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September 12, 1983

THE CASTRO DOCTRINE MAKES GAINS

INTRODUCTION

The 7,000 Cuban troops and "advisors" now in Nicaragua dramatize Havana's continuing role in the radical politics of Latin America. Although Cuba has been regarded since the early 1960s as a perennial threat to hemispheric stability, only in the last decade has it acquired the military and financial means to mount a sustained offensive in Latin America and the Caribbean. The subsidization of the Cuban economy by the Soviet Union, the placement of Soviet troops and arms on Cuban soil and the establishment of working contacts with international terrorist organizations such as the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) have enabled Cuba to pursue ambitions otherwise precluded by its geographic and resource constraints. Driving Cuba is the "Castro Doctrine" which targets at least a dozen Latin American countries for destabilization and revolution.

The current phase of Cuba's offensive focuses on Central America. Essential for Cuba is the consolidation of Sandinistan rule in Nicaragua, a regime which came to power in part because of Cuban support. Havana apparently views Nicaragua as a springboard from which to depose the governments of El Salvador and Honduras. For this, Cuba has been marshalling considerable material and personnel. Havana seems determined to keep the region roiling in instability, to block efforts to implant democracy and to undermine governments sympathetic to the U.S. As such, Cuba poses its greatest threat yet to Central American peace and democracy and to U.S. interests in the region.

BACKGROUND

Cuba As Maverick (1959-1967)

From the start, leaders of Cuba's 1959 Revolution saw themselves as the vanguard of the contagious region-wide revolt.

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against the established order. The attempted export of revolution followed a "focos" strategy, involving the establishment of armed focal points in key areas from which small bands of guerrillas could initiate a continental revolution.¹

While Fidel Castro committed Cuban resources throughout Latin America, the primary targets for exported revolution were the Dominican Republic, Bolivia and Venezuela.² In June 1959, a guerrilla expedition, organized, armed and trained by Cuba, invaded Santo Domingo hoping to destroy the Trujillo regime. This expedition was soundly defeated by Dominican military forces. In February 1964, the Organization of American States (OAS) charged Cuba with attempting to overthrow the Betancourt government of Venezuela.³ In late 1967, Castro's longtime associate "Che" Guevara led a 100-man expedition force into Bolivia to overthrow the government. The Cuban organized, armed, and trained force was decisively defeated by U.S.-trained Bolivian military forces assisted by local peasants and townsmen. Guevara himself was killed.

Cuban interference prompted the Dominican Republic and Peru to break diplomatic relations with Havana, while Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Haiti suspended relations, and El Salvador, Honduras, Venezuela, and others expelled many Cuban envoys for fomenting insurgencies within their countries. In 1962, the OAS itself expelled Cuba for its policy of aggression throughout the region, and its consequent "incompatibility with the purposes of principles of the inter-American system."⁴

Cuba As Conformist (1967-1978)

Failure abroad and increasing economic woes at home forced Castro into a Napoleonic retreat. Domestically, he concentrated on socialist economic development; diplomatically, the focus was on ending Cuba's isolation by establishing government-to-government relations in the region. Many Latin American governments did in fact re-establish relations with Havana.

While Castro was mending fences in this hemisphere, he was stirring up trouble elsewhere, as Moscow's proxy. By using the troops of its client states, as in Angola and Ethiopia, the Soviet

¹ On the early phase of Castroism, see Kevin Devlin. "The Permanent Revolutionism of Fidel Castro," Problems of Communism, January-February, 1968; and Andres Suarez, Cuba: Castroism and Communism, 1959-1966 (The MIT Press, 1967).

² For contemporary accounts of Cuba's activities see for instance "How Communists Plan to Get Latin America," U.S. News and World Report, March 9, 1964; or "Revolution For Export," Time, August 22, 1960.

³ For summary of OAS' findings on this matter see "Cuban Intervention," Americas, April 1964, p. 44.

⁴ Maurice Halperin, The Rise and Decline of Fidel Castro (University of California Press, 1972), p. 121.

Union was able to pretend to abide by the spirit of detente and yet seriously challenge American interests in strategic areas. Soviet aggression was masked by a "foreign legion" of Cuban and Eastern European forces.

Cuba As Active Partner (1978-Present)

Almost immediately, the benefits of this symbiotic relationship became apparent: Use of Cuban troops enabled Moscow to pursue destabilizing foreign policy goals while enjoying the fruits of detente; Soviet material and moral support enabled Cuba to divert its resources to ambitious policy goals against the backdrop of the Soviet shield. In exchange for Soviet support, moreover, Cuba portrayed the Soviet Union as an ally of the Third World in the "North-South conflict." For example, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was described by Castro at the Cuban Communist Party Congress in December 1980 as an act of national liberation.

In exporting revolution, the haphazardness of the Che Guevara's day has been replaced by institutionalized force projection. Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) are operationally controlled by the Ministry of FAR (MINFAR), headed by Fidel Castro's brother Raul. Counterintelligence and covert activity are the purview of the Direccion General de Inteligencia (DGI) and the Departamento de America (DA) of the Central Committee.

The DGI was established in 1961 with Soviet assistance.⁵ After seven years of Soviet-Cuban tensions on the matter of DGI personnel selection, Cuba succumbed to Soviet economic pressure and permitted Moscow to reorganize radically the DGI and to bring it under close KGB control. According to British strategist Brian Crozier, the DGI is the only satellite service known in recent years to have received a Soviet financial subsidy specifically to enable it to extend the range of its activities abroad.

The Departamento de America (DA) was established in 1974 to centralize supervision of covert activities. Drawing on the resources of the military and of the DGI, the DA has successfully set up training camps in Cuba and abroad, networks for the covert transfer of material and personnel, and a highly sophisticated propaganda machine. Agents of the DA populate every Cuban diplomatic mission in Latin America and the Caribbean, and are frequently employed by Cuba's official press agency Prensa Latina, by Cubana Airlines, and by the Cuban Institute of Friendship with People.⁶

⁵ For a more extensive description of the DGI see Brian Crozier "The Soviet's Surrogate Forces," Institute for the Study of Conflict, Conflict Studies, #62, 1980.

⁶ Information provided here on these various organizations is from: "Castro's Long March," Economist Foreign Report, July 11, 1979; and, "Cuba's Renewed Support for Violence in Latin America," op. cit.

Cuba's Current Strategy

Cuba's strategy and tactics for exporting revolution have been transformed extensively in the past decade. The "focos" strategy has given way to a dual emphasis on what the Cubans term "the unity of the opposition," and "the quality of the vanguard." The first means that Cuban aid is extended on the condition that opposition groups in the target country unite in a military-political front; the second, that control is centralized in a cadre ideologically indoctrinated and armed by Cuba and Soviet bloc countries. Underpinning both is the persistent use of terrorism and violence aimed at keeping tension levels high and forcing authoritarian governments into ever more repressive stances, thereby undermining prospects for moderation and gradual reform.

The thrust of this contemporary strategy recalls the methods of the Bolsheviks. Violence and terrorism are employed precisely to prevent what Marxist-Leninists call the "bourgeoisification of the masses"--the forsaking of violence and revolution in favor of institutional reform. Governments are driven to abandon reform programs and adopt more repressive policies just to maintain the status quo. The struggle between the government and its foes is thus made more urgent, immediate and decisive. Marxist-Leninist ideology, meanwhile exaggerates the evils of the regime under attack by contrasting them with ideological utopianism.

In the consequent polarization, moderates and members of the "loyal opposition" are drawn into anti-government fronts or coalitions. In these, the military predominates and in the military group, the Cuban trained and armed cadre is the "vanguard."

Since the goal is revolution not reform, the struggle against the government is intensified, not appeased, by governmental concessions. If, as was the case in Nicaragua (and in tsarist Russia), the government is ousted, the "vanguard of the revolution" then consolidates its rule by unburdening itself of its coalition partners.⁷

The Nicaraguan Model

The 1979 Sandinista victory in Nicaragua and this regime's subsequent support of anti-government guerrillas in El Salvador and Honduras, vindicate Cuba's contemporary strategy. Cuba gave some training and arms and provided safe havens to Nicaraguan guerrilla forces throughout the 1960s and 1970s. As Nicaragua was not then "ripe for revolution" and was in fact a powerful anti-Marxist bastion, Castro's objective was to exploit rather than to force opportunities.

⁷ For further discussion of this communist tactic, see Robert Strausz-Hupe, et al., Protracted Conflict (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 54-58.

In July of 1978, Havana announced the unification of the major guerrilla factions into the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). At that time, according to the U.S. State Department White Paper on communist involvement in El Salvador, a network was established that shipped arms from Cuba and Panama, transshipped them to Costa Rica, then carried them overland to FSLN troops based in northern Costa Rica. This network was controlled by the Cuba's Departamento de America from its center in San Jose. Arms shipments were followed by Cuban advisors, and in early 1979, by the arrival of a Cuban organized, trained and equipped "internationalist brigade."

Prior to the FSLN final offensive in mid-1979, Castro met with its leaders to ensure continued unified action. During that offensive, Cuban advisors from the Department of Special Operations (DOE) accompanied FSLN troops and maintained direct radio contact with Havana.⁸

Since the Sandinista victory, 5,000 to 6,000 Cuban advisors have been dispatched to Nicaragua to help consolidate the "revolucion sin fronteras"--the revolution without frontiers. Among them are 1,800 "social service workers" and more than 1,000 military and security personnel assisting in police and counterinsurgency operations training. Nicaragua is the staging area for Cuba's offensive against El Salvador.

The El Salvador Offensive

Flush from its Nicaraguan victory, Cuba stepped up efforts to implement the unity of the opposition/quality of the vanguard--cum terrorism strategy in neighboring El Salvador. Cementing the unity of El Salvador's leftist groups became particularly essential in late 1979 when a reform-minded civil-military government took power in El Salvador. To prevent more moderate opposition elements from rallying to the reformers, Cuban supported forces intensified violence and terrorism to slow the pace of government reform efforts. A Salvadoran guerrilla, Alejandro Montenegro, captured during a raid on a guerrilla safehouse in Honduras in August of 1982, confirmed that Nicaragua remains Cuba's primary conduit for insurgency weapons and ammunition throughout Central America.⁹

REGIONAL OVERVIEW

Guatemala

The promise of Cuban aid on condition of unification led to 1980 to the meeting of Guatemala's four major guerrilla groups:

⁸ "Cuba's Renewed Support for Violence...", op. cit., p. 72.

⁹ Further, Nicaragua's Sandinista regime assists in recruiting and transporting guerrillas for Cuban training programs. According to the U.S. State Department White Paper on El Salvador, one Salvadoran guerrilla who defected to Honduras in September of 1981 reported that he and 12 others went from Nicaragua to Cuba where over 900 Salvadorans were receiving training.

the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP); the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR); the Organization of People in Arms (OPRA); and the dissident faction of the Guatemalan Communist Party (PGT/D). After signing an agreement on cooperation, the Guatemalan representatives journeyed to Cuba where they met with Castro and again agreed to create a military command based in Managua. The resultant organization is called the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG) with a revolutionary directorate called the General Revolutionary Command (CGR).

In February 1982, a group of prominent Guatemalan exiles in Mexico announced the establishment of the Guatemalan Committee for Patriotic Unity (CGUP). Members of this "unified political front" met in Havana the following day to celebrate the event.

Following these major steps towards opposition unification, Cuba increased military supplies and training to Guatemalan guerrilla forces. Throughout 1981, arms were sent to Guatemala from Nicaragua via Honduras. These arms included 50mm mortars, submachine guns, rocket launchers, and small arms. The guerrillas' primary target has been Guatemala's economic infrastructure; crop-burning and activities to destroy the tourism industry are employed to create widespread dissatisfaction through swelling opposition ranks.

