

plans 19:2 48:4

plant 21:12

plantain 126:21

plantation 31:15

plantations 32:10

plants 163:10 164:22

play 57:14 130:1 162:13

played 13:21 110:16

111:19

please 6:16 7:13 36:13

41:8 43:12 45:12

54:13 61:6 75:13

109:5,6 110:9 111:12

112:17 114:3 116:4

117:22 129:13 153:14

154:10,11 158:20,21

167:18 176:2 177:5

180:9,18 181:4 184:1

184:5,8 186:18

188:16

pleased 7:10

pledge 118:7 119:4

120:17

plenty 165:10

plight 14:7

plotting 156:15

point 20:3 57:9 63:18

178:19 179:4

pointed 166:9

points 146:9

- police** 6:8 11:2,10 18:7
21:18 22:4,5 31:22
32:1,4 33:14,16 52:6
66:14,17,18 67:1,17
68:3 75:12 94:12 95:3
95:11 96:1 106:2
156:7 157:9 160:2
186:9 187:3
- policies** 1:4 4:9 5:1 6:1
7:2,5 14:12 42:12
55:15,16 73:10 93:17
104:13 116:5 122:15
135:22 163:4 164:3
168:1 177:7 186:20
- policy** 66:20 97:16
147:15,19 149:5
153:21,22
- Polit,cnica** 105:3
- Politecnica** 85:22
- political** 11:22 12:4
15:14 17:15 36:15
46:1,5 65:13 85:15,21
87:1,21 88:7 89:2,6
89:18 90:12 91:17
101:18 108:4,6 111:7
119:17 121:12 122:7
122:7 129:13 130:13
135:5 138:21 149:20
153:10 157:18 158:18
161:7,22 172:5
173:17,20 182:11
183:1,3
- politically** 120:5
- politics** 101:18
- poorly** 18:20
- population** 37:19
177:15,16 179:3
- populations** 27:3 140:8
146:15
- por** 56:17
- portal** 133:19 134:15
- posing** 80:20
- position** 122:13 124:18
- positions** 118:22
- positive** 76:20
- possibility** 44:22 54:1
80:22
- possible** 10:3,15 64:22
75:20 143:21 167:12
186:4
- post-** 5:13
- post-hearing** 5:14 8:15
9:17 10:8 69:3 73:20
75:21 176:5
- posted** 8:21 10:14
- poster** 71:21
- potential** 54:16 170:9
- pounds** 142:21
- poverty** 139:11
- power** 15:21 16:6 21:12
90:21 101:22 107:3,5
123:2 128:10 144:4
187:13,18
- Powerful** 148:11
- powers** 12:19
- practicability** 34:12
- practically** 18:3 63:15
63:21
- practice** 17:2 18:8,16
53:7 131:22 144:10
173:14 174:8
- practices** 1:4 4:9 5:1
6:1 7:3,5 15:14,18
19:8,9 96:9 107:10
114:11 116:6 141:5
143:10 163:5 164:4,7
168:2 177:7 186:20
- praying** 138:8
- pre-candidate** 154:22
- pre-hearing** 58:19
- precautionary** 138:18
178:1
- predate** 177:20
- predictability** 79:16
- prefer** 40:17
- preferences** 80:19
- premeditated** 19:21
- premeditation** 19:19
- premises** 52:6
- Prensa** 56:15
- preparation** 99:10
- prepare** 120:3
- prescribing** 22:15
- presence** 162:17
- present** 1:11,16 31:8
80:5 98:17 102:13
103:15 133:15
- presented** 36:7 95:19
123:22
- presenters** 63:8
- presently** 90:20
- presents** 143:4
- preservation** 26:22
140:9 182:18
- preserve** 74:13,18
- presidency** 11:8
- president** 1:1 26:7,17
65:2 94:8 102:2
103:22 106:21 119:7
122:14 154:22
- presidential** 174:18
- presiding** 1:10
- press** 57:6,12,14,19
94:21
- pressure** 99:18
- pressured** 123:10
- pressures** 13:11
- presumption** 95:17
- pretty** 38:20 108:18
- prevent** 59:13 116:12
143:10
- preventing** 21:14 49:15
- previous** 115:12
- price** 125:21 143:21
165:17
- prices** 170:8 187:15
- primarily** 110:18 144:6
- primary** 144:5
- principles** 76:13
- prior** 81:11 142:7
163:18 171:1,2
174:16 175:4 179:5
- prioritizing** 92:8
- prison** 11:11,12,16 96:5
137:8,14,17 155:1
157:6,16 158:17
- prisoner** 6:10 85:15
135:5 160:6
- prisoners** 12:1 87:1
88:7 90:12 108:5
111:8 138:9,21
157:18 161:7,22
- prisons** 85:19
- private** 12:11 39:22
42:22 43:1 46:10,11
46:13 71:19 89:1,18
91:1,18 111:14 114:5
120:12
- privilege** 153:16
- Privileges** 153:18
- pro-government** 42:16
- probably** 78:1 108:21
- problem** 87:16
- procedural** 8:6 158:13
- procedure** 40:11 60:2
- procedures** 9:20 29:1
- proceed** 35:21 84:15
85:4 108:15
- proceeded** 27:21 63:21
- proceeding** 161:17
- proceedings** 28:1
161:5
- process** 14:6 26:14
27:8 28:1,9 29:19
33:3,21 46:1,1 50:9
59:14,20 63:2,5,9
68:8 69:16,17,21 70:7
70:12,16 71:10 72:2
76:13 77:18,22 87:22
90:18 91:3,4,6,8,11
100:9,17 104:17
105:2 112:2 124:5,6
124:12,15 132:8
142:7 148:1 149:7
- 157:3 161:12,19
163:10,18 185:7
- processed** 141:15
- processes** 13:17
169:11
- processing** 162:13
- procurement** 13:16
- produce** 123:9 126:20
187:17
- produced** 141:20
166:12,19
- producers** 101:7 124:1
136:2 176:16 186:14
187:17
- producing** 144:6
- product** 143:2
- production** 123:6
125:18 128:7,15,16
128:18 154:1 176:13
- productive** 126:16
- productivity** 53:9,12
54:5,10,11,15
- products** 92:9 137:13
187:16
- profession** 89:15
- professional** 96:15
97:6 112:12
- professor** 30:13 71:2
73:17 75:7 99:1
- professors** 113:6
- profile** 23:20 45:11 47:4
- profits** 39:14
- program** 130:18
- progress** 178:18
- prohibited** 11:3
- prohibiting** 91:2 145:13
- prohibition** 151:22
153:6
- project** 81:22 89:13
130:19 184:16
- projects** 174:5
- prolonged** 95:14
- promote** 97:16
- promoter** 87:8
- promoting** 13:21 148:3
153:20
- promotion** 27:1
- propaganda** 16:2
- propagating** 29:4
- proper** 51:11
- properties** 14:4 28:6
38:18 44:17 66:7
89:11 136:18
- property** 12:12 14:11
28:9 44:16 45:2 48:2
62:18 66:6 71:17,19
74:15 77:7,10,15,17
77:19 91:1 106:8

