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WEST WATCH

A Report on the Americas and the World

Illegal Immigration: Cost to U.S. Taxpayers

Mexico, the source of half of the illegal aliens entering the United States, is suffering from a continuing economic crisis with surging unemployment and inflation. Turmoil in Central America is bringing an evermounting number of illegal aliens into this country. Whatever your position on illegal immigration to the United States, one thing is indisputable. The cost to the American public is astronomical.

INS (the Immigration and Naturalization Service) reports that in Fiscal Year 1983, 1.2 million illegal aliens were apprehended and deported. In 1978, the Census Bureau estimated that about five million illegal aliens resided in the United States. With an annual net addition of at least 500,000, we have a conservative estimate of eight million illegal immigrants in the United States by the end of 1983. Estimates on public sector costs associated with illegal immigration from public interest organizations vary widely depending on whether they favor or oppose immigration. Figures used in this article are from official sources and reflect low or moderate estimates.

Dollar Costs to U.S. Public

Total public sector costs per one million illegal immigrants are estimated at \$1.98 billion annually. Subtracting \$995 million that these individuals pay in taxes, the net cost to the American taxpayer is \$982 million annually per each one million illegal immigrants. This includes: job displacement, unemployment benefits, health care, welfare, and local and federal law enforcement.

Estimates from the U.S. Department of Labor and other sources place overall costs for displaced U.S. workers at \$1.113 billion annually per one million illegal aliens. One of the major myths surrounding illegal alien workers is that they are in jobs that Americans won't take because the pay is too low. Based on 1982 nationwide apprehension figures by INS investigators, *only 10 percent of illegal aliens were receiving less than minimum wage.* Even when Border patrol apprehensions (which focus on farm and ranch checks) are added in, *only 11 percent made less than \$3.25 an hour.*

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Mexico on the Brink

Together or separately, Mexico and Moscow threaten the United States. Forget any design Moscow is reported to have on Mexico — where the U.S. would need a quarter million troops to contain a red regime stretching from California to Texas. America needs a free, prospering and stable Mexico. South of the border is the cultural homeland of several million U.S. citizens and of uncounted residents. Mexico is our third most important trading partner.

Kremlin-backed Castroite moves into Central America can be stopped, if the U.S. Congress will but permit it. Yet, if the communist assault is not turned back in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, then the Mexican threat obviously becomes of terrifying proportion.

On the other hand, communists, whether in Moscow or Managua, can only make an already bad Mexican situation worse. The collapse of Mexico into chaotic disorder, civil war or even communism is a real possibility worrying more and more knowledgeable Mexicans, especially among the middle class. Official Washington prefers a no-comment posture on that ominous and threatening prospect.

Economic Prospects Bleak

The gravity of Mexico's problems come across our 1,900 mile border illegally by the thousands every day. So far this year, over 1,000,000 illegal immigrants have been apprehended trying to cross the U.S.-Mexican border. Last year, Mexico suffered a 0.2% decline in its gross domestic product (GDP), although most economists regard Mexico's official government statistics with great skepticism and believe the economic downturn was actually more severe. There were fewer jobs, yet Mexico's working age population grew by 800,000. This year, Mexico's population will grow by 3%, but its economy will experience another decline of 2 to 4% and is likely to remain stagnant until at least 1986. Since 1980, financially comfortable Mexicans have abandoned the country. People are liquidating their property, sending their family and money to the United States or Europe. Worried

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Don Dornan / U.S. Immigration & Naturalization Service
U.S. Border Patrol conducts backroad check.

Marxism and Christianity in Revolutionary Central America

The Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism held hearings on "Marxism and Christianity in Revolutionary Central America" in October. CIS was among those called upon to testify.

Marxist Strategy

In his opening remarks Senator Jeremiah Denton, Chairman of the Subcommittee, described the two part strategy used by revolutionary Marxists in dealing with power structures or institutions that might block the revolutionary process:

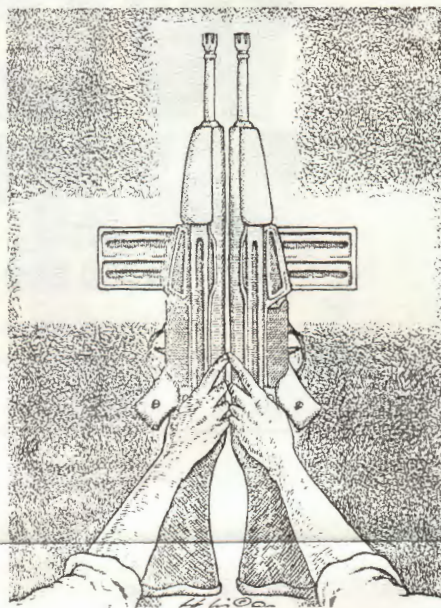
"The first possibility is a strategy of infiltration, influence and ultimately a cooption of a particular societal institution. It could be a labor union, or a university, or a particular minority or oppressed class. The second possibility for the Marxist confronted with an institution not in harmony with the revolutionary process is simply to isolate and destroy the institution."

