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Sept. 13

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House
191-OEOB
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Morton:

Pursuant to our discussion two weeks ago when Alfredo Mena and I were in your office, here is the draft letter we propose for you to take to the President for his consideration:

Ambassador Roberto Quiñónez-Meza
President, Salvadoran/American Foundation
Post Office Box 2541
Miami, Florida 33243

Dear Ambassador Quiñónez:

At a time when the Americas are under a severe challenge from communism in its many forms, I am gratified to know that a group such as yours has organized to help inform the people of the United States about the stakes involved in our Hemisphere.

Your dedication to the democratic process and the free-enterprise system is consistent with the goals of my Administration's Caribbean Basin Initiative, and your support of those principles is much appreciated.

I commend the Salvadoran/American Foundation for its vital role in acting to bridge the gap between the Salvadoran people and the people of the United States. Such communication is vital for the betterment of both nations.

Sincerely,

Thanks, Morton, for all your continuing help.

Sincerely,

Mike
Mike Thompson,
Member, Council of Supporters

DIARIO LAS AMERICAS

The Socialist International can not be Judge and Party in El Salvador

The Socialist International has offered to mediate in the case of El Salvador where what is taking place, fundamentally, above any other consideration, is a communist aggression stemming from Cuba and, of course, directed from the Soviet Union. In their recent meeting in Panama to study this situation, the leaders of that international movement reiterated their position in favor of every type of aggression similar to the one being suffered by El Salvador. Furthermore, it is known — and the mentioned leaders do not deny it — that the Socialist International is fervently interested in the victory of the guerrillas. Therefore, it would be absurd, to say the least, that someone might in good faith be innocent enough to accept as arbitrers or mediators anyone who is a part in the struggle.

The Socialist International wants, judging from its positions regarding this type of affair, that a mediation ends, to all practical effects, in a victory for the Marxist-Leninists, as has happened in other places, including Central America itself. From the point of view of the Socialist International, knowing what its position is regarding Latin America, this is understandable, because it wants a proliferation of governments emerged from Cuba's military aid. But it has no explanation from the point of view of those who do not want another Cuba in this convulsed region of the Americas.

El Salvador must be saved from the communist aggression. And to that end it is necessary that the democratic governments do the opposite of what the communist governments are doing regarding that country. That is, the democratic governments, particularly that of the United States of America, with their feet on the ground, with a pragmatic sense, should avoid a Soviet victory of which — according to history — it is difficult to get out, not to say impossible, as up to this writing it is not known of a totally communist government that has fallen. However, it is known of other bad governments, even arbitrary, but not communists, that have been overthrown in favor of democracy, though there have also been cases where the overthrow has been in favor of communism.

Precisely this last thing is what has to be avoided, that the Salvadorean crisis might climax in the seizure of power, in an absolute sense, by the Marxist-Leninists.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

El Salvador and Vietnam

"Do you see any parallel in our committing military advisers and military assistance to El Salvador and the early stages of our involvement in Vietnam?" This was the question Walter Cronkite put to President Reagan the other night, and it's the question on America's mind. It's cropping up in the newspaper cartoons and columns; at least 40 Congressmen have put their concern in writing, and more are sure to come. Mr. Reagan said he didn't see a parallel, and he was right—up to a point.

There are, as we see it, some important similarities in which some lessons of Vietnam seem directly relevant. But these hardly suggest what the left would have us believe, that the United States should shy away from drawing the line in El Salvador. On the contrary, America's experience in Vietnam, not to mention Vietnam's experience in Vietnam, makes a case for strong American support for El Salvador in its battle against Communist subversion.

The first lesson of Vietnam, after all, is that you can't trust the Communists, the Soviets in particular. We remember well how Moscow's leaders, and even those in Hanoi, swore up and down they had nothing to do with the local struggle for "liberation" supposedly being waged by a local group called the Viet Cong. But they were lying; those on the ground in Vietnam knew it; the hawks were right. And when the conquest came, even the Viet Cong got squashed.

A second, and compelling, lesson of Vietnam is that the good guys lost. How many more human beings fleeing communism have to drown in the South China Sea before Americans will appreciate the enormity of this fact? How much more poison gas has to be used by the Communists in Laos to suppress the independent hill tribes? How many more mass graveyards have to be dug up in Cambodia before Americans come to grips with the fact that these so-called liberation fronts, hiding behind the guise of nationalism, mask a totalitarian drive?

A third, and important, lesson of Vietnam is that weakness and irresolution invite aggression. It was the administration of John Kennedy, don't forget, that, when the going began to get rough in South Vietnam, turned on South Vietnam's own government, backed the coup that killed Diem and opened the way for full-scale civil war. Entirely valid parallels never exist, but the Carter administration pressure on the El Salvadoran government last year to take over farms, banks and export industries reminded us of the Diem coup. This massive concession to Marxist theology mainly served to further weaken an economic system that had already been badly damaged by the attacks of the Marxist terrorists on factories, farm workers, businesses, buses and power plants in the traditional pattern of Communist destabilization tactics.

Bear in mind also that it was Lyndon Johnson—not Barry Goldwater—who ran as the "dove" in the 1964 election, attacking those who would send Americans to fight in Vietnam. There you had a campaign that fairly cried out for the Communists to up the ante. This is a mistake that Ronald Reagan did not make; his refusal to make that error is one of the reasons, and a big one, that he won the election; and his refusal to make that mistake in the current contest—despite the temptations now being laid for him—is an important early test of his administration.

We don't suggest that no danger lurks in El Salvador, nor do we argue that the hawks were totally blameless in Vietnam. For example, a lesson of Vietnam is that you probably can't fight the sort of Communist subversion we're seeing in El Salvador with the sort of big, World War II style units that America sent to Vietnam. But that doesn't mean that in any such contest America is doomed to lose, or that the terrorists have the forces of history on their side. The most important lessons of Vietnam suggest that America should take a strong stand in El Salvador, and so far it strikes us that Mr. Reagan has learned these lessons well.

EDITORIAL COMMENTARY**Workers and Peasants****In El Salvador, Land Reform Covers a Multitude of Sins**

WHEN we make a mistake, it's a beaut. A few months ago, in an editorial commentary on Poland, we remarked that foreign policy is too important to be left to diplomats, especially those who push cookies at the U.S. Department of State. We went on to say: "Over the years, contrariwise, we have come to cherish the no-nonsense, school of hard knocks brand of diplomacy practiced by the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. . . ." What we had in mind, of course, was the AFL-CIO's sponsorship of the stirring tour of the United States by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Soviet exile, Nobel Prize-winner and champion of freedom, as well as its long, lonely and ultimately successful fight to preserve the usefulness of the International Labor Organization by righting its anti-American, pro-Communist tilt.

Last week, however, other less admirable foreign policy initiatives, promoted and financed by the AFL-CIO—or, more precisely, by an offshoot known as the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)—came to light when two of its representatives, together with the head of the local Institute for Agrarian Transformation, were shot and killed in El Salvador by parties unknown. With the help of a million-dollar grant from the Agency for International Development, the unionists were working to help carry out the Salvadoran government's so-called program of land reform.

* * *

Men of goodwill were horrified, but few matched the eloquence of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland: "The AFL-CIO is outraged and saddened by the cold-blooded murders of American Institute for Free Labor Development representatives Michael Hammer and Mark Pearlman by extremist forces in El Salvador. These good men were in El Salvador to assist that nation's peasant unions to participate in a land reform program designed to improve the lives of hundreds of thousands of small farmers and to lay the foundation for a stable democratic society. We are equally grieved by the assassination of our brother and friend Rodolfo Viera, president of the Union Communal Salvadorena, the largest democratic peasant organization in the country. . . . The AFL-CIO will continue its support to the rural and urban trade unions of El Salvador so long as they need and desire our help. We call upon the U.S. government to reiterate its support for the land reform program for which our brave friends gave their lives, and the success of which would be their best memorial."

Some memorial. Like so many other socialist buzzwords—"progressive" income tax, for example, or "liberal" lawmaker—"land reform" covers a multitude of sins. To carry out its mandate, the powers-that-be ordered the military to seize farms at gunpoint in the dead of night and to drive out the owners. Compensation, based in theory on ludicrously low valuations set for tax purposes and, in a country where inflation is raging at double-digit rates, payable in low-yielding long-term bonds, has in fact not been paid. Nor, for that matter, has the

best land been turned over to the peasants. On the contrary, the large estates that produce the country's chief cash crops, including cotton, coffee and sugar—known in the U.S. as agribusiness, and vilified elsewhere as absentee landlords or oligarchs—have been reorganized into what the AIFLD euphemistically calls cooperatives but are in fact collective farms, owned and operated by the state.

To make matters worse, land reform has been part and parcel of a far more grandiose scheme to gain control of El Salvador's economic life, one that has also triggered nationalization of the export trade and of the once-flourishing and well-run commercial banks. The results have been predictably grim. Except perhaps for AIFLD and AID, international credit has virtually dried up. Since the farms were collectivized, production and sale of the cash crops have fallen sharply, further depleting scanty reserves of foreign exchange. Output of goods and services last year plunged by an estimated 10%, while more than half of the labor force is unemployed. All grist for the mill of those, at home and abroad, who would rise to power by exploiting class warfare and chaos. The State Department and the AFL-CIO have somehow struck an alliance that has led not to progress but to relentless decline. With friends like these, the beleaguered people of El Salvador need no enemies.

Foggy Bottom's overt machinations have long been a matter of mounting concern. According to knowledgeable observers, it has intervened repeatedly in the country's political affairs, helping to topple governments right and (rarely) left, and generally throwing its weight behind policies that can only be called socialistic. Robert E. White, current U.S. Ambassador to San Salvador, has enthusiastically hewed to the same line. In language that would do credit to Fidel Castro's ministry of propaganda, Ambassador White has scathingly denounced local capitalism as "an alliance

between large landholders, business interests and the army, designed to reap maximum profits, give minimum benefits and minimum salaries, prevent any kind of organization of the peasantry or workers, pay as little as possible in taxes and permit corruption that was rampant in the government. . . ." After the killing of a politicized priest last spring, the diplomat shocked the Chamber of Commerce by accusing the business community of financing "hit squads," and, without a shred of evidence, offering the "working hypothesis" that it was responsible for the Archbishop's death (an indiscretion that led to his being called back briefly to Washington for "consultation"). Last month he blamed the Reagan transition team for allegedly inciting the "right" to murderous excess.

Ambassador White will be in no position to abuse his authority much longer; his next posting, we submit, should be to Kabul, where he'd have a chance to learn what repression really means. But that still leaves the AIFLD and its wrongheaded zeal. According to a spokesman, this organization was launched in 1962 when President Kennedy suggested to George Meany that the AFL-CIO could be a force for good in the so-called Alliance for Progress. Though that dubious contribution to foreign policy-making long ago vanished into the dustbin of history, AIFLD, with the support of some blue-chip corporate names, has been quietly promoting low-cost housing, trade unions and similar works ever since. And it has thrown itself into the cause of land reform in El Salvador. According to the AFL-CIO *Free Trade Union News*: "On March 6, 1980, the ruling Junta of El Salvador decreed a land distribution program which, when fully implemented, will become the most sweeping agrarian reform in the history of Latin America. . . . At the forefront of this breakthrough is the Union Comunal Salvadorena, a peasant farmer pressure group first organized in 1966 with assistance from the American Insti-

tute for Free Labor Development. . . ."

Breakthrough for whom? Breakthrough for what? Surely not for either free enterprise or freedom. In advance of the move, the junta took control of all communications throughout the country and temporarily suspended civil liberties. Those forced off their land by the army, which handled the seizure like a military operation, were stripped of their possessions without so much as an official receipt. As for compensation, it is based on valuations submitted by the owners in 1977 for tax purposes, a method which even in countries with greater respect for tax gatherers would be tantamount to confiscation. Although inflation is running at an annual rate of 30%, payment—not one colon has yet been forthcoming—was fixed in government bonds bearing an interest rate of 5% and maturing in 30 years. As for the peasants in whose name all this has been done, to date they have gained neither title to the land, nor the right to buy and sell it. The president of the country is on record, moreover, as stating that the new "owners" won't even have the option of deciding what crops to plant: "A designated Directorate makes those decisions."

As all recorded history attests, such decision-making is an invitation to disaster. After resigning in disgust and fleeing the country, one agricultural scientist and former top official wrote to his U.S. sponsor: "The plan that is being carved out is a foreign plan, perhaps prepared by specialists from international organizations who couldn't care less if it fails. . . . Please tell the State Department that . . . the 16 specialists in Agrarian Reform who have been offered to our Secretary of Agriculture would, undoubtedly, be people with experience in the failures of Chile and Peru." Small wonder that the output of the leading cash crops has plummeted: sugar from 6 million hundredweight in 1978-79 to 4.4 million; coffee from 3.9 million hundredweight to an estimated 2.2 million in the current crop year. In El Salvador as elsewhere, a camel is a horse designed by a Directorate.

* * *

The last word belongs to David Garst, partner of Garst & Thomas Corn Co., whose father's bountiful harvest once inspired the admiration of then-Soviet Premier Khrushchev, and who recently served on the Presidential Mission on Agricultural Development in Central America and the Caribbean. In an unusually blunt letter to the White House, farmer Garst wrote as follows: "El Salvador's agrarian reform consisted of confiscating all land over 100 hectares owned by any one person. The Junta also nationalized banking to make credit available to finance the State and/or collective farms made from this confiscated land . . . and set up a State monopoly to control exports of all traditional agricultural crops. This has destroyed the private sector of the economy. . . . There is no democratic political system . . . and there is no chance for economic progress. What we are supporting is a Marxist revolution."

—Robert M. Bleiberg

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Beating back the Marxists isn't enough to save El Salvador. Its business people are losing hope. The economy badly needs reforms—but not the kind the Carter Administration was pushing.

After the killing

By Jerry Flint

YOU'VE BEEN READING and hearing about terror-torn El Salvador, but not in the way Luis Escalante, an old Salvadoran banker who limps from bullet wounds, knows it. "The economy?" he says. "If this junta continues it will go to hell." Escalante's friend couldn't cash a \$1,200 check in Miami from his old bank, Banco Agricola Comercial—now nationalized—because there were no funds. "Twelve hundred dollars!" he laughed sarcastically at the government's ruin of his enterprise.

That's the problem. The Salvadoran government may win its fight with Marxist guerrillas but destroy its economy with so-called reforms that will drive out private investment.

It's a too-common story in the world today. Americans are told a tale of redistribution of the wealth. It sounds like social justice, but the legacy is bitter and bare. In overpopulated, underdeveloped countries like El Salvador, redistribution may be simply spreading the poverty and replacing an old economic elite with a new political one.

The country loses not the idle rich but the productive middle class.

Says Manuel Enrique Hinds, an economics minister in an earlier junta: "The economy may be near collapse. It's worsening every day. There's almost no foreign exchange so we can't buy raw mate-

much of his property, says: "Every year egg production went up 20%. Now it's down 20%, demand for chickens is down 50%. I can't get credit for feed. What kind of business can you do there?"

The present government, called moderate and headed by Christian Democrat

José Napoleon Duarte, began to socialize the economy under prodding by the Carter Administration. It could well intensify the effort as peace returns. The largest farms, the banks and the agricultural export businesses were seized without payment, not even the promised 30-year, low-interest bonds. This was not moderate, it was extreme. Even the Marxists who rule neighboring Nicaragua left private planters alone—except for the Somoza estates—to insure production.

But in El Salvador, the expropriation was backed by the army.

"The army hates foreign investment," says one businessman. "They think free enterprise is exploitation, and that a certain amount of socialism will prevent communism." There is confusion in El Salvador, and a return to a less-productive former age.

On the largest cotton farms, where



José Napoleon Duarte, head of El Salvador's ruling junta

A tough opponent of Marxist terror, but no lover of free enterprise.

rials for our industry. There's a liquidity crisis, capital flight, inflation and production is going down. Worse, the invisible fabric is going. The trained people. When you lose that fabric it takes forever to recover."

A poultryman, who lost some of his farm to nationalization but still has

peasant cooperatives are being set up, the cotton harvest is expected to be down sharply this year, maybe 40% to 50%, which will devastate export earnings as well as manufacturing and processing industries. On some of the old cotton lands corn is being grown. The only trouble is there's no shortage of corn, and the cotton was worth more.

The junta threatens, but keeps postponing, confiscation of smaller plots used for another key export crop, coffee. But the effect of the expropriation threat is a cut-back in investment, less fertilizer and insecticide use, which would be reflected in spreading blight and probably cause a serious slump in next year's harvest. The combination of guerrilla burnings and the government's policies may be halving production of the third crop, sugar. Indeed, El Salvador is traditionally a sugar exporter, and just when prices are high the country probably won't be exporting.

The truth is El Salvador—a nation of 5 million people in an area the size of Massachusetts—was near the takeoff stage in development. Listen to Roberto Llach, a former minister of agriculture: "We had the highest productivity [in yield per acre] of coffee in the world; we're number two in cotton in Latin America, sometimes number one; number one in sugar productivity, second in potato productivity in Latin America, first in use of fertilizer. We are forced to work hard and we do," Llach says.

The industrial and commercial base had also been growing rapidly. But now, says Enrique Altamirano, publisher of the nation's largest newspaper, *El Diario de Hoy*, "we hear rumors of industrial reform, some kind of takeover of industrial firms." How many real jobs will those firms provide without the enterprising brains that built them or the capital that fed them?

Does a poorer, less stable El Salvador matter to Americans? Consider the geography and the politics: A Marxist regime

already controls neighboring Nicaragua. Cuba trains and aids the Salvadoran rebels, and a second Communist victory would intensify efforts to topple all non-Marxist regimes on the land bridge between Mexico's oilfields to the north and Venezuela's to the south.

To be sure, the Carter Administration recognized El Salvador's importance, but misunderstood its situation. The Carter

scheme of the left, but as an effort to set up something like the family farms of the American Midwest." In fact, anyone with the land and money of an Iowa corn farmer is a target for expropriation in El Salvador.

The Reagan Administration is likely to supply arms and training that would help defeat the rebels, but unless the economy recovers the trouble will reappear.

"You have to correct what is the main mistake, the belief that the developing sector is developing at the expense of the other," says Altamirano of *El Diario*.

Altamirano is right, as any American should know. Did U.S. factory workers achieve a two-car, three-television standard of living that is the world's envy because a Rockefeller, a Morgan or even a Roosevelt was made poorer? Of course not. The rising tide of U.S. economic growth lifted all boats, the yacht as well as the dinghy.

So also, backing the modern outward-looking business people of El Salvador doesn't mean stopping efforts at social progress, or even returning already expropriated land, since that would only lead to more bloodshed. Instead, Salvadoran businessmen such as Altamirano say the government must be pushed by the U.S. to accept the private sector as a partner.

"Let the government concentrate on social development, education, health, housing," says Hinds, the former economic minister, who speaks for the major business groups in

the country. "Economically we've got to make a lot of reforms, but to open up the economy, encourage local manufacture, cut red tape and allow in international banking."

What El Salvador needs is an ever-growing pie, not a division of the crumbs. It certainly does not need a Castro-type dictatorship that would merely reshuffle the poverty and replace the old oligarchic elite with a new Marxist one. ■



El Salvador's cotton harvest, devastated by land seizures . . .



. . . and the sugar lands, in even worse shape after guerrilla burnings

"You have to correct what is the main mistake, the belief that the developing sector is developing at the expense of the other."

people failed to see a society changing to modern ways, with the educated children of the old rich, the young businessmen and technicians forming a new middle class. They believed that the old rich still ruled with an iron hand, as in the story books. Social revolution to them was a kind of laxative. The influential U.S. press was at times romantic, as in a January *Washington Post* editorial: "This program [agrarian reform] deserves to be seen not as some wild-eyed socialist

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WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1981

(W)

Latin America: Inflation Shakes Welfare States

By MELVYN B. KRAUSS

The Carter administration believed that political violence and military dictatorships in the Third World are caused by extremes of wealth and poverty. Reducing inequalities of income and wealth distribution, therefore, became the cornerstone of U.S. policies toward the Third World in recent years. El Salvador is a case in point. The Carter response to a Cuban-based takeover threat there has been to sponsor a regime that nationalized the banks and promised agrarian reform, a strategy that seems to have enraged both the extreme left and the extreme right.

Difficult as it is to comment from afar on the course of events in Latin America, one may nonetheless assert that the real weakness of Carter's failed policy toward El Salvador and other Third World countries may not be that it pleases only U.S. liberals. Rather there is growing evidence that Carter's policy would not work even where both left and right in the affected country agree that a move toward greater economic equality is warranted. Several Third World countries have embraced the welfare state to combat extremes of wealth and poverty. But instead of promoting prosperity and social stability as predicted, the welfare state resulted in economic chaos, political violence and military dictatorships.