138:4 173:9 184:18
propose 84:8
prosecuting 21:5
prosecution 64:20 89:6
prospects 97:5
prosper 139:13
prosperity 140:6
protect 32:3 59:7 60:4
 60:17 61:10,11,20,20
 62:2,9 75:12 104:21
 140:8 157:22 167:15
 179:12 183:20
protected 61:4 62:1
 141:14 143:6,22
 144:8,9 171:4,5 172:3
protecting 57:14 62:1
 78:2 91:1 99:22
 144:15 170:5
protection 26:9,22
 28:10,11 31:22 32:21
 33:14,16 53:5 55:19
 60:12 62:22 66:18,21
 67:14 138:19 157:13
 180:1
protections 32:20 67:8
 175:3
protective 69:17
protects 60:15
protest 13:6 86:1,7 95:5
 111:22 141:8 144:21
protesting 160:2
 169:15
protests 110:14 111:18
 111:21 113:8 135:19
 158:10 161:8 169:17
provide 10:7 32:21
 33:10 35:14 36:14
 48:21 51:4 66:20
 109:12,13 131:9
 133:21 134:4,6 139:3
 141:9 142:6 148:22
 164:12 168:13,14
 176:3 188:12
provided 6:18 33:14
 91:9 143:3 164:15
 171:6 175:4 188:6,14
providers 82:11
provides 68:14 71:7
providing 8:9 33:15
 53:22 140:12 146:3
 188:5
provision 65:1
provisional 8:20 178:1
provisions 33:1 93:11
psychological 95:15
 137:16 156:3
psychologically 156:10
public 1:9 4:7 5:9 8:16

24:5 32:4 33:3,7
 107:4 112:6 113:4,6
 113:10 120:12 145:20
 146:3 169:11
publically 105:10
publicly 6:13 25:8
publicly-run 111:14
published 4:15 5:6
 169:10,12,13
punished 118:20
punishing 21:5
punishment 137:21
 138:6 157:2 158:16
purchases 92:9
purpose 5:8 81:19
 134:14
purposes 6:14
pursuant 4:13
pursued 69:10
pursuing 121:3,5 184:3
 184:11
pushback 175:7,10
pushed 12:18 59:22
 163:20
pushing 175:11
put 18:20 32:11 46:16
 62:17 63:5,9,13 67:5
 71:1 72:19 73:18
 77:17 78:10,14 93:11
 99:7 116:1,6 130:6,7
 130:18 153:2 183:13
puts 167:8
putting 16:20 58:6
 98:21 101:10

Q

question 36:4,10,19
 37:21 38:8 39:1 43:12
 47:12 52:22 53:19
 56:6 58:17 64:4,5,12
 64:17 65:6 66:2,11
 68:5 72:22 79:17 81:8
 110:8 114:2 115:9
 117:1 119:5 122:11
 129:10 131:10 132:6
 133:14 159:19 161:1
 162:11 168:5 170:11
 171:2,19 177:4 180:9
 180:18 181:12,16
 183:22 184:6,7
 185:13
questioning 188:1
questions 6:17 8:11
 9:11,12,13,16,18 10:2
 15:12 35:15,21 36:5
 45:5 76:2 108:15
 109:9,11 110:1 131:1
 134:10 141:22 146:18

159:16 166:14
Quintana 96:2
quite 66:12 122:4

R

Rjo 1:19 2:7 61:7,8
 62:21
radio 1:17 20:10,12,14
 20:22 21:1,7,11,17,19
 21:20 22:3,6,16,18
 23:11,14,14,17 24:19
 28:3 56:7,9,14 81:11
 81:20
raid 138:3
raided 21:17
raids 56:8
raise 15:2
raised 5:10 80:4
raises 16:19 141:21
Rama 173:22
ranching 144:6
range 7:11 17:20
rangers 143:15,19
rare 32:7 74:18
ratification 90:20 91:11
ratio 54:10
reach 46:21 52:9
reaches 142:18
reading 85:11
ready 10:17 35:14
 82:17
Reagan 100:11,13
real 24:8 39:21 50:14
 50:16 60:11 107:13
realize 152:15
realized 46:2
really 61:15 63:17
 82:21 98:18 102:2
 109:15 113:21 125:16
 126:20 129:1,7,8
 165:11 166:17 182:7
 186:12
reason 37:17 41:21
 44:13 57:4 59:5 68:6
 116:16 117:12
reasons 24:16 158:19
Rebeca 1:21 3:6 85:8
rebuttal 5:14,14 51:4
 133:16 134:11
rebutting 5:16
recall 10:6
receive 5:9 133:19
 187:21
receiving 40:8
recognition 121:18
 174:7,16
recognize 6:6 16:13
 149:14 173:19
recognized 19:8 71:19
 173:10,11 182:9
recognizes 172:14
recognizing 172:17
recommendation 7:1
recommendations 35:2
record 33:7,9 34:1
 66:13 68:22 71:1
 73:18 85:1 109:3
 130:21 131:2 133:10
 188:19
recording 10:10
records 47:1 89:14
 138:14
recourse 13:6 51:15
 52:8 53:17 56:1
recover 96:12
red 9:8 16:19 138:13
redress 26:15 52:1
reduce 39:14
reduced 18:9,11 37:14
 169:10
reducing 106:17 144:17
reelection 106:22
reestablish 111:2
refer 19:14 43:19
 115:12
reference 73:2
referenced 45:8 67:16
 74:2 170:22
referendum 91:12
referred 38:1 153:11
referring 37:22 51:13
reforestation 28:4 62:4
 62:5,8
reform 46:1 65:7 148:4
 174:15 187:6
reforms 46:6 52:20
 86:2 107:2
refuge 106:16
refugee 28:19 148:20
refused 32:2 157:1
 168:12,13
refusing 32:5
Reg 5:7
regard 10:6 40:5 65:17
regarding 1:4 5:9 15:13
 143:1 149:1 150:16
 152:2
regardless 107:20
 117:4
regime 12:18 13:3 14:1
 14:21 15:20,20 17:2
 18:20 19:18 25:2,20
 26:17 28:15,20 29:22
 30:2 37:15 38:17
 41:16 42:11,18 45:3
 49:14 50:2,10 74:6,7

81:13 85:17 86:4,6,18
 87:3,10 91:16,21
 92:15,18 93:5,17,19
 97:2 104:8 106:11
 107:12 108:3 112:4
 113:1,21 115:15
 116:1 118:7,9 119:4
 127:8 128:9 130:11
 132:11,14 135:6,15
 136:1,19 137:4,5
 138:19 139:16 142:1
 145:9 148:18 155:5
 178:20
regime's 104:13 129:11
regime-aligned 122:15
regimes 131:14
region 34:14 54:17 75:2
 87:15 151:3 168:3
regional 147:21
regions 164:20 186:3
 186:16
Register 4:15 5:6,13
 134:2
registered 24:11
registration 61:17,18
 89:10
registries 77:6,7
registry 77:10
regroup 133:7
regular 17:11 18:8
 39:10
regulations 76:19
regulators 76:6
regulatory 107:17
 131:13
rejected 46:7
rejections 78:8
relate 6:18 41:19
related 4:9 44:16 48:14
 164:4
relating 148:4 163:6
relation 149:20 173:20
relations 20:1,2 92:13
 98:2 116:2,7
relationship 38:10
 112:20
relationships 19:15
 47:11,11
relative 53:11
release 84:2 90:12
 133:3
released 88:7 157:6
relevant 114:6
religion 12:9
religious 18:1 107:21
 151:18 178:9
relocation 155:11
rely 35:9 52:1 79:8