The Senator went on to specify the purpose of the hearings: "(Of) special importance and interest is testimony explaining how the institutional Churches of the area have fared vis-a-vis the two part Marxist strategy previously summarized . . . This Subcommittee would like to know more about whether and how historically anti-Marxist institutions, the Churches, can become part of a Marxist revolution." He added his concern that through liberation theology, Marxist forces in Central America were able "to coopt and use well-meaning and sincere religious groups, which had already justifiably been working to better the lot of the poor."

In an attempt to balance the content of the hearings, church and lay representatives believed to be sympathetic to the liberation theology viewpoint were invited to testify. They all declined, alleging that they had not been given enough time to prepare their testimony. In fact, all witnesses were invited at the same time and had equal time to prepare.

False Theology

Father Enrique T. Rueda, a Roman Catholic priest who is Project Director at CIS's Educational Institute, traced development of "liberation theology" over the last 20 years. He noted that the marked increase in political and lobbying activities of religious groups in the United States has been parallel to an increase in activities designed to implement socialist regimes and violent revolution by religious personnel in Latin America. While this activism uses the language of Christian theology, it is permeated with Marxist thought, analysis and behavior. Even their term "liberation" to describe their "theology" is a debasement of the Biblical use of the word. Jesus described Himself as "the Truth" and taught that knowledge of or union with Truth would make man free. The spiritual liberation offered by Jesus is quite different than that offered by Marxist wars of national liberation. Liberation theology is a



Courtesy of Western Goals Foundation
Pacific News Service illustration accompanying article praising Jesuit and Maryknoll Order support of Marxist revolution in Nicaragua.

fraudulent attempt to blend atheistic Marxism and Christianity.

Historically, Father Rueda pointed out, the Marxists have realized that religion could not be eliminated in the short run and it was best to use its prestige and social institutions for the promotion of Marxist ideology. In the Catholic Church, liberation theology arose following the crisis provoked by Vatican II's alleged emphasis on the political side of man on earth rather than the spiritual. This crisis, coupled with the increase of Cuban-sponsored terrorism and subversion in Latin America, created liberation theology as a branch of socialist-Marxist religion within the Church today.

Traditionally, theology has been the application of reason to the revelations of God. Liberation theology addresses the major questions of Christian belief and practice using Marxist analysis. Father Rueda concluded that liberation theology is nothing less than an attempt by Marxist ideologues not only to subvert the religious foundations of the West, but also our entire economic and political system.

The composite picture drawn by the other witnesses, mostly from first hand experience in Central America, more than substantiated Senator Denton's concern that a Marxist strategy of infiltration, exploitation and eventual destruction of the Church was in effect in Central America. According to witnesses, this strategy is in different stages in the various countries. In Nicaragua, many naive, but well-meaning, religious groups or individuals were manipulated into support and cooperation with the Marxist FSLN during the war against the Somoza government. Once the FSLN began to consolidate its power, it systematically sought to undermine and discredit those elements within the Church that oppose their totalitar-

ianism. The FSLN is now organizing a "Popular Church", manned by Communist sympathizers, to replace established spiritual institutions.

In Guatemala, church groups working with the poor have been pulled into first passive, then active participation in violent guerrilla activities. Much of this has been accomplished with the tacit approval of such religious orders as the Jesuits.

Church Crisis in Nicaragua

Edgard Macias is the former President of the Christian Democrat Popular Party in Nicaragua and former FSLN Vice-Minister of Labor. For opposing the FSLN takeover of free trade unions, he was accused of being a CIA agent and forced to seek asylum. Mr. Macias described the new FSLN "church," . . . the Popular Church considers that in order to be Christian, one must believe and practice first, the theory, the strategy, and the solution of Marxism." The Popular Church is "the expression of neo-colonialist Christianity which sanctifies the Soviet Union, condemns the United States, and denies the true Nicaraguan Church."

Mr. Macias told how those that now make up the Popular Church contributed to the installation of communism in Nicaragua by carrying out four functions: (1) They recruited and indoctrinated youth in Marxism and encouraged them to take up arms against the Somoza government. (2) They provided refuge for the FSLN guerrillas in traditionally inviolate churches and parish houses. (3) They led the FSLN strategy of church occupations as a means of provoking the Somoza government. (4) They raised funds internationally for FSLN arms purchases.

Since the FSLN took power, Mr. Macias said, the Popular Church has been used as "an international cover-up for the Marxist-Leninist model of the FSLN regime, having it appear before the world as a regime inspired by generous religious principles . . . contributing to this is the presence of priests in government posts."