Honduras

Here Cuba also has been unifying the major anti-government groups: the Honduran Communist Party (PCH); the Popular Liberation Movement (MPH-Cinchoneros); the Lorenzo Zelaya Commando, the military arm of the Revolutionary People's Front (FRP); the Morazanista National Liberation Front (FMLH). As the prospective vanguard, Cuba seems to prefer the MPH-Cinchoneros--a group known to have close ties to the Salvadoran guerrillas. The indigenous Communist Party (PCH), which eschews violence, is helpful to Cuba only to the extent that it very vocally opposes cooperation between Honduras and the U.S. in combating regional insurgency.

As Honduras is considered not yet "ripe for revolution," its present function is an arms and aid conduit to neighboring areas. In January 1981, Honduran officials uncovered a large cache of arms earmarked for Salvadoran guerrillas. In November of that year, the Honduran government revealed the presence of a guerrilla safehouse outside the city of Tegucigalpa, containing an arsenal of automatic weapons and explosives and documents showing recent attendance in training courses in Cuba. Later that month, two additional safehouses were uncovered in La Ceiba and San Pedro Sula.

Costa Rica

During the Nicaraguan civil war, Costa Rica was covertly used as a conduit for arms shipments to the Sandinistas. According to a Special Legislative Commission established in June 1980 by the

Costa Rican legislature, there have been at least 21 flights carrying war materiel between Cuba and Llano Grande and Juan Santamaria Airports in Costa Rica. The Costa Rican pilots involved in arms transport told that Commission that they frequently had been accompanied by Cubans. The Commission found that over 1,000,000 pounds of arms had been transported to Costa Rica from Cuba and elsewhere during the Sandinistas' war against the Somoza government.

Many of these weapons, including anti-aircraft machine guns, rocket launchers, bazookas and mortars, remained in Costa Rica after the Sandinista victory and were redirected to Salvadoran insurgents. This still active clandestine arms network is overseen by the Cuban Departamento America from its secret operations center in San Jose, and--more recently--from the Cuban consulate itself, according to the State Department.

Terrorism has played a significant role in insurgency operations especially since 1981. In March of that year a steady terrorist offensive began; its first victims were a Costa Rican chauffeur and three Marine security guards from the U.S. Embassy in San Jose.¹⁰ Costa Rican authorities have uncovered links between domestic terrorists and South American groups such as the Argentine Montoneros, the Uruguayan Tupamaros, and Columbia's M-19--all alleged to receive varying degrees of Cuban support and training.

The findings of the Costa Rican government investigation, and the subsequent implication of several high ranking Costa Rican authorities for aiding terrorist groups, led Costa Rica to close its consulate in Havana and to remove the 1977 Costa Rican-Soviet Technical and Economic Cooperation Agreement.

South American Targets:

Argentina

Throughout the 1970s, Cuba provided training and tactical advice to Argentina's two most powerful terrorist groups: the Montoneros and the Peoples' Revolutionary Army (ERP). At one time, Cuba used its Buenos Aires embassy to maintain direct contact with those groups. When the Argentine government decisively suppressed the two groups in 1978, Cuba permitted Montoneros to establish headquarters (and later, intelligence facilities, labor union organizational apparatus, and top command facilities) on Cuban soil. From there, Montoneros groups are sent to infiltrate Argentina and to participate in "internationalist brigades," such as those that fought with the Sandinista guerrillas.

¹⁰ For a full description of this terrorist offensive, see Barbara Crossette "Terrorism in Costa Rica Causing Concern in U.S.," New York Times, March 23, 1982, p. 2.

Argentina is the home base of the Junta de Coordinacion Revolucionaria (JCR) founded in February 1974 to coordinate the activities of guerrilla movements in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Bolivia. The JCR was disbanded in 1977 but reactivated in the summer of 1979 following the Sandinistan victory in Nicaragua. JCR recruits are trained in Cuba near Guanabo, on an estate under the jurisdiction of the Interior Ministry.

Uruguay

According to Claire Sterling, an internationally recognized expert in terrorism, the leader of Uruguay's Tupamaros terrorist group met with Castro in 1966 to set up arms and training arrangements. Four years later, the Tupamaros launched a campaign of terrorist bombings, kidnappings and assassinations. In 1972 the elected parliament invited military leaders to assume governmental control in an effort to suppress the terrorists.

Following the successful governmental counteroffensive, Tupamaros forces retreated to Cuba, where they were further trained in military and terrorist tactics, and intelligence operations. During the Nicaraguan civil war, Tupamaros participated in the Cuban organized "internationalist brigade" dispatched to aid the Sandinistas.

Chile

In the early 1970s Cuba provided arms and training for Chile's Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). During the three-year rule of Salvador Allende, Cubans received a total of 1,386 diplomatic visas and 1,294 official visas to travel to Chile. Most of them remained in Chile during this time. At the time of the September 1973 coup that toppled Allende, nearly 1,000 more Cubans were discovered to have entered the country illegally. Thus, more Cubans went to Chile during this period than to any other country in Latin America.

Cuban commitment intensified after the fall of Allende's Marxist regime and further increased in 1979 following the fall of Nicaragua's Somoza government. Intelligence sources report that over 100 Cuban trained MIR terrorists had infiltrated Chile by early 1980 and were responsible for a number of bombings and bank robberies.

Chile's Communist Party (PCCH), led by Luis Corvalan, has abandoned its longstanding policy of seeking revolutionary change by nonviolent means. In 1980, Corvalan met with Castro in Cuba and later announced that the new party line supported the armed struggle to overthrow the Chilean Government. In early 1981, the PCCH signed a unity agreement with various Chilean extremist groups including the MIR, calling for coordinated support for mass resistance and terrorism.

Colombia

Cuban arms and training were provided on a limited and steady basis throughout the 1970s to Colombia's M-19 (April 19 Movement), the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). Cuba's special relationship with M-19 emerged following that group's two-month occupation of the Dominican embassy in Bogata in early 1980. While the principal demands of \$50 million and the release of 311 political prisoners were not met, the group was flown to Cuba and given asylum there. Twelve months earlier, M-19 had masterminded a raid on an army arsenal north of Bogata where over 5,000 weapons were seized.

Several of those involved in the Embassy takeover participated in a joint Cuban/M-19 operation to infiltrate Colombia via Panama and create a "people's army." In February 1981, between 100 to 200 Cuban trained and armed M-19 guerrillas unsuccessfully attempted that operation, precipitating Colombia's suspension of relations with Cuba on March 23. Diplomatic relations remain suspended.

CARIBBEAN OPERATIONS¹¹

Grenada

In March 1979, a political coup brought to power the New Jewel Movement (NJM--Joint Endeavour for Welfare, Education and Liberation). Like Nicaragua's FSLN, the NJM was an umbrella opposition group directed by a cadre of hard core Marxists. The new Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, has adopted a full pro-Soviet line and has sought and received Cuban and Soviet aid.¹²

Grenada's 250-man militia has been disbanded and replaced by a 1,000-man People's Revolutionary Army--the recipient of Cuban arms and training. Cuban and Soviet assistance has been chiefly directed towards the construction of an "International Airport" with an approximately 4,800 foot airstrip in Point Salines on the southern tip of the island. The facility supposedly is designed for tourism. Grenada, however, has fewer than 300 hotel rooms.

Evidence of Grenada's new role in promoting regional insurgency is confirmed by revelations that elements of the Grenadian People's Revolutionary Army armed and supported a group of militant Rastafarians in a December 1979 revolt on nearby Union Island.

¹¹ See Edward Lynch, "Moscow Eyes the Caribbean," Heritage Foundation Background No. 284, August 17, 1983.

¹² On events in Grenada see Richard Buel "Cold War in a Hot Country," National Review, November 14, 1980, and, "The Castroization of Grenada," National Review, September 17, 1982; and, Richard Sim and James Anderson, "The Caribbean Strategic Vacuum," The Institute for the Study of Conflict, Conflict Studies, No. 121, August 1980.

Jamaica¹³

During the 1972 to 1980 rule of Michael Manley's People's National Party, 500 Cuban and Soviet advisers arrived in Jamaica to train the police force and oversee the formation of a communist "internationalist brigade." For several years Cuba stockpiled arms in Jamaica or transshipped them through a front corporation--Moonex International--identified in May 1980 as the recipient of a shipment of 200,000 shotgun shells and .38 caliber pistol ammunition shipped from Miami. After Manley's government was decisively defeated at the polls, new Prime Minister Edward Seaga, broke relations with Cuba in October 1981, after repeatedly warning Havana to stop interfering in Jamaica's internal affairs.¹⁴ Relations have not been reestablished.

Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic, like many of its neighbors, has been a target of Cuba in the wake of the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua. The Dominican Communist Party (PCD) and the Dominican Liberation Party, which both receive funds from the Soviet Union and Cuba, have been pressured to form a united opposition front. According to the U.S. State Department, Cuban intelligence officials such as Omas Cordoba Rivas, chief of the Dominican Republic desk of the Departamento de America, have made frequent visits to that country since early 1980. Soviet and Cuban "seed money" is also responsible for a "scholarship program" that trains some 700 Dominican students at institutes such as Moscow's Patrice Lumumba University.

Guyana

In Guyana, Cuba has worked through the official government and radical opposition forces. The People's National Congress (PNC), led by Forbes Burnham, has permitted as many as 200 Cuban technicians, advisers and medical personnel to be stationed there. At the same time, Cuba was aiding the Working Peoples' Alliance (WPA) designed to foment strikes in the sugar industry, street demonstrations and incidents of violence. So blatant was Cuba's role that five Cuban diplomats were expelled in August 1978. The Cuban threat in Guyana reportedly has led Brazilian President Joao Baptista de Figueiredo to establish air bases close to Surinam and to deploy jungle-trained infantrymen there.¹⁵

¹³ See Jeffrey Gayner, "The Marxist Threat to Jamaica," Heritage Foundation Background No. 9, May 20, 1977.

¹⁴ See Alexander Kruger, "Jamaica After the Elections: Opportunity for Economic Recovery," Heritage Foundation, Background, No. 131, January 26, 1981.

¹⁵ "Brazil Fears Creeping Influence of Cuba," London Times, May 11, 1983, p.7.

CONCLUSION

Since 1959 Cuban foreign policy has been guided by the Castro Doctrine--a hemispheric agenda aimed at the overthrow of Latin America's "old guard" and its replacement by Marxist-Leninist regimes. The obliteration of this old guard requires the disruption of societies to the extent that either a government must become increasingly repressive or lose public confidence in its authority. Either of these alternatives affects the extent to which Washington can, with U.S. public support, continue assistance. Once U.S. backing becomes questionable, it is easier for Cuba to unify opposition groups into political-military fronts which have as their "vanguard" a trusted, Cuban-trained and armed "revolutionary cadre." This was the case in Nicaragua, and threatens to be so in El Salvador.

While change in Latin America is inevitable, it is not inevitable that it be Marxist-Leninist and anti-American. It is primarily Cuban and Soviet bloc involvement that cause the imposition of totalitarian orientations on Latin American political dynamism. U.S. policymakers and the American public should recognize that the triumph of Cuban allies in Latin America will lead to the installation of totalitarian regimes and a permanent state of hostility to the United States.

Rather than simply respond to Soviet and Cuban revolutionary initiatives in Latin America, the U.S. can promote democratic processes in the region. But fledgling democratic governments, such as El Salvador, Honduras and Peru, can only survive if the subversive actions of Cuba are decisively met. Given the largely military character of the Cuban-supported revolutionary movements, no simple program of social reform or economic aid can avert the Marxist threat. The broad, expensive program of Cuban intervention in Latin America must be exposed and then met.

Prepared for The Heritage Foundation
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Background

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THE LESSONS OF PLAYING TOUGH WITH CHINA

INTRODUCTION

United States policy toward Beijing long was influenced by a perception that momentum must be sustained in U.S.-China relations lest the new relationship with the former adversary founder. Relations with China, it was thought, must keep improving or they would deteriorate.