81:15
remain 14:8 51:10
 71:17
remained 118:19
remains 140:19
remarkable 66:12
Remarks 3:2
remedies 93:12 155:13
remedy 69:11 72:7
reminder 188:11
reminds 151:19
remittance 49:4
remittances 18:19
 37:18 48:1 49:3 50:6
 50:7 97:12,14
remotely 23:8
removal 91:3
removed 55:11 118:22
renegotiation 146:11
renting 136:12
repealed 185:9
repeat 43:11 45:16 93:7
 180:17,22 184:5
repeated 138:13
repeatedly 168:13
report 56:7 66:22 73:16
 76:17 140:12 144:13
 158:3 162:18
reported 141:20 166:11
reports 42:10,12 66:14
 66:17 71:1 73:18
 165:9 166:6
represent 30:16 88:22
 98:11 103:13
representation 25:1
 86:14 136:12 161:20
representative 1:1 4:5
 4:11 7:2,6,20 58:17
 110:20
representatives 9:13
 9:15 35:22 108:16
 188:8
represented 149:17
 169:3
representing 31:17
 91:17
represents 168:22
repressed 86:4 117:3
repressing 117:6 141:7
repression 11:7,19
 89:14 106:6 117:20
 118:1,3 136:21
 151:12 155:15 185:10
 185:17 186:6,13
 187:2
repressive 135:22
reprisal 151:16
reprisals 138:16

Republic 31:2 35:9
repudiate 174:16
reputation 59:3 120:21
request 10:1 133:22
requesting 86:16
 117:17
requests 138:13
required 142:8 179:6
requirement 32:21
 82:11
requirements 131:13
requires 14:11
requiring 146:5
rescue 18:21
rescuing 18:19
research 143:2
reserve 77:20
reserved 13:17
reserves 144:9 163:12
 164:17,18 165:12
residence 12:11 28:12
residents 17:19
resistance 111:21
 183:13
resolution 23:22
resources 27:1 45:4
 93:16 130:12 149:11
 150:5,11 154:4
 170:15,19 173:12
 179:2,5,12,14,16
 184:18 185:4
respect 66:6 70:16 71:9
 71:11 112:18 113:2
 139:18 168:2 177:7
 186:21 188:6
respected 70:18 72:4
 173:1
respectfully 30:5 34:21
respecting 157:12
respond 64:5 109:22
 171:19 177:1
responded 69:10,10
 135:16
responding 10:2
 109:11
responds 15:12
response 5:12 8:10
 10:5 105:6
responses 9:18 10:8
 109:13 134:12 188:12
 188:13
responsible 21:6 92:15
 154:8 164:9
responsive 110:2
rest 23:12 49:6 182:10
restrict 5:3 15:17
restricted 93:15
restricts 75:16

result 26:16 37:18,18
 38:11 115:17 116:10
 150:7 172:4,21,22
 174:11 176:9
resulted 180:2
resulting 48:1 74:22
 135:19
results 106:14
resumed 85:1 109:4
 133:10
retaliation 13:7 40:18
 48:22
retire 19:4
return 22:9 84:17,19,20
 96:12 106:13 108:12
 108:14 152:13,18
 185:9
returned 144:4
returning 94:19
reveal 13:4
revenues 14:2
review 67:20
reviewing 69:19
revocation 6:11 135:9
 136:16
revoked 89:16 106:9
revolution 99:5
revolutionary 127:18
Rica 23:7 52:16 60:4
 102:7 106:11 180:6
rice 107:11 123:6,7,9
 123:21 124:15,21
 125:5,18 127:2,21
 128:13,15 129:12,21
rifles 21:11,13
Riga 28:19
right 12:9 14:18 24:3
 27:2 28:8,11,13 29:17
 36:1 45:1,2 55:21
 57:2 79:6,18 82:22
 87:22 90:11 95:17
 99:8 107:2 127:9,14
 129:4,18,19,21
 149:22 150:4 153:8
 155:9 157:4 161:6,12
 161:12 169:17 173:19
 179:17 183:10
rights 1:4,4,18,20 2:7
 4:9,10 6:2,2 12:5,21
 12:22 13:2 14:11,12
 14:13,17 16:16 17:18
 20:6 25:14,18,22
 26:10 27:9 28:7 29:14
 31:10,11 34:1,5 38:16
 38:20 41:7,9,14 42:4
 42:7 44:10,16 48:14
 51:11,15 52:11,13
 53:1,5 55:19 57:14,15

58:1,18 61:11,19,20
61:21 62:2 63:1 68:1
71:6 72:4 74:21,22
79:12 90:1,6,13 91:14
91:21,22 92:7 93:15
94:11 95:3 96:10,15
104:10,14 106:9
107:8 111:16,16
112:19 113:2,9
115:22 117:3,7
121:19 122:16 124:19
124:21 125:2 131:16
131:16 135:11,12
138:18 139:18,19
142:11,14,20 144:1
144:16,19 146:8,21
147:5,22 148:5,7,9,13
148:15,16 149:12
150:3 151:17 153:8
153:10 155:18,20
157:14,15,20,21
158:2,4,8,8,11,12
159:3 160:17,20,21
161:11 162:3,4 163:7
163:7,21 164:6,6
167:4,16,20 168:2
170:2,5 171:7 172:1,9
172:11,12,13,14,18
173:1,5,5,7,9,10,11
173:12,16,20 174:7
176:10 177:8,20
178:4,22 180:2
184:17,18 185:22
186:10,21,22 187:1
187:11
Rio 25:15 26:8,11,20
27:10 58:21 140:1,11
141:13 163:16
risen 53:1
risk 17:1 40:20 73:6,12
79:20,20 167:9
Rivera 151:19
Riverside 1:20 30:11,16
30:16 31:15,22 33:2
33:14 34:8 38:22
49:20 66:3,9,21 70:5
73:3 74:2,8
Riverside's 32:9,13,15
33:18 66:6 74:2
roaches 137:11
robbed 22:12
Roberto 137:18
robust 35:5 139:17
RODR 65:4
RODRIGUEZ 1:19
role 13:21 57:13 110:16
111:20 130:1 162:12
roles 51:16

rolled 174:15 178:18
room 109:5,6
rope 123:15
ROSAL 2:1
Rosalja 3:7 88:15
Rosario 26:18 94:14
96:16 97:15 135:6
136:19
rotten 78:19
roughly 46:16
roulette 115:14
Roundtable 155:19
route 97:18
Ruiz 1:18 25:15 26:3,3
26:6 27:18 28:22 29:8
29:13 30:1
Ruiz's 28:5
rule 1:4 4:10 6:3 12:14
14:12 16:5 31:7 32:14
33:21 35:3,11 36:11
37:7 44:17,20 57:15
62:22 68:18 69:21
70:18,19 71:5 72:6
74:20 75:9,14 76:14
78:18 79:4 87:17
90:15,16 111:16
112:19 113:3 124:12
129:4,7,8 132:6
135:13 137:2 139:7
139:19 140:7 141:2
149:13 163:8 164:6
166:17
rules 9:20 129:3
running 121:20
rural 187:16
Russia 97:22
Russian 115:14