Miguel Bolanos Hunter, an official in Nicaraguan State Security until his May 1983 defection, stated that the goal of communism in Nicaragua is the gradual destruction of any obstacle blocking its access to total control. The Catholic Church is the most powerful force opposing the FSLN within the country. Mr. Bolanos detailed the FSLN propaganda campaign, planned by State Security, to neutralize and divide the Church. "Divine mobs", organized by the government to pose as devout Catholics, seize the churches of priests hostile to the regime. The mobs are an important element in carefully orchestrated incidents, such as the public heckling of the Pope during his visit to Nicaragua. In another orchestrated incident, a priest was shown on TV being dragged naked through the streets after supposedly being caught by a jealous husband. In this case, the TV cameras were waiting outside the house,

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Illegal Immigration

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Twenty-seven percent were paid \$5.25 or above, and 9 percent were paid \$7.25 or above.

It is also widely believed that the majority of these workers are doing stoop labor and other menial tasks that Americans don't want even if the pay were adequate. When, in fact, there is strong evidence that many illegal aliens are working in occupations sought by American workers and contributing to unemployment of U.S. citizens. U.S. Department of Labor studies of both apprehended and non-apprehended Mexican illegal aliens show that: 56 percent are in bluecollar industrial or construction jobs; 25 percent in service industries; and only 15 percent in farm work. This shift of illegal aliens into year-round employment makes it more likely that they will stay permanently in this country.



Official U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Photograph, Washington, D.C.
Processing of legal entrants by INS AGENT.

U.S. Public Costs per million Illegal Immigrants

Job Displacement	\$1,113,000,000
Unemployment	181,400,000
Education	367,200,000
Health Care.....	92,900,000
Welfare.....	130,900,000
Justice & Law Enforcement -	
Local.....	62,300,000
Justice and Law Enforcement -	
Federal.....	29,300,000
SUBTOTAL	\$1,977,000,000
Taxes Paid (Minus).....	-995,000,000
TOTAL.....	\$982,000,000

- Unemployment benefits of \$181.4 million are paid to each one million illegal aliens. This is based on a 16 percent (other estimates range from 4 to 40 percent) unemployment rate with an average per case payment of \$1,800. For U.S. workers, the Office of Management and Budget uses a \$2,000 per case figure.

- The cost of educating the children of one million illegal aliens is \$367.2 million. The Department of Education estimates that the nationwide average cost per pupil per year is \$2,700. The average number of children per million illegal aliens is 136,000.

- Unreimbursed costs of health care services per one million undocumented aliens figure at \$92.9 million. The Los Angeles County Director of Health Services reported in March 1983 that undocumented aliens represent 22.9 percent of the total patients and account for 64 percent of the births in the county's hospitals. All children born in the U.S. are automatically U.S. citizens. Under current law when they reach 21, they will be able to petition for their immediate relatives.

- Welfare payments per million illegal aliens amount to at least \$130.9 million annually. Most of this is Aid to Families with Dependent Children. As mentioned, all children born in the U.S., whatever the legal status of their parents, are citizens and are eligible for welfare.

- Non-federal law enforcement is estimated at \$62.3 million. This covers the police and

judicial services related to one million illegal aliens.

- In 1982, \$172.6 million was spent on the apprehension, custody and removal of nearly one million aliens by the INS. With an estimated population of at least six million aliens, INS costs are approximately \$29.3 million annually per one million illegal aliens.

The United States is the only major industrial country without any real control over its borders. Our economy is slowly recovering, but unemployment is still high. Recent studies show that illegal immigrants displace at least one American for every two jobs they take. Uncontrolled illegal immigration could push unemployment up to 15 percent. Massive numbers of illegal aliens, themselves unprotected by law, are violating our laws and seriously damaging wage-earning ability of U.S. citizens. This is a critical national issue that demands prompt action before the situation further deteriorates.

Immigration Reform

For seven years Congress has been struggling to produce a reform of U.S. immigration law. The Immigration Reform and Control Act, commonly known as the Simpson/Mazzoli Bill, has the support of a wide range of civic and political sectors. Although the House and Senate versions of the bill vary greatly in specific details, four broad areas are addressed: employer sanctions / worker ID, amnesty, border controls, and a ceiling on the number of legal immigrants.

Employer sanctions, along with some form of identification of workers, is the key to success of this reform bill. The main incentive for illegal immigrants to come to this country is easy access to well-paying employment. In some cases, workers can make up to ten times as much for the same jobs as they would in their native country.

Simpson/Mazzoli would make it illegal to hire undocumented workers and would require employers to examine existing documents (Social Security cards, driver's licenses or birth certificates) of all job applicants to determine a worker's eligibility. Within three years, a more secure system of identification is to be developed.

An amnesty for illegal aliens able to prove arrival in the U.S. before a specified date is one of the more disputed provisions of the bill. Proponents maintain that this is a necessary and realistic recognition of the six million illegal aliens already in the country. It is impossible for us to identify and deport them all. So that they do not become a permanent exploited sub-class, we should grant those with lengthy residence and proven self-sufficiency legal status and rights. In fact, a strategic enforcement decision is in effect not to expend energy on persons with long residence and significant attachment to the United States.

Opponents maintain that amnesty rewards illegal behavior and penalizes those immigrants who have complied with our laws. Also, it sets the stage for an increased flow of illegal aliens seeking to fraudulently qualify for the amnesty.