This reasoning produced policies toward China that were excessively concessionary--even slavish. The State Department seemed ever to cave in to Beijing's demands and to be obsessively solicitous of Beijing's whims. United States China policy thus frequently was criticized for its "made in Beijing" label.

Several months ago this changed and the U.S. started playing tough. From this Washington has learned a surprising lesson: It pays to play tough with Beijing. A number of things account for the shift in U.S. handling of Beijing: 1) new personnel assumed key positions in the State Department; 2) Beijing had grown so used to getting everything it wanted from the U.S. that it began making unreasonable demands; and 3) U.S. officials had reached the end of their rope making concessions to China for which the U.S. received little, if anything, in return.

As a result, the U.S. has taken a tougher stand on six recent issues with Beijing. So doing, Washington has found that China has been asking for more than it expects to receive and is willing to accept less if it must. This confirms what a number of experts long had advised: that the U.S. is as important to China as China is to the U.S. and that the order of issues in U.S.-China relations has been distorted.

The six issues are: the textile trade, the Hu Na "affair," Pan American Airlines' new route to Taiwan, U.S. weapons sales to

Taiwan, Washington's stance on Beijing's effort to expel Taipei from the Asian Development Bank, and China's demand that Taiwan's organizations in Western countries not be allowed to issue visas.

THE TEXTILE DISPUTE

Last year, the U.S. warned Chinese leaders that they should not expect to increase their share of the U.S. market faster than 1.5 to 2 percent per year. China wanted a 6 percent increase. As a result, when negotiations produced nothing and Beijing refused to cut its textile exports, the U.S. applied quotas to thirty-two items imported from China, limiting Beijing's share of the textile market to an even smaller share.

Beijing argued that since China had an unfavorable balance of trade with the U.S., China must be allowed to sell more in the U.S. market in order to balance what it bought from the U.S. This argument does not reflect an understanding of the concept of free trade and a flexible world market and does not respect the U.S. decision to allow a number of developing nations a part in the U.S. market. Washington reasoned that 16 percent unemployment in the U.S. apparel industry justified limiting all major exporters of textiles to the U.S. to between 1 and 2 percent annual growth. Other major exporters to the U.S. had agreed and were abiding by the agreement.

China retaliated by announcing that it would embargo U.S. cotton, synthetic fibers and soybeans--and did. It also cut purchases of U.S. wheat and some other agricultural products. The embargo affected 15 percent of U.S. exports to China worth about \$400 million.

Nevertheless, the move was in large part bluster. Other factors also motivated Chinese leaders. China already had purchased more U.S. cotton and several categories of synthetic fibers than it could use. Soybeans and wheat were available elsewhere cheaper. Meanwhile, Beijing has been purchasing other U.S. goods--in fact, it has increased purchases of U.S. oil drilling equipment, computers and other high tech items. Total trade declined last year, but this can be attributed generally to overbuying, a slowdown in Chinese economic growth, uneven growth among various sectors of the economy and an effort to adjust the balance of payments deficit. In short, China took no extraordinary steps in retaliating against the U.S.

Recently, Beijing has come to an agreement with the U.S. on the textile issue. The agreement constitutes a compromise whereby China will be allowed a 2 to 3 percent increase in textile exports to the U.S. In return, China will resume purchases of American farm products. However, Beijing will remain the fourth largest exporter of textile products to the U.S. Apparently, Chinese leaders still hope to increase their market share at the expense of South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong. And Beijing probably will

succeed--but primarily because of lower labor costs, not because of political influence.

HU NA "AFFAIR"

In July 1982, while on tour in the U.S., China's number one ranked woman tennis player, Hu Na, left her group and subsequently asked for political asylum in the U.S., charging that she was being forced to join the Communist Party and feared persecution if she returned to China due to factional struggles which she had been involved in previously. In subsequent months, the case became a cause célèbre and a source of friction in U.S.-China relations.

Due to her top ranking status as a tennis player, the fact that she had been a representative of the nation abroad on numerous occasions and was known to have associated with high Chinese officials (including Vice Premier Wan Li), Beijing pressed the U.S. government to force her to return. Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping, China's top leader, even appealed personally to President Reagan regarding the case.

When Beijing realized that the U.S. State Department would probably grant Hu Na asylum, the Chinese press began accusing the U.S. of "political kidnapping" and even charged that President Reagan was trying to play the role of her "Western daddy." The Chinese press later accused the U.S. government of trying to "shame" the Chinese government, of defaming China and of trying to sabotage U.S.-China relations.

Finally, in retaliation, Beijing cancelled cultural exchanges and sports events with the U.S. for the rest of the year. But this amounted to only 19 groups or events. Scientific and educational exchanges--considered unofficial--were unaffected, as was tourism. Chinese students in the U.S. were not called home. And a new Chinese high official even presented his credentials to President Reagan and formally took his assignment in April during the peak of the controversy.

Beijing clearly miscalculated when it thought that it could threaten the U.S. on the issue. Chinese leaders did not understand that they had support from neither American liberals nor conservatives. When their threats failed, Chinese leaders sought to save face by cancelling a few cultural and sports events of little importance.

PAN AMERICAN'S TAIWAN ROUTE

This spring, Pan American Airlines, which is the only U.S. carrier flying to China, announced that it was opening a Tokyo to Taipei route. On June 14, the flight was inaugurated. Pan Am's decision was based upon the fact that the Tokyo to Beijing leg of its San Francisco to Beijing flights flying at only 30 percent of capacity. In part this was because U.S. trade with

China was down, many American businessmen who had located in China had pulled out and China's official airline was competing fiercely. All Chinese officials, students and others traveling to the U.S., moreover, were forced to use the Chinese carrier. Meanwhile, the Taipei to Tokyo route offered potential profits to Pan American estimated at \$15 to \$20 million annually.

To retaliate, Beijing revoked Pan Am's right to land in the city of Guangzhou in south China in the event of an emergency (Pan American planes can easily land in Kaohsiung in southern Taiwan or Hong Kong), cancelled Pan Am's right to fly over southern China en route to Southeast Asia (which Pan Am was not using), and asked the U.S. to replace Pan American Airlines with another U.S. airline as the authorized U.S. carrier to China.

Washington refused, maintaining that China was interfering in U.S. domestic affairs (an argument often invoked by the Chinese when it suits their purposes). Washington also argued that an official agreement had been signed establishing Pan Am's flights to China. The agreement, according to the U.S. interpretation, required that Washington cancel the flights of China's flag carrier in the event that Pan Am were to be denied landing rights. China's flag carrier has invested heavily in equipment that it could not utilize elsewhere and its busy U.S. route is highly profitable.

As the case now stands, Beijing has imposed only one--almost totally insignificant--measure against Pan American: It cannot overfly south China. Beijing apparently does not want its lucrative routes to the U.S. terminated. The result: Pan American now serves both Chinas--something that State Department careerists and many other China watchers had said would never be tolerated by Beijing. Some argue that this sets a precedent for other companies and may even help foster a two China policy.

U.S. WEAPONS SALES TO TAIWAN

After establishing official diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China on January 1, 1979, the U.S. Congress enacted the Taiwan Relations Act as the basis of U.S. relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan. Among other things, the Act stated that the U.S. would sell to Taipei weapons sufficient for its defensive needs. Beijing registered a hardly noticed protest at the time and proceeded with haste to improve its ties with Washington. To have protested forcefully probably would have triggered congressional opposition to the U.S.-Beijing normalization. Since then, however, Beijing increasingly has complained in official and private circles about the weapons issue, saying that it is the "main obstacle" to further improvement of relations between the two countries. Beijing has further hinted that U.S. arms sales to Taiwan might prompt Beijing to downgrade relations with the U.S. and to search for a rapprochement with the USSR. Beijing adopted this line, notwithstanding the fact that Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Deng all had stated that the Taiwan issue could be resolved over the long run--a hundred or a thousand years.

During the first two years of the Reagan Administration, Chinese leaders pushed for an agreement with Washington that would terminate U.S. weapons sales to Taiwan or officially recognize Beijing's claim to sovereignty over Taiwan and all territory governed by Taipei. The U.S. has not recognized Beijing's sovereignty over Taiwan; indeed, the Taiwan Relations Act treats Taiwan as a sovereign nation. The Reagan Administration bowed to Beijing's pressure in an August 17, 1982, communiqué with the People's Republic of China, stating that the U.S. would phase out and eventually terminate arms sales to Taiwan contingent upon Beijing's limiting itself to a peaceful solution to the "Taiwan problem."

Washington, however, regarded the communiqué as primarily an effort to smooth over relations between Washington and Beijing vis-à-vis the Taiwan question. Deng's critics were attacking him on the issue, it was argued, and he needed to prove that he was doing something about it. Within days, however, the two sides were presenting very different interpretations of the communiqué. While Beijing was reading it as a guarantee that the U.S. would reduce weapons sales to Taiwan and eventually end them completely with no conditions, Washington saw the communiqué limiting the U.S. only if Beijing agreed to a peaceful settlement of the "Taiwan question," thereby making any weapons sales unnecessary.

Shortly thereafter, the Reagan Administration announced the U.S. would allow Taiwan the opportunity to buy \$800 million in U.S. weapons. The deal did not include the sophisticated fighter aircraft Taipei wanted; but it did restore U.S. weapons sales to Taiwan in an amount that dwarfed the previous two years. Beijing complained, saying that the \$800 million figure was not a phasing out, and refused to accept the concept of increasing the dollar amount of sales to compensate for inflation. The official Chinese press also complained that sensitive bilateral negotiations were in progress between the two countries and that the sales constituted a violation of China's sovereignty. China's official news agency, in fact, declared that "China would never accept this unilateral decision by the U.S."

Yet this all turned out to be just more bluff. Beijing took no actions to downgrade relations with the U.S. and China's charges have amounted to no more than verbal complaints.

TAIPEI'S VISA ISSUING AUTHORITY

This June, Beijing warned the U.S. and other Western nations against allowing "Taiwan's unofficial offices" in their nations to issue visas. The warning also insisted that Western nations not issue visas from their offices in Taiwan. Beijing said that by issuing visas, Taiwan is attempting to establish de facto official relations with these countries so as to "undermine the normal relations between China and these countries."

The American Institute in Taiwan (Washington's diplomatic office in Taipei) grants over 100,000 visas to Republic of China citizens annually. The visas are technically issued in Hong Kong, by telex, but the process is almost as fast as if they were issued on the spot. Taipei issues visas to American citizens through offices of the Coordinating Council of North American Affairs (Taiwan's diplomatic offices in the U.S.) in various cities throughout the U.S.

The U.S. reply to Beijing's warning was that the CCNAA offices were functioning "consistent with their status." State Department legal counsel stated that it had no knowledge of any requirement that consular functions must be performed only by government officials. The State Department thus concluded that the demands of the People's Republic of China would in no way influence U.S.-Taiwan relations.

Japan and other Western nations made similar replies to the notes that they received regarding Taiwan's visa granting authority. Beijing was rebuffed and so far has not acted on the matter. According to State Department officials, no retaliation is expected. The matter probably will merely fade away.

TAIPEI'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

This February, the People's Republic of China requested membership in the Manila-based Asian Development Bank. In its request, it demanded that the Republic of China's membership be cancelled and Taipei expelled from the Bank. Over the years, Beijing had weakened Taipei's diplomatic status at the bank. Now Beijing was attempting to expel Taiwan from one of the few important international bodies to which it still belonged.

The charter of the Asian Development Bank, however, reads differently than those of other international organizations where Beijing has claimed to be the sole representative of China and has successfully kicked out Taipei. The ADB charter states the Bank "shall not be influenced...by the political character of the member concerned." As a result, the Bank is not concerned about the issue of one or two Chinas or of dual representation. Thus while ADB would be willing to admit the People's Republic of China, it would not expel the Republic of China.

Secretary of State George Shultz stated at the time that the U.S. is not going to turn its back on the people of Taiwan. He hinted that the U.S. would withdraw or downgrade its contribution to the ADB were Taipei expelled. This probably would influence Japan to do likewise. Japan is the only other major contributor to the Bank. This month the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill putting Congress on record in favor of terminating U.S. payment for the Asian Development Bank if Taiwan loses its membership.