S

sacrificed 142:15
sadly 187:4
safe 23:4 107:20
safeguard 144:19 178:2
178:3 180:7
safety 32:4 68:2 106:13
Salvador 102:4,5
sanction 35:1 145:18
sanctions 16:12,14
140:18 167:1
Sandanista 24:1 42:18
51:21
Sandanista's 23:6
Sandinista 20:18 104:8
122:20 132:10 135:15
149:3 187:7
Sandinistas 95:9
100:20 122:22 160:1
Santa 31:14 69:7

satellite 165:11
Savage 1:13 7:17,18
43:7,13 45:5 55:13
66:1 111:11 115:20
127:1 163:3 183:21
184:7 185:12
save 64:14 185:21
saw 42:11 63:6 112:4
185:6
saying 109:16 111:6
117:12 126:10 127:7
130:1 175:2 176:1,11
180:1 183:18
says 108:13 115:21
scale 31:21 89:12
schedule 8:20 10:1
84:5,13 108:13
scheduled 8:13,19
School 1:18,19 25:14
26:1 58:18 72:16 79:1
schools 113:7
science 85:22 121:5
sciences 121:6
scope 31:21
seats 84:15,20 85:4
109:1
SEBASTI 1:16
Sebastian 3:3 10:19
57:7
second 17:15 23:20
29:19 51:21 134:13
138:2 157:8 168:12
seconds 103:10
Secretariat 148:8
Section 1:3 3:2 4:6,8,13
4:22 5:5,10,21,22
6:21 8:4 9:10 30:7
34:16,16,20 80:5
sector 30:18 39:22 43:1
43:1 46:11,11,13
49:18 89:1,19 91:18
113:4,10 114:5,9
116:21 122:17 124:20
124:21 125:1,5 127:3
127:3,21 140:17,21
142:16 163:6 164:5
sectors 45:15 107:10
114:5 124:22 129:12
129:16 159:5
secure 98:4 120:16
139:14
security 17:3 20:21
24:15 31:7 32:22
67:14 86:2 90:1 92:17
93:8 108:22 137:14
138:11 158:13
see 56:1 64:4 67:6,6
106:7 118:18 129:19

146:16 165:9 176:21
178:19 185:8
seeing 176:17 178:17
178:21
seek 24:20 52:1 106:16
173:5
seeking 51:14 155:8
seeks 45:4 174:16
seen 37:6 39:22 41:5
65:15 79:3
segment 82:22
seized 21:20 28:2,5
31:13 62:11,15
143:11
seizing 69:7
seizure 38:3 89:11
selective 66:4
self 180:19 181:11
self- 173:19
self-determination
150:1,5 179:18
sell 123:10 155:7
selling 184:22
sends 183:12
sense 31:20 55:19
65:11 182:6,8
sent 66:22 82:6 93:6
106:11 127:11 161:22
sentence 90:17 96:5
sentenced 11:15 155:1
separate 123:17
separation 12:18 90:21
107:5
September 22:9 86:19
88:8 135:6 137:7
151:20,21
Sequeira 2:8 3:11
154:15,19 183:22
184:8
series 56:7
serious 34:1 157:20
158:7
seriously 20:16,22
86:16
serve 14:16 119:7
services 39:11
set 9:21 20:13,20 136:4
167:15 179:12 187:15
settlements 16:22
settlers 150:9,18 151:7
seven 8:16 95:22
severe 138:10
severely 144:17 169:9
shape 122:14
share 6:13 68:21 73:11
85:15
shattered 139:8
shirts 128:18

- shoe** 129:22
shop 63:8
short 54:5
show 54:8 99:14 156:18
165:11 186:15
showed 41:1 99:13
showing 62:2 157:11
shows 30:2 149:7
162:18
shut 120:11
shutdown 136:14
142:10 178:5
side 52:5 70:17 122:1
177:14,16
sign 78:15 106:7
138:15
signaled 121:22 131:3
signatory 145:2 172:8
significant 31:1,18
33:10,21 75:5 108:18
162:12
significantly 75:10
104:15 140:22 150:12
signs 102:17
silence 82:1 138:15
147:12
silenced 85:20 147:14
silent 14:8 23:18 56:21
57:5 82:15
Silversmith 1:14 7:21
7:21 41:3 51:6 52:21
61:5 112:16 159:18
167:13,22 186:17
SILVERSTEIN 117:18
122:10
similar 56:12
Similarly 142:18 164:2
166:3
simple 48:20 75:19
simply 13:14 121:8
178:22 180:7
single 116:12 152:21
sisters 156:21
site 113:4
sites 28:4 61:22 62:1,3
62:5,8
situation 29:22 54:3
57:21 66:12 72:10
79:3 80:3,5 81:4
100:19 101:10 127:8
141:21 150:12 152:2
152:21 169:19 177:10
178:15
situations 35:12 39:5
177:19
six 24:18 53:13 55:6
57:2 111:1 138:5
skilled 106:15
- skills** 97:6
small 18:5 89:12
smart 39:15
so-called 11:16
social 27:17 82:3,8 86:2
87:14,21 88:11 90:1
108:6 139:8 149:19
182:15,19,21
society 17:21 45:21
52:14 89:1 91:10
160:10 166:9 168:7
software 102:18
sold 164:21
soldier 21:10
solutions 120:8,9
somebody's 78:18
son 99:21 102:22
son-in-law 67:1
sons 156:21
soon 10:15 23:8
sooner 128:13
sophisticated 39:19
sorry 38:7 63:11 68:19
80:2,7 114:19 180:20
181:12 184:6
sort 76:6 98:17 126:21
sound 14:12
sourced 145:13
sources 37:11 140:9
144:11 165:22 176:14
sourcing 141:5
sovereignty 65:10,22
155:8 185:1
Soviet 124:9
space 15:10 103:15
111:20 150:13 178:5
spaces 183:6
Spain 44:1
Spanish 171:19
spares 136:20
speak 6:7 15:1 26:4
72:17,18 77:1 79:17
85:18 97:7 114:18
140:5 143:15 181:1
speaking 72:13 109:19
135:3 139:5 154:17
160:14 171:22 180:19
181:11
special 22:4 29:6 63:14
80:12 155:19 185:2
Specialist 148:8
specific 9:16 48:21
51:1,13 66:20 69:20
73:8 75:6 117:5 125:1
150:16 165:8 171:4
172:10 177:5
specifically 63:1 178:6
skilled 86:12 105:15
- 137:10
spoke 170:14
spoken 146:22 181:15
sponsored 31:13
spread 185:19
squeezed 128:1,12
squeezing 128:22
stability 34:11 79:15
90:5
staff 10:12 20:13 25:22
188:9
stand 35:14
standing 187:11
start 36:6 163:9 171:17
starts 39:10
state 1:13 5:18 8:2 12:3
12:9 16:1 21:3 24:8
24:13 33:3 37:14 50:2
50:9 75:8,22 77:8,12
78:12 90:22 92:8
97:10,16,19 104:21
113:4 119:6 129:10
130:21 135:9 144:14
155:13 157:22 167:14
169:20 175:9 178:20
187:2
state- 31:12
state-controlled 107:17
state-sponsored 71:13
74:3
stated 41:4 47:17 51:7
97:19 167:14
stateless 29:12 106:5
162:9
statement 129:14
statements 165:5
states 4:4,11 16:11
17:14 18:18 19:21,22
20:2 31:3 48:16 50:4
50:6,8 76:1,22 80:18
81:14 83:12,21 87:3
88:5 92:20 93:9 96:7
97:13,20 98:3,16,16
98:21 112:21 116:4,8
117:1 123:4 124:7,11
126:19 127:5,11
132:1 136:8,11
140:14 142:22 146:14
155:2 157:18 162:1
163:2 165:4 170:1
180:6
States' 120:22
station 20:14,20 21:17
21:21 22:6,16 23:21
81:20
stations 28:3
statistics 186:12
status 27:11 28:19 43:9
- 43:15 58:22 63:3
136:17 148:20 180:12
180:15 181:6,9
statute 4:21 7:3,4 34:19
statutory 6:19
stay 56:1,4 97:9 101:22
188:17
stealing 83:21
step 83:8
steps 32:2 146:13
stick 84:11
sticks 23:1
stigmatized 147:7
stock 154:2
stole 21:11
stones 23:1
stood 32:4
stormed 11:10 41:17
story 98:14 127:14
strategy 124:13 136:20
street 1:9 18:7 58:13
strength 25:8
strike 144:21
stripped 24:2 29:10
87:1 96:14 138:21
155:2 160:8 161:15
162:6 178:14
stripping 12:1 89:9
105:22
strong 60:22 139:12
structure 179:20
struggle 104:4 155:12
174:12
struggles 172:5,5,6,21
struggling 130:8,9
Stu 1:13 8:1
student 86:5 89:14
105:11 120:11
students 99:4,6,12
104:18,21 108:1,5
110:18 111:19 120:5
students' 105:7
studies 121:5
studio 21:1
studying 85:21 121:3
Suazo 2:5 3:10 135:1,3
135:4 139:7 159:19
160:14 161:1,6,21
sub-commissioner
67:17
subhuman 157:2
subject 5:19 45:15
56:12 166:22 170:14
183:11
subjected 27:10 95:16
149:2 158:14
subjecting 12:7
submission 38:2 58:19