With two-thirds of illegal entrants slipping by, current INS border controls and staff are inadequate to do the job. The American public would not tolerate a fortified southern border, manned by the 50,000 guards that would be necessary to keep everyone out. Such police state tactics are at odds with our concept of democracy. However, more personnel, more resources and clearer legal definitions are needed to maintain legal process.

Immigration is out of control. It is doubling our rate of population growth and we need a ceiling on the number of legal immigrants. The Senate version of Simpson/Mazzoli does provide a ceiling, while the House version does not.

Action Needed Now

For the second year in a row, the House leadership has shelved this badly needed legislation on a technicality. In October, House Speaker Tip O'Neil announced that the bill would not be brought to the floor of the House before next year's election, because there was no "constituency" for it. Since that time, there has been a flood of protest from the press, the American Hispanic community and prominent Americans, including a telegram signed by both former President Ford and former President Carter among others. President Reagan has publicly confirmed his support for the immigration reform bill and has promised to sign it. ★

— Victoria K. Craig

HUMAN RIGHTS ALERT

The Council for Inter-American Security has been in the forefront of activities to alert the American public to the reality of the human rights situation in Central America. CIS recently prepared a study for Congressional use on human rights violations by leftist guerrillas in El Salvador. And, CIS President L. Francis Bouchey testified before a key Congressional committee on the failure of the Nicaraguan FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) to live up to the promises for democracy it made to the Nicaraguan people and the Organization of American States before it assumed power in 1979.

Report on Revolutionary Terrorism

Seeking to offset media claims that the government of El Salvador is responsible for most of the death and destruction in that country, CIS has prepared a study documenting that leftist guerrillas have killed, wounded or kidnapped almost 22,000 people in El Salvador in the last four years.

The 500-page report, which was presented to both the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is based on information from rebel-controlled radio broadcasts and government broadcasts from Cuba and Nicaragua. The broadcast transcripts are from the daily reports of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service. Of the report Rep. Gerald Solomon (R-NY) said, "This evidence... presents for the first time the daily reality of terrorism used by communist guerrillas."

CIS President L. Francis Bouchey stated that, "The assumption that the Government of El Salvador is responsible for the death and destruction in that country cannot go unchallenged." When the reform-minded military leaders of El Salvador staged a successful coup in October 1979, they made a series of promises to the people of El Salvador. Unlike the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the junta in El Salvador kept their stated promises of respect for human rights, free elections, and economic and social pluralism. Elections were held in March 1982 in which over 80 percent of the population participated. The championing of democracy in El Salvador has not been easy. The response of the communist terrorists in El Salvador to the government's reforms has been to conduct a campaign of armed insurrection and terrorism against the people and property of El Salvador.

Mr. Bouchey added that, "It is virtually impossible to quantify terrorism. How can one measure fear, how can one measure disorientation, intimidation, grief and anguish? Exact statistics, even if available, would not measure these consequences. But if terrorism cannot be quantified, it can be described.

"The communist guerrillas in El Salvador have killed, kidnapped, intimidated, bombed, burned, sabotaged, forcibly occupied churches, schools, hospitals, radio stations, attacked embassies, buses, villages, homes, cars, streets, and citizens causing death, destruction, terror and refugees."

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Congressional Testimony

CIS President L. Francis Bouchey testified before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations. He contrasted the promises for democracy made by the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) before they took power in Nicaragua and the repression and dictatorial controls they have actually imposed. He stated that, "It is important to note that, like the Sandinistas, the Salvadoran guerrillas now also promise an end to the killing and the dawn of a new age of enlightenment. However, their hard-line Marxist-Leninist ideology and their ties to the Sandinista leadership suggest that their promises are empty and that they would follow in the footsteps of the Nicaraguans."

When the FSLN assumed control in 1979, they issued a call to former Somoza National Guardsmen and other opponents to turn themselves in, implying that they would receive lenient treatment. Thousands did turn themselves in. The FSLN then suspended their own abolition of the death penalty for 60 days while they prosecuted individuals for "crimes" committed by those associated with the Somoza government.

In 1982, Amnesty International reported that 3,174 political prisoners had been tried by revolutionary tribunals in trials that were characterized by "a series of irregularities," such as: untrained, politically appointed judges decided guilt on the basis of "personal conviction" rather than on normal legal evidence; individuals were convicted simply because they had held positions in the Somoza government and that "no evidence was offered that the accused were guilty of special crimes." FSLN Minister of Finance Henry Ruiz stated that, "Healthy criticism replaces the process of proof during these times." International human rights organizations estimate that at least 2,000 persons have been executed by the FSLN regime. The number of people who have "disappeared" and are presumed dead is incalculable.

Democratic freedoms that have been suspended or eliminated by the FSLN regime include:

- The right of habeus corpus, the requirement of a search warrant to enter and search private residences.
- The right to strike.
- The right of assembly.
- Freedom of the press, up to 60 percent of the daily opposition newspaper is censored, radio and TV broadcasts are controlled by the FSLN government.
- The right to democratic free elections. The FSLN has postponed their 1979 promise for elections to 1985, "provided political conditions permit."
- Freedom of religion. Government mobs have seized churches and physically assaulted clergy. Jewish synagogues have been sacked and closed.