Costa Rica is a recent example. The New York Times reported in December that "... Costa Rica's problems are the result of a welfare state that has brought considerable social justice and economic equality yet for years has spent more than it has earned, consumed more than it produced and, finally, borrowed more than it could afford. ... Perhaps the greatest symptom of the crisis is that, in a country that has known eight successive peaceful

transfers of power and has long boasted of its democratic tradition, there is suddenly open discussion of the possibility of a coup to install a government capable of dealing with the threat posed by the economy."

Costa Rica's real income has been substantially lowered because of the adverse movement in its terms of trade. If most economic decisions in Costa Rica's economy were private, the decline of real income would be "adjusted" by a decline in real expenditure. Costa Rica would be poorer; but there would be no need for a political crisis since the source of Costa Rica's problems — changes of commodity prices on world markets—are outside of Costa Rican control. Besides, things could soon get better. Sharp cyclical variations in the terms of trade are part of the normal economic environment for small one-crop economies.

But Costa Rica's welfare state made it impossible for Costa Rica to adjust to its reduced real income. The problem is that the decision to reduce welfare expenditure is a political one, which by its nature involves broken promises by the government to its citizens. When private individuals cut back because of reduced real incomes there is only private regret to contend with. But when the government has to suspend free medical services, reduce or eliminate pensions and so forth, citizens feel betrayed by their government.

Faced with the choice of cutting back on welfare expenditure or trying to maintain it in the face of declining real income by printing money, a government may well choose what appears to be the easy way out. The result: rapid inflation, devaluation of the currency and loss of access to foreign capital markets. This is the present situation in Costa Rica. People there are talking of a coup d'etat simply because the

directive power of an authoritarian regime eventually comes to be seen as the only way the economy can be made to adjust to changed circumstances.

Similar to the situation in Costa Rica, the inability of Uruguay's government to reduce welfare expenditure during times of depressed world prices for its leading export — meat — led to hyperinflation. The terms of trade turned against Uruguay during the 1960s. The fall of its currency ratio from 11 pesos-to-1 dollar in 1960 to 100-to-1 in 1967 and 250-to-1 in 1968 reflected an inflation that resulted from government financing of inordinately high levels of welfare expenditure through money creation. Uruguay had little incentive to invest in equipment or chemicals for farm production because the government had been using export profits to prop up its state-owned industries and its own huge bureaucracy.

Unlike the Carter administration, El Salvador's President, Jose Napoleon Duarte, appears to have learned the lessons of Costa Rica and Uruguay. He argues, "There is too little land and too many people. ... We need to become more like Taiwan, importing labor-intensive industries." This means that El Salvador should avoid the agrarian-reform, wealth-redistribution muddle favored by the Carter administration and instead use the free market to spur economic growth. The Reagan administration's policy should be to help El Salvador become the Taiwan of Central America.

Mr. Krauss, professor of economics at New York University, is currently a visiting scholar at the Hoover Institution. His book, "Development Without Aid," will be published by the International Center for Economic Policy Studies.

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Bishops At The Precipice

By A. J. MATT JR.

The growing involvement of the Bishops of the United States in the leftist inspired propaganda campaign against the government of El Salvador took a new turn late last month when it was reported that the president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, John R. Roach, Archbishop of St. Paul-Minneapolis had requested his fellow bishops to mount a letter writing campaign to President Ronald Reagan urging him to cut off U.S. military aid to El Salvador. The argument advanced by Archbishop Roach is that El Salvador's ruling junta is conducting a campaign of murder and oppression against the Catholic Church in that country.

By all objective accounts, the situation in El Salvador is chaotic and complex. The present junta — installed at the instigation of the Carter administration to speed up social "reform" — is under pressure from paramilitary forces supported by some of El Salvador's wealthy landowners and businessmen, while at the same time it fights to survive full scale guerrilla warfare launched against it by Marxist-led Salvadorans sup-

ported by the governments of Cuba and Nicaragua.

Thousands have been killed in the bloody conflict and none of the factions is without blame for acts of brutality and murder. That priests and nuns have been killed and property owned by the Church ransacked and sometimes destroyed is undeniable. That, in some instances, government forces were responsible for these acts can be assumed. It does not follow, however, that the Catholic Church is being oppressed. In a country overwhelming Catholic, in the midst of a bloody civil war, most of the killers as well as the victims are at least nominally Catholic. If Catholic priests and nuns openly and actively side with Marxist revolutionaries, it should surprise no one that they risk being killed by those on the opposing side. The brutality and aggression unleashed within those engaged in a war for survival make little distinction as to rank, or status or office among the "enemy."

The question begged by the simplistic and pietistic utterances of Archbishop Roach, some of his fellow bishops, and a noisy clique of activist priests and nuns is that which would consider the consequences of what they advocate. Simply put, the answer to withholding military supplies from El Salvador's government is to insure a Marxist takeover of that unfortunate country. One can be certain that the bloodshed would continue until a "socialist order" is imposed on the entire country. Before Archbishop Roach and his confreres dismiss such an assertion as improbable if not irresponsible, let them consider this analysis of the situation regarding El Salvador published as part of an editorial in the Feb. 4th issue of the *Wall Street Journal*:

"The parallel to Vietnam is uncanny. Salvadoran Marxists supported from Cuba and elsewhere some time ago launched a war of terrorism, intimidating the population and disrupting the economic and political processes of the country. The U.S. engineered a change of government. A land reform was undertaken. The war escalated into full-scale killing and the international left set about to 'internationalize' the struggle, using the killings of Americans to arouse the United States. A new U.S. administration stepped up its efforts to help the junta, resuming military aid.

"And finally, yesterday, there was the predictable full-page ad in *The New York Times* signed by, among others, a complement of self-proclaimed 'anti-war' protesters left over from Vietnam, Bella Abzug, William Sloan Coffin, Jane Fonda et al.

"Much in evidence are the signatures of the various associates of the Marxist-oriented Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. At the same time this ad was being readied for the *Times*' presses, an anti-American protest was staged over Salvador by some 15,000 leftists in Frankfurt, West Germany. It's hard to believe that all of this world-wide agit-prop is spontaneous. . . .

"What we are seeing here is the beginning of a foreign policy struggle between the Reagan administration and the American left. . . ."

All too many priests and religious in this country are conscious and dedicated followers and instruments of this American left. Does Archbishop Roach now propose to lead the American Hierarchy into the ranks of this motley assortment of Marxist-inspired agitators?

The increasing politicization of the American Hierarchy has caused real harm to the spiritual and moral life of the Church in the United States. If Bishops allow themselves to be manipulated by the worldwide network of Marxist-Communist revolutionaries the harm to the Church would be incalculable. We would urge them to draw back from the precipice and return to their much neglected responsibility of shepherding the people entrusted to their care.

SACK FR. HEHIR

By A. J. MATT JR.

Shortly after release of documents by the U.S. State and Defense Departments giving irrefutable evidence that the violent insurgency in El Salvador is being orchestrated by the Soviet Union through its surrogates in Cuba, East Germany and elsewhere, Fr. J. Brian Hehir appeared before a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee to express strong opposition to any U.S. program to supply arms or other military assistance to the besieged Salvadoran junta. According to a report by Paul Fisher on p. 1 of this issue, Fr. Hehir spoke on behalf of the Bishops of the United States and his appearance in that role was so understood by members of the committee before which he testified.

Fr. Hehir quickly brushed aside the reality of the Soviet threat to El Salvador and declared that the basic problem is the oppressiveness of the Salvadoran social system. He apparently has forgotten that the present junta is a "reform government" installed under pressure from the Carter administration; he also seems to believe that "oppressive" social systems can be reformed in the middle of a full blown civil war.

In any event, the main thrust of Hehir's argument was that U.S. arms "will be used against whole communities of Christians and very likely against officially designated Church personnel." Now such an assertion, unless made in a fit of paranoia, can mean only one of two things: either the junta is waging war at the same time against the Church and the Marxist insurgents, or "whole communities of Christians" and "officially designated Church personnel" are actively siding with the Marxist guerrillas and thus exposing themselves as part of the insurgent movement. Fr. Hehir's argument against military aid is valid only if the first assumption can be proven.

Of course the Bishops' expert has not offered any evidence that the Church is the target of the Salvadoran junta, yet he concluded his testimony with a thinly veiled threat that "an outpouring of revulsion in the Church in our country" can be expected if U.S. military aid is provided to El Salvador.

This writer for one deeply resents Fr. Hehir's pretending to speak for the Catholic Church in this country, or even for all the Bishops. As Paul Fisher's report indicates, the evidence suggests that not even most bishops were consulted prior to Fr. Hehir's giving testimony even though he spoke in the name of the American Hierarchy.

A few weeks ago, we quoted the *Wall Street Journal's* description of the orchestrated

agitation against the government of El Salvador as "the beginning of a foreign policy struggle between the Reagan Administration and the American left." We warned that the growing entanglement by the leadership of the American Bishops with the American left in such issues as the El Salvador insurgency posed a real danger to the spiritual and moral life of the Church in the United States. Fr. Hehir's recent irresponsible and provocative testimony before a committee of Congress clearly demonstrates his willingness to echo the leftist "party line" on El Salvador. Because of his prestigious position within the United States Catholic Conference, Fr. Hehir has compromised the Bishops of this country. For the sake of the moral integrity of the Bishops and for the good of the Church, Fr. Hehir should be sacked.

The Wanderer

MARCH 5, 1981

EL SALVADOR FREEDOM FOUNDATION

1266 National Press Building, Washington D.C. 20045
(202) 347-9831

EL SALVADOR

The central issue in the crisis in El Salvador is political. However, as misrepresentation of the socio-economic factors is clouding an understanding of this issue, we submit the following points and hope you will find them helpful:

Socio-Economic Iniquities: El Salvador is a country of too many people and too little land. There are socio-economic iniquities, as there are in Brazil, but to blame the large landowners for these is nonsense. Neither will land distribution solve the problem; land does not feed people - production does.

Agrarian Reform: The confiscation of 264 of the largest farms at gunpoint under Stage I of the Agrarian Reform, in flagrant violation of the law and the constitution, has succeeded only in severely damaging what was up to that time a working and successful agrarian economy. As the largest landowner, one might ask why the Government did not experiment on government land first before taking over the very farms that were the mainstay of the economy.

The Cooperatives: The image that the Salvadorean peasant is now an independent landowner is fiction. The ill-conceived and ill-organized cooperatives bear little resemblance to what Americans understand by cooperatives. The peasants inducted into these cooperatives are now locked into Soviet-style State farms, notorious for their inefficiency.

Agricultural (Economic) Efficiency Vs. Social Responsibility of Land

To maintain a viable economy and to avoid becoming an unwilling ward of the American taxpayer, El Salvador must compete in the international market. It is difficult to see how agricultural economic efficiency can be replaced by something called the social responsibility of land without such an action being injurious, on a national scale, to the very classes it aims to help.

David Garst, U.S. and world renowned authority on agricultural productivity and a member of former President Carter's agricultural mission to Central America and the Caribbean, wrote the president on his return from the area and called the Salvadorean reforms "a disaster."

Reform & Violence: The Carter Administration choose to introduce fundamental socio-economic reforms at a time when the extreme left was violently attempting to take-over the country. It was claimed that this would 'take the banner away from the left.' What it has done is to throw the country into confusion; greatly exacerbate the violence and add significantly to the suffering of the Salvadorean people.

Peasant Revolt? There was never any peasant revolt building up in El Salvador. The current violence is the product of Soviet-Cuban subversion; provocation by the "Theologians of Liberation" and the Marxist left which has systematically spread panic by machine-gunning busloads of unarmed peasants; torching cotton harvests and blowing up power stations in order to disrupt the economy as part of the softening up process in the take-over of the country.

The recent assassination of Rodolfo Viera, head of the Agrarian Reform Inst. provoked no peasant reaction whatsoever. Neither did the much vaunted final offensive by the left receive any popular support.

Failure of the Agrarian Reform: Efficient private farm management has been replaced by bureaucracy, inefficiency and corruption. Agricultural output is down dramatically reports the American Chamber of Commerce. Corn is being grown on valuable export croplands at a cost nearly three times at which corn can be imported. A two-fold loss. Coffee, cotton and sugar in the past have consistently made up 75 percent of exports. Cotton is now off 50 percent and sugar will have to be imported for the first time to meet local needs.

The large landowners are being made the scapegoats for a failed Carter policy aimed at pre-empting Fidel Castro in El Salvador. A Carter State Dept. official went so far as to advocate 'moderate Marxism' for Central America.

The Concentration of Wealth: The allegation that there was an inordinate concentration of wealth in El Salvador is not supported by the facts. The United Nations ranked El Salvador midway on its scale comparable to Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and Venezuela - the latter two considered exemplary democracies.

José Napoleon Duarte: Christian Democrat Duarte is anti-capitalism. On assuming the presidency of the revolutionary junta (Dec.12.1980), under pressure from the Carter Administration, he attacked the private sector and said ' The reforms have broken the oligarchy's grip and produced a social revolution more significant than in Cuba and Nicaragua.' His points of reference are interesting.

Frente Democrático Revolucionario (FDR): The FDR is an umbrella organization of 8 extreme left and Marxist guerrilla groups, including the Fuerzas Populares de Liberación Farabundo Martí (FPL), responsible for incredible acts of coldblooded killing.

During a visit to the United States in July, 1980, the FDR openly declared that it was preparing to overthrow the government of the day and take power. They boasted international support and weapons. The (Reagan) Administration white paper on El Salvador has since revealed the Soviet bloc - sourcing of the weapons.

Willy Brandt and the Social Democrats of West Germany who heavily financed the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, together with the Socialist International and other socialist movements, are attempting to bring about the incorporation of the FDR in the junta government in El Salvador. Should they succeed, then the political take-over of El Salvador by the Marxists and Socialists will be underway.

Mexico: Mexico has a perception of Central America which is certainly not shared by El Salvador nor indeed by the other nations in the region. The socio-economic and political conditions in Mexico and the failure of many of its major policies hold little attraction for the smaller countries.

The myth of the Mexican agrarian reform, still kept alive after 50 years through revolutionary fervor, is uncomplete in a process remarkable only by its interminability. The peasants, the supposed beneficiaries, have voted on the issue as the uncontrollable exodus from the rural areas eloquently testifies. With six times more land area per person than El Salvador, Mexico has yet to become self-sufficient in basic food production. By contrast, El Salvador was an exporter of food products prior to the recent agrarian reform.

Ruled by one party for forty years, Mexico openly supports and encourages the revolutionary movements to the south. The Salvadorean FDR has made Mexico City its foreign headquarters. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that Mexico should proclaim the Marxist Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua ' A model for the Americas.'

The Church in El Salvador: Long divided, the Church includes those who believe in Marxism-Christianity and advocate the "Theology of Liberation." Activist priests and nuns have consistently promoted ferment and social unrest. Anti-capitalism literature is prepared and distributed; terrorists harbored; arms stashed in churches. FPL terrorist defector, Julian Otero Espinosa, revealed how funds for the purchase of arms and other subversive requirements were laundered through Jesuit bank accounts.

The Assassination of the Four American Nuns: The charge by former Ambassador Robert White that this was the work of the 'Right' and that the Junta was not supporting the investigation was contradicted by the FBI at the House Subcommittee On Foreign Operations on Feb. 25.

Terrorism: Cuba is the fountainhead of terrorism in Central America and until Cuba is neutralized, violence and terrorism will not be brought under control.

Many former large landowners now reside in Miami but not through choice. Every single family has been an actual target of murder and kidnapping by the Marxist terrorists. This terrorist campaign to destabilize the country's economy by attacking the prime economic forces started long before President Romero was overthrown (Oct. 1979) and long before anyone heard of 'death squads.' The terrorists have bragged of the sixty million dollars and more received in ransom.

Former Ambassador Robert White, nonetheless, charges wealthy Salvadoreans residing in Miami with financing much of the violence in El Salvador. He has yet to back this up with evidence. His charges are seen as a 'low blow' attempt to cover up for a failed policy.

The Military: Nor is the charge that the military is fronting for the wealthy borne out by the facts. It was the military forces that evicted the large landowners from their properties at gunpoint. In describing Defense Minister Col. José Guillermo García as the most powerful military leader in the country, 'The New York Times' then quotes him as saying "The Military's commitment to the large landowners is a thing of the past." It became a thing of the past in 1932.

The Confiscated Lands: The large landowners whose properties were confiscated have received NO COMPENSATION, whatsoever to date, notwithstanding repeated public statements to the contrary by former U.S. Ambassador Robert White, and other (Carter) State Department officials. In addition to receiving no compensation, the Agrarian Reform Decree states that the value of these properties will be assessed at the 1976/7 tax valuations. This is doubly injurious to the owners as the Salvadorean Government in 1978 recognized inflation, which up to then had been low, to be a factor and permitted properties to be revalued. Consequently, the 1976/7 tax valuations are especially low.

The solution to the socio-economic problems does not lie in distributing the existing wealth of the country but through unleashing private initiative and encouraging private enterprise to discover new ways to develop the nation's still underdeveloped physical and human resources. In short, unequivocal adoption of the free enterprise system.

The confiscation without compensation of private property has destroyed that very element of confidence so essential for the healthy dynamics of the free enterprise system.

It is clear, therefore, that the future prosperity and progress of El Salvador will depend again on that invaluable human resource - the Salvadorean entrepreneur. Without the full and effective support of the private sector, no amount of foreign aid will successfully get the country moving again. This will mean the return of those former large landowners and bankers whose properties were confiscated and whose experience, management skills, international and financial connections will be essential to the success of any national economic recovery program.

March, 1981

EL SALVADOR FREEDOM FOUNDATION

1266 National Press Building, Washington D.C. 20045

(202) 347-9831

EL SALVADOR FREEDOM FOUNDATION

The El Salvador Freedom Foundation is a private Salvadorean citizens organization made up of farmers, businessmen, professionals, newspaper editors, housewives and others.

It is dedicated to the preservation of liberty in El Salvador and the just and true rights of all Salvadoreans, including the inviolate right of self-determination. It stands for the free enterprise system and the principles of open market economy.

It is not affiliated with any political party.

March, 1981
Washington D.C.

WASHINGTON'S INSTANT SOCIALISM IN EL SALVADOR

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FOREWORD

The Soviet Union, today's aggressive world power on the prowl, has used Washington's recent lapse of security awareness in the Western Hemisphere to mount a drive, in conjunction with Castro's Cuba, for three geopolitical objectives: (1) control of sea routes necessary for oil shipments to the West; (2) domination of the mineral wealth of Africa; and (3) the military and political penetration of the Caribbean and Latin America.

The Soviet-Cuban axis in the last four years has made shocking progress toward all three goals. It has gained a foothold on the New World mainland through its pacts with Central America's "Revolutionary Nicaragua". The axis' present primary goal is Central America's El Salvador, a country whose overpopulation gives it a large manpower pool to supply Castro's expeditionary forces. El Salvador also geographically commands the Panama Canal's western approaches.

Guatemala and its new oil are next on the axis' schedule. After that, Mexico, with its vast oil potential, is the target of the Soviet-Cuban thrust.

With the present monograph, "Washington's Instant Socialism in El Salvador", the Council for Inter-American Security sounds a new kind of warning on the peril Washington faces before the Soviet-Cuban political offensive: that in 1979 and 1980, U.S. policy-makers used El Salvador as a testing ground for a dangerous new thesis concerning the nature of social and political change in Latin America. This thesis, as developed by Carter administration officials, holds that the relatively free market economies and quasi-constitutional systems that currently exist in Central America are "doomed", and that U.S. policy should be to roll with the inevitable change. Carter administration officials were preoccupied with the existence of social injustice in Central America, and they almost completely ignored the Soviet-Cuban role in fomenting political instability.

The made-in-Washington "New Diplomacy" introduced an "agrarian reform" program that replaced much private enterprise in business and agriculture with state control. Few Salvadoreans have much interest in this program; most of its support seems to originate from the

U.S. embassy or other American sources. The establishment of the program, accomplished on March 5 and 6, 1980, marks an unfortunate episode in the history of U.S. relations with Central America. Never before had the U.S. been so shortsighted in aligning itself with a strong anti-capitalist ideology. Never before had the U.S. been so closely implicated in the virtual seizure of major private land and business holdings. By supporting this attack on private enterprise, the U.S. severely damaged El Salvador's prospects for political stability by undermining the productivity of its economy.