Beijing has not responded to either the Shultz statement or the House vote. It seems that the Chinese leaders have shelved the issue temporarily.

CONCLUSION

The tougher new line in U.S.-China policy has not undermined U.S.-China relations as many China watchers and State Department specialists for years claimed that it would. For some time Beijing was getting almost anything it asked for from the U.S. It is hardly surprising that its leaders made demands that in the context of U.S. politics, diplomacy and international law were unreasonable and even ridiculous. In a number of cases, in fact, Chinese officials ignored friends in the U.S. who advised against pushing too far with their demands.

The new rebuffs from the Reagan Administration have not damaged U.S.-China relations. In fact, Beijing probably has more respect for the U.S. than before. Chinese leaders obviously have learned some lessons about U.S. democracy and the workings of the American political system. These lessons probably will be useful in guiding the People's Republic of China's future foreign policy toward Western democracies.

The lesson for the U.S. is that Beijing views the major issues in U.S.-China relations as technology, trade, investment and other kinds of U.S. "aid." Contrary to recent Chinese statements, Taiwan is not an urgent issue. Rather, it was an issue that Deng Xiaoping's opponents tried to use against him. Deng hoped for concessions on Taiwan, as well as on other things, to parry his critics. He apparently assumed that he had a good chance of success in view of the U.S. acceding to China's demands in the past. He was wrong.

Wrong too were those who warned that China would retaliate against a tough U.S. position and even would seek to improve relations with the Soviet Union. Sino-Soviet relations have not improved.

It seems likely that the present less concessionary U.S. stance toward China will foster a more "normal" relationship with the People's Republic of China than past efforts to improve relations by making unilateral concessions. Now the two sides seem aware of mutual disagreements and the fact that they can disagree without destroying the relationship. They also are learning to be sensitive to issues where their national interests are not in accord. At last, Washington and Beijing appear on the road to a more "normal" relationship.

John F. Copper
Director
Asian Studies Center

Pax United Nations?

The situation in Lebanon is a testament to, among other things, the failure of the United Nations' peacekeeping mandate. The fact that the Palestine Liberation Organization continued to use Lebanon as a terrorist base even after the U.N. Interim Force arrived in 1978 ultimately led to the Israeli invasion last year and subsequent deployment of American, French and Italian security forces.

The Lebanon episode is only one of many examples discussed in a recent study of the U.N. peacekeeping function by Roger A. Brooks, a policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation. He notes that some 140 conflicts, in which up to 10 million people have died, have been fought since the establishment of the U.N. in 1945. Yet the U.N. has done little to prevent this fighting or to restore peace, despite expenditure on peacekeeping of at least \$3 billion, of which the United States paid about \$1 billion. Mr. Brooks concludes that "the United Nations clearly deserves failing grades for peacekeeping."

"In some cases, where the U.N. has actually intervened with peacekeeping or observer missions, it has fueled the violence by supporting wars of national liberation and by failing to control international terrorism," Mr. Brooks says. "In almost all cases," he adds, "the U.N. has exacerbated the tensions between nations by 'globalizing' each crisis as it arises; by opening up sensitive regional and interna-

tional issues to the divisive scrutiny of the General Assembly; and by allowing the Soviet Union, through its veto in the Security Council, to exercise its influence in situations where maintaining tensions works to Soviet advantage." At the same time, the U.N. has taken little or no action in response to aggression by the Soviet Union or its allies in Eastern Europe, Africa or Asia.

Moreover, Mr. Brooks has turned up damning evidence of U.N. forces' complicity with the PLO in Lebanon. For instance, he notes reports that after Israeli forces swept through the PLO camps in 1982, there was "close and systematic intelligence cooperation" between U.N. personnel and the PLO and the U.N. forces even supplied the Palestinians with sophisticated communications equipment. PLO liaison officers were allowed to move fully armed with an armed escort through U.N. "controlled" territory and the PLO persuaded U.N. officers to inform village leaders 24 hours in advance of any impending search for concealed weapons.

The Heritage Foundation report shouldn't come as a surprise to anyone who has bothered to look at the generally ineffectual, and sometimes divisive, activities of the U.N. It is sad that the once-glowing dreams about the United Nations have long since been dashed, and we are left to wonder whether it can find any truly constructive role in the world today.

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Soviet backed terrorists train in U.N. refugee camps

By THOMAS G. GULICK

The military use of United Nations refugee camps by the Palestine Liberation Organization, which was revealed during the Israeli occupation of Lebanon, is just the tip of the iceberg. There is now considerable evidence that Soviet-backed guerrillas are also using U.N. camps in southern Africa and Central America for similar purposes. Even more disheartening is the fact that the United States is picking up the tab for 25 percent, and often more, of the operating costs for the training camps.

Recently captured PLO documents show that the Sibli Training Center, a U.N. trade school near Beirut, was used to train PLO military recruits.

Yet another document intercepted by Israeli forces reveals that the PLO used U.N. International Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) intelligence reports to monitor Israeli troop movements. The captured documents were dated May 26, 1981.

A Heritage Foundation report dated April 8, 1982 — several months before the Israeli move into Lebanon — quoted Lebanese officials as saying the PLO had “transformed most of the (Lebanese) refugee camps — if not all — into military bastions.” The charges were emphatically denied by U.N. officials.

As early as 1976, U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim had been informed in writing that the PLO had installed “heavy weapons” in U.N. refugee camps in Lebanon. Lebanese officials also told Waldheim that the PLO had “even occupied the UNRWA (U.N. Relief Works Agency) offices in the camps.” That was confirmed by the Israeli invasion discoveries.

The use of U.N. camps and “schools” in other parts of the world by Marxist terrorists has gone virtually unreported in the press.

For instance, in southern Africa, the Southwest African Peo-

ple's Organization (SWAPO), another Marxist guerrilla organization, is recognized by the United Nations as the “sole and authentic” representative of the Namibian people, even though there are some 45 political parties in the African country. The United Nations and its specialized agencies have allocated some \$40 million to SWAPO for U.N. programs begun between 1977 and 1981 and new programs slated for the 1982-to-1986 period.

Among those programs is the SWAPO-controlled Institute for Namibia, located in Lusaka, Zambia. Between 1977 and 1981, about \$1 million a year in U.N. funds went to finance the institute. In 1982 a handful of U.N. member nations pledged an additional \$2 million. The United States' pledge of \$500,000 for 1982 was by far the highest.

While the institute is charged by the United Nations with responsibility to train administrators for a future independent Namibia, serve as an information center on Namibia; perform research on Namibia, and aid in the “struggle for freedom of the Namibian people,” in practice, it would appear that only SWAPO members are accepted as students at the institute and that the school is used for SWAPO military training.

Located in Zambia, the Institute for Namibia provides SWAPO with a strategic site for a military training center. With its common border with Angola — the point from which SWAPO launches its terrorist attacks into Namibia — a more suitable spot would be hard to find.

One might ask why no U.N. members have questioned whether or not the institute is being used by SWAPO to train officers and troops for guerrilla warfare in Namibia.

On March 28, 1981, *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Nossiter reported from Angola that yet another U.N. facility was

being commandeered by SWAPO for its terror campaign — the Namibian Health and Education Center in Luanda, Angola. The camp is run by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Nossiter said SWAPO was using the camp to train students aged 5 to 18 as guerrillas to be returned to Namibia.

The *New York Times* newsman also said a nearby U.N. women's camp with a population of 25,000 seems to be SWAPO-dominated.

In the Western Hemisphere, there also is strong evidence that U.N. refugee camps in Central America are being used to train Marxist guerrillas and terrorists.

A UNHCR camp at La Virtud, Honduras, has supplied food and medicine to Marxist guerrillas staging raids into El Salvador, according to Heritage Foundation Latin American expert Richard Araujo. In addition, Araujo says, the French medical volunteer group, *Medecins Sans Frontieres*, which is part of the UNHCR operation in the Honduras refugee camps, is funnelling intelligence reports to the Communist-oriented Sandanista Army of Nicaragua.

Those investigative teams should include representatives of the United States and Western nations, which pay the lion's share of the tab for the U. N. refugee program.

The United States and the West can make a big dent in U.N. funding of international terrorism and Marxist guerrilla movements by completely cutting off all U.S. contributions to U.N. organizations backing terrorist and guerrilla cadres until the practice is stopped. U.S. taxpayers can help stop the flow of aid to terrorists simply by refusing to give their money to those at the United Nations who would abuse our trust and the legitimate needs of the world's refugee population.

Thomas G. Gulick is a policy analyst, specializing in United Nations affairs, for the Heritage Foundation.

Why does U.S. tolerate abuse by the U.N.?

By PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

SADOMASOCHISM is beyond the comprehension of most people. How could anyone get pleasure out of voluntarily submitting to mistreatment or abuse, or being chained and whipped for the gratification of others?

Yet, the U.S. role in the United Nations could be described as cultural-national sadomasochism. We have eagerly submitted to letting our nation be tied down by one-way rules and then kicked around. We seem to rejoice in letting our national honor and values be flogged, month in and month out, while we are paying dearly for the pleasure.

Under the strange perverted rules of U.N. procedure, it is acceptable for everyone to attack America, but it is not acceptable for us to defend ourselves — or to attack the Soviet Union. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick reports that the United States is routinely blamed for everything in the world while denied ordinary courtesies extended to all other member nations.

COUNTRY after country accuses us of precisely the crimes of which they are

themselves guilty. For example, the Soviets accuse us of interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, of disturbing the peace and using chemical warfare there.

Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar complained to the General Assembly that the United Nations cannot play an effective role in settling world disputes. He candidly admitted the U.N. has failed in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Iran-Iraq, the Falklands, Cyprus, Central America, Cambodia and Poland.

Rather than solving conflicts, it is probable that the U.N. actually exacerbates them — making them seem more important than they are, increasing tensions and actually funding anti-Western terrorist organizations which disturb the peace.

THE SOVIETS dominate the agenda, the votes and the constant anti-American, anti-Western, anti-private enterprise rhetoric. They insist on non-intervention in countries they control such as Afghanistan, but advocate a maximum U.N. role in South Africa, Israel, Chile and El Sal-

vador.

The Soviet-U.N. attack on Israel is unremitting. The Security Council or the General Assembly have adopted more than 150 anti-Israel resolutions and even declared Zionism a form of racism.

In the mid-1960s, the Third World nations organized the "Group of 77" to try to steal economic benefits from the United States. More than 120 countries now belong to the group. They agitate all the time for a "New International Economic Order," which means forcing the U.S. taxpayers to give them direct handouts plus soft low-interest loans and forcing us to turn over our industrial, space and ocean-floor technology and patents.

THE U.N. is the world's leading opponent of a free press. The U.N. admitted giving \$432,000 to 15 foreign newspapers to run propaganda articles advocating economic, social and political proposals to benefit the Third World. Disgusted scholars know that the U.N. "research" is propaganda; the outcome and conclusions are prescribed in advance.

Nobody seems to know how much we spend per year on the U.N. Our out-of-pocket costs are about \$1 billion since the United Nations was founded in 1946. The United States provides 25 percent of the U.N. budget, while the voting majority pays only 3 percent.

The Heritage Foundation reported in a recent study that the 1982 General Assembly votes were 84.9 percent favorable to the U.S.S.R. compared with 25 percent favorable to the United States.

NON-BINDING resolutions have passed by huge majorities in both the U.S. Senate and House to withdraw our country from the United Nations if Israel is denied participation. That would be the best thing that could happen.

The United Nations has always been a rip-off of American interests and money, and it has now become a costly, embarrassing irrelevancy.

How UNESCO Blows U.S. Dollars

Most Americans know virtually nothing about the activities of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), even though this country contributes about one-fourth of the \$1 billion which that massive international organization is spending annually.