109:20 114:16,22
122:12 134:5
submissions 9:20 10:9
34:6 133:16,20 134:7
134:12 176:6
submit 8:10 30:5 51:2
117:8,10
submitted 65:7 91:11
140:12
subsidiary 148:15
subsides 55:10
subsistence 155:10
subvert 65:10
successful 83:1
succession 90:2
sudden 77:16 79:19
suffer 112:14 128:3
suffered 28:6,17 89:6
95:13 137:15,19
160:4
suffering 142:3 157:20
suggests 64:19
summarily 89:19
summarized 71:3
summary 47:14 51:7
54:7 64:18 71:7 73:2
75:8 115:21 117:19
129:11 133:22 143:20
summer 1:14 7:21
31:12
supervision 164:13
supplement 109:12,18
109:19
supplementary 133:6
188:13
supplementing 5:16
support 44:8 52:9
62:13,13 107:12
143:10 160:2,17
188:5
supported 178:9
supporter 74:7
supporters 23:6
supporting 27:16 113:7
113:8
supportive 132:14
160:20
supposed 72:1 101:21
supposedly 156:14
181:19
suppressed 135:19
suppressing 144:20
suppression 87:17
170:3
suppressive 54:16
sure 42:11 43:13 64:8
103:8 123:14 164:8
166:8 181:3 184:7

surely 167:7
surpassed 139:2
surprising 75:1
surprisingly 79:7
surrounded 21:14 22:6
22:16
surveillance 86:9
113:19 132:19,22
138:6
survey 127:9
survival 143:14
suspect 70:20
suspended 96:16
suspension 136:15
sustain 122:21 126:2
sustainable 74:13 97:7
98:5
sustained 136:6
SW 1:10
sweatshop 55:20
Switzerland 148:19
153:4
sworn 132:17
sympathizers 11:2
system 11:18 16:9
17:17 28:21 30:3
39:19 69:9 98:20,21
101:16,18 125:4
126:4,5 132:9 143:9
164:10,11 165:20
173:7 174:1 177:22
system-wide 53:18
systematic 12:16 17:20
53:7 94:12 154:6,9
systematically 13:2
systemic 20:1 29:16
systems 125:6 145:21

T

Table 98:12
tactic 123:12
take 7:8 8:22 32:2 48:16
57:6,6 59:10,14,20
70:5 77:10 81:19 82:2
82:19 83:8,16,18
84:14,19,19 85:4
108:11 128:4,7 131:6
131:11 133:5 139:15
145:6 183:3
taken 18:6 19:12 26:16
56:20 71:9 74:15
75:22 77:7,8 82:4
83:11 86:10 88:5 99:6
100:5 129:2,20 137:8
138:11 162:2 179:10
179:14,20
takes 149:4
takings 74:3 175:20

talent 112:8
talk 34:15 61:18 80:7
102:16 165:6
talked 182:22
talking 31:21 34:20
36:21 78:17,18
talks 45:20 53:14
tank 13:9 40:3 43:9,14
Tardencilla 96:5
target 86:6 108:4
targeted 56:10 65:20
118:3,10
targeting 119:2
Tarriffs 17:5
tax 13:10,13 14:6 19:13
39:3,12 40:5,20 45:4
45:8 46:19 76:3
taxes 14:2,16 46:22
teach 99:4
teachers 113:5,6
team 104:7
tearing 182:21
technologies 29:5
technology 100:7
teeth 130:18
telecommunication
23:9
telephone 82:13
tell 40:4 53:15 58:13
98:14 103:2 110:9
123:9
telling 76:7 99:10
temporarily 104:20
temporary 21:16
ten 95:22
tenth 47:3
term 170:20
terminated 26:13
terms 79:3 114:14
terrible 14:20
territorial 26:22
territories 143:17 144:8
148:3 149:17,18
150:8 174:18 179:19
186:3,11
territory 97:18 147:4
149:11 150:4,18
154:5 172:15
terror 97:10 147:15
terrorism 105:21
terrorist 98:20
testification 15:11
testify 8:20 25:8,18
94:6 135:11
testimonies 13:4 64:18
102:12
testimony 5:9,12,17
6:16 8:9,10 9:5,7,9
10:5 15:12 30:5 31:4
35:18,20 36:3,8 39:2
40:15 41:4 47:15 51:7
54:7 55:14 66:4 72:11
73:2 75:8 84:10,12,16
85:7,11,15 88:19
95:22 102:10 104:3
104:12 115:21 116:10
116:17 117:1,19
133:4,22 148:21
159:21 188:5,13
thank 10:20 15:5,6,9
20:7,8,11 25:10,12,17
30:8,9,12,22 35:13,16
35:17,19 36:2,16,17
37:21 45:18 47:12
51:5 52:21 54:4 56:13
57:11 58:16 64:2 66:1
66:10 69:4 73:1 75:17
80:9,11 81:5,6 82:3
83:5 84:1,1,17,17,20
88:13,14,18 94:1,2,5
98:6,7,10 103:7,15,16
103:19 108:8,9,9,16
109:1,7 111:10,11
114:1,7,15,21 115:19
116:22 117:9,11,17
119:16 122:10 124:17
129:9 130:20 131:7,8
132:3 133:1,2,3,8,12
139:20,21 140:4
146:17,19 154:13,13
154:18 159:9,11,12
159:18 160:22 162:10
163:3 164:1 166:2
168:4 171:15,18
175:13 177:2,3 180:8
180:16 181:11 183:21
185:12 187:22 188:17
Thanks 176:7 177:10
thereabout 9:2
thing 50:19 82:17 83:3
123:11 125:10 127:20
128:6 174:10 176:17
things 77:22 82:7 83:14
100:10 101:13,15
102:9 123:18 170:20
think 13:9 40:3 42:15
43:8,14 53:4 55:18
60:21 82:22 83:7
98:15,19 117:16
123:11 125:4 126:9
162:21 166:15 170:13
171:11 174:21 175:22
thinking 176:3
third 19:6 23:20
Thirty 149:14
THOMPSON 10:18 15:6