The present monograph is a play-by-play revelation of this most unfortunate episode in U.S. history, one not yet resolved. If the present course of events is not reversed, it will stand as a precedent in which a Democratic administration, acting to "get there first with change before Castro does," imposed a degree of Castro-style socialism on a helpless people.

Events of the past few days have highlighted the dangers that the Reagan administration will face in El Salvador. The Salvadorean Democratic Revolutionary Front—an ultra-left organization with little inclination for "democracy"—has attracted significant support from social democratic forces abroad, particularly those in Mexico and Venezuela. While Venezuela's Christian Democrat administration supports the junta, its opposition Democratic Action Party, like Mexico's foreign minister, Jorge Castañeda, and other Mexican leftists, back the anti-junta Front. Both countries supply the U.S. oil, which could compound the U.S. diplomatic problem.

A key point made in the monograph is this: whatever the disguises of nominal "ownership" that may be used in the new socialistic model, the seized properties in El Salvador will still be state-dominated if, as at present, the state controls both the credit that is agriculture's lifeblood and its exports to foreign markets. There remains little room for the exercise of free enterprise between these upper and lower millstones.

Virginia Prewett, author of the monograph, has for more than twenty-five years published syndicated columns, magazine articles and books on hemisphere affairs. She has lived in Mexico, Brazil and Argentina, and has worked in most of the hemisphere countries, whose languages she speaks. She has followed the fortunes of El Salvador with especial interest for the past decade, and has visited all parts of it.

Prewett has made a hemisphere-wide study of land-reform systems, and visited every major land-reform area during five years of covering Latin America as a roving news correspondent and UN agency official. For three years she developed and operated a farm on the Brazilian central frontier.

Years ago, Prewett wrote for the *Washington Post* the capital's first regular column on Latin America. For thirteen years, until 1972, she wrote for the *Washington Daily News* the U.S. capital's last regular

Latin America column. For eighteen years, her columns were syndicated to major U.S. newspapers.

Her books are "Reportage on Mexico", "The Americas and Tomorrow", and "Beyond the Great Forest", all published by E. P. Dutton. She has contributed articles to Foreign Affairs Quarterly, The Reader's Digest, Atlantic, the Saturday Evening Post, and other major periodicals. She has lectured at U.S. universities and at Washington's Defense Intelligence School. For eleven years she has published a fortnightly intelligence report, "The Hemisphere Hotline", now from headquarters at 4545 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, D.C., 20008.

The author was awarded the María Moors Cabot Gold Medal in 1964 for her reporting on Latin America, and has received awards from the University of Florida Center for Latin American Studies and other universities and professional societies. She was presented a special bronze plaque and gold seal of Cuba by Cuban exiles for her many exposés of tortures in Castro's prisons, and a silver plaque for articles that helped resolve the OAS dispute over the Honduran-Salvadorean war of 1969.

Her awards and citations have been in recognition of her professional work exposing totalitarianism's advances and the abuse of human rights by dictators of the left and the right.

E. R. Zumwalt, Jr.
Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.)

Washington, D.C. November 30, 1980

PART ONE

I. HOW A DISCREDITED SYSTEM WAS USED TO WRECK A CENTRAL AMERICAN ECONOMY

On March 5, 1980, there began in El Salvador a nation-shaking event without precedent in New World history.

A U.S.-supported unconstitutional military-civilian junta in that Central American country sent soldiers in battle-dress to seize the most developed and the most productive sector of the country's free-market economy, some 376 large farms and agribusinesses.*

The detachments of soldiers were accompanied by government agronomists who had been secretly drilled for three days in a seizure plan sent from Washington by the authority of the Carter administration.

The administration's diplomats indeed pressured the Salvadorean junta to start seizing the farm properties after the nonconstitutional government had dawdled over "land reform" for months; in fact, ever since the military had ousted President Carlos Romero on October 15, 1979, and created a five-man ruling group including leftist civilians.

For two days, March 5 and 6, trucks, jeeps, and troop-carriers with squads of soldiers roared over Salvadorean highways and country roads until most of the big farms that provide the economic base for El Salvador had been occupied.

Everything was seized. All the crops in the fields and in the barns. All the seed, all the farm tractors and other machinery essential to extensive, modern farming. All the trucks, jeeps, small planes, gasoline and machinery-repair tools. All the equipment for cultivating, harvesting and processing coffee. The sugar mills; all the schools and employees' houses on the farms. All the owners' homes, with all their contents. "I can't even get my children's letters from a drawer at my farm," one owner said later.

*Junta bulletins first spoke of "376" large farms "nationalized"; later they mentioned "263 cooperatives" and some properties divided up into plots. Since there were no negotiations prior to the land seizures, much less agreement on value for realistic payment, nor any form of payment until this date, the junta's "nationalizations" were, to the owners, outright confiscations.

A few managed to talk the invaders into allowing them to leave in their personal cars; one owner managed to keep his small plane. But many had to walk away, taking only the clothes they wore.

II. INSTANT SOCIALISM, MADE-IN-USA

This upheaval, human and economic, began the imposition of El Salvador's "Instant Socialism", made-in-the-USA, by the Carter administration.

On March 5, 1980, there existed no representative self-government by the Salvadorean people at any level. The national administration had been installed by military rebellion that had swept away the previous administration in October, 1979. The national constitution, and with it El Salvador's system of justice and the courts, had been made subject to the will of the five-man junta in Decree 114, issued earlier in 1980.

American diplomats and their surrogates had told the ineffectual president, General Carlos Romero, he must resign, and approved his overthrow when he refused to do so. These Americans handed down the "agrarian reform" plan to surprised Salvadorean government agronomists, who were kept virtually incommunicado in the capital, San Salvador, during a three-day indoctrination period. At least two washed their hands of Washington's Big-Stick action by claiming they had to go home "for fresh clothes," and left the country.

This U.S.-sponsored military coup against the country's private sector was perpetrated with the understanding that U.S. taxpayer funds were to pay for the administration of the new agrarian "reform" replacing private ownership and management. (Some farms, said authorities, would be operated as state-monitored cooperatives; others would be broken up into small plots.)

Already, the exportation of the major Salvadorean crops, coffee, sugar and cotton, had been taken into state hands. Not long after the soldiers were sent to grab the farms of 1,200 acres and above on March 5-6, the top officers of Salvadorean banking and savings and loan institutions were called by officials to a meeting.

While they were there, detachments of soldiers in battle-dress, some in armored cars, surrounded these private banking institutions and seized them for the state.

Next, rural rental property was declared the property of the renters.

Then, another phase of "land reform" was made known: properties of 250 acres and above were to be seized by the state.

Payment, mostly in bonds that must be invested in industrialization, has only been spoken of; so far no payments have been made. The farm cooperatives are state-monitored; "peasants", if they receive title to

plots of land, cannot sell their plots for thirty years. The system keeps the state's firm hand over all.

As noted, El Salvador's economy depends absolutely on its farm exports, mainly coffee, cotton and sugar. The junta "reforms" sponsored by Washington after October 15, 1979, effectively put an estimated 65% of the private sector's total assets into government hands: they implemented "Instant Socialism".

III. THE NATURE AND INTENT OF THE CARTER-APPROVED "INSTANT SOCIALISM"

Two circumstances make the Salvadorean military's blitzkrieg seizure of its nation's own private sector's assets unique in a world grown weary under shocks and marvels.

First of all, no such sudden, clean-sweep seizure and divestiture of the bulk of the private properties has ever been done to a Latin American people either by its own government, by rebels or by invaders in a war.

Second, the United States government, in its periodical direct and indirect interventions in Latin America over the decades, has never pressured surrogates to go forth and strip private owners of the major real-property and banking assets of any Latin American country.

The Mexican Revolution, mother of socialist revolutions, predating the Russian, never at any time made such a clean sweep of the properties and banking assets of its citizens. It took the Mexican revolutionaries years to take over a much smaller proportion of that country's productive sectors.

In Cuba, when Fidel Castro came down from the mountains, the Cuban revolution did not dare organize a military sweep to take over the most productive properties as was done in El Salvador.

The radical Peruvian generals and their Marxist civilian advisors who seized Peru's large properties after 1968 did it cautious step by step, with semblances of "legality". When the Marxist President Salvador Allende of Chile took office in 1970, he too struck a slower pace and erected his own pretense of "law". His land policy was the subject of lively debate as he led and pushed Chile by degrees into ultra-socialism.

But Washington's crisis-managers who pressured the Salvadorean dictator-junta to send their military fanning out to invade and capture the country's private sector made no secret of their actions, nor of why they chose to do it in such a rapid, brutal fashion. The U.S. actions and the reasons Carter's emissaries adduced for them are known to thousands upon thousands of living witnesses and have been reported by the press of the hemisphere, including the U.S. press.

Carter administration spokesmen admitted responsibility freely, if anonymously, to such papers as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, and barely troubled to avoid such admissions in statements made on the record by individual officials.

The administration's fervid support for the Salvadorean junta's reforms is a strong element of the proof.

To sum up what happened:

U.S. policy-makers in 1980, using Central America's terrorist-tormented El Salvador as testing ground for a "New Diplomacy", went to the absurd and dangerous length of trying to stop totalitarian socialism's onrush with a "Made-in-Washington" socialism of their own.

IV. WHAT THE PRESS SAYS

To repeat, many publications, in English and in Spanish, have pinned responsibility for the Salvadorean junta's "Instant Socialism" on Washington's 1979-1980 crisis-managers. The *Washington Star* rarely takes strong sides on Latin American issues, yet it editorialized on El Salvador as follows on March 16, 1980:

"Trying to defuse drives toward Marxist totalitarianism by sponsoring 'reforms' that turn out to be the same thing is, by now, a familiar if often covert tactic." The editorialist then points out that the Salvadorean "reforms" required strong-arm tactics and left no room for civil liberties, and pinpointed "the American government" as an active participant. The editorial ends by saying: "Meanwhile, though, El Salvador looks like a country revolutionized into state socialism with American help and encouragement."

The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* are both papers that have themselves encouraged the kind of thing U.S. diplomacy did in El Salvador; they would not report on it except supportively, as they view support.

On July 9, Alan Riding of the *New York Times* wrote an article that was headlined: "U.S. Loses Ground in Central America and Backs Changes in Bid to Recoup". Riding said Carter policy-makers in State argued that since change is inevitable, "U.S. interests are best served by 'stealing' Cuba's cause and promoting change."

In other words, the U.S. should rush to implant its own communism to pre-empt Castro's. Earlier, on April 17, the *Washington Post* had explained, from administration sources, that Carter diplomats indeed pressed the "revolutionary reforms" upon El Salvador. The *Post* reported from administration sources why it was urgent for them to do it and what they meant to do with the policy in the future.

The two-column *Post* article, signed by staff writer Michael Getler, was headlined: "New Diplomacy Tested by U.S. in El Salvador". Said the article in part:

"The tiny, violence-torn Republic of El Salvador has become the testing-ground for an unorthodox brand of last-minute U.S. diplomacy that the Carter administration hopes will prevent civil wars and communist takeovers from rippling through the fragile governments of Central America. . . .

"The stakes, as Washington sees them, are very high, and they are undoubtedly compounded by the feeling that a new setback in Central America, coming on top of difficulties in Iran and Afghanistan, might be doubly hard to digest. . . ."

This is a friendly reporter's way of saying that it would hurt Carter's chances in an election year if, on top of the loss of a U.S. ally, Nicaragua, to Marxists—who openly control the revolutionary regime there—and of Iran and Afghanistan, pro-Castro forces should seize power in El Salvador.

Continued the article: "The U.S. strategy involves openly supporting the beleaguered and controversial five-man military-civilian junta now governing El Salvador. Though the junta has been unable to win much support or confidence among the various factions of Salvadorean society," the U.S. still pinned hopes on it, the story said.

"This assessment and Washington's support," wrote the Post reporter, "are coupled to intense U.S. pressure on the military members of the junta to broaden its political base, carry out truly revolutionary land ownership and banking reforms, and stop the killing being done in the countryside by elements of its armed forces in the name of reform.

"This plan has put the United States in the unusual position of advocating overturning a wealthy landowning class—the traditional small and wealthy elite that has pulled power levers in El Salvador for four decades—and nationalizing the banking system that is the key to its control."

The writer continued: "It has also put the United States in the position of coaxing the junta to make contacts not only with the more moderate business interests and popular organizations, but also with nonviolent groups of the political left whose support would be necessary to forestall an extremist takeover."

The article went on to repeat the Carter administration thesis that Central America's "existing order", that is, the relatively free market economies and quasi-constitutional systems, were doomed anyway, so the U.S. should "roll with the changes," hoping to take charge of the new order.

It said U.S. diplomats discounted Cuban subversion's responsibility for turmoil in Central America—except when they went to Capitol Hill to "win approval for a small package of military aid to the junta." The

Post writer called this double-dealing on Cuba by our diplomats an "unusual" way of "handling" the "Cuban connection in El Salvador."

Readers should understand that the *Post* reporter used a number of codewords to write his revealing article on administration policy. The "intense pressure" the U.S. exerted on the junta to "broaden its political base" meant that the U.S. pressured the roughly 80% of the Salvadorean military who are anti-Marxist to move closer to the revolutionary organizations at the time not yet coalesced into an anti-junta front. The "popular organizations" the U.S. was "coaxing" the junta to make contacts with are, in the main, Marxist, or they parallel Marxism, and have now joined Marxists in a common front. The "killing" that the U.S. wanted "elements" of the armed forces to stop in the countryside was for the most part the killing of leftist terrorists who attacked the military and civilians alike. The U.S. also obviously wanted the military to keep allied anti-Marxist civilian "elements" from killing leftists. Nothing was said about stopping the aggressive extreme-left terrorists from killing anybody.

The long *Washington Post* article revealed how the administration spokesmen paralleled the Marxist line on El Salvador: the "oligarchy" had to be overturned—step one in communism's recipe for destroying capitalism—and further socialization had to be pursued because the existing order was "doomed".

And Castro's Cuba was not to blame. An administration source was quoted as follows: "My opinion is that if Cuba didn't exist, it wouldn't make a helluva difference." (This attitude, of course, absolved the administration from doing anything about the thorny problem of Cuba as an aggressive surrogate for an aggressive world rival actively undermining U.S. security and other vital interests in the hemisphere.)

The "intense U.S. pressure on the military members of the junta to . . . carry out truly revolutionary land ownership and banking reforms" had already borne fruit in the seizures of the large farm properties on March 5-6 and after; however, the seizure of the 250-acre-and-above farms was, and is, still to come.

Frankly revealing the across-the-board intervention practiced in El Salvador under the Carter "New Diplomacy", the *Post* writer's sources told him of "heavy U.S. pressure on the liberal officers of the junta to purge the elements of the military still allied to the rich and previously ruling class."

"The administration, however, argues in effect that the small, rich oligarchy is finished in El Salvador; that social change is inevitable. . . ." wrote the *Post*'s Getler.

This is precisely the thesis of the so-called "moderate left" of Latin America, now heavily involved with the extreme left. It is also the line of the Marxists, Castroites, and leftists who parallel the latter.

The *Post* writer's sources in the Carter administration used throughout their discussions with Getler the concepts and vocabulary of the extreme left; not surprising, since their avowed purpose in El Salvador was to set up a "new order" of socialism resembling the Cuban model in so many ways that it would lure followers of that path to switch to U.S.-controlled socialism.

V. THE QUESTION

The question for Americans to ask themselves about the Carter administration has several parts. First, how could Carter and his crisis-managers act as if they had a mandate to replace free-market systems in troubled Central American countries with a made-in-Washington model of ultra-socialism? With Carterism repudiated on November 4, what responsibilities for redress rest on the American people?

How far did the defeated administration mean to take the policy of implanting the new made-in-Washington ultra-socialism? The *Washington Post* said El Salvador was a testing ground, implying a much broader application of the Carter policy of sweeping away free-market systems, to establish models close to totalitarian socialism. *Time Magazine* has referred to a "new breed" of activist diplomat, leaving us to believe our envoys in other countries would also use the "intense pressures" employed in El Salvador.

Don Bohning and Shirley Christian, staff writers for the *Miami Herald* on April 15 published the last of a series on Central America with the headline: "El Salvador, A Pattern for the Isthmus?" Their report began: "It is possible that the future course of Central America is being decided on 8,083 overcrowded square miles of mountainous terrain and black sand beaches fronting the Pacific Ocean. Tiny El Salvador. . . ."

The facts are that the Carter administration used the most overt intervention in Central American countries and that the intervention without fail favored the left against free-market forces, models and philosophies. Fumblings, failures and finally outright aid to the Marxist-led guerrillas in Nicaragua (in the form of interdicting arms being shipped to their opponents) have put that nation in the power of a Marxist-dominated dictatorship close to Castro's Cuba. El Salvador's political and economic structures are wrecked, as we shall see in a later section, and stepped-up killing rages there. In Guatemala, a truly moderate U.S. ambassador was unceremoniously removed from his post and a leftist Washington lobbyist who has linked himself with the Trotskyites on Central America has boasted to the Washington Post that he got the diplomat, Frank Ortiz, kicked downstairs.

(The *Washington Post* reported on July 6 how this came about after "the Guatemalan left and the human rights lobby in Washington be-

came convinced that his [the U.S. ambassador's] sympathies lay with the right.")

"The right" in *Washington Post* and *New York Times* reporting on Central America normally means those people and forces favoring free enterprise as against ultra-socialism.

The Carter administration attack to destabilize Guatemala's anti-Marxist government was well defined. A carefully worded administration statement to top-level bankers and businessmen that "change" must come to Guatemala put them on notice months ago. This in itself was destabilizing, since it frightened potential overseas creditors and investors.

Washington in fact barely troubled to conceal its intervention to help the left in Central America. Unidentified administration sources boasted to the national press about "stopping" coups in El Salvador that would have reversed the Carterite "Instant Socialism". They had to deny to the press something many Guatemalans believe: that U.S. diplomats tried this year to promote a coup to overturn the anti-Marxist (elected) Lucas government as El Salvador's Romero was overturned last October 15.

El Salvador undoubtedly was a testing ground for the Carter administration's implantation of its own ultra-socialism. Hence the great significance of its story.

Whatever the nature of the government the U.S.-backed junta overturned (and that government's chief critics just happen to be ruling in the present junta!) and whatever the nature of the free-market system destroyed through "intense U.S. pressures" on March 5-6 (and Inter-American Development Bank statistics will be cited later to refute the "black legend" used against it), Jimmy Carter's administration was never given a mandate by the American electorate to start destroying free-market societies in Latin America and implanting regimes of state socialism.

VI. THE "COVER STORY"

The main cover story used by the administration as it mired itself deeper and deeper into the "New Diplomacy" was advocacy of human rights. Yet the record shows that the only governments to which the administration applied its rough, interventionist version of human-rights advocacy were anti-Marxist regimes, elected or not.

In contrast, Moscow-dominated Cuba, without giving anything in return, received more advantages from the Carter administration than from any U.S. administration preceding it. Panama, run by the bullying, unpredictable friend of Castro and the PLO, General Omar Torrijos, was given an enormous reward for his threats against the United States—new treaties giving the Panama Canal to Panama by swiftly

accelerating steps. Well-documented violations of both human and civic rights by these and other leftist hemisphere governments went unnoticed, unadmitted and unpunished by Washington.

Moreover, the Carter policies for Latin America that grew out of its "human-rights" cover-policy gave rise to two new dictatorships, one in Nicaragua (where Washington gave the Somoza regime its final coup de grâce) and another in El Salvador.

Neither of the new regimes is constitutional; both are outright dictatorships, with small groups exercising power that is absolute. Both have thrown political opponents into jail: in Nicaragua there are at least 7,000 people in political prisons, many held on simple suspicion for long months. No independent court system operates in either country. Press freedom is relative in Nicaragua and much controlled in El Salvador.

These are the creations of the Carter "New Diplomacy" or "Realpolitik", as one *Washington Post* article called it.

In Nicaragua today, the new revolutionary national anthem is a hymn of hate against the "imperialist" United States. In El Salvador, in mid-May of 1980, women of the anti-Marxist persuasion blockaded the U.S. embassy residence in protest for 48 hours. They sprayed on its gate a message to U.S. Ambassador Robert White—"Communist, Go Home!"

On September 16, two antitank shells were fired late at night into the San Salvador U.S. embassy offices, knocking a ten-foot hole in one wall. An extreme-left terrorist group called the Revolutionary Peoples' Army (ERP) at once claimed "credit" for the attack. Militant leftists of the Peoples' 28 of February League, also leftist, had staged an attempted armed invasion of our San Salvador embassy early in the year.