If they probed into its operations, taxpayers might decide this country has no business supplying UNESCO with even one cent, let alone a quarter of a billion dollars.

The findings of Heritage Foundation analyst Thomas G. Gulick appear to warrant a cutoff of U.S. funding for the far leftist organization. Since its founding in 1946, says Gulick, UNESCO programs and publications "have been biased increasingly toward socialist economics" and international social welfare schemes hostile to free enterprise.

Permeating every UNESCO sector, Gulick found, are "arguments advocating the 'New International Economic Order.' NIEO, as it is generally known, is a simplistic scheme to redistribute the world's wealth and resources to more than 100 underdeveloped nations, creating a global welfare state financed mainly by the U.S. and western industrial nations."

Recently UNESCO published "a definitive theoretical work on NIEO" — Toward a New International Economic Order by Mohammed Bedjaoui, former Algerian ambassador to France.

The book is "actually a formula for

creating a global superstate." Bedjaoui declares there must be a "joint pooling of all the riches and resources of the planet, a pooling free of any national self-seeking." The Algerian sees NIEO as a "new law of mankind."

He goes on to outline a plan under which the developing nations would regulate the use of the earth's resources by the developed countries, and says that this "international authority" also would make "capital and technology" available to the Third World.

Even the so-called "arms race" is seen as a Western plot by UNESCO, says Gulick.

The effects of the vast propaganda effort in behalf of socialist causes should not be underestimated. UNESCO has a staff spread all over the world, including 2,500 at its Paris headquarters. It is one of the world's largest publishers. By 1978 it had published 7,000 books in 70 different languages. It also has a vast worldwide network of information distribution centers. Through the National Commissions and other UNESCO outlets in 158 United Nation member countries, it pours its publications and other releases into national libraries, universities, ministries of education, school systems and national media outlets.

The question is why should Americans have to pay a quarter of a billion a year to help the UNESCO drive for a world socialist order that is hostile to everything this country stands for?

Blowing U.S. dollars

EDITORIAL

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Fo

By JULIANA GERAN PILON

Arising from the ashes of World War II, the United Nations was to many the hope for a more peaceful world. The U.N. gave its blessing and went along with the Soviet Union's desire to house the U.N. in the U.S. East Coast. The U.S. accepted responsibility for the U.N.'s financial well-being: Over the past 35 years, the U.S. has contributed more than \$10 billion to the U.N. and its agencies.

Today those early dreams are dead.

The U.N. has, in many ways, failed its mission and degenerated into the absurd, with Third World and puppet states playing ritualistic games aimed at picking the pockets of the industrialized West while denouncing the economic and political systems that enabled the U.S. and other developed nations to flourish.

One of the more recent insults to the West is a report by the U.N.'s top inspection officers, who blasted the West for its coverage of the U.N. while praising the coverage of the socialist countries. The report drew an unusually sharp retort from U.N. secretary general, Javier Perez de Cuellar. Alluding to government censorship of the press in Eastern bloc countries, Perez de Cuellar said the report drew attention to a "lack of judgment."

A Double Standard

When the majority of the U.N. members routinely chastise the U.S. and its allies in the General Assembly, some nations are subjected to harsh criticism while others—guilty of worse crimes—are unmentioned in Assembly resolutions. This is the point of continuing such a double standard.

The U.N.'s double standard is all too evident. On Feb. 13, 1982, for example, the U.S. was condemned by the U.N. as a "peace-loving state"—the only member so named. Since membership in the U.N. is reserved, by its charter, to "peace-loving states, the enemies of Israel were given diplomatic legerdemain to facilitate a recent Arab move to expel the Jews from Vietnam, Iraq and Iran have never

Forgotten Ideals of the United Nations

labeled in the U.N. as "non-peace-loving." The Soviet Union has never been chastised by name in any Assembly resolution, not even for invading Afghanistan. And while a General Assembly resolution on Dec. 14, 1975, condemned the "unholy alliance" between South Africa and Israel as trading partners, the U.N. is silent on Zimbabwe's commercial dealings with South Africa—to say nothing of the Soviet-South African dia-

has great weaknesses—even in the area of peacekeeping, a source of praise for many years; this became obvious during the Falklands crisis and in Lebanon. And much more is deteriorating at the U.N.

For example, few doubt that Nicaragua, the newly elected member of the Security Council, will be making full use of its position for its own political purposes. The president of the General Assembly this

ied at the U.N. in an avalanche of distortion. Evidence is mounting, for example, that the U.N.'s \$300 million-plus economic research programs are being used not to educate, but to promote the "new international economic order," a plan intended to redistribute the resources of developed nations toward the Third World.

A Suppressed Report

Earlier this year, a study on the use of "yellow rain" against civilians by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan was for a long time suppressed, it is widely believed, with the assistance of the current Soviet under secretary general for political and security council affairs, Viacheslav Ustinov.

The World Health Organization has done many good things. It virtually eradicated smallpox. But could its work not be improved were the organization free of the politicization increasingly evident in recent years? Could a world health organization, created anew, and quite separate from the U.N.—perhaps privately funded—carry on the best of WHO's present functions and leave out the rhetoric?

It's difficult to take the U.N. seriously when so much of its time and energy is spent on rhetorical posturing, rhetoric that can have grave implications. For example the November 1975 General Assembly "Zionism is racism" resolution set the stage for the current efforts to expel Israel.

When Congress voted last May 13 to stop contributing to any organ of the U.N. that ousts Israel, Congress was also expressing American disillusionment with the U.N. for turning itself into a highly politicized arena that appears to drift ever further from the ideals of its founding.

It is an open question whether the U.S. should continue its current level of participation and financial support for this organization. But it is becoming increasingly evident that its own words and actions will bear most directly on the fate of the United Nations.

Juliana Geran Pilon, a native of Romania, is a U.N. analyst at the Heritage Foundation in Washington, D.C.

The U.N. has degenerated into a theater of the absurd, with Third World and Soviet puppet states playing ritualistic games denouncing the economic and political systems that let the U.S. and other developed nations flourish.

mond connection. How can the U.S. fail to reconsider its support for such a duplicitous organization?

The U.S. is the U.N.'s largest contributor. Until 1964, the U.S. paid almost 40% of the U.N.-assessed budget, gradually reducing the contribution to 25% in 1974, where it stands today. According to figures just released, the U.S. in 1981 paid more than \$922 million to the entire U.N. system. This does not include billions of U.S. dollars in direct or indirect foreign aid, which often find their way to the U.N. and other international organizations, since many developing nations are dependent on Washington for the money with which they pay their U.N. dues.

By contrast, the U.S.S.R. pays a mere 13% of the U.N. budget. The entire "Group of 77"—a conglomeration of about 120 countries from the Third World, most of which vote consistently against the U.S. and other Western democracies—pays only 8.8% of the U.N. budget.

Oil-rich Saudi Arabia, a member of that group, pays approximately one-half of 1%; Kuwait pays a mere two-tenths of 1%. The distribution hardly seems just.

The American contribution, in fairness, is not enormous. Were the U.N. doing a good job, the amount would be well worth it. But even U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar admitted this year that the U.N.

year, from Communist Hungary, also is well versed in the political culture of the U.N. The rhetorical attacks on free enterprise and the developed "North" will undoubtedly continue at the U.N.'s 37th Assembly. Is it really worth the money?

Many diplomats argue that the U.N. is potentially a highly useful diplomatic forum. A former Soviet under-secretary for political and security council affairs, Arkady Shevchenko, who defected to the U.S. in 1978, talks about the enormous opportunities for information-gathering and discussion in the U.N.'s halls and in the delegates' lounge. The U.S. deputy permanent representative to the U.N., Kenneth Adelman, on the other hand, suggests that the U.N. exacerbates conflict, since countries are forced to play to the crowd and take positions on issues they would sooner leave alone. Thus deals are struck between delegates from Arab and African nations on resolutions of interest to either side—sometimes even unbeknownst to their home governments.

Surely it is at least a little surprising that the West and the U.S. in particular should be losing so consistently at the U.N.—both rhetorically and politically. Is the economic record of freedom unable to speak on its own behalf? The answer is that the contributions of free nations and free economies to the good of man are bur-

Foreign policy dictation by Congress is unwieldy

Juliana Geron Pilon, a Heritage Foundation policy analyst in Washington, has released a new study showing how U.S. funds to the United Nations go to support the Palestinian Liberation Organization against the express wishes of Congress.

The point is a valid one. The U.N.'s leftist bias toward Soviet international policy puts us in the position of trying to deal rationally with a part of the world that is not rational about democracy in general and Israel in particular.

U.S. law specifically prohibits U.S. taxpayer funds from being given to the PLO. But in wrestling with this mandate, the State Department must decide on what basis to withhold funds for agencies that support the PLO and PLO-sponsored activities.

There is considerable evidence that the U.N. fudges on the figures it provides. There is even more evidence that the U.N. does a lot of other things with our money that directly hurts either our interests or those of our staunchest allies.

Allocation of funds on the basis of how much is PLO and how much is not is bound to fail even with the best of

figures. Displacement and substitution rob the allocation policy of effectiveness.

Similar problems arise with congressional efforts to earmark funds for El Salvador and other Central American nations. The financial commitment should be based not on our conception of what is good for another country, but what furthers U.S. interests and goals.

Maybe we should cut off funds entirely to U.N. agencies that make the PLO one of themselves. Maybe we should merely cut back across the board. Possibly we should grit our teeth and continue funding for the general good of U.S. policy despite some specific line item objections.

We will do ourselves and the world more good in the long run by being true to ourselves and our national interests than trying to exert penny ante leverage from Capitol Hill.

The primary policy responsibility belongs with the executive department in any case. The president is the focus of foreign policy responsibility and needs advice and consent from Congress, not dictation.

Helping support terrorist training

Six months ago The Heritage Foundation, a Washington, D.C., research organization, complained that United Nations funds were being channeled into Palestinian terrorist training operations. U.N. officials angrily denied the allegation, but the truth has now come out.

An investigation has shown that the Palestine Liberation Organization trained hundreds of its fighters in a facility funded by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). Involved was the Siblin Training Center, established near Beirut for assisting refugees.

According to the report, an estimated 781 PLO guerrillas underwent training in the camp, even though the UNRWA was supposed to be supervising its operation for humanitarian purposes. The UNRWA

commissioner called the situation "a most regrettable thing," and measures supposedly were taken to prevent any further misuse of UNRWA funds.

Particularly disturbing to Americans is the fact that many of their dollars were involved. The U.S. contributes more than a third of the \$181.6 million budget of the UNA, and federal law specifically orders that its use be carefully monitored.

As The Heritage Foundation says, "stringent measures had better be taken to see that history doesn't repeat itself."

The apparent loose procedures that allow misuse of U.S.-contributed U.N. funds must cease if Americans are to maintain their faith in the United Nations as a force for peace and stability in the world.

Security, high pay among benefits of running U.N.

UNITED NATIONS (AP) — Those engaged here in the business of trying to beat swords into plowshares are among the highest paid, most secure bureaucrats in the world.

Critics regard the United Nations as a glass hive in which drones siphon off the honey. Defenders insist that credit be given to a hard core of dedicated international civil servants doing their best in a system undermined by political patronage.

Former U.N. personnel chief James Jonah of Sierra Leone has complained that many member governments "seem to regard the Secretariat as a dumping ground for officials unwanted at home."

Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who took office 14 months ago, has been quoted as saying that only one in four U.N. employees does useful work.

"That's not far from the truth," remarked a high-ranking U.N. official, who spoke on condition he not be identified. "It's what you find in most bureaucracies."

Given the increasing politicization of the 157-nation world body, he said, chopping away the "dead wood" would be a Herculean task.

"I would love to see that happen," the official added.

Worldwide, the United Nations employs a staff of nearly 26,500, ranging from messengers earning \$13,257 a year to an undersecretary-general grossing \$122,500, including an expense allowance of \$4,000. In addition, there are about 10,000 U.N. peacekeeping troops in the Middle East who are paid directly by their defense ministries.

Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar receives \$167,860 a year, an expense allowance of \$22,500, a townhouse overlooking New York's East River and a stretch limousine. His earnings are surpassed in the U.S. government only by President Reagan, who gets an annual salary of \$200,000, plus \$50,000 for expenses.

While U.S. taxpayers are paying a quarter of U.N. costs, the Washington-based Heritage Foundation complains, Americans comprise only one-sixth of U.N. Secretariat staff and "may be becoming an endangered species here."

The foundation, a conservative research institute, proposed in a



recent report that Washington consider cutting funds to U.N. agencies that do not raise the number of American staffers to "desirable ranges."

The United Nations' higher echelon professional staff — nearly 2,900 of the 7,000 employed here at headquarters — has started to outpace comparable American civil servants in pay and benefits.

The U.S. Mission to the United Nations puts the pay gap at 35 percent, but the U.N. says it is only 18 percent after adjustment for the cost of living difference between New York and Washington and taking the "expatriation factor" into account.

Extra benefits go to non-American staff members here are similar to those allotted to American diplomats abroad, including free travel on biannual home leave and school allowances of up to \$3,000 per child.

More than 30 U.N. officials earn over \$100,000 a year, putting them ahead of members of the Reagan cabinet. For example, Secretary of State George Shultz has an annual salary of \$80,100.

The main reason for the growing Civil Service-U.N. pay gap, a U.S. official notes, is that the U.N. staff members are virtually "fully insulated against inflation." They get automatic cost of living in-

creases each time the inflation rate rises by 5 percent.

The automatic increments have led to skyrocketing costs. Personnel costs account for 80 percent of the U.N. budget. According to U.N. tabulations, manpower costs increased 42.8 percent worldwide between 1976 and 1981, but only 3.8 percent after accounting for inflation.

U.N. employment also offers a tax break. Non-Americans pay no national income taxes, although part of their salary is withheld as a "staff assessment" that flows back into U.N. coffers. Americans are required to file U.S. tax returns but the U.N. makes up the difference between what they pay the Internal Revenue Service and their lower U.N. assessment. Only top U.N. officials with limited diplomatic immunity are exempt from local sales taxes.

Dependent allowances are built into the salaries of professional staff members, while clerical and other lower-ranking employees get \$1,200 annually for a spouse and \$584 for each child.

But there have been complaints about the jobs.

"Staff morale is low and has declined over the last five years," says George Irving, an American lawyer who is vice president of the U.N. Staff Union.

Last November, hundreds of U.N. employees staged a one-hour work stoppage to demand more responsiveness from management.

Among the complaints, Irving said, is the "very disturbing trend toward appointment of people according to political connections" and not according to ability.

U.N. staffers also are demoralized, he said, because member countries "are unsympathetic to our needs. They're more interested in wanting to keep the budget down."

While it's true that staff members from developing countries earn more than they would at home, those from industrial countries often would be better off in private business, Irving said.

"As a lawyer I'm being paid so much less than in a private law firm," he said. "But, with any government service, you have to make a determination that you're not in it for the money."

REPORT SEES DROP IN U.S. ROLE AT U.N.

Says Part of Reason Is Decline in Percentage of Workers Who Are Americans

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., March 18 — A report last month by a private research organization contends that United States influence in the United Nations has declined and that part of the reason is that the percentage of Secretariat employees who are Americans has declined. The report has been challenged by some American employees here.

The report, "Americans at the U.N.: An Endangered Species," was published Feb. 13 by the Heritage Foundation, a conservative Washington research group. The report's author, Juliana Geran Pilon, suggested that the decline in the American share of professional posts here, from 14.6 percent in 1972 to 12.6 percent today, made it more difficult to deal with anti-American stands.

"Almost constantly outvoted in the General Assembly and in nearly every U.N. agency, the U.S. is also deprived of sufficient control of the administrative and policy posts to ameliorate the

U.N.'s anti-U.S. and anti-Western pronouncements and resolutions," Mrs. Pilon wrote.

In 1972, Americans held 925 of the 6,333 professional posts in the Secretariat. In 1982, Americans held 984 of the 7,790 posts.

'You Can't Tell From a List'

Asked for comment, many Americans working in the Secretariat took issue with Mrs. Pilon's conclusions.

Jay Long, principal officer in the office of William B. Buffum, the Under Secretary General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, said: "I don't share the view that the influence of Americans has declined in the Secretariat. You can't tell from a list who influences whom or who has the ear of the Secretary General. Some of his closest advisers are American, and the same can't be said of — what shall I call them — our opposite numbers."

Mrs. Pilon commented in a telephone interview, "Americans are highly respected, but that does not translate into United States influence." Noting that Mr. Buffum, the highest ranking American on the United Nations staff, is an Under Secretary General, she said his "post is far less significant" than a similar one occupied by Ralph Bunche in the 1960's.

Other officials here objected to Mrs. Pilon's statement that the United States was isolated and almost always outvoted in the General Assembly.

One recalled that the chief United States delegate, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, said at a news conference in December that the United States had won some victories in the last General Assembly session, among them the rejection of an attempt to expel Israel. He said there

was "no correlation between the numbers of Americans working and the control or influence they exert."

One Reason for Decline

Several American officials here noted that the United Nations had tripled in size since its founding and said this meant the United States share of staff positions had to decline.

Bradford Morse, the director of the United Nations Development Program, said, "The question is not American influence but the influence of individual American officials who are international civil servants operating under the U.N. Charter."

Another American official said he was pleased by the publication of Mrs. Pilon's report and its call on the United States "to pay attention to the staffing of international organizations." He said the United States had "a great deal at stake."

Mrs. Pilon's report also touched on the percentage of Americans employed as officials in some specialized United Nations agencies based in Europe, saying it was smaller than the 12.6 percent in the Secretariat. She said it did not rise above 12 percent in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization or the United Nations Industrial Development Organization.

At two offices in New York, however, a higher percentage of Americans was reported. James P. Grant, the executive director of the United Nations Children's Fund, said, "The United States makes up more than 17 percent of my staff." Mr. Morse, the director of the Development Program, said his agency had 110 Americans on its professional staff of 580, or nearly 19 percent.


The Heritage Foundation

513 C Street, N. E. • Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-4400

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: Oct 5, 1983

TO: MORTON BLACKWELL

FROM: FAITH R. WHITTLESEY

Information

Action

The Reverend MacFarlane is pastor of a major church, Grace Reformed Church, in Washington and is willing to take off his clerical collar and pull out all the stops for the President and the Administration.

*10/14/83 - Called MacFarlane
invited him to speak. Does
not feel comfortable speaking on
C.A. Will discuss with FRW
her ideas. J. Thomann*

Grace Reformed Church

United Church of Christ

1405 - 15TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

W. NORMAN MACFARLANE
Pastor

September 29, 1983

Mrs. Faith Whittlesey
The White House
Washington, D.C. 200500

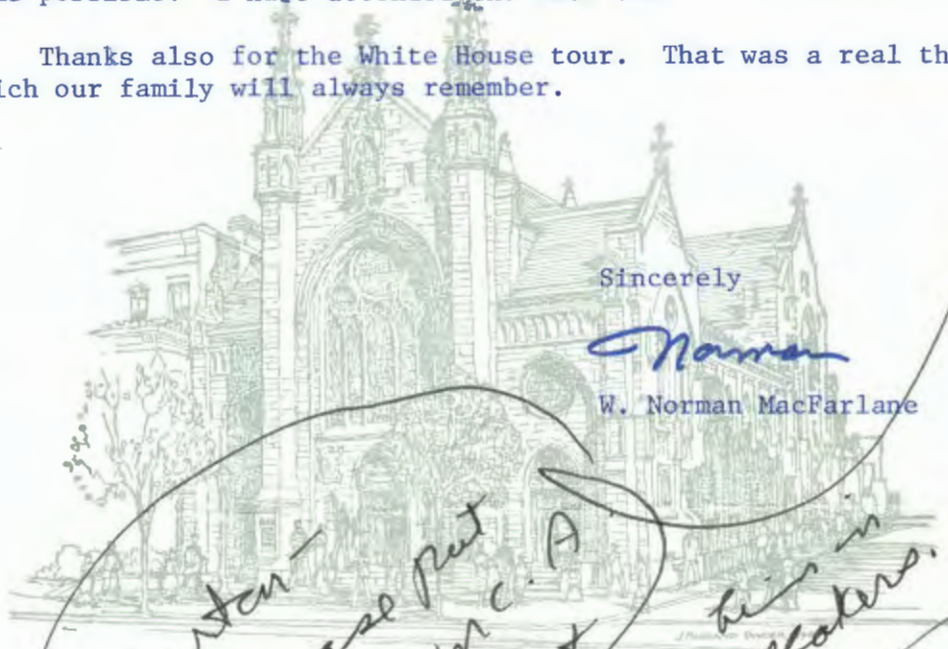
Dear Faith:

I want to thank you for inviting me to the Outreach Working Group briefings. I wish many more Americans could get the information free from news media distortion. I will plan to be there every time possible. I have attended the last two.

Thanks also for the White House tour. That was a real thrill, which our family will always remember.

Sincerely

W. Norman MacFarlane



Martin - please put him in c. A list + include him in list of speakers.

Joyce please handle

10/3

Ebby Halliday
REALTORS



Ebby Halliday, Realtors
Executive Offices
5920 Sherry Lane
Dallas, Texas 75225
(214) 987-6600
TWX 910-861-4076

August 25, 1983

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

Thank you for your letter, the material on Central America enclosed, and the invitation to the meeting in Washington August 31st. I regret I will be unable to be in Washington on that date.

Please convey to Mrs. Faith Whittlesey my continued interest in the Central American situation.

Sincerely,

Ebby Halliday

MEMBER

RELO/Inter-City Relocation Service

Multiple Listing Service, National Association of Realtors, Texas Association of Realtors, Greater Dallas Board of Realtors, Realtors National Marketing Institute, International Real Estate Federation

September 6, 1983

Dear Mr. Edelen:

I have seen the May issue of Student Magazine, and I was most impressed by it. Both the content and the style of the magazine are very professional.

Of course, I especially appreciate your support for what we are trying to accomplish in Central America. The people who live in those countries want the same things we Americans want. They want to be able to live in peace, earn a living, raise their families and vote in free elections. If we do not help them maintain their freedom when it is under assault, our own freedom will be threatened as well.

With best wishes for future success,

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Mr. Stephen R. Edelen
Executive Publisher
Student Magazine
University Memorial Center
Boulder, Colorado 80309

cc: Morton Blackwell

RR:RDC:CAD:RCH:AVH:vml--

**THE TIMES
OF THE AMERICAS**

910 17th Street, NW, Suite 933
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 293-2849

July 21, 1983

Morton Blackwell

Ms. Faith Ryan Whittlesley,
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison,
The White House,
Washington DC 20500.

Dear Ms. Whittlesley:

I wrote you several days about THE TIMES OF THE AMERICAS. The reason that I do so so soon again is that a friend made it possible for me to attend the Wednesday morning session on Central America, which I found very interesting and worthwhile. I am sure we will work the PLO-Nicaragua material into a story.

Since our new biweekly edition has just appeared, and since it contains material relevant to the subjects addressed yesterday, I have attached a copy for your information.

Sincerely,

Clarence W. Moore
Clarence W. Moore,
Publisher

enc.

file
JUL 25 1983

The Times of the Americas

The Newspaper That Covers Latin America

Volume XXVII No. 15

July 20, 1983

OAS and Contadora taking center stage

By CLARENCE W. MOORE
WASHINGTON—The latest happening in the fast-breaking Central American story was that the summit meeting of the four presidents of the Contadora nations (Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela) convened last Sunday at Cancun, Mexico.

That meeting produced a communique urging the use of diplomacy and not weapons to end the Central American turmoil. It called for the removal of all foreign military advisers, and for answers to the more basic social and economic problems.