20:8 25:12 30:9 35:17
 85:6 88:14 94:2 98:7
 103:16 109:5 134:22
 139:21 146:19 154:14
thought 28:12
thousands 14:7 17:11
 85:18 92:21 96:22
threat 17:3 31:8 42:12
 72:10 112:5 113:12
 138:16 147:15
threatened 16:17 20:16
 22:13 96:10 184:19
threatening 156:16
threats 10:22 22:15
 23:5 32:4,6,16 89:7
 106:10,11 137:9
 156:4
three 8:18 11:13 24:15
 42:9 49:4 92:18 103:8
 103:9 151:1 153:3
threshold 34:19
thrive 14:10
thugs 89:22
Thursday 1:6 8:14
tica 2:1,4 88:16,19,22
 98:9 102:11
tied 15:14 142:19
tight 124:5
tightening 124:5 148:2
timber 150:10 154:2
time 8:5 9:8 22:19
 31:19 33:15,17 35:20
 45:17 65:7 77:19 83:6
 84:6 103:5 124:8
 128:1,19 131:4 138:2
 139:2 146:17 152:3
 156:6 157:8 159:14
 159:16 161:9 173:8
 188:3
timely 32:2
times 18:22 42:10
 132:1 133:5 186:8
Tingni 173:8
Tipitapa 137:15
title 32:11 77:16,17
titled 54:5
tobacco 128:7
today 6:7,18 8:14,18
 9:4 14:22 25:3 26:5
 31:1 35:14 36:3 40:15
 51:10 68:7 70:21 74:1
 85:11,15 94:6 103:20
 104:3 109:11,19
 110:2 135:11 140:5
 147:10,12 159:10
 162:7,9 178:17,20
 185:15 188:4,9,14
today's 5:11 8:7 9:3

10:15 188:2
told 71:16 84:8 127:17
tomorrow 133:18
 134:15 188:15
tongue 147:1
tool 28:21 106:5 129:13
 130:3,13
top 183:10
Torres 21:22
torture 6:10 12:7 86:10
 89:9 95:9,15 151:8
 156:4,12 158:14
 159:1 160:6 185:10
tortured 156:10,16
 158:18
Toruno 56:7 57:11 81:7
TORUNO 1:17 56:13
 57:17 81:17
Toruno 3:4 20:9,11
total 86:12 151:7 158:1
 179:3
totalitarian 145:9
 150:14
totally 56:21 82:14,15
 115:14
trace 141:15 165:7
traceability 143:2,9
 145:15,21 163:13
 164:10 165:6,7
 167:11
traced 165:22
track 161:14
trade 1:1,9 4:4,11,14
 5:21 7:1,5,11,20
 12:21 16:21 17:5,6
 19:17 20:2,5 31:2,6
 34:2,4,14 35:8 37:10
 41:15,19 42:5 47:11
 49:18 50:15,17 52:7
 54:6,22 55:3 56:2
 59:4 79:10 80:14
 87:13 88:11 92:10
 93:20,21 112:20
 113:14,16 114:6
 115:11 120:22 121:7
 127:4 131:13 136:6
 136:14 140:16 146:10
 146:12 167:5 168:19
 169:22,22 170:9
trade-related 131:17
trading 92:14,19 124:1
 128:14
traditional 149:19
 182:13 183:3
trafficking 87:11
 150:10
tragedy 25:10
tragic 105:7

train 61:19
trained 62:9 77:2
transactions 16:21
transcript 10:13
transfer 49:3 95:8
transferred 137:14
 157:1
transfers 16:22
transform 111:14
transgressions 16:15
transition 46:7
translation 8:12
translator 135:3 154:18
 160:14 171:21 172:1
 181:1 184:5
translators 159:15
 188:7
transmission 21:19
transmit 23:11
transmitter 21:11
transparency 131:14
 139:12
transparent 145:21
trapping 139:10
traveled 181:13
treason 16:18 24:6 96:6
Treasury 1:14 7:16
treaties 12:19 79:9,10
 79:12,12,13
treatment 6:10 12:8
 32:17,22 158:15
 160:5
treatments 89:8
treaty 33:5 35:8
trees 62:7,10
tremendous 79:8
trial 28:10 95:16 158:13
 161:4,17
tribunal 33:20 69:19
 78:11
tribunalization 51:20
tried 101:13 186:8
trip 95:21 152:12
trouble 82:21
trucks 99:9
truly 97:7 165:21
truth 72:13,17
try 39:13,16 109:15
 120:7 130:18 159:14
trying 101:14 103:12
Tulane 71:2
turmoil 102:6
turn 46:6 90:21 114:12
 159:16
turned 17:2 87:10
turning 97:17
TV 81:20
twice 156:2

two 29:1 56:4 70:22
 85:5,7 86:12 99:5
 116:13 123:17 131:3
 152:21 156:20
Tyler 1:14 7:15
type 52:2,9,12 53:22
 67:7,9,11 68:11 71:21
 161:16
types 44:5 49:16 55:10
 118:2,3

U

U.N 147:9 148:17,22
 152:4 153:13 172:11
U.S 1:1,9 5:3 6:3 7:1,11
 7:20,22 8:1 15:17
 16:19 17:9,19 18:12
 18:21 30:17 31:5,8,11
 31:18 34:10,13,18
 36:12,15 41:20,20
 46:14 47:10,11 48:10
 48:12 49:10 55:17
 59:4 65:18 66:9 73:11
 73:14 75:4,11,12,16
 79:8 80:21 81:1 90:9
 92:4,7,14 93:6,21
 94:16 104:15 106:7
 107:11,15 108:7
 114:6,13 115:6 117:7
 131:14 140:20 142:18
 145:15 160:12 162:12
 162:17,19 164:7
 165:8,21 166:7
 175:20 176:16
UCA 104:19,20
ultimate 61:10
umbrella 44:3
UN 16:14 71:4 90:8
 183:16
unabated 93:18
unable 8:8 130:22
unavailable 68:9
uncomfortable 8:8
uncompensated 32:20
unconcerned 152:22
unconstitutional
 106:21 107:1
underaged 152:22
undercuts 34:11
underdevelopment
 139:11
underground 57:1,20
underlying 171:10
undermine 29:2 31:6
 87:13
undermines 90:4 93:19
 104:15 139:17
undermining 107:4