So much for Jimmy Carter's strategy in Central America to win friends and influence people by "stealing Castro's cause" with his "New Diplomacy". Both sides scorned the U.S.

VII. WHO DID IT?

Washington's unprecedented and mind-boggling policy of replacing troubled free-market governments and societies with those designed to "steal Castro's cause"—by out-Castroing Castro—was not the result of conspiracy. It was not done secretly. The authors of the Castro-lining model and its implantation are known.

There was, however, a Carterite "communications" (propaganda) sleight-of-hand at the beginning, when anti-Marxist governments in Latin America were first being attacked and penalized and, in Central America, destabilized. "Human-rights violations" were the excuse for the U.S. penalties. This approach continued to be used in Guatemala. But in El Salvador, the rationalization or apologia for the U.S. "New

Diplomacy" of implanting made-in-USA ultra-socialism became "getting there with 'change' before Castro does."

In reports and discussions of the "New Diplomacy" or Carterite "Realpolitik", one major deception came in the use by the policy's advocates of the innocuous-sounding words that, in effect, concealed what the administration was doing.

In remarks on and off the record by officials involved and in our national newspapers and other news media that reflect their policies, the Moscow-backed, Cuba-implemented socialistic revolutionary movements sweeping the world were referred to delicately as "change". And Carter was said to be "encouraging change".

Sometimes the euphemism was "the winds of change". Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's chief advisor on the National Security Council, himself spoke of the U.S. need to adapt to the "winds of change" in the Third World.

Another oft-used euphemism for socialist revolution in underdeveloped countries is "the redistribution of wealth". Thus when our officials and even Congressional spokesmen for the Democratic Party's left wish to tell us our policies must support the extreme left in the Third World, they use such terms as "redistributing wealth", "riding the winds of change", "adapting to change", even of "competing" (with communism) and "getting a piece of the action" (i.e. creating our own ultra-socialistic client-states).

The major premise of those who use these euphemisms is that "change" (i.e. socialistic revolution) is inevitable. Undoubtedly, change in its traditional, noneuphemistic sense is a condition of life and is indeed inevitable. But when "change is inevitable" is used to convey that "socialist revolution is inevitable", we are in quite another ballgame. And this is the ballpark where the "New Diplomacy" was played out.

VIII. THE PLAYERS

Jimmy Carter has said that, after he leaves the White House, he wishes to go overseas as a missionary. During his primary campaigns in 1976, Carter became "sold" on the idea of a "human-rights" crusade in Latin America partly because Senator Ted Kennedy was using that theme (as was the world's ultra-left) to hammer at the Chilean leaders who in 1973 overturned the avowed Marxist, Chile's President Salvador Allende.

The 1976 Carter primary campaigns were heavily manned by volunteers from the left wing of the Democratic Party. Many of these had learned the art of campaigning with George McGovern. Many were anti-Vietnam war protesters now with haircuts, collars and ties. Some had been to Cuba, for indoctrination with the Venceremos Brigade.

Others were "New Liberals" who became gradually absorbed into the New Left. That term is perhaps the best to apply to them as a group.

The New Leftists, guided by McGovernites with experience, did the doorbell-ringing and other donkey-work in the Carter campaign, filling a tremendous Carter need. The regular Democratic machinery viewed him coolly; without the energetic New Leftists, he might not have won the nomination.

They packed the Transition Team created to fill the many offices in the President's gift after he took office. Robert Pastor, who had circulated in the orbit of Washington's matrix leftist think-tank, the Institute for Policy Studies, was named National Security Council adviser on Latin America. The Reverend Brady Tyson, an academic ideologue earlier expelled from Brazil for his leftist activities, became adviser to Andrew Young and to Pastor.

The New Leftists named themselves and their fellows freely into the State Department. They urged the appointment of Cyrus Vance as Secretary of State and of Warren Christopher as Under Secretary. They took for themselves jobs as Assistant Secretaries of State for the various geographical regions. They took posts on the Policy Planning Board and in other control mechanisms of State's bureaucracy. Such a politicization of State had not been seen before.

The highhanded methods of the political appointees in forcing the career officers to follow their (leftist) line at length drew a public protest from the president of the career Foreign Service officers' professional organization—who exhibited great courage in making his protest. Career officers who would go along were recruited into the dynamo clique called the "Christopher Group", others who could not moved into jobs where they did not have to implement policies with which they did not agree.

An example of the latter was Ambassador Terence Todman, an accomplished black who was Carter's first Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. In the early hassles over the administration's one-sided application of the human-rights policy, Todman resisted the shoves to the left. At length he made a public statement of his views and asked to be transferred to our embassy in Madrid. His transfer request was granted.

A number of State Department career officers have continued to disagree with and even, as they can, to oppose the leftward plunge of U.S. policy in Latin America. Frank Ortiz is an example. It has been mentioned that, according to the *Washington Post*, among other sources, the leftist-lobbying Lawrence R. Birns, director of the church-related Council on Hemispheric Affairs, "got" Frank Ortiz fired as U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala because Birns and the Guatemalan left believed Ortiz favored "the right".

(Birns, whose organization has teamed with American Trotskyites on Guatemala, took his objections about Ortiz to James Cheek, Assistant Secretary of State for Central America, according to a *Post* story. A leak to the press—and Ortiz was booted to a less-important post in Panama.)

Some of the New Leftists who designed and implemented Carter policy, with his full approval, were “well-meaning liberals”. But there was a sprinkling of hard-nosed ideologues among them, according to State Department officials who watched them operate.

There were President-servers and President-users among those evolving the “New Diplomacy”. The urgency of the “servers” was to keep the fate of El Salvador from hurting Carter’s re-election chances. That of the “users” was to get their ideology imposed there while they had their hands on power.

IX. THE “WINDS OF CHANGE”— WHICH DIRECTION?

The irony and the tragedy for the Latin American peoples who have suffered from the Carter administration’s moralistic Big-Stick actions and ideological experiments in tearing down and rebuilding Central American societies is that there are indeed strong winds of change blowing throughout the world, even in the politico-economic sense.

But the new winds, that tell world directions for tomorrow, are not favorable to the type of ultra-state socialism that Washington pressured Central Americans to implant, first of all in El Salvador.

Ultra-socialism has been tested time and again in this hemisphere and the other. In Latin America it is failing and has failed drastically. Its main thrust has been Carter policy’s favorite, socialistic “land reform”.

State-controlled land-use systems have failed spectacularly in Mexico. If this were not so, floods of Mexico’s rural poor would not crowd across U.S. borders each year. Note well: Mexico has only 83 inhabitants per square mile, as contrasted with more than 550 in El Salvador. Its division of land into small plots for the “peasants” has not solved their poverty problem, nor has its state-dominated system of “*ejidos*”, a form of commune or cooperative. Neither has “relieved social pressures”.

Mexico is the mystic prehistoric cradle of Indian corn, its poor people’s staple. Yet for many years after its first burst of revolutionary land “reform”, it had to import even corn. Today, after 66 years of “land reform”, Mexico must import corn yet again.

Argentines entered the 20th century as the most prosperous, best-fed, most literate and even the most powerful people in Latin America. Argentina is endowed with population homogeneity, climate and re-

sources beyond the wildest dreams of overcrowded, mountainous little El Salvador. Yet after Dictator Juan Perón in the 1940's introduced his strong-state society and economics—in a system similar in many respects to the one “intense U.S. pressures” have thrust on El Salvador except that there was no extreme land reform—Argentina lost political and economic leadership. Its economy, sacked for a decade by an all-powerful state, was near bankruptcy when the military overturned Perón in the mid-1950's.

For about two decades, Argentina, with much of the Perón system still in place, jinked back and forth between military and civilian governments, with leftist terrorism at length spreading a low-grade civil war. When the military took over one more time in 1976 to root out Perón economics, Argentina, once the richest country in Latin America, teetered again on the edge of international bankruptcy.

Chile's economy is much more fragile than highly-endowed Argentina's. It took only about two and a half years of the avowed Marxist Salvador Allende's socialism to wreck its economy.

Nor in Peru did it take long for ambitious, bribe-hungry generals and their Marxist civilian edict-makers to wreck that country after its leftist military coup in 1968.

The *New York Times* is world-known as a paper that encourages the “populism” that Marxist ideologues often use as the entering wedge for their system. But read what the *Times'* Juan de Onis writes about Peru's land reform. (This “reform” was begun after 1968 with precisely the same slogans, justifications and apologia as surrounded Carter's “New Diplomacy” for El Salvador—with the difference that many of the “hated rich” in Peru were U.S. corporations engaged in commercial farming.)

On May 13, 1980, de Onis' story on Peru was headlined: “For Peruvians, Land Policy has Brought a Bitter Harvest”.

Wrote de Onis: “The military who ousted Mr. Belaúnde [President Fernando Belaúnde Terry, in 1968] carried out a major land distribution that took 18 million acres from coastal plantations and highland farms and ranches and turned them into state-controlled peasant cooperatives. The socialistic civilian advisors intended to produce an anti-capitalistic revolution In fact, what happened was a major disruption of agricultural production, the impoverishment of many peasants who were forced to migrate to the cities The revolution plunged Peru into a crisis of inflation and foreign debt. . . .” (The country was self-sufficient in oil and even exported oil before the revolution.)

In Peru, wrote de Onis, “Agrarian reform is associated now with food shortages and inflation that raised prices 70% last year . . . [and] private farmers say the disruption of management is the main problem behind the declining food output. . . .”

This year, at their first opportunity, Peruvians overwhelmingly voted back into office the anti-Marxist Fernando Belaúnde Terry, whom the radical military had bundled aboard a departing plane in his night-clothes in 1968.

Argentina, Chile, Peru and other hemisphere countries that have been able to throw off the heavy weight of state-control systems, especially of socialistic land "reform", are now fighting their way back to economic health with versions of the free-market system.

The Cuban people, prisoners of the most completely socialized system in the hemisphere, have for two decades been at the same time the people whose economic activities have been the most heavily subsidized—by Russia. Yet, in a burst of rebellion that personifies the new winds of change, over 125,000 Cubans exploded through Castro's Russian-designed security system this year and streamed across the dangerous Florida Straits in one of the most eloquent mass exoduses in history. Chronic shortages in food and other necessities were a strong element causing the explosion.

While Carter's crisis-managers were pressuring El Salvador's dictators toward more state control of the economy, Castro was being forced by internal pressures to ease up on his system and allow rudimentary free-market activities to take root. Cubans no longer have to sell all their products to the government.

The new winds of change, those blowing against state socialism, are gusting elsewhere as well. In little Suriname not long ago, a military movement kicked out pro-Castro ideologues. In Poland, a highly developed industrial giant in comparison with any Central American country, observers agree that it was food shortages caused by failures in the socialistic farm economy that squeezed Polish factory workers to the point of their recent dramatic and history-making strikes.

Meanwhile, in free elections, the people of Great Britain, Portugal, Jamaica and the United States, like the Peruvians, have repudiated various degrees of leftist government.

PART TWO

X. FAILURES AND HOAXES

Demonstrably, the Instant Socialism that Washington pressed upon El Salvador is heavily cratered by failures, both political and economic.

The New Diplomacy is a failure also for Carter's pretensions to win over Third-World leftist revolutionaries by taking a high "moral" position favoring socialist revolution ("change").

Third-World leftists see well enough that Carterites sponsoring socialist change in El Salvador were attempting to pre-empt them there and take control of the anti-capitalistic, socialist revolution now so long on the anti-U.S. road to world power.

Amid many failures, however, the New Diplomacy registered one success. What Carter was doing in El Salvador did not burst into the 1980 presidential campaign to harm his re-election chances. The New Diplomacy was, for Carter, a precarious "lid" on a potentially damaging crisis, albeit one that contradicts principles his country fought two world wars to defend.

Under the precarious lid, it should be noted here, new problems generated. For Venezuela and Mexico, both important sources for oil for the U.S. people, have become involved. Mexico has become lately entangled in a way that can open an undreamed-of abyss in U.S. relations with our hemisphere neighbors.

In relation to the U.S. campaign, the precarious lid was held in place by the Salvadorean junta and by administration spokesmen dealing on friendly and sympathetic terms with representatives of leading, tone-setting U.S. newspapers. The Spanish-language press and a wide variety of authoritative Salvadorean sources gave another side to the story; but they do not count in the U.S. political arena because our national news media either reflect the tone-setting newspapers or, like Jimmy Carter's political opponents, ignore the Central American story altogether.

Keeping the lid on so far as the U.S. press and public is concerned has been accomplished in substantial part by the junta's and its sponsors' use of misdirection. Even military drives against leftist guerrillas helped divert press attention. Carterite spokesmen for several years have employed misdirection well and in some instances have adopted

and adapted misdirections that are in fact hoaxes and outright Big Lies.

An example of the use of misdirection has been Carterite-junta talk about a Salvadorean land reform creating "cooperatives" on the large seized farms, and of "ownership" conveyed to recipients of small plots of land.

The "cooperatives" are in truth emerging as state-monitored, state-dominated communes.* The land "given" and "sold" by the state to small farmers and candidates in 17-acre plots or small farms is entangled in regulations that make "ownership" a hoax. For instance, for 30 years, or until he has paid the state for his land, a plot-holder may not rent out or sell the land. He may, however, see the state seize it again and "sell" it to somebody else if he does not keep up the take-it-or-leave-it, nonnegotiated payments dictated to him by the national authorities.

This kind of propagandistic sleight-of-hand runs all through El Salvador's U.S.-backed instant socialistic revolution. The very arithmetic used by the junta to claim success for the land program does not agree with statistics from authoritative sources outside the realm of Washington's manipulation.

Another example of the manipulative misdirection is found in consistent attempts by the junta and the Department of State to divorce El Salvador's land reform from the numerous Latin American counterparts that have failed. Their custom is to refer to radical land-system changes the U.S. has sponsored in Japan, Taiwan, even South Korea. But those changes, if they indeed can be called successful, took place under circumstances completely different from El Salvador's irreducible Latin American realities.

Japan was a conquered country when a U.S. military government imposed land reform upon it. Furthermore, it had an industrial sector so strong, so large and so advanced that it could produce the materials for its long war with the mighty, industrialized U.S. and Great Britain. After V-J Day, billions of Western capital poured in for Japan's economic reconstruction.

The Taiwan and South Korean stories are similar. Taiwan became in effect an occupied country from the time the anti-communist Chinese retreated there, though one with a strong industrial sector and worldwide credit resources. South Korea has had its own strong inflow of heady currents of Western capital and a burst of development in its own well-advanced industrial sector. Meanwhile, in South Korea, a U.S. Army defending against communist destabilization has underpinned strong anti-communist dictatorships.

* Whatever else their circumstances, Salvadorean "cooperatives" will be creatures of the state so long as the state (a) controls credit, and (b) controls export sales, as it does under the U.S.-backed junta.

All of the three countries had and have strong industrial sectors that operate on the profit motive. El Salvador's economy, when struck by the lightning of the New Diplomacy, depended absolutely on a free-market agricultural and coffee-producing sector that was destroyed on March 5-6, 1980. Its industrial sector was nothing like Japan's and was suffering the effects of the Central American Common Market's disintegration and the 1969 war with Honduras. None of the protections from ultra-socialism-in-arms, no inrush of Western capital, and no highly developed industrial sector with receptive world markets will counterbalance for El Salvador the destruction of its free-market agricultural system.

The warping of facts and use of false premises to the point of hoax runs deep through the tragic story of little El Salvador's rape into Instant Socialism. When U.S. officials implementing Washington's New Diplomacy set out to "steal" Castro's cause" (as one U.S. official described it to the *New York Times*), they also appropriated warped facts and hoaxes the Marxists and the hostile left had already set floating about El Salvador.

The most notorious Big Lie co-opted from the Marxist attack-plan against El Salvador and kept alive in the New Diplomacy is the myth that the country's free-market system was dominated by "fourteen families", who ground down the poor. Leftist propaganda later changed this to "30 extended families", and that version still also plays in Peoria. This proposition will be examined in a later section.

Suffice it to say here that, according to the Costa Rican office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, not "fourteen families" but 35,000 Salvadoreans have been displaced from their country by socialist revolution in the first eight months of 1980 alone. The Diario las Américas published this item.

El Salvador has 4.6 million people. An exodus of 35,000 from there is comparable to an outflow of 1,672,000 from our nation, taking our population as 220 million people.

XI. FAILURES: SALVADOREANS "VOTE WITH THEIR FEET"

The above striking fact, authenticated by a UN agency, demonstrates as nothing else could that Washington's instant revolution is a failure in El Salvador. Another fact is that a year after the U.S.-encouraged October 15, 1979, coup, the great majority of El Salvador's social and political forces, whether they stayed or left, had rejected the new order.

Among those who "voted with their feet" by leaving were a substantial number of the economic class who lost the most in the seizures of land and private banks in March, 1980. These people are prime targets

of the anti-junta, anti-U.S. left and of the U.S. embassy under Ambassador Robert White.

Many have lost family members to terrorism or have themselves been victims of terrorist attacks. Most are on a "hit list" compiled and circulated by leftist terrorists, while having been also the object of pressures and accusations from U.S. officials implementing the New Diplomacy.

With scarcely an exception, these Salvadoreans are highly practiced in a wide range of entrepreneurial and managerial skills. Both preceding and following them abroad has been a much larger wave of upper-level managers and technicians who formerly helped them make their country's economy hum.

These are the technicians and engineers once found in the big modern extensive-farming establishments, running their machine shops to repair millions of dollars worth of imported U.S. machinery, operating sugar mills, coffee-hulling mills, cotton gins, cottonseed oil mills, dairy farms, cheese factories, shrimp boats, freezing plants, etc.

As the wounded Salvadorean economy ground slowly toward a halt in 1980, accountants and bookkeepers left; at length there departed secretaries and telephone operators who could assemble a small stake. More departures depleted factories and commerce as export-import and supply businesses shrank; factory foremen left; shoe clerks left.

Doctors and lawyers soon would join the merchants and chiefs gone abroad. An editor twice attacked by terrorists was persuaded to leave. Departing bankers included one who built up his bank from scratch, was shot, kidnapped and held prisoner in darkness for a month by leftists. When finally ransomed, he found a U.S.-approved military coup was ending his world.

The precious lifeblood of an economy, people who know how to do things, drained away. The drain is far more serious for El Salvador because its skilled cadres are crucial to the development needed to sustain its overpopulation.

Many who fled uncounched over nearby borders were "peasants", the very land-people the agrarian reform upheaval is supposed to benefit.

Inside El Salvador, those unable to seek refuge abroad have sought it as best they could near home. The Salvadorean Red Cross reported to the Agence France Presse on October 15, 1980, the anniversary of the coup starting the socialist revolution, that it had helped 24,000 refugees from leftist terrorism in northeastern El Salvador during the previous week. These are "the masses" the junta says it has benefitted. The Salvadorean Red Cross said 60% of the refugees were children.

Since Washington sponsored a military coup rather than elections to get their revolutionary rulers into place, it is not possible to say in terms of the ballot box whether or not those Salvadoreans who have

not voted with their feet support the junta. But Carter surrogates thought they knew: a State Department source told the *Washington Post* back on April 17, 1980, that the junta has "been unable to win much support or confidence among the various factions of Salvadorean society." There is little reliable evidence that this has greatly changed.

The junta in October claimed it had seized for distribution enough land for 1.1 million people. ("A solemn lie," says one informed Salvadorean.) If true, and if all goes swimmingly between the new commune members and plot-holders and the now all-powerful government (an assumption not encouraged by many reports); if the junta can get the leftist terrorists off the peoples' backs (not yet done by far); if harvests are good and prices are good and the state-dominated exporting system works well (problematical, on performance to date); and if there is no corruption in the complex system (corruption is already alleged)—then perhaps a goodly portion of the 1.1 million will favor the junta.

Since a regime that exercises decisive control over people has no basis for claiming support from them, the junta cannot boast of anybody's support in El Salvador until a great many things happen. One of them is a return to political freedoms, press freedoms and democratic elections. Elections of some kind are promised for 1983, under rules the junta will make in a new constitution in 1982. So perhaps in three years, if those rules are fair, the world may get a reliable index on the junta's popular support.

In addition to presupposing that the land reforms forced on Salvadorean land-people and tenants at gunpoint would please them, the junta's U.S. sponsors began to claim that the Salvadorean private sector is "coming around."

This was based on a move among a number of Salvadorean businessmen, most of whom have not lost major assets, to ask for a role in shaping El Salvador's future economics. The new group called itself the "Productive Alliance".

Over months, the PA reiterated its plea to the junta. Twice, delegations came to Washington, to make their petition at the State Department and White House, and to the Congress and the U.S. press.