The most massive human rights violations have been the FSLN's repression, forced relocation and murder of the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. In a 1982 FSLN assault against the Miskitos, 42 villages were fire-bombed, 49 churches destroyed, and over 200 Indians were killed, including 35 who were buried alive. The Nicaraguan government acknowledged that 15,000 Miskitos were forcibly relocated by the military at that time. Freedom House reported, "The number of Indians jailed may be in the thousands."

Mr. Bouchey concluded that, "Is this the kind of treatment that we would wish on the Salvadoran people? Is there any reason to believe that this would not happen in El Salvador, just as it happened, practically next door, in Nicaragua?" ★



Victoria Yokota / Washington Times
CIS President L. Francis Bouchey.

★ ★ ★

Grenada Action Consistent with UN and OAS Principles

Marxism and Christianity

(continued from page 2)

the "jealous husband" was an officer in State Security, and the "wife" was a known prostitute.

Geraldine O'Leary Macias, a former Maryknoll nun working in Central America for more than ten years, divided people in the religious sector in Nicaragua into two categories, "committed Marxist-Leninists who parade as Christians in order to influence the social programs of the Church. And, naive romantics that have no sense of ideologies, and understand Marxism only as vague theory." In her training as a Maryknoll, she received little in-depth analysis of political programs and "Liberation theology boiled down to little more than an option for the poor, living with the poor, sharing their fate, and struggling against oppression, usually identified as a rightist dictatorship."

After the 1979 FSLN takeover, oppression and control gradually increased and attacks on all non-FSLN leadership occurred. Mrs. Macias said that, "When I mentioned this to a Maryknoll sister in 1981, she responded that what I was seeing must only be isolated incidents and could be corrected if the FSLN Directorate knew of it."

The situation became critical as more and more democratic leaders were persecuted and jailed. Mrs. Macias and her husband were accused of receiving CIA money and forced to flee the country. Upon their safe arrival in the United States, they met with U.S. church leaders who acknowledged that they had been wronged, but who admonished them that, "But you must not publicize what happened to you, it will only harm the revolution which is basically good."

Luis Pellecer, a former Jesuit priest from Guatemala, gave a view of liberation theology at a different stage. He gave an account of his work among the urban poor in Guatemala and his willing recruitment as a collaborator into the Guerilla Army of the Poor, that country's largest leftist revolutionary group. His activities were known to his superiors who largely approved.

Mr. Pellecer explained how liberation theology inevitably leads to armed struggle, especially among peasants with a deep respect for village priests. At first, he himself did not clearly see the connection between community organizing that stressed political dissatisfaction and the objectives of the extreme left. The most disturbing part of Mr. Pellecer's testimony was his description of the close links between leftist Jesuits in the Church hierarchy and armed Marxist groups. These links consisted not only of propaganda and indirect recruitment, but also the funnelling of humanitarian relief funds to extremist organizations for arms purchases. ★



Wide World Photos

An evacuee of Grenada pauses to kiss the ground after landing at the Charleston Air Force Base.

Not only was the U.S. rescue mission in Grenada a necessary and successful preemptive action, it was totally within the bounds of U.S. treaty agreements. A decision was made by the countries of the OECS (Organization of Eastern Caribbean States), the political grouping of former British colony island states of the eastern Caribbean, to appeal to the United States, Barbados and Jamaica for assistance. U.S. Ambassador to the OAS (Organization of American States) J. William Middendorf II, in a meeting of the OAS Permanent Council outlined international treaty principles guiding the U.S. in this situation.

"This action is a reasonable and proportionate reaction to the deterioration of authority in Grenada and the threat this poses to the peace and security of the Eastern Caribbean. It is consistent with the purposes and principles of the charters of the United Nations and the Organization of American States, since it aims at the restoration of conditions of law and order fundamental to the enjoyment of basic human rights, so clearly in jeopardy in Grenada.

"Regional collective security measures of the kind taken here are expressly contemplated by Article 52 of the UN Charter. Paragraph 1 of that article provides for 'Regional arrangements or agencies dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements of agencies are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.' The actions and objectives of the collective security force, in the circumstances described above, are consistent with these purposes and principles.

"Articles 22 and 28 of the OAS Charter allow member states to take collective measures to maintain peace and security pursuant to certain collective security agreements. Article 22 of the OAS Charter expressly provides that measures taken pursuant to such agreements are not violations of the provisions of Articles 18 and 20 prohibiting intervention or the use of force . . ."

"In addition, the OECS members were confronted by a 'situation that might endanger the

peace of America.' In response, the OECS members took action consistent with Article 28's provision for collective self-defense in accordance with measures and procedures established in the special treaties on the subject."