underscore 35:2 80:6
understand 6:17 49:22
 75:18 79:19 80:10
 111:12 133:14 134:18
understanding 10:4
 45:14 54:14 159:13
understood 175:22
undisclosed 141:22
UNDRIP 171:1
unemployed 113:17
unfair 15:19 19:11
 55:17 131:22 144:22
 167:17 170:7
unfortunately 40:14
 112:22 153:3
unilateral 27:11
union 13:1 41:13,18
 42:8,14 51:21 113:16
 113:18 116:3 124:9
 136:14,15
unions 13:4 41:6 42:16
 43:1,2,3 51:16 113:15
 144:18 168:9,14
unique 5:19
uniqueness 6:5
United 4:4,11 16:11
 17:14 18:18 19:21,22
 20:2 31:3 48:16 50:4
 50:6,8 76:22 80:18
 81:14 83:11,21 87:2
 88:5 92:20 93:9 96:7
 97:12,20 98:2,16,16
 98:21 112:21 116:4,8
 120:22 123:4 124:7
 124:11 126:19 127:4
 127:11 132:1 136:7
 140:14 142:22 146:14
 148:14 155:2 157:18
 162:1 163:2 165:4
 170:1 180:6
units 22:4
Universidad 104:18
 105:2,3
Universitaria 110:11,12
Universitario 2:5
 103:18
universities 97:3
 111:14,20 112:5,6
 120:2,6,7,12,12,16
 121:3
university 1:21 2:3 85:9
 85:13,22 94:4,9 99:2
 103:22 110:18 113:5
 119:7 127:17 147:19
University's 71:2
unjust 13:5
unjustly 155:1
unofficially 105:22

unpopular 46:3
unprecedented 151:10
 180:3
unprotected 55:22
 144:22 159:4 167:17
unreasonable 5:2
 15:16 34:17 186:20
unrelated 64:7,9,11
unrest 152:1
unstable 106:8
urge 34:21 51:3 145:4
 165:19
urgent 145:3
USDA 143:9
use 10:13 39:3 43:17
 51:3 69:15 76:10
 106:5 130:4,13
 131:20 157:10 170:15
 185:5 187:3
useful 71:7
uses 51:15 97:17
USTR 1:12,12 5:4 8:21
 10:14 30:22 33:11
 34:21 35:5,13 68:14
 188:9

V

Valeska 2:4 3:8 103:17
 103:21
Valle 2:4 3:8 103:17,21
 130:22
Van 1:14 7:15,15 36:1
 54:4 64:17 73:1
 114:15,20,22 115:19
 116:22 129:9 164:1
 180:8,21 181:3
vanguard 172:17
variables 176:13
various 90:7 92:10
 115:3 160:18 180:11
 181:5 186:16
vast 165:2 184:15
vehicles 99:8
vendors 13:17
Venezuelan 82:20
 166:21,22
verification 145:22
version 100:21 101:3
vetting 91:8
vicious 139:10
victim 12:13 29:21
 94:10 135:8 156:3
victims 14:22 96:8 97:1
 147:11 173:15
video 10:10 156:18
view 43:8,13 59:2
 111:15
vigilance 52:5

violate 6:2 32:19 76:12
violated 14:17 91:22
 96:11 116:11 187:1
violates 33:1 92:9
violating 12:4,9 17:4
 95:3 170:2
violation 25:19 29:17
 32:13 52:2 69:21
 107:9 143:22 149:12
 162:3
violations 12:15 17:18
 17:21 19:7 20:7 28:7
 31:4,6 33:20 34:1,2,4
 42:3 53:1 68:17 71:6
 75:6 90:7,13 92:12
 94:11 104:10 115:22
 131:16,17 135:12
 144:14 157:21,21
 158:3,7,11 168:18
 173:15 176:10 177:20
 186:2
violative 68:2
violence 32:5 87:8
 104:22 105:14 135:9
 150:20 151:9 154:6
 157:11
violet 32:16 105:6
 137:9 138:3
violently 31:13 95:2,6
 135:19 137:3
visible 125:6
visit 22:18
visits 11:14 86:14
vital 106:16
voice 85:17 104:3
 147:11,13 159:7
voices 15:2
votes 102:1
vulnerability 144:12
vulnerable 140:8
 142:14 144:22 145:10
 159:5 167:16 178:16
 178:16

W

wage 19:11 42:20,21
 53:7 55:10 91:2 170:2
wages 43:5 53:11 54:5
 54:8,10,14,17,20 55:1
 55:3,6 126:3 168:3
 170:4
waging 92:19
waited 101:1
wake 27:17 152:14
 161:8 184:14
waked 152:19
waking 152:17
walls 22:14

Wang 184:20
want 34:15 49:11 50:21
 69:2 82:2 83:5 93:7
 98:14 100:12 101:9
 102:3,7,10 123:17
 124:4,6 131:9 132:5
wanted 40:15 41:19
 64:4 68:21 80:12 81:3
 84:4 100:21 133:1
 147:12 156:11 171:13
wants 183:13
war 20:19 92:19 99:7,9
 99:14 100:14
warm 188:17
warn 118:16
warned 92:12
warrant 11:3 157:11
Washington 1:10
wasn't 74:9
watched 118:13
water 137:12 140:9
 144:11
wave 18:17 42:1 128:4
way 37:7 38:19 39:17
 40:15 43:4 46:3,20
 52:18 54:22 63:21
 65:12,21 72:2 75:5
 77:11 79:10 80:16,16
 83:14 113:8 115:13
 123:13 124:16 125:7
 126:1,6 149:19
 153:22 166:15,17
 169:21 176:21
ways 52:17 65:2 101:15
 116:19 130:9 170:3
 183:14
we'll 8:22 73:19 75:21
 84:15 131:1 133:5
we're 31:21 34:20 36:21
 50:19 53:15,16 58:12
 78:2 82:17 83:3 84:18
 85:4 98:12 130:1,8
 176:11,17 178:17
 185:19
we've 35:1 111:1,6
 119:12 178:13,15
 185:20
weak 60:22
weakening 144:18
weaponization 30:2
weaponized 14:15 17:8
weaponizing 93:7,7
weapons 20:19 187:8
web 42:11
website 5:5 8:21 10:14
 51:2 133:20 134:1
 169:12 188:14,15
weeks 132:15

weight 104:4
welcome 4:4 59:4
 109:10,17
went 22:7,15 23:17 85:1
 109:3 133:10,21
 155:13 174:5 188:19
whatsoever 70:15
 121:19
whim 137:4
who've 121:10,22 186:2
wholesale 26:14
widespread 17:22
 150:7
wife 26:18 102:15
 152:11
wife's 14:4
WILLIAM 1:13
willing 6:12 36:22 108:2
 114:13
Wilu 151:5
win 169:1
wipe 81:21
wit 132:9
witness 9:4 10:5 85:16
 130:21
witnessed 12:14 13:19
 135:18
witnesses 1:16 8:19
 9:10,16,22 10:1,3,6
 70:20 72:10 74:1,17
 84:9 108:10 109:9,16
 131:3 134:19 159:12
 188:1,4
Wolfe 71:2 73:17
woman 147:8 182:12
 183:16
women 41:15 113:17
 113:17 147:13 148:11
 150:22 151:8
women's 113:16
won 169:4
wondering 175:17
words 73:6 96:6
work 22:2 26:9 28:11
 49:12 52:3 59:7,21
 61:6,10 65:20 100:6
 100:21 110:10 111:9
 119:18 121:6 125:6,7
 125:16 129:1,1
 132:22 148:16 155:9
 169:20 170:4,4 184:1
 184:9
worked 49:2 91:14
 148:7 180:11 181:5
worker 31:19 51:22
 52:11 53:14 144:19
workers 13:6 21:8 42:4
 51:10,14,21 52:6