These Salvadoreans report that the new socialism is wrecking their country's economy, but are willing to live with changes already made if they can help modify the economic model in favor of free enterprise. They deny "supporting" the junta, but deny "opposing" it.

At the time of their most recent visit to Washington, the PA still had had only brief contacts with the junta. Junta spokesmen talked of introducing yet another phase of land "reform": the seizure of all yet-unseized properties of 250 acres and above. With this steady advance of state socialism about to roll down on them, the Productive Alliance's own voices have lately spoken despairingly of the coming "collapse"

of the Salvadorean economy. If this be "support" for the junta, it is a dubious kind.

XII. FAILURES: THE LEFT THUNDERS—AGAINST

What became dramatically patent less than two weeks after the March 5-6 sweeps was the effect of the U.S.-backed revolutionary changes on the Salvadorean left. That effect was a stampede to oppose the junta and to attack the U.S.

All of El Salvador's leftist forces except a fragment of the Christian Democratic Party were moving toward an anti-junta front when the March sweeps stunned the nation. By March 18, the left had formed its first broad, inclusive common front in nearly half a century.

The new Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) is the catchall. Into it went the "passionate left" (social democrats, socialists) praised by Ambassador White while seeking confirmation from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In went the Catholic ultra-left. In went the so-called "popular organizations", the peasant-league-style groups. In went the communists, thinly disguised by an innocent-sounding party name. And in went the five important terrorist branches of various ultra-leftist organizations.

Best estimates say the FDR took in, possibly, 250,000 in a nation of 4.6 million people. The FDR prepared to do battle, at home and abroad.

XIII. FAILURES: U.S. MAJOR PREMISES DISPROVED

When the FDR started girding up, the U.S.-backed revolutionary junta had, by steps, reached its third form. It was a most curious and confusing group, almost guaranteed to alienate both the right and the left.

The junta was composed of five men. Two of them, Napoleón Duarte and Antonio Morales Erlich, are seasoned Christian Democrat politicians and Carterite favorites. A third civilian is a supposedly non-political medical man, Dr. Ramón Avalos. The two remaining junta members were a pronounced leftist, Col. Alfredo Majano and a pronounced anti-Marxist, Col. Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez.

While the revolution was being imposed, power struggles among this group came very near to setting Army units fighting among themselves. Around 20% of the military officers are judged to lean left; the rest are anti-Marxist.

The task these disparate leaders were supposed to accomplish arose from Washington's insistence that "deep structural reforms" (such as those of March 5-6) would calm upheavals on the left deemed to be caused primarily by "social and economic injustice".

Discounting an opposite view—that ideologues inspired and trained by Castro caused the upheavals as part of a world-wide Marxist-Leninist power drive—the Carter thesis held out promises that “deep reforms” could split the left and attract all but a hardened outer fringe to fall into step with the reforms’ promoter, the U.S. With “injustices” rectified, spirits would pacify and civic peace return.

The opposite happened. While the left was coalescing against the junta, violence escalated. All observers agree that more than 6,000 people were killed in El Salvador in the first nine months of 1980.

The left killed and the right killed. The military killed. Some of each died. Others died.

Before the junta was a year old, the Carterite thesis that it could “split the left” died a gory death in the side streets and country ditches of El Salvador. Its companion thesis, that “social injustice” and not Marxist-flavored world revolution ‘sparked the turmoil, also died in those ditches.

Diverse witnesses tell us of international Marxists fighting in El Salvador. Not long before the junta’s first birthday, junta lead-man Duarte in a speech told Salvadoreans that “Panamanians, Cubans and Nicaraguans” are battling alongside the Salvadorean guerrillas trying to bring down his regime by violence.

Some months before, Col. Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez, the junta’s anti-Marxist military man, had said that “1,500 Nicaraguans” were in El Salvador to train and fight along with the ultra-left guerrillas.

Between the times when these two statements were made, Julian Ignacio Otero, a prisoner-defector who had been Chief of Logistics and Finance for the terrorist Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), gave a wealth of details demonstrating the aid Salvadorean terrorists receive from abroad.

Otero revealed that arms are bought abroad through bank accounts of radical Jesuits, and linked directors of El Salvador’s Jesuit-run University of Central America to terrorists. He testified that he received a \$50,000 check for arms from the ex-Minister of Agriculture, Enrique Alvarez, then head of the FDR, the new leftist front.

“On several opportunities, we went to the border with Honduras to receive arms from Nicaragua,” he said on a TV tape. “On other occasions we received arms coming directly from the Soviet Socialist Republic of Cuba. . . . I must mention that among all the collaboration that the subversion receives here in the country [El Salvador] is the active collaboration of the Government of Nicaragua. Not long ago landing exercises were held in the Corinto [Nicaragua] area and they have training camps in Nicaragua. Besides, all commanders from the rank of platoon upwards have graduated in the Soviet Union or Cuba.” Otero named many names.

He gave full particulars also of the radical Catholics' involvement, important because the church is such a powerful international organization. "It is in the Political Committee [of a terrorist Central Command] that the influence of the priests is strongest. On the outside, the church is engaged in an active campaign of agitation against the established government [the junta] The FPL [Otero's terrorists] through the active work in the dioceses and the parishes has been able to recruit large numbers of peasants, deceiving them and pushing them into the armed fight against the government. . . ." (Catholic radicals, it should be noted, are a church minority in El Salvador, although they are aggressive and effective).

But there is another international phase to the struggle in El Salvador. Even as arms, men, money and other aid came in to spur leftist propagandizing, recruiting and fighting in El Salvador, the FDR reached out overseas to spur both unofficial and official innovations to help their cause.

XIV. FAILURES: WASHINGTON'S SUPPORT FOR JUNTA AROUSES INTERNATIONAL OPPOSITION

Through the summer of 1980, the FDR sent missions roving throughout Latin America and Europe to mobilize a loosely knit world-wide network of communists, socialists, Christian socialists, Marxists and near-Marxists against the U.S. and its approved Salvadorean junta.

They have had significant success, for most of the network is geared specifically to attacking anything the U.S. does in foreign policy. In Venezuela and Mexico they scored high.

They enlisted the sympathies of one of Venezuela's two dominant political parties, the Democratic Action (AD), now out of office. This has helped deepen a split between Venezuela's major parties. If the AD returns to power in March of 1984, the U.S. can have an active enemy there of its 1980 policy. The AD is already influencing powerful political forces in Latin America, especially in Costa Rica, against U.S. actions in El Salvador.

Much more serious, however, is the FDR's success with Mexico's left. This has gone so far that in the late summer Mexico's Foreign Minister, the left-leaning Jorge Castañeda, said publicly that if "things do not improve" in El Salvador, Mexico may well recognize a government-in-exile linked to the FDR.

In such case, both Cuba and Nicaragua could recognize the group and "legally" supply the Salvadorean guerillas with reinforcing men and arms. The U.S. would then face a dilemma of enormous proportions.

Washington will face a dilemma as guerrillas backed by Cuba and Nicaragua try to repeat the Sandinista success, with Mexico's blessing. If the U.S. concedes Mexico an official role in the crisis, worse can happen.

For Venezuela's rulers, who favor junta leader Napoleón Duarte, could not avoid opposing Mexico in the fracas. The irony is that neither Mexico nor Venezuela is pushing for a free-enterprise system in El Salvador, as our Nov. 4 elections mandate the U.S. to do.

XV. THE "MORAL" FAILURE

It is recalled that Jimmy Carter stressed the "moral" missions of his foreign policy. "Morality" was the avowed underpinning of his human-rights policy favoring the left in Latin America. This was supposed to "win over" leftists and demonstrate how Carter was willing to bend with the "winds of change".

Against this well-known background, the Carterite New Diplomacy as a moral mission is a cynic's delight. Consider:

In 1977, when Carterites, aided by New Leftists in Congress, began to turn screws against the now-deposed government of General Carlos Romero, the major thrusts and accusations went like this:

Romero's was a military government, in power by virtue of crooking elections. It violated human rights by jailing political opponents, leftists, whom it tortured. Romero was not responsive to the demands of labor. His military had paramilitary chums who killed and tortured the left, the accusations said.

In 1977, two powerful witnesses appeared before a Congressional committee and later talked with selected newsmen reinforcing these anti-Romero charges. They were Napoleón Duarte and Antonio Morales Erlich, defeated candidates for the presidency and the vice-presidency respectively.

And this is what the world sees now: the two are lead-men on a ruling junta. The power rests squarely on the support of the military, who put them in without benefit of any kind of elections. The junta has popped opponents into jail, notably including leftists. Among at least thirty political prisoners known to be held in El Salvador are thirteen labor leaders accused of organizing sabotage of a key power system. Left-leaning international visiting committees say they were jailed to prevent them from exercising the right to strike.

The military who sustain Duarte's junta are, like Romero's military, accused of shielding buddies who kill leftists. The military are killing leftists themselves, on a scale never known under Romero's corrupt government.

The press is censored and controlled as it never was under Romero. Romero promised elections in 1981. Duarte says not until 1983. . . .

The junta rules without the benefit of a Congress, which exercised some restraint under Romero.

The Carter administration backed the double-gaited 1980 junta, blandly calling it "moderate". The world revolutionaries from whom Carterites were going to "get a piece of the action" with their "moral" foreign policy now hear from their own coreligionists that Carter backed torturers in El Salvador.

XVI. THE LITTLE HOAXES, THE BIG HOAXES

Carterite policy creating a New Diplomacy required implementing officials to launch and sustain, in succession, improbabilities so clearly improbable as to attain the dimension of hoaxes.

All the Salvadoreans have been hoaxed—both the tiny number who actively collaborated with the Carterites and those who did not.

Washington's handling of the press required a degree of hoaxing. The New Diplomats told the press their Instant Socialism would produce "eventual capitalism"—yet it is not headed that way. Officials have said Carterite motives were "to 'steal' Castro's cause." Yet a Carter campaign ad on TV said Carter wanted to "bring freedom to the whole world."

The New Diplomats say they are trying to "stop Castro" and "stop torture." Yet the militarized state grab of private-sector assets in El Salvador was more brusque than anything even Castro did, political prisoners are held and Salvadoreans are ruled by a pure and simple five-man dictatorship.

The U.S. official line varied, always running out ahead of realities that quickly caught up with it. By then, another "line" had been launched.

The Salvadorean leftist front was said to be "breaking up" and "not agreeing," as if such fronts were ever monolithic in their theorizing. On one point, the FDR is monolithic: opposition to the U.S.

The front was said to be "losing the brass ring" because it hadn't been able to accomplish as much by violence as it wished. Somehow the junta and the reforms were credited with this. But the effect was in fact the result of the determined killing of leftists, especially the foot-soldier guerrillas, directed by the approximately 80% of the Salvadorean military officers who are anti-Marxist.

Washington had to use a very big hoax to keep many of its junta-administration officials and crisis-managers afloat. It has been the promise of Big Money to come in from abroad and raise the junta high above the economic wreckage caused by the "deep reforms".

The Carterite diplomatic errand-boys in El Salvador had junta officials promise Salvadoreans—including the "Productive Alliance"—

that a billion dollars would shortly be forthcoming from abroad for El Salvador.

The errand-boys knew full well that the Capitol Hill mood toward foreign aid in general was as cold as an Arctic glacier. They knew the oil-producer countries were soaking up international supplies of cash. They knew the big banks were extremely nervous already about \$81 billion loaned to socialist-type governments.

What the administration did was to scrape around in the AID barrel and find about \$90 million to lend El Salvador for specific projects. This can't be used to buy imported necessities—insecticides, fertilizer, machinery. It can't be used to pay the government's and the military's salaries. It won't be disbursed in a lump, to ease the immediate crisis.

Future help of this kind is mingled and mangled now in the U.S. government process.

The New Diplomats a year ago were able to scare the big private lenders away from El Salvador by warning of upheavals to come there ("change"). But they can't scare them back.

The big international lending institutions were the final hope. A *New York Times* report of October 15, the junta's birthday, said the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund were all queasy on requested aid. The IMF was said to be "reluctant" even to send representatives to El Salvador.

A junta official said loans were needed for the "reactivation of the economy to reduce hatreds through the recovery of levels of employment and income." The much-accused "oligarchy" is gone, but the hatreds continue. . . ?

Even a successful harvest won't provide badly needed foreign exchange, enough to reopen closed factories or help factories operating below capacity, said the report. And the terrorists are expected to interfere seriously with the harvest.

On its first birthday, the junta had in sight as the promised outside aid only \$90 million from the U.S. government. That is less than leftist terrorists had extorted from the private sector in ransoms in the previous year or two.

The authority for the economic report was none other than the junta's Minister of Planning, Atilio Viéytez. What he revealed is that the New Diplomacy has trashed El Salvador's economy, and that U.S.-sponsored hoaxes helped to do it.

XVII. HOAXES: "THE FOURTEEN FAMILIES"

The story of the Salvadorean national tragedy comes around again to the point where it started: to the myth of the "fourteen families".

No one knows exactly where the myth started, although it was printed in *Time Magazine* early in the 1950's.

In 1975, Mr. Luis Escalante, who built up the "Penny Bank", a mecca for small savers and small-loan customers, spoke of the national myth in an ironic vein in a speech accepting the annual award of the Salvadorean Industrial Association. He said an American diplomat asked him about "the fourteen".

"It may have a Biblical inspiration," he said. "You recall there were fourteen generations from Abraham to David; from David to the deportation to Babylon, fourteen more; from the deportation to Christ, fourteen more. . . . For years, Engine Number 14 was the most powerful engine on our Western Railway, and in El Salvador, you dial 14 to get Information on the telephone, and our country has 14 departments. . . . The evolution of our country produces each day another 'fourteen', that is, successful entrepreneurs, and to count them you'd have to use an adding machine. . . . Like big trees, they are the result of small seeds. . . the product of initiative, application and faith in work. . . ."

The reasons *why* the damaging myth was produced are clearer than is the specific source that launched it. Marxism has been on the attack in Latin America for generations. It starts by choosing two targets: industries started by foreign, especially U.S., capital, and the top-level creators and conductors of the free-market system. ("The oligarchy".) These have to be destroyed before the middle class can be reduced to the proletarian level and Marxism-Leninism reign over all.

In El Salvador there was no big foreign industry like copper or oil producers to attack. There was, however, the top level, ever-changing in numbers and personalities, of hard-working entrepreneurs. The Marxists picked up the hoax of the "fourteen families" and ran with it. The New Diplomats, bent on "'stealing' Castro's cause", did the same. (That cause, remember, is totalitarian socialism.)

One of the very first hoaxes exploded when the Carterite-backed "reforms" of March 5-6 struck was that of the fourteen families. For the March 5-6 events revealed clearly that not just a top few were objects of the anti-capitalist revolution then launched, but the entire entrepreneurial class.

As in many countries, the largest agricultural operations in El Salvador are actually owned and run by corporations, even if many of the owners are kin. For example, from La Carrera, the enormous showplace agribusiness where tenants had their own organization and where productivity had been built up over 25 years from a gully-washed agricultural wasteland, a number of family corporations shared profits—and losses.

So it is that when the March 5-6 blitzkrieg struck, taking around 376 big farms, many more hundreds of families or major ownerships were divested.

And, shadowed by the hoax of the "fourteen families", thousands more proprietors saw their assets seized. (No one has been paid anything, and no one knows where payment, except in worthless printed bonds, will come from.) Rented land, says Decree 207, is to be taken from owners, to be "sold" by the state to the renters or others. Bank stocks were seized, to be "sold" or distributed to others by the state.

A *Washington Post* source estimated that up to 5,000 people lost major assets in the seizures. If and when properties of 250 acres and above are taken (the junta says this will come soon), then thousands more will lose theirs.

It is a proved proposition now that if the U.S.-backed "revolution" was aimed at divesting fourteen powerful financial clans, that purpose got lost between the aiming and the firing. For an entire class of proprietors, the major fabric of the free-market economy, has been directly hit and destroyed.

The attacks on concentrations of wealth in El Salvador have been a hoax; the target was the entrepreneurial system itself.

In the cover story for the attack, the denigrating of the "fourteen families", the assault says or implies that the top-level entrepreneurs in El Salvador (always said to depend on the military to sustain their power, as, incidentally, the junta depends) mistreated the masses of the people outside their economic class. In cases where evidence is overwhelming against this, the "oligarchs" are said to behave with "feudal patronage".

One of the first tests in exploring the allegation is to discover whether the top-level capitalists sat on their hands to enjoy money or whether they were a productive class, expanding the national wealth.

El Salvador is a small country, about 8,000 square miles in size, but it has the largest population per square mile in Latin America. At the end of 1977, when Carter policy had joined the Marxist attack against El Salvador's free-market society, its gross domestic product per capita was \$603. (These and following figures are taken from the Inter-American Development Bank 1977 Report on Economic and Social Progress in Latin America.) This was close to the GDP per capita of Colombia (\$611), which, like El Salvador, depends largely on coffee exports.

It was over \$200 less than the same figure for Guatemala and Nicaragua, \$388 less than Mexico's. It was considerably less than Costa Rica's and Venezuela's, though ahead of Haiti's and Bolivia's.

But if you correct for overpopulation, this picture of the performance of El Salvador's free-market society changes abruptly.

If El Salvador had had only 80 people per square mile (as did Mexico) instead of the 500 it had in 1977, its GDP per capita would have been around \$4,000. Mexico, scene of a number of land reforms, actually had that year a GDP per capita of \$991.

In overcrowded El Salvador, with its high surplus population and many producing only enough to live on, the "extra people" still produce something. Credit them with producing half its GDP, and El Salvador still produced more than twice the amount per person that Mexico did that same year.

Repeat this operation with Venezuela, giving El Salvador that country's population density and subtracting half the GDP to account for the "extra" people. The result is that oil-rich Venezuela produced \$2,083 per person while El Salvador, without its huge overpopulation, would have produced over \$4,500 per capita.

Go further and subtract three-quarters of El Salvador's GDP for the same year, and consider it to have had the 35 people per square mile that Venezuela did. Its GDP per capita would be \$2,296, more than Venezuela's \$2,083.

And El Salvador gets no portion of its GDP from exporting a river of oil whose location and development were financed and manned by foreigners.

A Salvadorean once put together a study showing that his country was the most productive per square mile in all Latin America. Any investigation into the performance of its free-market system will show this to be close to the truth. Its high production was shared in by many industrious Salvadoreans. But it was developed and directed by a large number of extremely energetic entrepreneurs, a class the New Diplomacy destroyed.

XVIII. THE HOAXES: "SALVADOREAN ENTREPRENEURS GRIND DOWN THE POOR"

The second half of the black legend about El Salvador's entrepreneurial society is that the top level of its free-market structure grasped wealth for themselves, grinding down the poor.

But the Salvadorean free-market society's performance in comparison with that of other Latin American countries, including those with far greater sources of wealth and far fewer people per square mile, does not sustain this thesis. Indeed, statistics readily available in the publications of the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank and similar institutions contradict the assertions made by U.S. Ambassador Robert White, spearhead of the New Diplomacy, during his confirmation by the Senate in early 1980. According to the record, Mr. White "believes that capitalism in El Salvador is an alliance between large landholders, business interests and the army, designed to reap maximum profits, give minimum benefits and minimum salaries, prevent any kind of organization of the peasantry or the workers and pay as little as possible into the public treasury. . . ."

A rebuttal entered into this record states: "The United Nations has an economic indicator called the GINI, which measures the concentration of wealth. For El Salvador, the GINI is .50, which the United Nations classifies as 'moderate', comparing it with Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and Venezuela." The latter two are considered exemplary democracies.

Other facts contradicting Ambassador White's bias are:

The International Monetary Fund's Government Finance Statistics Yearbook Volume II, 1978, says that El Salvador, among a list of eleven representative Latin American countries rich and poor, stood second only to Venezuela in the percentage of the Gross National Product paid in taxes. Salvador's percentage paid was 15.1% of the GNP. Mexico's was 10.2%, Brazil's 10.6%, Costa Rica's 12.2%, Guatemala's 8.8%, Panama's 11.8% and Colombia's 10.9%. Only Venezuela, where huge taxes come from oil, paid more than El Salvador—23.9%.

The Inter-American Development Bank report on Latin America for 1977, published in 1978, shows that El Salvador spent considerably more of its national tax receipts for social purposes than did the so-called "liberal democracies", with the exception of Costa Rica. El Salvador spent 32% of central government income on health and education, Costa Rica spent 38.3%, Mexico 18.5%, Colombia 19.8% and oil-rich Venezuela 18.8%. Panama, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, Salvadorean neighbors comparable to it except in population density, all spent considerably less than the Salvadoreans with their tremendous overpopulation.