The specific events leading up to that presidential conclave

coalesced with the Honduran call for a special meeting of the OAS Permanent Council which took place on Thursday, July 14. At that meeting there evolved a five-country attack on Nicaragua,

See related stories on Pages 2, 5, 6

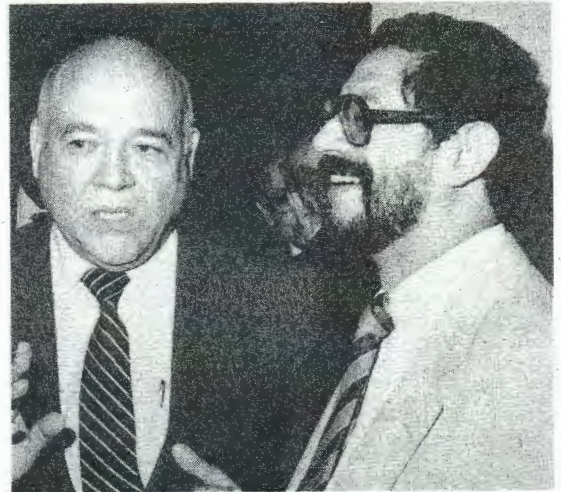
spearheaded by Honduras and the United States.

The principal protagonist and key speaker was Honduran OAS Ambassador Roberto Martinez Ordonez. He was followed and strongly supported by U.S. OAS

Ambassador J. William Misdendorf. Later in the session their charges were echoed by the representatives of Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Guatemala.

Honduras' Martinez Ordonez reminded his colleagues that the present government of Nicaragua "which has been in power since 1979, was born under the inspiration of, and with the aid of, the OAS." It was on June 23, 1979, less than a month before Anastasio filed into exile, that the OAS passed a resolution calling for "the immediate replacement of the Somoza regime."

Shortly after that resolution was (See OAS on Page 2)



SQUARING OFF—The principals in last week's OAS debate on Central America talked things over during a break in the Permanent Council conference. At the left is Roberto Martinez Ordonez of Honduras. Listening and smiling is Nicaragua's Edgar Parrales. (OAS Photo)

Final hurdles for CBI

WASHINGTON—The House of Representatives easily approved the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act (CBE) last week by a vote of 289 to 129. The bill, which provides trade and tax incentives for 28 countries and independent territories in the Caribbean region, was later attached to a bill which repeals tax withholding on interest and dividends. The bill now goes to a conference with the Senate, which had also attached the CBE measure to the tax withholding repeal bill.

House sources say that they expect the conference committee to keep the CBE measure in the tax bill, despite President Reagan's threat to veto that measure.

Reagan has vigorously supported the CBE bill, which is designed to provide economic aid for the impoverished nations in the Caribbean Basin. It allows duty-free access to the U.S. over a period of twelve years for a variety of products



Ronald Reagan
 Pondering a veto?

produced in the region. The bill covers about ten percent of Caribbean exports to the U.S., which are valued at \$8 billion annually.

In addition to the trade benefits the bill offers tax incentives for U.S. companies and groups that hold conventions in the countries covered by the bill.

However, a number of products were exempted from duty-free access because of fears that they (See Final on Page 2)

Gain new vitality

Protestors defy Pinochet

SANTIAGO—A strict curfew and the deployment of military units failed to prevent an impressive national protest July 12. These measures were described as the most severe ordered by the Chilean government since 1975. President Augusto Pinochet said last month that no more demonstrations would be permitted. A crackdown on the media blocked almost all direct reports of the protest.

The demonstrations appear to have given new vitality to the opposition forces. Although street protests have been generally discouraged by opposition leaders, hundreds of persons defied the curfew, built barricades in the streets, and occupied the central court building. In Santiago, protesters banged pots and pans from windows and balconies; and on several campuses students battled police.

Three leaders of the Christian Democratic Party were ordered

Augusto Pinochet

Pressure mounts



jailed. Gabriel Valdes, who was foreign minister in the late 1960s, Jose de Gregorio, the Party's secretary general, and Jorge Lavandero, a former senator, were ordered arrested on charges of involvement in the distribution of leaflets calling for a protest demonstration. They were subsequently released.

While Chile's opposition parties have been officially dissolved, they have resumed their activities on an informal basis.

In a conciliatory move, timed

four days before the most recent protest, the government of Pinochet announced that 88 political exiles would be allowed to return. Among those on the list were Renan Fuentealba, president of the centrist Christian Democrats, and Cesar Godoy Urrutia, a former congressman and a Communist.

Additional protests are planned for August and September by the outlawed but still powerful Christian Democrats. While these will be aimed at forcing Pinochet to resign, opposition leaders confess that their movement is still rather weak. Still lacking is the support of key middle class groups representing businessmen and conservative politicians.

Factions within the Christian Democratic Party have not agreed on plans for presentation to the military, and Pinochet has been able to neutralize many of the opposition sectors in labor unions (See Protestors on Page 2)

IMF comes through for Brazil

BRASILIA—Brazil and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) reached a tentative accord Monday on new economic austerity measures which will permit a resumption of IMF lending to that country. The agreement, which still must be approved by the IMF executive directors, will allow Brazil to avoid defaulting on its foreign loans.

Brazil has been under strong pressure to satisfy IMF demands to reduce government spending and to take action to control inflation. The IMF suspended payment on a \$4.9 billion loan to Brazil on May 31 when Brazil failed to meet performance requirements attached to the loan.

The roughly \$90 billion in foreign debts facing Brazil is the result of years of investing in dams, railways, steel mills, and other development projects.

See related story on Page 14

At the last minute the Bank for International Settlements agreed to extend a \$400 million loan payment which fell due July 15.

The new austerity program will permit wages, mortgage rates, and contract terms to increase at only 80 percent of the rate of inflation. These adjustments will be made

twice a year instead of quarterly. Brazil has also promised to reduce the spending of state-owned corporations.

Brazilian officials had resisted taking these measures in the past because of fears about an adverse public reaction. Brazil is currently in a severe recession, with the unemployment rate estimated at 20 percent.

President Joao Figueiredo has not been able to take part in recent financial negotiations because of a coronary bypass operation which he underwent in Cleveland on July 15. The operation was successful, but Figueiredo is not expected to resume his duties for at least two months.



Joao Figueiredo
 Convalescing in Cleveland

On the inside...

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Pledges to support Costa Rica

Panama warns Nicaragua, Cuba

SAN JOSE—General Ruben Dario Paredes, commander of the Panamanian National Guard, during a visit to Costa Rica, proposed providing a "peace force" to the "Contadora Group" and threatened to break relations with Cuba and Nicaragua. Paredes was a special guest of Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge, to whom he offered "all the necessary support in the event of a foreign aggression."

"There are countries," the general said, "that export blood, that export violence and dramatics, and which do not deserve to have relations with Panama."

At the same ceremony he noted that if Nicaragua and Cuba do not act with moderation, "we will have to speak to them seriously; and if they do not change their attitude, then Panama will have to break relations with them."

Then, explaining the reasons for expressing solidarity with Costa Rica, he said that "with all due respect for the Costa Ricans, the Panamanians consider that the



Ruben Dario Paredes
Contadora 'lacks something'

current situation has extended Panama's borders up to the Costa Rican-Nicaraguan borderline."

Paredes referred with optimism to the task of the "Contadora Group" of which Panama is a

member together with Venezuela, Colombia, and Mexico. However, he indicated that "Contadora" lacks something to be able to lend more effectiveness to its actions.

According to Paredes, the group lacks a multinational force "that will make duly authorized incursions into the countries in conflict to fulfill humanitarian missions and reconstruction work with machinery, vaccinations, and tractors, but not arms."

In this manner, he added, the parties in conflict would be allowed time to sit down and hold dialogues in search of solutions to their topics of disagreement.

The Panamanian military leader accompanied President Monge during the inauguration of a popular housing project in the Atlantic region of Costa Rica.

Monge availed himself of the opportunity to stress that "Panama and Costa Rica are two democracies that for several decades have learned to resolve their differences through the path of dialogue."



CHAIRMAN—On Monday, at Hollywood [Florida], President Reagan Announced that former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger would be Chairman of the new National Bipartisan Commission on Central America. Kissinger, up to now, has dealt with Central America in depth only during the Panama Canal negotiations, which resulted in treaties that Reagan opposed as a candidate. Several other names have surfaced in the past day or two and the full commission will likely be in place within a few days.

Final CBI hurdles

(Continued from Page 1)

would impact on U.S. industries. Exempted are textile and apparel goods, petroleum and petroleum products, footwear, leather goods, and canned tuna.

In a bow to the rum industries of the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico, the bill contains a provision that will transfer to their treasuries all proceeds from excise taxes collected on Caribbean rum. This is expected to make up for any loss of revenue suffered by the U.S. islands from the more favorable trade treatment given to rum imports.

The bill contains a requirement that each country seeking duty-free treatment for sugar and beef submit a "stable food production plan" within three months of designation to ensure that increased shipments of such products will not displace basic food production and adversely affect nutritional standards.

Various "rules of origin" were inserted covering Caribbean imports to prevent pass-through operations and ensure benefits to beneficiary countries. First, the product must be imported directly from a beneficiary nation. Second, it must consist of at least 35 percent value-added in the Caribbean, except that a certain percentage (15 percent of total value) from U.S.-made components may be counted toward the 35 percent minimum. Third, any product including foreign components must be substantially transformed into a "new and different article of commerce" in the Caribbean. Products not qualifying under these three rules will be dutiable.

The International Trade Commission is required to submit to Congress and the President periodic reports on the impact of the legislation on U.S. industries and consumers. Such reports are to commerce two years from enactment and cover each year thereafter.

The Secretary of State is required to prepare a study regarding the feasibility of establishing a Caribbean Trade Institute to facilitate increased trade, cultural exchanges, and expansion of job opportunities both in the U.S. and the Caribbean Basin.

OAS and Contadora taking center stage

(Continued from Page 1)

passed, and only five days before the Sandinistas came to power, the leaders-to-be wrote that the OAS should make Nicaragua live up to those promises.

Last Thursday, at the Permanent Council, Martinez Ordonez made his case for a "peace force" and directly, "Acts of provocation and aggression against Honduras have not ceased but, rather, have increased. In addition, the recent mobilization of Nicaraguan troops on our frontier justified alarm and apprehension that an aggression of major force against our country is being planned."

Then he set out Nicaragua's

military strength which, he said, had increased 1,300 percent since the sandinistas took over power "and upset the equilibrium of the area," with 130,000 now in Nicaragua's military as opposed to a total of only 70,000 for all of the other nations of Central America. Add to this a total of 17,000 foreign military personnel, while the rest of Central America has a total of 265. Middendorf identified foreign personnel in greater detail, stating that they consisted, in part, of 35 from Eastern Europe, 50 from Russia, "and thousands from Cuba."

Nicaraguan Ambassador Edgar Parrales was the only one who spoke his own defense. "Why," he

asked the Honduran, "if we have such a big army, haven't we been able to defeat a rebel force of only 8,000 that the CIA now intends to enlarge to 15,000?" And he spoke directly to Martinez Ordonez, saying that the latter "should be careful when playing with fire." He added that the same admonition should go for other countries even though they have no armed forces (apparently aimed at Costa Rica) which should be careful about "playing with fire."

Parrales declared that attacking Nicaragua was no way to solve the problems of Central America which are anchored in economic and social injustices. But Martinez Ordonez countered by reminding him that although that is surely true, the crisis and the unrest "result from extreme poverty and social injustice, it is just as true that progress can come more easily through the democratic process in an atmosphere of freedom, not by exchanging the black whip of dictatorship for the red whip of communism."

Parrales also brought up the "coincidental" attack by the five nations, brought by the call from Honduras for the extraordinary council session.