"In conclusion, I would like to point to a disturbing lesson we can all draw from the tragic events in Grenada. We have seen how Cuban construction workers on that island suddenly transformed themselves into soldiers to resist the collective action forces. Plowshares were quickly transformed into swords. This development must be a source of concern to all states and cast doubts on the bona fides of Cuban 'civilian' advisors and contingents elsewhere." ★

Afghanistan (continued from last page)

Afghanistan's importance for the Soviet Union is derived from its strategic location; the people are of secondary concern. The Soviet Union will achieve its aims with or without the support of the population.

One means of subjugating the Afghans is through chemical warfare. The State Department reported that 3042 people died as a result of 47 different attacks with chemical weapons in Afghanistan from the summer of 1979 to the summer of 1981. Conventional means of warfare often do not bring good results in the rugged terrain of Afghanistan. Clouds of toxic chemicals, however, can penetrate the otherwise inaccessible muhaheddin stronghold.

The grave threat posed by the occupation of Afghanistan should not be measured only in strategic terms, but human ones as well. If the West is not motivated by the prospect of a loss of 40 percent of available petroleum and threats to the security of its allies, then action should come from a desire to save the Afghans from a genocidal bloodbath as occurred in Cambodia. ★

Contadora Group Faces the Kissinger Commission

Statement by Gonzalo J. Facio,
Former Foreign Minister of
Costa Rica.

(Mr. Facio has recently been nominated as a candidate for Secretary General of the Organization of American States.)

The accelerated economic development and consequent social reform needed by Central America cannot be achieved in a climate of war. Peace is indispensable for solving the problems of poverty and injustice. This peace cannot be obtained as long as the totalitarian Sandinista regime, through which the Soviets intend to use subversion and terrorism to extend their influence, exists in Nicaragua. Neither can this peace be obtained as long as the Farabundo Marti guerrillas have the option of taking power in El Salvador.

Thus, if the basic task of the Kissinger Commission is to formulate a U.S. policy that will contribute to the integrated development of Central America, it must begin by addressing itself to the problem of peace on the Isthmus.

The Contadora Group has attempted to address this problem. But, it has taken the wrong approach. In spite of the almost ritualistic praise that everyone has given this Group, it is evident that the Group has not focused on the true dimensions of the problem. Because of this incorrect focus, it has not found adequate answers.

The famous "Document of Objectives", produced at their September meeting, is so general, so vague, so imprecise, that all of the area governments, despite their support of very different positions, signed it without any difficulty. This is because each country, in signing it, knows that they are not assuming obligations that are at odds with positions that each has already taken.

On the other hand, Nicaragua's decision to submit the Central America crisis to the U.N. General Assembly for settlement has underlined two grave facts: (1) The Sandinistas have not taken the efforts of Contadora seriously; and (2) There is no agreement among the members of the Group as to its effectiveness.

Panama, through its Vice President (who is also the President of the 37th U.N. General Assembly), — although not through its Foreign Ministry — has accepted that the Central American situation be submitted to the United Nations. Mexico has implied approval of this move. This suggests a recognition that Contadora has no more solutions to offer and that those it has already offered lack effectiveness. Venezuela and Colombia have opposed submitting the Central American issue to the General Assembly, because they still have hopes of positive action.

In all of its previous initiatives the Contadora Group has attempted to resolve the problem of peace in Central America on the basis of false assumptions. They have fallen into the trap of thinking that the conflict in which Nicaragua is involved is primarily



Robert E. Baldwin

Gonzalo J. Facio, former Foreign Minister of Costa Rica

international. And, that the solution lies in negotiations with those countries presumed to be adversaries of the Nicaraguans; that is, Honduras, Costa Rica and, above all, the United States.

But the truth is otherwise. The people of Nicaragua want freedom, economic progress and social justice. This is why they took up arms against the Somoza regime. The Sandinista commanders, trained, armed and indoctrinated in Cuba, betrayed this liberating revolution. Instead of political liberty, they quickly built a totalitarian state. Instead of economic development, they have deepened the poverty of the country. Instead of social justice, they have created a new privileged class, the Sandinista Nomenklatura, which has seized for its own benefit the few resources that it deprives from the rest of the Nicaraguans.

Because their liberating revolution was betrayed and taken over, the Nicaraguan people have again undertaken armed struggle. The Sandinista commanders know that this is a national uprising against their regime. But, they cynically try to hide this. They seek to present this internal rebellion as an external aggression.

Even though all of the Contadora members do not want it, trying to resolve the Nicaraguan problem with negotiations that consolidate the power of the Sandinista regime is playing right into the hands of the Sandinista commanders. Far from eliminating the principal cause of the Central American conflict, Contadora's mistaken focus will strengthen this disruptive factor. Because, I repeat, if the Sandinista regime is consolidated, not only will the Nicaraguans continue to be poor and oppressed. Costa Rica and the rest of Central America will be seriously threatened by the expansive nature of the Nicaraguan totalitarian regime. In addition, the regime is becoming a center for operations of terrorist organizations such as the PLO, the Basque ETA, the Red Brigade, the Montoneros and the Tupa-

maros. Naturally, as our countries will have to defend themselves, the possibility of an inter-Central American armed conflict increases dangerously.