Other Inter-American Development Bank publications reveal a similar picture.

El Salvador also spent one of the lowest percentages on military costs—6%. Costa Rica of course has no national army. Mexico spent 4%, Venezuela 9%, Colombia 17%, etc.

Other statistics figured in the Senate Foreign Relations hearing on Ambassador White's confirmation early this year. A recent World Bank study was cited to show that in El Salvador, 20% of the urban and 30% of the rural population lived below the poverty line. And, said the committee report, "for all Latin America the figures are 43% as calculated by the ILO and 41% as calculated by ECLA. . . . So again El Salvador is doing far better than most."

According to figures from the Organization of American States' Economic and Social Council, in 1977 the top 5% in El Salvador got 24% of the national income while the lowest 20% received 5.7%. Interestingly enough, U.S. income distribution figures as cited show that the top 20% of American families receive 41% of the national income, while the lowest 20% get only 5.4%*

* U.S. Commerce Department figures.

El Salvador's income distribution, according to OAS figures, thus compared favorably with that of the U.S. They looked even better as compared with the average for all Latin America, where the top 5% got 32.7% of the national income and the lowest 20% got 3.7%.

According to the sources cited, the minimum wage in agriculture increased by 37% between 1976 and 1979, while wages for workers in seasonal crops increased by 77%. In 1977, the production of basic foodstuffs increased by 38%, making El Salvador self-sufficient in food. According to World Bank figures cited in the hearings of the Senate committee, there was a dramatic improvement in the distribution of income between 1965 and 1977, in spite of the rapid growth of the population. "Most of the increased distribution has affected the lower 40% of the people," said the report of the Senate hearings.

But the attack on El Salvador has nothing to do with the realities involved. It is political and ideological—and, as pressed by the U.S., a device to keep a lid on a situation that could have hurt Jimmy Carter's chances for re-election.

The leaders of the Democratic Party liberals on the Senate committee shared the desire of Ambassador White to brush aside the truths of the performance of El Salvador's free-market system. Nor was one Republican liberal loath to play the game: New York's Senator Jacob Javits, aroused by White's attack and a *New York Times* article reinforcing his cause, gave White unprecedented instructions. (Javits lost his Republican renomination later.)

Said Javits to White: ". . . while theoretically you may be an ambassador and buried in the bureaucracy, you are a proconsul so far as we are concerned. You are going to go down there and work as an ambassador. If you do only that, the United States will not be well served. You really have to be an activist and take a chance with your career. . . . I believe you are going to get a strong backing from this committee. You are a 'proconsul', not just an ambassador, in this matter. An ambassador alone will not do; it is not enough."

At the end of the hearing, Committee Chairman Frank Church (D, Idaho) endorsed Javits' words, in the name of all. White was confirmed, eight to two, with one member abstaining.

A proconsul is the overseas ruler of the colony of an empire. Proconsul White has continued his attacks on the Mythical Fourteen; conveniently, he can lump any group he wishes to intimidate and subject to New Diplomacy "pressure" in this nonexistent category.

The American people are ill-served in their foreign policy by all the actions herein reported. But these actions do not affect the Salvadoreans alone.

For a process of slow and persistent Marxification of U.S. public opinion, of our press and of key institutions is a direct product of what happens in El Salvador.

What the New Diplomacy pursued in El Salvador was class warfare; the constant accusations and pressures against hundreds of Salvadoreans under the charge that they are the Mythical Fourteen is overt class warfare. Step by step, Carter surrogates led Americans to accept it as national policy.

And the combined Salvadorean left is at work in the U.S. also, attacking the Mythical Fourteen, on the one hand, and the U.S. for its Salvadorean junta on the other. An FDR meeting in Washington late last summer claimed sponsorship from the U.S. Newspaper Guild and from the National Education Association. The way the Marxist fluid got injected into many Latin American national veins, there to poison the body politic, was through educators and the news media. The U.S. may think it needs no shield against such injections, concocted out of hoaxes and lies. Nevertheless, they are slow-but-sure poison to our free system.

EPILOGUE

It is lamentable that the 1979-1980 Instant Socialism imposed on El Salvador by Washington never became a specific issue in the 1980 U.S. presidential campaign or debate. Nevertheless, the President, the political party and the principles out of which the policy grew were completely repudiated at the November 4 voting booths.

But Instant Socialism, and all the bloodletting and economic destruction it escalated in El Salvador, will not simply vanish because of the Reagan victory.

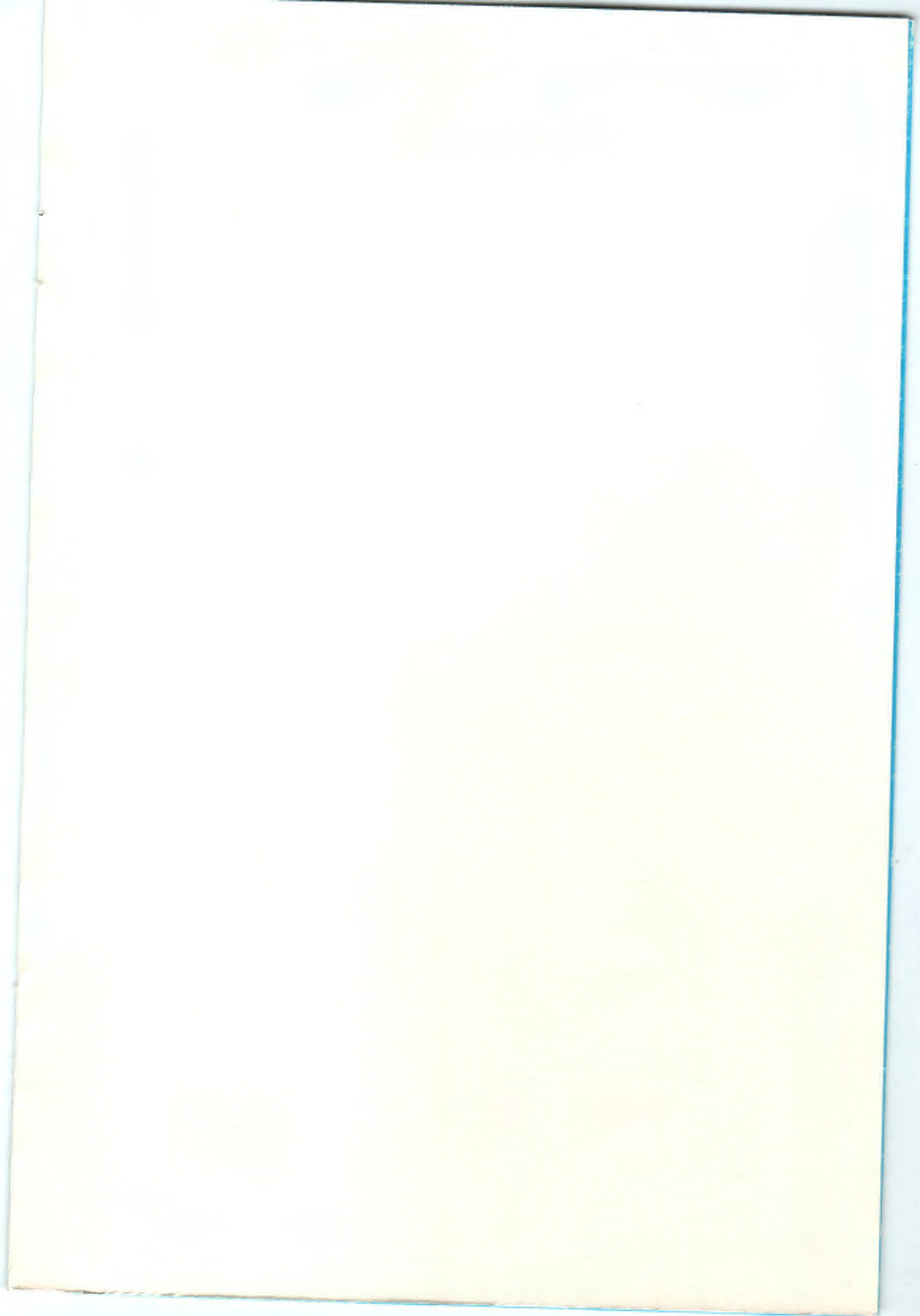
Nor will an enormous debt owed by the people of the U.S. to Salvadoreans because of the Instant Socialism simply vanish when Carter leaves the White House.

First of all, the guerrilla forces still seeking to impose a Castro-style regime on El Salvador must be overcome; the country must be made a safe place for its citizens to live and work in. U.S. military supplies for El Salvador's own military keepers of the peace can speed that.

Next, the country's own constitution—much like our own—must be restored. A following step will be the necessary reversals of some or all of the radical socialism imposed from Washington. This step must reconstruct free enterprise—which instead of radical socialism is in fact the economic model that the “winds of change” tell us is the “inevitable” course of history.

Peru and Portugal are both in the process of reversing their socialization. Chile is prospering after reversing it. Jamaica is headed back the same way. Other countries have found reversal of socialism necessary.

The U.S. Congress will be asked to help rescue El Salvador with funds to keep it from sinking entirely beneath the weight of the Instant Socialism and the Marxists' "prolonged war". No one should be deceived that the incoming U.S. Congress, which must call on Americans to face hard economic realities, will help fund El Salvador's reconstruction unless its Instant Socialism is effectively reversed and repudiated.



\$3.00



Communist Interference in El Salvador

DOCUMENTS DEMONSTRATING COMMUNIST SUPPORT
OF THE SALVADORAN INSURGENCY

February 23, 1981

United States Department of State

DOCUMENT J

Excerpt of letter from "Fernando" to "Federico"
(dated September 30, 1980)

GLOSSARY J

- DRU - Unified Revolutionary Directorate. Joint leadership of Salvadoran guerrilla groups.
- Front - Nicaraguan FSLN.
- GDR - German Democratic Republic.
- RN - National Resistance. Salvadoran guerrilla group.
- Simon - Shafik Handal, Secretary General of Salvadoran Communist Party

14/1

BEGIN EXCERPT

In a previous note I reported to you that Lalo had returned from studying where Lucho is. He requested information from Hugo (text unclear) he is very enthusiastic and has drawn up the following work plan:

Construction of 120mm guns (gun, shell and casing)

Hand grenades (offensive and defensive)

Anti-tank grenade (launcher, detonator and shell)

Contact mine (detonator, fuse and casing)

Anti-personnel mine (detonator, fuse and casing)

Automatic activation for contact and anti-personnel mines.

He expressed that he is also ready to help economically and he thinks he can work here in making the pieces for which materials are difficult to acquire there and that they would be completed there. But for this it is necessary to have a meeting with those who are going to work there in order to come to an agreement on which pieces will be made there and which here. He also has the idea that he could get everything together there and he would be willing to transfer here. In order to make this decision (if he would work here I need authorization from inside as well as from Augusto). I find it difficult that one can do it here because I have already sounded out Augusto's opinion and he expressed that what we already have is sufficient. That means only that we would work without his consent, although that is not advisable. Also Simon thinks that we should not do it that way. In any event it is necessary and it must be resolved.

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We have spoken with Angel at length about the work in Honduras; we have (words illegible) detail about the needs there. The tasks which must be accomplished there are the following: a) look for another house, since the current one was taken away from the; b) to set up an infrastructure for large vehicles (trailer trucks), which must be a shed with a roof in order to unload or a farm in adequate locations. It is necessary to resolve the issue of depositing the equipment, since as of today nothing has been done; I do not know the reason for this, inasmuch as we had talked at length with you. This is basic, because we must maximize the security of the work activity; c) a detailed study of the landing strips as it is known that we are going to use them; d) a study of the Honduran-Nicaraguan customs (Honduro-nicas); e) we have also spoken about adequate personnel, especially with regard to drivers; today we are interested in those who have heavy equipment licenses. In this regard I am arranging the arrival of a few comrades of Canadian nationality, but it is not assured and they should be sought out elsewhere; f) if it is necessary to continue with the study of the blind paths on the Honduran-El Salvador border, which is basic; one does not have to resign oneself to a few; here one can take advantage of what the Morazanic front could offer, but the principal support we can provide ourselves.

I have spoken at length with Rodolfo and Angel. The above mentioned topic has been clarified, since it is they who have the responsibility of carrying out those tasks. I have

recommended to them that they operate like a cell organization where they discuss and agree upon the work. It seems to me that Angel is too often discouraged and this does not allow him to make the time to take adequate security measures. He gets nervous and thus does not get along well with Rodolfo. They have had altercations beyond what is normal and have had disagreements. On his part, Rodolfo is very slow and lacks initiative. We have had a meeting together and I have made clear to both of them the necessity of overcoming these situations. It concerns me especially that they do not work well on security measures. I hope to have a weekly meeting with them in order to quickly remedy this problem.

A situation which I want to remind you of is that concerning the springtime. It is basic that we resolve it in order to (?) the work methods and means, something fundamental in the covert operations. It is assumed that we were clear on this when I visited them there. I do not know what happened.

Regarding the economic problem I wish to inform you that we are more or less alright, since we have made a decision to use some centavos that were obtained in solidarity. This week we authorized the joint purchase of a van at a cost of \$25,000.00. We did this because we have been using only small vehicles. I would like you to inform Hugo that a

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solidarity of the GDR has been made effective which reaches \$100,000.00. Also comrade Guillermo arrived from the Commission of Internal Logistics, who brought instructions on that given by Iraq, from which they left \$200,000 for logistics. We are drawing up a plan for acquiring new methods of transport.

Angel also asked me the question about the course for him and another friend, which I am going to carry through on immediately. Regarding this I understand that it has to do with what we discussed when I visited you, about the qualified technicians and professionals. This is already taken care of, but in general in such a way that when someone arrives his trip is handled again. In my opinion we could send a good number of personnel from this class and not send them one by one; there are favorable conditions; I would only need the list of specialties and the number of personnel in order to handle it in time so that they would not be here losing time. If you wish, they could tell me what profession each of them has, since this would help me with the processing. Luis is already where Lucho is.

I wish to inform you also that a comrade pilot is here who made Simon come at the beginning of the month and I have arranged a training period for him where Jose is since there are good conditions for it.

Regarding the next shipments, there are problems. Last 27 September a meeting with Gustavo was held in which he informed us of the Front's decision to suspend shipments during a period of approximately one month. They brought up a security problem beginning with a meeting which they say they had with one James Cheek, a representative of the North American Department of State. They say that he manifested knowledge about shipments via land through Nicaragua; in small vehicles and that we carried out attempts by sea. They raise the question of possible bad management of the information on the part of personnel working on this and that they are going to carry out an investigation. We have made an evaluation of the previous question and it seems very strange to us that a gringo official would come to them to practically warn about a case such as this. If it were true that they have detected something concrete, it is logical that they would hit us and they would arm the great propaganda machine and not that they would warn us (we are not friends); we believe that this could be a means of pressure while the problem of the RN is solved. This is on one side and on the other is that it has to do with a political decision related to the U.S. elections, that is a possible understanding in order not to cause problems to Carter before November. Regarding this one must remember also Lucho pressed in the sense that a breather in the fighting must be considered in order to see how the Carter-Reagan problem is solved. Beginning with the previous issue, we have carried out steps for the immediate revocation

7.

of that decision and have taken as a basis the report on the situation in the interior which comrade Guillermo brought from the Reception Committee on the military problems in the interior. As of right now we still do not have an answer. Make Hugo aware of this and tell him to raise this at the level of the DRU. We would like to have suggestions on this, although it would be going too far to say that this decision by the Front affects us in a negative way.

Well my brother, I hope that the problems which we have in this strategic work are soon resolved, since if it is otherwise I fear that they could hit us very hard.

Best wishes to everyone.

(signature)

Fernando

TELEPHONE: 01-480 5576

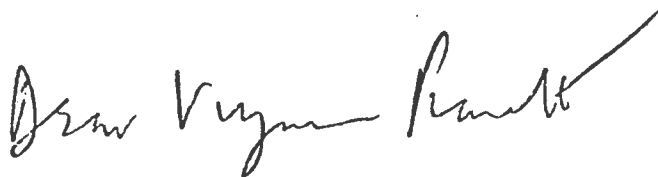
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6th February 1981

Ms. Virginia Prewett,
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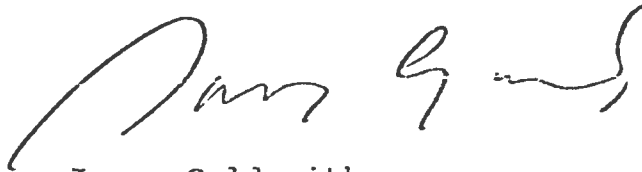


Thank you very much for your letter and thank you for the Hemisphere Hotline. I am grateful to Winston Guest for arranging the subscription.

I am perfectly happy to be quoted on Mr. James Cheek's remark about Central America. He said to me that it was his view that the right policy for Central America was to impose "moderate Marxism".

I look forward to receiving your news service.

Yours sincerely,



James Goldsmith

***** Mr. James Cheek is Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Central America
Sir James Goldsmith is a member of Britain's Parliament and owner
of British and French newspapers

HEMISPHERE HOTLINE

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REAGAN CALLS A HALT TO SOVIET VEILED AGGRESSION

Washington, D.C. -- The epoch-making forthright warnings by Reagan and Haig to the Soviets and their clients against sneaking military aid to guerrillas now waging their spurious "war of liberation" to Sovietize El Salvador must be hailed as a welcome "New Beginning" in U.S. foreign policy.

The policy has teeth, for President Reagan and other ranking officials have made it clear the U.S. will "link" its reaction to Soviet veiled aggression, in Central America or elsewhere, to other issues -- including arms talks, trade, grain deals and credits. This can reclaim ground ceded by the U.S. to Moscow in the past.

The new policy is still on the anvil, but one thing is clear: the Reagan administration is saying "Stop!" to the Soviet's long-time game of arming and manipulating third countries to expand Russian influence over the world by indirect aggression.

This is cause for immense new hope for the millions of Americans who have deplored our country's abandonment in recent years of its world role, and who voted Nov. 4 against Washington's gradual retreat as disguised Soviet aggression advanced.

But so far, Reagan policy is clear and definitive only in regard to the Soviets' military adventures around the world. And there is a great deal more to be done to reassert American world leadership. In the New World, it has been recognized in scores of international treaties and agreements, since long before Hitler tried to create his national-socialist puppet states here, that non-democratic ideologies are a paramount enemy to the peace, security and progress of our hemisphere.

When preceding U.S. administrations abandoned our positions of military strength during the past few decades, they also weakened U.S. leadership of traditional democratic ideology. Tolerance for Marxist-style economic models grew. Finally, in El Salvador last year, as Hotline readers know, Washington pressured upon a weak dictatorial junta a set of "reforms" that put the fate of the entire economy in the fumbling hands of the state. For the present, Washington has agreed to supply funds to bolster the regime.

A second step in Reagan foreign policy, one not yet shaped, will most certainly have to address this anomaly. Reagan's constituency will not accept a policy that says Moscow and Cuba may not implant ultra-state rule in El Salvador, but that the U.S., at taxpayer expense, will do so -- upon the thin pretext of "reform".

The Two Fronts

Thus the new foreign policy of the U.S., if it responds to the Nov. 4 electoral mandate, must have two stages as it applies to El Salvador. The first stage, interdicting the Soviet-inspired inflow of arms for Marxist revolutionaries, is launched. The second, the dismantling of the Marxoid model pressured on El Salvador ("to get there ahead of Castro") is necessary so that a free-market economy and eventually a truly democratic system can be reconstructed on the little country's political and economic ruins.

Stage One of the Reagan task mainly concerns the Soviets, the Cubans and their anti-free-market camp. But Stage Two will have to be accomplished over the deeply ingrained opposition of entrenched leftist interest groups in the United States. These are the political and ideological forces defeated at the polls Nov. 4, but who never accept being voted down. They are tuning up now to shout down Stage One of the Reagan policy for El Salvador, and already have made it difficult for the general public even to understand what is happening in that unhappy country.

For example, a Washington Post story of Feb. 25 called the dictatorial Salvadorean junta headed by Napoleón Duarte a "conservative" regime. At other times, the U.S. press has called it "center-rightist". Yet this is the regime that (a) sent soldiers to seize most of El Salvador's big progressive and productive farms, turning private owners out of their homes, (b) says it is handing this land over to "the workers", (c) similarly seized private banking in a military blitzkrieg-style operation, (d) dictates all bank credit, and (e) controls the marketing of El Salvador's export crops, the lifeblood of the economy. These actions (all insisted on by the Carter administration as "reforms") are not "conservative" but ultra-leftist on any sane scale of political measurement.