53:10 54:21 55:9,16
 55:17,22 92:3 113:4
 113:17 117:21 118:1
 118:3 136:3 144:21
 167:16 168:3,22
 169:2,7,18
workers' 54:8 144:15
 167:15
workforce 48:14
working 19:9 20:14
 23:8 53:15 57:19 58:4
 58:12 118:8 121:10
 125:19 126:17 145:1
 147:20 165:16 167:17
 175:8 178:3
works 101:16 124:16
 129:6,8
world 44:14,15 58:14
 68:16 95:21 185:20
worldwide 38:12
worries 180:21
worry 167:3
worsened 150:12
worst 78:19 79:3
 130:15
wouldn't 78:1
write 129:4
writing 8:11 117:8,11
 139:4
written 4:17 5:12 9:18
 9:20 10:13 34:6
 109:12,20 116:16
 133:19 134:4,12
wrong 78:5

X

Xing 184:20

Y

y 102:20
Yatama 173:18 183:2,9
yeah 103:8 181:16
year 33:8 76:16 142:22
 169:3
years 11:16 21:2 23:16
 24:18 25:4 30:19
 37:20 42:18 53:2,13
 54:20 55:6 57:3 74:14
 74:16,17 76:8 79:2
 92:18 95:22 96:5
 98:15 99:5 100:4,18
 101:2 104:20 111:1
 124:8,8 125:18 128:8
 130:15 136:7 147:20
 150:2 155:1 177:21
 178:13,17 183:10
Yellow 9:7
yesterday 132:15,16

York 38:6 72:16 78:22
young 100:7 111:22
 119:18,19 120:10
 156:20
youth 97:1,3 104:4
 110:17,17 111:19
 112:2,3,5,8,9,11
 122:4 187:7
Yubank 2:5 3:10 135:1
 135:4

Z

Z 63:18
zero 154:9
zone 19:17 41:15,19
 42:5 50:16 52:7 54:22
 55:4 56:2
zones 37:10 54:6 99:7
 99:10 121:7

0

1

1 3:3 10:18 46:22 84:2
1's 35:18
1,500 31:20
1:15 108:21
1:20 9:2 84:17 108:13
1:30 108:13,14 109:1
1:33 109:4
10 3:3 21:8 33:2 47:7
 124:8
10:00 1:10
10:02 4:2
100 18:10 148:10 162:8
101088 5:7
103 3:8
1042 105:20
10th 4:12 137:7
11:38 85:1
11:45 84:19,20
11:52 85:2
12 19:10 143:15 153:9
12:01 133:18 134:16
 188:15
12:26 109:3
12:30 9:2 84:13,16
13 11:15 21:12 156:8
135 3:10
138 107:5
13th 4:15,19 5:4,10
 8:14 9:21 156:7
14 137:10
140 3:10 142:21 163:17
146 3:11
15 3:4 8:19,22 19:10
 37:19 96:5 124:8
 130:15

154 3:11
16 1:7 54:2 64:19 65:1,6
169 172:14
16th 8:14
17 86:19
18 66:6
18th 138:1
19 2:5 103:18 104:1
 135:17 157:16
1949 23:16
1974 4:14
1980s 99:1
1990 26:21 61:9
1990s 100:11
1997 93:10
19th 159:22 160:10,15
1st 80:13

2

2 3:6 84:7,9,10,14 109:8
 133:3
2.0 55:20
2:12 133:10
2:25 133:7,11
20 3:4 20:12 22:4 47:7
 49:7 102:1 104:19
 130:15 147:20 151:7
20,000 18:12
2001 173:11
2005 173:17 183:4
2006 123:2
2007 81:19 144:4
2013 184:14
2015 177:21
2016 169:13
2018 10:21 18:7 20:4,12
 21:9,12,16 22:9 27:18
 31:12 36:16 41:10
 45:18 51:18 54:9,12
 54:15 55:1 85:21
 94:10 96:22 104:7,17
 105:10,19 110:13
 111:18 120:3 135:6
 135:15 136:4 137:7
 143:19 156:8 158:10
 161:9 167:22 169:16
 177:20 186:13
2019 22:3 45:19 46:5
 86:7 94:20 104:8
 110:21 135:7 137:17
2020 29:7 45:19 151:1,4
2021 11:6,10 23:2 47:9
 55:12 86:8,20 95:6
 106:20 120:3 151:5
 161:11
2022 13:9 23:9 41:16
 95:15 135:7 138:1,19
 148:12,18

2023 11:21 23:21 24:9
86:22 88:7 105:18,19
135:7 138:20 151:1,6
151:20 157:17

2024 4:13,15 20:4 33:4
55:1 80:14 88:8
148:11 151:21

2025 1:7 5:15 8:17

21 17:4,7 93:10,11

21st 55:20

221 11:22 86:22 138:21
157:18

222 161:21

229 155:1

23 101:1 149:16 179:18
179:20 188:11

23rd 5:15 8:17 9:19
110:5 134:15

25 30:18 105:9

27 97:3 105:18 120:11

275 56:18

29 97:14

2x3-meter 137:11

3

3 3:9 131:7 133:7,13
134:18,19

3-year-old 156:19

3,000 132:16

3,000-plus 31:14

3:53 188:19

30 3:5 29:6 42:4 50:4
63:14 76:8 79:2
135:20 141:11,19
144:5 166:5,11 169:3

300 18:1 58:10 162:5

301 1:3 3:2 4:6,8,22 5:5
5:11,21,22 6:21 8:4
9:10 30:7 34:16,16

301(a)(1) 34:20

301(b) 80:5

302(b)(1)(a) 4:13

304 149:16

32 149:17 177:17

330 157:6

350 88:6

365 186:2

4

4 3:2 136:4

40 42:18 89:5 100:18
136:7 183:10

45 22:7

46 143:18

48 162:19

5

5 37:20 50:7 95:6

5,000 26:11 42:1 63:6
136:17 181:18

50 55:7

50-minute 9:1

500 1:9 91:16 168:9

57 56:19

580 95:13

59 58:3

6

6 55:2

7

7 137:17

70 83:16 99:6

70,000 17:12

73 23:16

76 25:4

8

80 50:7 83:17 99:6

80s 102:6 122:21,22
125:10 127:9

85 3:6

87 92:4

88 3:7

89 5:6

89.3 23:11

8th 11:9

9

9 138:20 157:17

93 24:4

94 3:7

98 3:8 92:4

C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the foregoing transcript

In the matter of: Nicaragua's Labor Practices

Before: USTR

Date: 01-16-25

Place: Washington, DC

was duly recorded and accurately transcribed under my direction; further, that said transcript is a true and accurate complete record of the proceedings.



Court Reporter

NEAL R. GROSS

COURT REPORTERS AND TRANSCRIBERS

1716 14TH ST., N.W., STE. 200

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009-7831