Exactly the opposite is happening in El Salvador as in Nicaragua. In the nation of El Salvador, the Soviet Union is fostering an external aggression by means of its Cuban and Sandinista satellites. This is an aggression that the Farabundo Marti guerrillas have arranged to present as a popular internal insurrection.

In El Salvador the Contadora Group is also radically mistaken in its assessment of the problem. Instead of proposing an end to foreign intervention and looking for means to stop Cuban and Nicaraguan intervention in the Salvadoran conflict, they are proposing that the Government, the indirect result of the first free elections held in this suffering country, negotiate with the guerrillas. This would enable the guerrillas to share the power they have not known how to win in the field of battle or, much less, at the voting urn.

As the Contadora Group has begun with a totally mistaken assessment, if the solutions that it is proposing are applied, far from assuring peace, they will accentuate the danger of a total war in Central America. This will happen because: In Nicaragua, the Contadora thesis will result in the consolidation of the Sandinista regime and the liquidation of the insurrection of the Nicaraguan people against their oppressors. And, in El Salvador, the Contadora prescriptions that will give the guerrillas participation in the government will end, as happened in Nicaragua, with the government completely controlled by the totalitarians.

If the Kissinger Commission wants to design a good policy for U.S. cooperation in Central American development, it has to begin with uncovering and undoing the mistaken focus and abominable solutions that the much-praised Contadora Group has tried to extract from the situation.

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about the future of Mexico's stability, people are quietly taking desperate steps at an alarming pace. It is not the usual case of the rich trying to protect investments or make short term gains.

State domination and control of the economy, plus corruption of a mind-boggling degree put Mexico deep in debt even while the country was earning billions from oil sales. Mexico portrays itself as a revolutionary populist and socialist regime. Of course, in foreign affairs it always gives lip service and its UN vote to the revolutionary cause, but inside Mexico, the reality is different.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 was fought in the name of the peasants, but today the peasants remain dirt poor. Mexico had to import \$2.7 billion worth of wheat, beans, corn and other agricultural products from the United States in 1982 alone. Farm production in 1982 declined sharply and imports of agricultural products may double during 1983. All this in a country with 40% of its work force in the agricultural sector. Its one party government, which now resembles the bureaucratic 18th century Spanish monarchy, neglected agriculture in the 1950s. As a result, work-hungry sons of village farms leave home in search of work, pouring into Mexico City, Guadalajara and Monterrey or the United States. Since 1970, Mexico City has grown from 8.5 million to 14 million and is increasing by 900,000 each year. Its daily water supply is a pressing problem.

Despite the numerous problems facing Mexico, it clearly has the potential for sustained economic growth. During the 1960s and 1970s Mexico's GDP increased at an annual rate of 7.0%, even before the oil boom of the late 1970s. Today, Mexico, like the prosperous states of Taiwan, South Korea and Hong Kong has a competitive advantage over many countries in labor costs. Mexico has more natural resources than Japan and West Germany combined and has easy access to the world's largest consumer market, the United States. Yet the outlook for Mexico remains bleak. Why? In a word: socialism.

While trends in the western world are toward a greater reliance on the free market, Mexico is moving farther to the left. In the course of three years (1978-81) Mexico's federal budget tripled. Today, the deficit is 18% of GDP, three times the size of the U.S. deficit. In 1970, there were 84 state-owned corporations. Today, there are 900. Unfortunately, this trend, accelerated greatly in the late 70s, continues under Mexico's new president.

President de la Madrid came into office in December, 1982 preaching decentralization, but he quickly ratified the nationalization of banks initiated by former President Lopez Portillo. In addition, the economic program introduced by de la Madrid relies heavily on greater government power over private business, tightened controls on the free market and more stifling bureaucratic inertia.

Domestic Instability & Corruption

Politicians in the ruling party, government employees living off public largess and corruption and radical leftists all have a vested interest in contin-

uing state control over the economy. The increasing socialization of its economy limits Mexico's ability to solve many of its pressing problems — problems which could lead to political instability. A growing number of people concerned with Mexico and the security interests of the United States are beginning to recognize this truth.

Thrust into a world power role thirty years ago, the United States spent years pretending that Mexico was just not there. After three decades of ignoring a complicated neighbor abounding with paradoxes, woolly-minded political scientists defined this oligarchic, one party monarchy as a "progressive" democracy. Mexico is no more a democracy than is Haiti or Saudi Arabia. Mexico is an uncrowned monarchy dressed up in revolutionary populist garb where "aristocratic" party oligarchies enrich themselves. They allow a president to rule like an absolute monarch for six years then pick his successor.

The monarchical machine is officially called the Institutional Revolutionary Party, commonly referred to by its Spanish initials PRI. No other party has won the presidency or a majority in Congress for over half a century. In organization, size and structure, it resembles the Communist Party of the Soviet Union more than a typical Western democratic party. In fact, it is an extension of the government itself.