The Controversy

As the Hotline goes to press, there is a tug-of-war behind the scenes over Stage Two of new U.S. policy for El Salvador. It is important, for if the Reagan administration appears to endorse the ultra-left economic model in El Salvador by letting it stand, this may well be accepted as the model for "change" for other Central American countries -- specifically Guatemala and Honduras.

Deep and even contradictory divisions of opinion and motivation have complicated the Salvadorean picture ever since the Carter administration began to make it the test-site for an experiment in U.S.-sponsored state ultra-socialism. One controversy has raged over the motives of the State Department officers who actually pressured El Salvador's junta into its ultra-radical changes. Some officers, it is acknowledged, were simply trying to "keep the lid" on El Salvador -- to postpone any Marxist takeover there ("another Nicaragua") because this would hurt Carter's Nov. 4 election chances. They had White House orders to this effect.

Others apparently acted out of ideological conviction. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Central America James Cheek became the center of controversy when wire services reported that he had said that what Central America needs is "moderate Marxism". Diplomat Cheek denied saying this, to Virginia Prewett and others, and Prewett accepted his denial for months.

The Cheek Doctrine

Yet the question would not die, and a highly persuasive witness has come forward. He is Sir James Goldsmith, a member of Britain's Parliament and owner of British and French newspapers. In a letter dated Feb. 6, 1981, Sir James wrote Prewett that "I am perfectly happy to be quoted on Mr. James Cheek's remark about Central America. He said to me that it was his view that the right policy for Central America was to impose 'moderate Marxism'."

Diplomat Cheek of course has the right to hold and express whatever views he cares to as a private citizen. But this writer is positive there was no political mandate received by Jimmy Carter when he was elected -- and far less by Ronald Reagan when he was elected -- to impose "moderate Marxism" on Central America. This "Cheek Doctrine"

was nevertheless imposed on El Salvador and so far has not been redressed by the new administration.

The opening salvo of the New Beginning, State's Feb. 23 "white paper" detailing how the Soviet camp supplied clandestine arms to guerrillas in El Salvador, in fact has a final section obviously written by someone who subscribes to the Cheek Doctrine -- or perhaps goes a bit further. It refers to El Salvador's "reforms" as "opening and modernizing" the economy.

On the one hand this is misleading, for the more the state dominates the economy, the more "closed" it clearly is. On the other hand, it is revealing, adopting the codeword of U.S. leftists who set the fashion of labeling totalitarian socialist regimes "modern". (In the David Halberstam book, "The Best and Brightest", a work that fueled the New Left, Hanoi's totalitarian socialism was called "a modern state".)

The State Department Feb. 23 report also has internal contradictions that reflect the nature of the behind-scenes policy struggle now in progress. On page 2, among the details of how the communists organized to seize El Salvador, it is revealed that Salvadorean leftist guerrillas met in May with Castro's people in Havana to form the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU) for political and military planning. In late 1980, "the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Front (FMLN) was also created to disseminate propaganda. A front organization, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), was also created.... For appearances sake, three small non-Marxist-Leninist political parties were brought into the front...."

Here we have the FDR clearly identified as a falsefront for the communist directorate organized in Havana, the DRU. Yet on the State summary's last page, where another hand is writing of the "achievements" of the U.S.-supported junta, there is cited "the Duarte government's willingness" to negotiate "the terms of future political processes" with none other than the Democratic Revolutionary Front -- the same FDR shown earlier in the document to be a front for the guerrilla directorate, the DRU. The FDR's program for El Salvador, not incidentally, is for the state to control everything "right down to the Rent-a-Johns", as one observer noted. In a word, totalitarian socialism a la Castroland and Hanoi.

The role of James Cheek in El Salvador's travail puzzles many. In the full white paper State has released -- not the summary -- "Glossary J" shows one guerrilla writing to another that the Front (FDR) is puzzled by a meeting with "one James Cheek" of State, who "manifested knowledge about shipments [obviously of arms] through Nicaragua It seems very strange to us that a gringo official would come to them to practically warn about a case such as this.... It is logical that they would hit us...not that they would warn us (we are not friends)." Indeed, the incident is puzzling.

What the Leader Wants

What El Salvador's U.S.-sponsored leader, the nominally Christian Democrat Napoleón Duarte, wants is to continue without delay installing new stages of state socialism in his country, implementing plans made during the Carter administration by advocates of the Cheek Doctrine. These plans include having the state seize more farms: all from the size of 250 acres upward. (The first sweep seizing land affected farms of 1,200 acres up, although in practice it followed a political hit-list, and missed some farms in this size bracket. Next comes seizing rental property from city landlords, leaving each only one house to live in. Down the road is seizure of factories to turn them into Soviet-style "workers' cooperatives".

Reliable reports from El Salvador say that Duarte has already made up the list of

the farms to be seized in the middle category, from about 250 acres upward. "They have the troop trucks all fueled to take those farms," said an informant.

But the junta knows that sending out the small squads of soldiers for that many seizures raises a problem. The military leaders are opposed to implementing the second-stage land "reform" confiscations. In the first place, it will further scatter security forces that are already thinly spread throughout the country in anti-guerrilla searches, patrols and guard duties. Further (as Duarte knows, if official Washington does not), during the first wave of farm confiscations last March, so many of the occupying soldiers wanted to quit the Army and sign up to qualify for some of the land they had seized, or for cooperative benefits offered by the "reform", that there was danger of the Army's "melting away". If El Salvador's troops now are split up to occupy several times that number of middle-sized farms, this could be a fatal weakening against another leftist guerrilla offensive.

Duarte is willing to negotiate with the communist front FDR, we are told, but he has rebuffed Salvadorean private-sector attempts to work out some collaboration to help the country's chaotic, crumbling economy. "I am the orchestra leader," he recently told a Salvadorean business group, waving a pencil like a baton. "You are the musicians...." In other words, entrepreneurs must play Duarte's tune.

Troubles in "Paradise"

In the reformers' paradise sketched by the final part of the State Department's Feb. 23 "Summary on El Salvador", some problems are admitted, but Duarte is said to be coping. This impression is contradicted by hard information that comes from many sources. One added reason why the military officers are opposing Duarte's plan to seize the middle-sized farms is that there is no money in El Salvador to finance their operation by the government.

Directly-informed sources tell Virginia Prewett that the resources of the nation's confiscated banking system have been exhausted by advancing funds for the farm cooperatives created after the first sweep. U.S. private banks used to play a major role in seasonal financing for the prime-mover agribusinesses; the State Department's Cheek Doctrine scared those banks away, and they can't be coerced back. Now the military officers are worried about pay for themselves and for their troops. Few taxes are coming in, as the state controls everything -- the nationalized big farms and the produce of coffee farms not yet seized. Reports say that, instead of passing back to the coffee growers the earnings the state collects from their coffee, which it sells abroad, these funds have been diverted to pay the military. That well can run dry.

Duarte's Planning Minister Atilio Viéytez last fall came to the U.S. to tell newspapers that even a good harvest won't yield enough to pull El Salvador through the crisis caused by its "reform", in which factories are closed or working half-time for want of foreign exchange for parts and supplies. So the urban as well as the farm economy is in chaos.

New cries of outrage and pleas for relief come from El Salvador's free-enterprise circles each week. On Feb. 19, the Salvadorean Cattlemen's Association published a full-page ad in San Salvador's "Diario de Hoy", protesting that the "reform" has reduced their production so low that there will not be enough beef for domestic needs, much less for the customary export. Milk prices have gone up 100% and beef 40%, with heavy impact on the poor. This, the association says, results from "the systematic destruction of the country's cattle ranches."

LEFT-WING MILITANTS ORCHESTRATED ANTI-EL SALVADOR DEMONSTRATION

The May 3 "March on the Pentagon" was organized by leaders of a Stalinist, pro-Cuban revolutionary party and a "solidarity" group that openly supports a guerrilla takeover in El Salvador.

One of the featured speakers was a Puerto Rican terrorist who participated in a 1954 shooting attack from the House visitors' gallery that left five U.S. Congressmen wounded. He was convicted and served in prison until 1979, when he was released by President Jimmy Carter.

Of course, none of this was mentioned in the establishment press. The May 4 *Washington Post* spoke simply of "a loose coalition of groups" and said that "the orderly and youthful crowd formed a colorful river of jean-and-tee-shirt-clad humanity."

The *Washington Post* featured on its front page a four-column picture in which the banners of the Spartacist League were prominent. However, the newspaper did not explain that the Spartacist League is a Trotskyite faction that distributed flyers at the march calling for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!"

"Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador!" was another slogan emblazoned across the Spartacist League flyer.

The *New York Times* identified Larry Holmes as co-chairman of the march's organizing committee. What the *Times* did not say is that Holmes, one of the two emcees at the rally, ran for Vice-President of the United States last year as the candidate of the Workers World Party (WWP).

The WWP was formed in the 1959 by disgruntled members of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party, according to a 1974 report of the House Committee on Internal Security. The report notes that the WWP openly supported the Vietcong and North Vietnam and that WWP leaders have called for the "revolutionary overthrow of American capitalism."



DEMONSTRATORS CALL FOR GUERRILLA VICTORY—The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) dropped all pretense of being an anti-war group and marched May 3 proclaiming its support of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), the guerrilla coalition fighting to take power in El Salvador.

Holmes was interviewed in the May 1 *Workers World*, a tabloid that included an editorial calling for an alliance between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. *Workers World* called Holmes a key organizer of the People's Anti-War Mobilization (PAM), which ostensibly sponsored the "March on the Pentagon."

PAM is apparently nothing more than a front group. The real moving force behind the march from the beginning was the WWP. The weekly newspaper *Human Events* reported on May 16 that WWP spokesperson Elizabeth Ross said: "We were the initiators [of the march]. We've been working on it since January. We got all the other groups together and we did most of the work on it."

The socialist newspaper *The Guardian* reported in a Spring 1981 supplement:

"The Workers World Party played a major role in building the May 3 demonstration, and both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have been involved in support work for some time."

What kind of outfit is the WWP? Spokesperson Ross told *Human Events* that the WWP supports the regimes in Cuba, Angola and Ethiopia and supports the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as well as the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 and of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The other emcee at the May 3 rally was Heidi Turner of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

CISPES "supports and openly campaigns for the guerrilla movement, the Democratic Revolutionary Front, (FDR),

(continued on page 6)

The Campaign Against Haig

The most recent Rose Garden press conference coupled with earlier reassurances to and testimonials for Alexander M. Haig, Jr. by President Reagan make it perfectly clear. There exists a concerted public campaign against the Secretary of State. It is a press related mortar attack of manufactured outrage unwitnessed since the attacks launched several decades ago against the late John Foster Dulles.

This is why the President's public defense of his Secretary of State is more than a measure to establish a unity of command within the Reagan administration's foreign policy making structure. It is a recognition of the unique service Secretary Haig performs and the threat he poses to the temperamental internationalism which has dominated U.S. foreign policy over the past several decades.

Alexander Haig is an experienced anti-communist, both skillful and knowledgeable in a political arena in which knowledge is power. With his five years as NATO's military commander and his longstanding skepticism of detente for detente's sake, Secretary Haig is a symbol of everything the accommodationist establishment hates.

America's Spiritual Revival

Although he was the principle deputy to Henry A. Kissinger during the early years of the Nixon administration, General Haig never shared Dr. Kissinger's well publicized pessimism about America. He never participated in the tactical fatalism

predicated on the necessity of incremental accommodations with the Soviet Union in order to avoid tests of Western strength, tests Henry Kissinger believed the United States could not win. The "limited achievement" doctrines which guided U.S. policy in Vietnam, Angola and other areas where Western resolve was tested come from the same Spenglerian certainty in the presumed suicide of the West.

Haig is clearly more the practitioner than the theorist, and we can detect his fundamental differences with Henry Kissinger by what he does rather than what he says. For example, the posture taken by Secretary of State Haig on the eve of the possible Soviet intervention in Poland only weeks ago, issuing a tough warning against "any aggressive behavior," was unmistakable.

Unlike the usually guarded prose used by diplomats past, Secretary Haig's message delivered in European capitals left nothing to the imagination. It was a risk, but one taken on the confident assumption that the language of American diplomacy spoken in clear accents is the best antidote to the foreign military hostilities which lead to war.

As Secretary Haig explained during his address to the graduating class of Syracuse University last month, it is not the United States but the Soviet Union which is "an empire showing signs of spiritual exhaustion . . . and facing an extremely gloomy future." This makes it all the more dangerous an adversary. It also raises a new American imperative, that more than ever the U.S. must not allow the appearance of

Western weakness which might tempt a desperate Moscow leadership to test our resolve.

Protecting Our Southern Flank

The 15 European foreign ministers who last month agreed to a Haig inspired communique on East-West relations demonstrate the success of Haig's mission, though on the political continent he knows best. The events in El Salvador and the increasing level of Cuban and Soviet supported insurgency throughout Central America reveal the critical need for transferring policymaking attention to the southern areas within our own hemisphere.

The new highly competent Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Thomas Enders, is—with the help of incomparably experienced men like Gen. Vernon Walters and General Gordon Sumner—charting the new course the State Department has so badly needed.

But in order for Secretary Haig and his new team to reorient U.S. policy, in recognition of the immediate problems America faces within our own hemisphere, the administration will require the public support every President wants and without which cannot survive. As long as Secretary Haig continues to be the target of those most recently dispossessed of public power, he deserves the first line of defense by all of us who believe in what he and President Reagan are trying to do. ☆

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President: Ronald F. Docksai
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THE MAN WHO COULD BE DICTATOR— Salvador Cayetano Carpio, head of the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU).

Top Guerrilla in El Salvador

The leader of the revolutionary opposition in El Salvador is *not* social democrat Guillermo Ungo, President of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR). The FDR is merely a front group that disseminates propaganda abroad.

The most important leader of the Salvadoran revolution is Salvador Cayetano Carpio, who heads the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), the executive body of the guerrilla factions.

The socialist newspaper *The Guardian* calls Cayetano Carpio "the Ho Chi Minh of the Salvadoran revolution."

Correspondent Michael Naumann writes in the liberal German newspaper *Die Zeit* of Hamburg that Cayetano Carpio "controls the guerrillas' weapons. He is the uncontested head of five ideologically diverse guerrilla factions that fight independently. Carpio heads the DRU, which is the power center of militant opposition. He organized the January military offensive."

The facts are these: Cayetano Carpio was Secretary General of the Salvadoran Communist Party in the 1960s. He later helped form the Farabundo Marti Forces of Popular Liberation (FPL).

The various guerrilla factions formed the DRU "as their central executive arm for political and military planning" at a May 1980 meeting in Havana, according to the February 23 U.S. State Department "White Paper" on El Salvador.

The left-wing North American Congress on Latin American (NACLA) calls the DRU "the unified and military command of the revolution."

What about the FDR? It is simply "an auxiliary body . . . which serves mainly to

Cubans Enter Area Claimed by Venezuela

HUNDREDS OF SOLDIERS—Six Cuban planes landed on April 30 in Esequibo, a disputed zone claimed by Venezuela and Guyana, and unloaded "600 Cuban soldiers and various enormous wooden boxes that presumably contained arms," reports the Caracas daily *El Mundo*. The newspaper cited eyewitness reports given by a group of Venezuelans who live in the area.

★
SANDINISTAS ATTACK HAIG AND FONTAINE—The official Sandinista radio station, Radio Sandino, lashed out on April 21 at Secretary of State Alexander Haig's "fascist inspiration."

Radio Sandino had earlier attacked Dr. Roger Fontaine, the National Security Council's specialist on Latin America, calling him "barely a mediocre repeater and disseminator of the work hypothesis of the cold war and McCarthyism." Dr. Fontaine is on leave from the Council for Inter-American Security's Board of Directors.

★
BASQUE TERRORISTS TRAIN IN NICARAGUA, EL SALVADOR—Police Commissioner Manuel Ballesteros, the Chief of Spain's Anti-terrorist Command, charged in Madrid's *ABC* newspaper on May 3 that members of the Basque terrorist group ETA are training in guerrilla camps in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

★
GUERRILLAS SHOOT PRIEST IN ZIMBABWE—An elderly Roman Catholic priest was shot dead at a remote mission in Zimbabwe. "He was the third missionary and the 20th white to meet a violent death since Zimbabwe became independent just over a year ago," the May London newsmagazine *The Economist* reports. "His murderers were probably former guerrillas who have opted for banditry rather than the discipline of the national army or unemployment."

The Economist goes on: "Two Seventh Day Adventist teachers murdered in February appear to have been killed simply because they were white. Blacks have suffered too: African villagers have been beaten up and killed and schools and clinics attacked."

★
MITTERAND: "SANDINISTA MILITANT"—Sandinista Commander Bayardo Arce said that the new President of France, Francois Mitterand, is "a militant of the Sandinista cause." Nicaragua's junta coordinator Daniel Ortega sent a message to Mitterand saying: "Your triumph is our triumph." Chancellor Miguel D'Escoto said Mitterand's election "is a victory for the Nicaraguan revolution." Mitterand is a member of the International Committee of Defense of the Sandinista Revolution.

★
HUMAN RIGHTS? ASK FIDEL—Vice President George Bush said that Cuba is the worst human rights violator in the Western Hemisphere.

"To condemn the repressive policies of any nation in Central America, without recognizing that the worst offender of human rights in this hemisphere is Russia's satellite in Havana, isn't simply hypocrisy—it is short-sighted foreign policy that ill serves the cause of peace and freedom," Bush said at Duquesne University on May 8.

"For make no mistake," Bush continued, "whatever the faults of existing regimes in Central and South America regarding human rights, the Castro communist alternative would condemn the people of those regions to the most repressive form of government."

cultivate support from other Latin American governments, European Social Democrats, and credulous journalists and academics," according to Penn Kemble writing in the March 14 *New Republic*.

The U.S. State Department "White Paper" on El Salvador says that the FDR is "a front organization . . . created to disseminate propaganda abroad. For appearances' sake, three small non-Marxist Leninist political parties were brought into the front, although they have no representation in the DRU."

The FDR is "a decoy," according to Alexander Kruger of the Heritage Foundation, who notes that the FDR is "made up of an overt leadership of non-Marxist leftists. Their purpose is to give the insurgents international credibility despite the fact that these leaders have no significant power base independent of the Marxists who control the FDR."

FDR President Guillermo Ungo "is supported by only about 400 Social Democrats," writes Michael Naumann in *Die Zeit*. ☆

Capital of Nicaragua is Havana

by U.S. Senator Tom Eagleton

Editor's Note: Missouri's liberal Democratic Senator Tom Eagleton went to Nicaragua in April. Although WEST WATCH often disagrees with Senator Eagleton, we salute him for breaking with his liberal colleagues who refuse to recognize that Nicaragua has become a Cuban satellite.

It didn't surprise me to see the Nicaraguan junta leader, Daniel Ortega, swagger into a meeting dressed in green combat fatigues with a pistol strapped to his side.

A recent Congressional visit to the Central American countries of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, and Nicaragua convinced me that although Managua is still the commercial and cultural capital of the latter nation, its political capital is Havana, Cuba. So, it came as no surprise to me that one of its key leaders should appear in the uniform of his political godfather—Fidel Castro.

I wasn't all that surprised at the Castroization of the Nicaraguan military—hundreds and hundreds of Cuban troops permeate the Nicaraguan military at all key command, staff, and rank levels.

I was somewhat surprised, however, at the Cuban takeover of the Nicaraguan educational system. Cuban "teachers" dominate in most of the classrooms. Textbooks

printed in Havana are the primary teaching tools. The first words taught young Nicaraguan school children are: "genocide," "Yankee Imperialism," and "Sandinista." How's that for shaping the minds and vocabulary of youngsters?

When I inquired of junta leader Ortega as to the foregoing Castroization of his country, I was denounced as an "archreactionary"!

The namecalling doesn't bother me all that much. What does bother me is the formulation of a rational and meaningful foreign policy approach with respect to the individual nations of Central America. Facts, conditions, economic and political circumstances vary markedly in the five countries of Central America, and, thus, generalizations are very risky.

In Nicaragua, for example, we must try to devise some method of insuring that our modest economic aid (indeed, if any is to be sent) gets through to its intended beneficiaries, namely the free enterprise business sector that is already struggling to hang on despite hardships imposed by the junta.

We must see to it that our food aid actually gets to the starving Nicaraguans (and thousands are starving) without being ripped off by the junta. Perhaps the Catholic Church should be our vehicle.