Until only recently, the PRI played a most successful shell game with labor, business, peasants, and the military, balancing one against the other, seeming to tilt slightly to the left and then to the right. Some observers say that the PRI long ago ceased being the Party of Institutional Revolution and became instead the Party of Institutionalized Demagoguery. None the less, no sector of Mexican society can effectively challenge the Party and its government. That was clearly demonstrated when the government moved to nationalize the banks and all of their investment holdings.

Journalist, Daniel James, a longtime resident of Mexico, believes that the present government could be transformed overnight into a full scale Soviet regime.

As long as Mexico experienced economic growth and betterment, the PRI was able to deliver on some of its promises some of the time. Now the combination of corruption, inefficiency, recession and population growth foreshadows a bleak future for the country. Only massive reprivatization of the economy and a stretching out of its debts repayment can avert disaster. Even then, the U.S. is going to have to pump investment and aid into Mexico to keep its problems on the other side of our border.

The middle class and more prosperous elements of the working class who benefited from economic improvement over the last 20 years are watching their hopes and income slide backwards. Their patience cannot be expected to last the six years of the de la Madrid reign, if the situation shows no improvement. Serious moves against corruption would help, but so far the new president's actions have been only cosmetic. Events will probably have to get violent before the PRI would allow a measure of real democracy or get its hands off the throat of the economy. The situation becomes more volatile every month and with it the opportunity for destabilization by the radical forces tied to the Cuban-Soviet Axis. ★



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Afghans Struggle Against Soviet Occupancy

Four years ago the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan under the pretext of responding to a request for assistance from an ally. This request from the Afghan government was a weak Soviet propaganda ploy designed to counter charges from the West that the invasion was an illegal occupation. The Soviet Union made no effort to conceal the fact that this request came from the puppet government installed at the beginning of the invasion.

The Soviet Union correctly assumed that after the initial storm of protest, little would be done to counter the invasion. During the last four years, true to Soviet predictions, the West has not aggressively pressed for a withdrawal of Soviet civilian and military personnel and has left the Soviets virtually a free hand in Afghan affairs.



Courtesy of Committee for a Free Afghanistan
Afghan freedom fighters prepare for ambush of Soviet forces.

In an interview with Rep. Don Ritter (R-PA), an expert in Soviet affairs, he expressed concern over the "strategic imbalance" caused by the invasion and the possibility of Soviet moves towards the Arabian Sea. He added that it would be extremely difficult for the United States and its allies to launch any operations in the region with the Soviet Union positioned in military facilities on the Arabian Sea.

Mujaheddin Resistance

Stopping Soviet aggression in the western area of the Middle East can be best accomplished at this time by aiding the mujaheddin Afghan resistance. Although the mujaheddin control approximately 80 percent of the country, the military situation can best be described as a stalemate.

By increasing support to the mujaheddin, the United States could keep Soviet influence in the region at a minimum and win a degree of freedom for the Afghan people. Rep. Ritter, a supporter of increasing aid to the Afghan resistance, pointed out

that the costs incurred in such actions are minute in comparison to the enormous expenditure of American lives and arms that would be necessary to defend the Persian Gulf should the Soviets decide on further aggressive action in the region.

Karen McKay, Executive Director of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan, said of the mujaheddin's war effort, "No guerrilla war will ever achieve conventional results, at some point in time it will have to switch to a conventional war."

Providing assistance to the mujaheddin is difficult since there are rival groups within the organized resistance movement in Peshawar, Pakistan. The exile Afghan community in Peshawar is basically divided into two separate camps, Islamic fundamentalists and moderates. The best-known leader among both groups is the charismatic Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, described by many as a "Khomeini-type." Hekmatyar envisions an Islamic state much like Iran if the Soviets are expelled from Afghanistan. The moderate groups, however, would support a pluralistic democracy and the return of former King Zahir Shah as the figurehead leader of the new government.

USSR Plans Genocide

The Soviet strategy in subjugating Afghanistan is not limited to defeating mujaheddin in the field. A concentration camp commander in Afghanistan made a comment, confirmed by the Soviet press, that, "We will leave one million Afghans alive, that is all we need to build socialism. By driving out the native population of Afghanistan and systematically destroying crops, the Soviet Union can undermine the support base and food supply of the mujaheddin.

(continued on page 5)

Increased Soviet Influence

Political pressure is being applied by the Soviets through their Afghan clients on Pakistan and Iran. The Afghan government is demanding that the Pushtun tribes in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province be allowed to create a separate Pushtun state. Considering the past record of Afghan meddling in Iranian affairs, the large number of Afghans living in exile in Iran, and the close cooperation between Afghanistan's Khalq Party and Iran's Tudah Party, it is realistic to assume that the Soviets will use these factors as leverage against Iran.

Both Iran and Pakistan can expect internal subversion from area radicals now being trained in guerrilla warfare at two Soviet-supervised training camps in Mazir-i-Sharif near the Soviet border. Also, the Soviet Union, again through its Afghan intermediaries, is supporting the creation of an independent Baluchistan to be carved from Pakistani and Iranian territory.

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