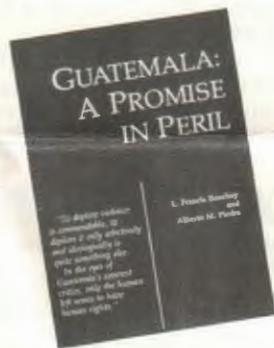
Senator Tom Eagleton says that the government of Nicaragua is dominated by Fidel Castro.

The United States is held in some suspicion in the region. "Yankee Imperialism" looms large in the minds of many Central Americans. This is especially so in Nicaragua where for 43 years we had a cozy and unholy relationship with the hated, cruel, and thieving Somoza Family.

That's why we must seek to prevail on the Latin Four (Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Costa Rica) to play a moderating and stabilizing role which deeply felt and long-remembered Central American history prevents us from playing. ☆

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PANAMA CANAL: THE AFTERMATH

by Kris Kolesnik

It is now three years since the Senate approved the controversial Panama Canal treaties. Very little has been mentioned in the press about what is happening down in Panama in the aftermath of the treaties. But Americans returning from the canal paint a glum picture.

Crime and anti-American sentiment are rampant in Panama. Particularly high are instances of burglaries and robberies. In fact, few Americans will leave their homes for fear of returning to an empty house.

Panamanian police have replaced the American-run Canal Guard as the chief law enforcement arm in the canal area. And that, according to many, is where the problem originates. The Panamanian government is doing nothing to discourage crime, so skilled Americans who operate the canal are leaving in droves.

The mass exodus of skilled technicians has caused another concern: the safety of the canal itself. American technicians are being replaced by untrained Panamanians, and one source says a major canal accident is imminent.

"There was no great effort made to train Panamanians in skilled positions," says the source, who just returned from

Panama after some months. "We turned over billions of dollars of equipment to them that they can't run, and then spent millions more to upgrade U.S. military facilities that we also gave them. We should have used that money to train them. At least that way there would have been a smooth and safe transition. Now we have to worry about a major accident that could bottle up American cargo for months."

One political observer blames the Canal Zone problems on U.S. negotiators sent there by the Carter Administration. According to that observer, the Carter team "caved in to nearly every demand made by the Panamanians. Our priority down there certainly wasn't the safety of U.S. citizens or the canal. They were bad negotiations on our part, with the wrong objectives in mind."

Present U.S. problems in Panama will grow worse. The situation is merely another of a series of cases in which U.S. foreign policy loses sight of American interests in vital areas of the world.

Hopefully, we learned valuable lessons in Iran and Nicaragua. But the bet here is that we will relearn those lessons in Panama. ☆

Kris Kolesnik is Executive Director of *Conservatives Against Liberal Legislation*.

Salvadoran Guerrillas Not Serious About Negotiation

Salvadoran authorities have captured a document written by the revolutionary front that shows the guerrillas have embraced the Chinese war proverb, "Fight, fight, talk, talk."

The document proposes mediation as a tactical maneuver designed to buy time while the guerrillas regroup for another military offensive.

One of the stated objectives of the guerrilla plan is "to gain time to improve our military situation in relation to the strength of the enemy." The guerrillas would terminate the discussions after a "dilatatory" period, the document says.

Front leader Ruben Zamora told Washington Post editorial staff member Stephen S. Rosenfeld that the document is authentic.

Rosenfeld wrote in the May 15 *Washington Post* that "one comes quickly to a document, 'The Negotiations Maneuver,' sent last Feb. 3 to the military command by the civilian opposition coalition or front. The gist of it was that the opposition should fake an interest in negotiation and press the battle. Junta foreign minister Fidel Chavez Mena presented word of it to a group of us at breakfast last Thursday by way of challenging the front's sincerity in calling for negotiations.

"As it happened, front leader Ruben Zamora lunched with the same group the same day and, to my surprise, authenticated the document. He added only that it was just an option paper and did not reflect the front's policy now. I thought he bolstered the foreign minister's case."

On the same day that Rosenfeld's piece appeared in the Washington Post, the Council for Inter-American Security released a WEST WATCH ADVISORY entitled "Salvadoran Guerrillas Propose 'Political Solution' But Seek Military Victory." The ADVISORY showed that the guerrilla plan for mediation is already being executed.

The plan was dated February 3. On March 2 in Panama, a mediation proposal, which had been endorsed by the FDR, was made by the Socialist International's Latin America committee.

London's newsmagazine *The Economist* reported on May 2 that the Socialist International committee agreed to act as mediator "at the bequest of Mr. Guillermo Ungo, the social democratic president of the Democratic Revolutionary Front."

However, not everyone in the Socialist International is disposed to play the guerrillas' game. Socialist International President Willy Brandt sent a personal emissary, Hans Jurgen Wischnewski, to El Salvador in April. The mission nearly aborted when the government showed

Wischnewski the "Negotiations Maneuver" document.

Wischnewski felt "betrayed," according to the June 4 Washington Post. He refused to talk more with the revolutionary front and left the country.

In Panama, strongman Omar Torrijos persuaded Wischnewski to go to Cuba and visit Fidel Castro. The *Washington Post* reports that Castro claimed the guerrilla document was only an "option paper" which was not adopted as policy.

Of course, events show that the proposal was adopted and that it is being carried out, almost down to the last detail.

On April 23 the FDR/FMLN Political/Diplomatic Commission—which had authored the document proposing mediation—announced that it would begin negotiations with the junta if five conditions were met. Each one of these conditions—such as withdrawal of U.S. military advisers and respect for the military areas controlled by the FMLN—had been set forth in the February 3 document as a condition or concession to be sought.

The proposal has been rebuffed by the Salvadoran government. On April 25, junta Vice-President Colonel Jaime Abdul Gutierrez announced that the government "categorically rejects mediation of the present Salvadoran conflict, because to submit to it would mean lending ourselves to a stratagem of international communism designed to deceive world public opinion."

The guerrilla plan to orchestrate dis-

cussions as a tactical maneuver aimed at achieving military objectives leaves no doubt that the Salvadoran authorities are justified in refusing the offer made by the Socialist International to mediate the conflict in El Salvador.

It also shows that many of the Congressmen and Church leaders in this country who are calling for a "dialogue" with the guerrillas have been deceived by the guerrilla's "peace offensive," which is nothing more than a phase of their plan for a military victory.

The U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted on May 11 to require, as a condition for military aid to the Salvadoran junta, Presidential certification that the junta is willing to negotiate a political solution with opposition factions.

This must have delighted the guerrillas, who call in their plan for "developing to the maximum in the U.S. the initiative of the group of congressmen in favor of the proposition 'dialogue sí, military aid no,' which would be directed to the State Department."

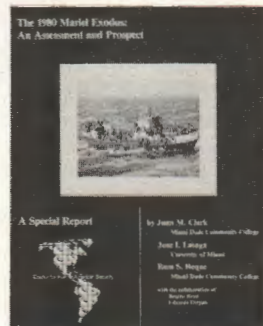
The plan confirms what many of us have been saying all along: the guerrillas are trying to win at the negotiating table what they were unable to win on the battlefield. However, we now realize that the guerrillas intend merely to feign movement toward negotiation, about which they are not at all serious. The real action will take place on the battlefield, to which the guerrillas will return in earnest at the appropriate time. ☆

CUBAN BOAT PEOPLE

Castro's "paradise" has become a living hell. Last year over 125,000 Cubans risked their lives to escape. More than 19,000 were forced to leave their wives behind.

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Costa Rica Breaks Ties with Cuba

"DICTATORIAL AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC"—Costa Rica ended its consular ties with Cuba last month. President Rodrigo Carazo said this was due to an offensive letter the Cuban government circulated in the United Nations in December, but majority party deputy Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto said the real reason was "Cuba's foreign policy of exporting revolution to other countries."

Costa Rica issued a bulletin on May 11 blasting "the dictatorial and anti-democratic characteristics of Fidel Castro's government."

The Cuban Communist Party newspaper *Granma* responded on May 14, calling President Carazo "an acrobat . . . accustomed to dancing to the Yankee beat."

★

SANDINISTAS MURDER NICARAGUAN IN COSTA RICA—Sandinista elements entered Costa Rica and followed a fleeing Nicaraguan into a house and took him away, Costa Rica's Public Security Minister announced on April 15. The Nicaraguan's lifeless body was later found in Costa Rican territory with two bullet wounds and a knife wound. Costa Rica protested the violation of its territory and the murder.

★

ARCHBISHOP CONCERNED ABOUT CUBAN "TEACHERS"—The Archbishop of Managua, Msgr. Miguel Ovando y Bravo, said on March 24 that he is concerned about the 2,000 Cuban teachers in Nicaragua and said that they "may be subtly spreading their ideology." He indicated that, besides teaching people to read, the Cubans aim to organize and ideologize Nicaragua.

Archbishop Ovando y Bravo complained about the seizure of two radios used to communicate with priests and communities. He also expressed concern about political prisoners in Nicaragua.

★

U.S. AMBASSADOR GETS DEATH THREAT FROM M-19—The Colombian terrorist group M-19 threatened on April 23 to kill U.S. Ambassador Thomas Boyatt and his wife and one-year-old son if he did not leave the country. Boyatt had replaced Ambassador Diego Asencio, who was held hostage for 61 days by the M-19 at the Dominican Republic Embassy in Bogota in February 1980.

★

MARYKNOLL PRIEST JOINS GUERRILLAS—Maryknoll priest Don McKinnon "has joined the guerrillas fighting in Quiche" in Guatemala, reports the May 5 *New York Times*.

Meanwhile, Jesuit priests and members of the Maryknoll order will no longer be permitted to enter Honduras. Migration Director Rodolfo Aleman said this is because Jesuit and Maryknoll "activists" have abandoned their "holy mission" and are meddling in local politics.

Another reason, Aleman said, was information that Guatemala and El Salvador were preparing to expel the Jesuits and Maryknolls for engaging in political activity: "We were afraid those priests would come to Honduras."

★

CUBA SENDS GUERRILLAS INTO GUATEMALA—Cuban advisers are training guerrillas in southern Mexico and sending them into Guatemala, charged Guatemala's military attache in Washington, Colonel Mario Paiz, in the *Corpus Christi Caller* newspaper. UPI ran the story on May 1.

Left Wing (continued from page 1)

which is fighting to overthrow the Duarte government," according to a report by Penn Kemble, President of the Foundation for Democratic Education. Kemble wrote a brilliant analysis of the Salvadoran revolutionary opposition in the March 14 *New Republic*.

CISPES is reported to have been set up by Farid Handal, brother of Salvadoran Communist Party chief Shafiq Handal. According to one of the captured guerrilla documents in the hands of the U.S. State Department, Handal visited the U.S. in February and March 1980 to establish a "solidarity committee" to support the opposition in El Salvador. The formation of

CISPES was announced in October.

CISPES raises money by selling "solidarity bonds," an idea Handal suggested to Sandy Pollack of the U.S. Peace Council, a Soviet front that is one of five organizations on the CISPES steering committee.

Among the speakers at the May 3 rally was Arnaldo Ramos, identified on the program as "a spokesperson for the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR)."

Rafael Cancel Miranda, the speaker identified on the program only as "Puerto Rican Nationalist and former longtime prisoner in the U.S.," was part of a terrorist group that shot five U.S. Congressmen in 1954.

The establishment media chose to overlook this. However, Cancel Miranda is no stranger to WEST WATCH readers. WEST WATCH reported in October/November 1979 that Cancel Miranda said: "There is only one nation that looks similar to what I want for Puerto Rico, and that is Cuba."

Maryknoll sister Geraldine Blake, regional coordinator for the Maryknoll sisters in the Panama-Nicaragua-El Salvador region, was another speaker. She delivered a statement that can only fuel the fire of controversy surrounding the posture of the Maryknolls as revolutionary activists.

Sister Blake told the crowd: "Ours is a sacred call to accompany the people of Central America whether in victory or in struggle in their process towards liberation. We hope to accompany them as participants rather than as leaders, humbly searching side by side for new ways to be church, to be light, to be ferment."

The leaders of the "March on the Pentagon" wanted to dramatize opposition to U.S. aid to El Salvador. They failed. What they succeeded in doing was to reveal the nature of the anti-El Salvador leadership in this country.

These are not idealistic college students who want to stop the killing. Rather, most are hard-nosed Marxist ideologues committed to the military ambitions of the Soviet Union and Cuba. ☆

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Borge: "I exploded with joy."

Somoza Believed Murdered by Sandinista Agents

Almost four years to the day after the violent death of Orlando Letelier on the streets of Washington, ex-Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza was shot and killed on the streets of Asuncion, Paraguay.

The American media largely ignored Somoza's murder. Many of these same reporters have made a secular saint of Letelier, who was apparently a paid agent of the Cuban government.

The double standard employed by the media is well illustrated by the news blackouts and uneven press coverage of these two assassinations. The press was quick to condemn the alleged involvement of Chilean officials in Letelier's death. Yet the press has done little to inform the American public of evidence that high ranking Sandinista officials were involved in Somoza's murder.

A Chilean photographer who had worked for Radio Sandino confessed on Paraguayan television in January that he took photographs of the Somoza assassination at the direction of a confidant of Nicaragua's Minister of the Interior, Tomas Borge.

The photographer, Rafael Alejandro Mella Latorre, told Paraguayan police that all the terrorists who participated in the Somoza murder served under the direct orders of Borge.

Mella Latorre also said that the arms used in the attack were introduced in Paraguay through the commercial attache at the Nicaraguan Embassy in Asuncion.

The police say that Mella Latorre was contracted in Arica, Chile by Alvaro Gimenez Cessaregu, who worked for Luis Fernandez of the Cuban Embassy in Panama. Mella Latorre was contracted to serve in a terrorist group that was to kill Somoza, acting under the orders of Tomas Borge, according to the official police transcript printed January 23 in the newspaper *Hoy* of Asuncion, Paraguay.

The photographer was directed to go to Asuncion and meet Faustino Zavala, a Venezuelan who also served on the assassination team. He was told to participate in the preparations for the attack on Somoza and to photograph the event.

Mella Latorre said he was told exactly where and when to position himself to photograph the murder. After the taking of the pictures, he delivered the film to Zavala.

Mella Latorre received \$5,000 upon delivery of the film, and \$35,000 was deposited to his name in a bank account in Panama.

The photographer said he had known Zavala during the war against Somoza and



Former Radio Sandino scriptwriter Mella Latorre, who was contracted to photograph the Somoza murder, says that all the terrorists on the assassination team served under the direct orders of Nicaraguan strongman Tomas Borge.

that Zavala was a member of the general staff of the Sandinista army on the northern front.

Mella Latorre said that Zavala was head of the assassination team and "is a confidant of the Minister of the Interior in Nicaragua, Tomas Borge, the true strongman of the country."

Mella Latorre said he acted under extortion. He explained that he and his wife were being constantly threatened by the Sandinistas and that he felt obliged to participate in the terrorist act.

It seems that Mella Latorre had worked for Somoza's National Guard as well as for the Sandinistas. The newspaper *Hoy* reports that the Sandinistas had condemned him to death but later pressured him to cooperate in the murder in Asuncion.

The Paraguayan police say that Mella Latorre reportedly was trained in Cuba on the Isle of Pines from October to November 1978.

Nicaraguan officials have denied any involvement in the Somoza assassination. However, Interior Minister Tomas Borge said that he "exploded with joy" at the news of the murder.

"The entire world wants to know who killed Somoza," Borge said in Venezuela on April 24. "Well, he was executed by 'Fuenteovejuna.'" Borge was said by the Spanish news agency EFE to have been referring to a Lope de Vega historical drama in which the people were asked by the judge to tell who killed the tyrant of Calatrava, Spain. They all shouted "Fuenteovejuna," meaning everybody.

Borge added: "Although it is unfortu-

nate to rejoice over the death of a human being, I exploded with joy."

You are not likely to read about any of this in the establishment press. The *Washington Post* on January 23 ran a three-inch blurb on the Chilean photographer's confession, but concluded by noting simply that the Nicaraguan officials deny everything. Nothing more has appeared on the subject.

Yet the establishment press harps interminably on the Letelier affair, neglecting to point out who Letelier really was.

Letelier, a cabinet officer under Marxist President Salvador Allende, was the director of an arm of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), a pro-Castro propaganda factory in Washington, D.C.

WEST WATCH researchers have seen evidence which strongly suggests that, aside from his activities at IPS, Letelier was an unregistered, paid agent of the Cuban government. FBI phone taps of conversations between Letelier and Julian Rizo, Castro's former "numero uno" in the United States, show that Rizo asked Letelier to set up meetings with various IPS people.

The evidence includes a letter from Tati Allende to Letelier which was found in Letelier's briefcase at the scene of his death. Tati was married to the second in command of the Cuban secret police (DGI) until her mysterious suicide. In the letter, Tati says she will send Letelier \$1,000 a month from the funds of the Chilean Socialist Party.

According to Reed Irvine, President of Accuracy In Media, it is very unlikely that Tati would actually draw the money from the Socialists' funds. Irvine cites Cuban banking laws that make any such transaction prohibitive. It is more likely that Tati's husband had arranged for the money to come from the Cuban DGI. ☆

COMMUNISTS BLAST THOMAS ENDERS

The clandestine guerrilla radio station "Venceremos" in El Salvador denounced the new U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Thomas Enders, as an "imperialist agent."

The guerrillas claimed in an April 24 broadcast that Enders was "a key man at the U.S. Embassy in Phnom Penh in the early 1970's when he was involved in the terrorist actions which tried to stop the arms supply to the Vietcong combatants."

El Salvador Needs Military Aid

Much has been said lately about the ability of the Salvadorean armed forces to withstand the communists' January offensive "without the help of a single American bullet." Former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White, for example, has used this type of statement to justify his contention that El Salvador doesn't need U.S. military assistance.

Those who are trying to make this point are overlooking certain critical facts.

The communists were not able to win their objective in January, because (1) they had internal logistic problems which prevented some of their troops from receiving needed arms and ammunition in time for the offensive, (2) many communist troops had little or no experience with some of the newly arrived weapons and were, therefore, unable to use them effectively, (3) with unemployment soaring, peasants and laborers felt more interested in staying at whatever jobs they had rather than in leaving them and joining the left in a "popular uprising," and (4) the communists used newly recruited, inexperienced, and untrained young kids in the front ranks of their offensive, while the seasoned cadre stayed in the back.

While the communists were experiencing these difficulties, the Salvadorean armed forces were experiencing their own. They were running out of what little ammunition they had and were knocking on the doors of U.S. Embassy military personnel in San Salvador begging for urgent supplies. Even President Carter, in the final days of his administration, was willing to recognize the desperate situation in El

Salvador and, therefore, initiated the airlift of arms and ammunition which President Reagan then continued after January 20th.

Since January, the communists have overcome their logistic foul-ups, have trained themselves in the use of the weapons they have received, and have taken under tow the experienced survivors of that offensive. And they have continued to receive weapons.

Furthermore, with the harvests now over and the economy declining more steeply, the ranks of the unemployed are growing and are creating pools of potential recruits for the Marxist guerrillas. As the economy continues to deteriorate and the faults of the Salvadorean government's economic reforms become clear to the average Salvadorean, hostility towards the government could increase and, of course, could be translated into support for the guerrillas.

The guerrillas, therefore, are not weak and overwhelmed by government forces. In early January, they numbered about 8000, including experienced cadre and less trained militia. During the January fighting, they lost about 1000 to 1500. The remaining 6500-7000 are a significant force and are improving.

With the Salvadorean armed forces numbering around 15,000-16,000, the ratio of insurgents to government troops is unfavorable by established military criteria for a guerrilla war. Nevertheless, the Salvadorean troops are well motivated and with adequate supplies could contain the communists.

The strategy of limiting the amount of enemy supplies coming into the country and eliminating the guerrilla leadership could, within a year or so, bring the country to the point where elections could be held. Those elections should be the goal towards which our foreign policy in El Salvador is aimed. To achieve that goal will require, among many other factors, a government military force in El Salvador able to defend itself against the guerrillas.

The guerrillas and their political front organization, the Democratic Revolutionary Front, are not eager for elections because they know they would lose. They can be expected to do everything possible to keep those elections from taking place. Only a viable Salvadorean military can spoil their plans and keep the electoral process on track.

Nothing said thus far is designed to condone the excesses which elements of the military have committed against the population. The Carter approach to these excesses was to deny the Salvadorean armed forces the supplies needed to fight the guerrillas. That approach resulted in near-disaster and should not be repeated. We will have no leverage on these armed forces if we abandon them.

A far wiser course of action is to do what the Reagan Administration is now doing—providing supplies, exerting influence quietly and out of the glare of the public spotlight, and giving the training needed to control the insurgents with as little loss of innocent blood as possible. But it is, after all, a war. ☆

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