All of this, and more, formed a prelude for the Contadora session last weekend. Although it seems that the OAS session may have intended to send signals to Cancun, there was just as much speculation that that Contadora meeting itself was intended to lead to more direct regional action through the OAS. And there are those who feel that the Contadora group will have only limited input.

It was only a month ago that the Contadora nations put together a proposal that was rejected by the Central American nations. One weakness of that June 22 accord was that it seemed to leave the problem more for the UN to deal with than the OAS. At that time the Costa Rican Minister of Justice noted that there was a 10-hour debate simply on the question of how the matter should be put on the agenda.

So, only a fortnight after they had presented one formula, the Contadora nations were back at the drawing board. Their foreign ministers (Rodrigo Lloreda Calcedo of Colombia, Juan Jose Amado of Panama, Bernardo Sepulveda of Mexico, and Jose Alberto Zambrano of Venezuela) had convened a few days earlier, on the 15th of July, at Panama City to try to work out on what basis they would seek to bring a "stable and lasting peace" to Central America.

It was after this preparatory conference, that the Contadora summit met on July 17. It was a meeting that had been preceded by its own previous session, by a ministerial-level meeting, by the OAS activity, and even by pressure from Europe, centering in Spain's Prime Minister Enrique Gonzalez. Added to this, of course, was the legislation and press attention that Central America has been getting on Capitol Hill and throughout the United States.

Overt aid OK, but covert funds may get the axe

WASHINGTON — This week is likely to bring at least a partial answer as to how Capitol Hill intends to treat Nicaragua and the Sandinistas. Sometime during this week the House will probably vote on a proposed cutoff of funds for covert aid to forces fighting the Sandinistas, and this may involve an agreement of \$80 million, or some other sum, for overt aid.

This follows press reports that the CIA is now building up rebel forces from about 7,000 to at least twice that number, but this has been challenged. In a rebuttal statement, House Minority Leader Robert Michel, Illinois Republican, said he knows that this cited buildup is not factual. He added that covert operations must continue because "enemies are doing it on a broad scale."

As this moves into focus the United States acted through the Inter American Development Bank

(BID) to hobble Nicaragua. Treasury official James Conrow told the press that this country would not approve BID loans to Nicaragua until its government "revitalizes the private sector and improves the efficiency of the public sector." Last week it cast the only vote (41 to 1) against a \$2.2-million road project for Nicaragua. Some BID members were apprehensive that the U.S. was using political considerations, not economic ones, to turn down the request.

In Nicaragua, Interior Minister Tomas Borge said that his government plans to enlarge its Cuban-style civilian militia, with the number "limited not by manpower but by the weapons we have." A popular militia was set up in 1980 with plans for 200,000 members. So far it seems to have reached less than half of that goal, but now it is said that training centers "will be built all over the country."

Protestors defy Pinochet

(Continued from Page 1)

and business associations. Two other recent protests were called by a labor union alliance led by Rodolfo Seguel, leader of the powerful Confederation of Copper Workers. Seguel has now been in jail for over a month, and the union has been crippled by the firing of some 80 leaders and 800 workers following a two-day strike in June.

Copper workers, who are awaiting a reply from the government on their request for the rehiring of union members, took no part in the most recent protest. And the National Truckers Association, which has threatened to lead a movement of businessmen and farmers against the government, moved away from direct actions after government officials agreed

to refinance association debts of \$120 million.

Developments such as these have isolated those political leaders seeking a direct confrontation with the government. Christian Democrats, Socialists, Radicals, and some disaffected conservatives from the National Party now say that their most important task is to put together an opposition plan that would attract political rightist and businessmen.

One issue that divides oppositionists in the future legal status of the Communist Party, which won 16 percent of the vote in the last elections before the 1973 coup. Pressure is also being felt from the more militant and younger politicians who are demanding the resignation of Pinochet and the calling of elections within six months.

Meanwhile, some conservative supporters of Pinochet are urging him to adopt a more liberal stance, and one suggestion being advanced is that he appoint a prime minister with broad powers to initiate a liberalization movement. While it is reported that such an action would be backed by high military leaders, the president apparently has not been convinced.

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Colombia's campaign on literacy

BOGOTA — Colombia has taken the first steps in a long-range program designed to combat illiteracy. This is a subject that was vigorously attacked by President Belisario Betancur during his election campaign.

Under the theme of "toward education without limits," Colombia has embarked on an ambitious plan heretofore unknown in the traditional and elitist system of education that has existed in this country.

The program is aimed to reach the potential student in his home, and it takes into account his capacity and time to learn. Under the present inefficient system the presence of the student is required in the school room, thereby depriving a sector of the populace of the chance to learn because of economic, geographic, or labor conditions that make it impossible for him to attend the conventional centers of education.

The program launched officially by Betancur in April aims at democratizing access to education in Colombia, where more than half



Belisario Betancur
Education without limits

of those persons capable of enjoying education at some level now remain outside the system.

According to statistics prepared by the Ministry of Education, the potential student population at all levels now numbers about 15 million, and of these only some seven and a half million are classified as students.

The biggest gap is at the university level. Only 8.3 percent of the population within the college level range are engaged in post-secondary studies. This situation led to the government education programs.

Democracy is slow in coming to Uruguay

MONTEVIDEO — Talks between representatives of Uruguayan political parties and the armed forces seeking the redemocratization of Uruguay, have arrived at a dangerous stalemate. This has provoked anxiety and uneasiness among the participants.

While the military representatives stated through General Julio Cesar Rapela, president of the Armed Forces Political Affairs Commission (COMASPO), that little was achieved, several politicians who felt that it was a step backward expressed pessimism because the military refuse to accept the talks as negotiation and remain immovable on certain things.

The biggest disagreements focused on the definition of the state of subversion to be included in the future constitution which comprises civil liberties, rights, duties, and individual guarantees. The politicians' position in this regard differs completely from that of the military. According to political sources, fiery exchanges were recorded during the meeting.

It was learned that the politicians jointly presented a document proposing a number of alternatives to the military position regarding the deadlines and the manner in which the state of subversion will be established in the future, and also regarding the period after which detainees must be placed at the disposal of the judge. This proposal, which COMASPO members promised to study, was termed more flexible than the ideas proposed by the military.

The politicians feel that instead of including the state of subversion as a component element of a constitutional article, it should be included in another article which sets forth executive branch prerogatives for establishing the state when quick security measures

are needed, but only in case of internal unrest.

Regarding the congressional quorum for making decisions concerning the state of subversion, the politicians feel that it should require a simple majority, while the military want a three-fifths majority, a proposal already included in the constitutional amendment proposal rejected in a 1980 plebiscite.

At the end of the meeting, Colorado Party representative Enrique Tarigo expressed his disappointment. He said the armed forces show no flexibility and have no negotiating spirit. "I think the armed forces are looking at the constitution through the keyhole of subversion and blunder over the basic concept," Tarigo stated. He reaffirmed that the political parties were ready to pay the price for a return to the institutional process, amending the constitution, but not destroying it.

Submarine problems surface in Colombia

BOGOTA — The Colombian Government has announced that it will make a final effort to achieve a negotiated solution to the dispute on marine and submarine areas with Venezuela. Foreign Minister Rodrigo Lloreda said that "we must seek another opportunity for a new process of direct negotiations." However, he noted that this mechanism will not be possible until the new Venezuelan Government takes office in 1984.

Lloreda's statement came in reaction to the statement by former Colombian Liberal President Alfonso Lopez Michelsen in Caracas last month. Lopez Michelsen said that Colombia and Venezuela should try to resume

No Argentine coup

Bignone admits unrest exists

BUENOS AIRES — President Reynaldo Bignone has "categorically and flatly" ruled out the possibility of a coup, though he admitted that there are "minority sectores" that would like to see the democratization process interrupted. The president dismissed political interpretations of the recent speech delivered by Buenos Aires Province Police Chief Fernando Verplaetsen.

It was stated by Verplaetsen, boss of three policemen jailed as suspects in a recent disappearance case, that the men had "strictly followed orders." He added that the armed forces are prepared for a new campaign against subversion. "There is no possible discussion, nor armistice, nor forswearing of weapons, nor cease-fire."

This speech touched off rumors of a coup, which increased when Verplaetsen's remarks were endorsed by Gen. Cristino Nicolaides, Army commander in chief.

Bignone reiterated that "the executive branch follows the armed forces mandate and I am personally fully aware that I am not a constitutional president who has been selected by the people. I was chosen by the armed forces, and therefore I act on behalf of the armed forces and my actions follow the line of thinking of the armed forces."

He contended that "the country is going through a very special stage of its political-institutional history in which we are seeking to guarantee as much freedom as possible in the absence of constitutional safeguards."

Asked whether he deemed it appropriate to shorten the period between the elections and the handing over of power, Bignone answered that "the date for handing over power has already been set and I think it is premature to talk about the need to shorten the period, considering that we do not yet have the opinion of he who will have to face the problem, that is, the one who will be chosen president."

Asked whether elections would be held as scheduled, Bignone stressed that "I have no doubt at all, and I think there are very few Argentines who now doubt that elections will be held on October 30."

Bignone did not rule out the existence of sectors that may attempt to interrupt the



Reynaldo Bignone
Executive follows mandate

democratization process. "But I am fully convinced that this minority sector does not belong to the armed forces," Bignone stressed.

Concerning the amnesty bill, he

explained that "it is being studied carefully and seriously by the military junta, in close cooperation with the government."

When asked about the country's political situation, he said that "the government sees a favorable evolution in the country's political life."

"Some people say that the president would prefer the political situation to follow this course or the other, but I say that I would prefer more moderate language. However, in general, I think the political campaign has developed as expected," Bignone added.

Asked about the situation of former President Maria Estela Martinez de Peron, Bignone said that "as head of the executive branch, the only thing I have now is a request from three former ministers of her administration."

"The note is under analysis, but I think something more than a request will be needed to solve this issue," Bignone concluded.

Junta to face blame for Malvinas mistakes

BUENOS AIRES — The Malvinas Committee, which is to release a report on the role of the Armed Forces during last year's South Atlantic conflict in the next few weeks, will reportedly attribute serious responsibilities for the direction of the war to the three former Junta members and to former Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez.

The report will also take Armed Forces government officials to task for the psychological action carried out during the war with Britain, and will criticize the economic policies applied during the conflict. It will be pointed out, however, that it was virtually impossible for the then-Economy Minister Roberto Aleman to take any specific measures to prevent the economic catastrophe that followed, since he was only briefed on the plan to occupy Puerto Argentino by the time

Argentine troops were already landing on the islands.

Responsibilities for the direction of the war will be laid on individuals, and not on the services or institutions they represented, it was disclosed. General Leopoldo

Collins, Air Force Major General Emilio Lami Dozo — the former commanders of the three services — will thus be criticized for having taken most decisions on strategic aspects of the war by themselves, without consulting the high commands of each force.

Politically the Junta members failed to analyze objectively the Argentine forces' chances of success and did not take into account Britain's possible reaction to the occupation of the islands nor that of the United States or NATO, the report says. These latter mistakes, however will mainly be attributed to former Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez.

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U.S. policy hurting Mexico

MEXICO CITY — President Miguel de la Madrid has called for an end to the protectionism practiced by the industrial countries, which "is affecting their domestic economies and is also an international economic injustice," and asked the United States "to understand that if we buy again, they must buy more from us."

Speaking at a mass rally in Matamoros the president was vehement in saying that the country can no longer continue to assume debts in order to pay for imports that are necessary to its economy.

"We can't do it and we don't want to do it, because we are a proud people who don't like to live in debt," De la Madrid said strongly.

He asked the United States to put an end to protectionism, thus promoting international economic justice.

De la Madrid said that he is aware of how the people in the northern border cities have been living since the latter half of 1982, the result of a devaluation that reduced the value of Mexican currency to a fifth of what it had been.

He said that as a result of new circumstances, resulting from the new exchange rate for the peso, it has been discovered that Mexican products can compete in both quality and price on the international market. "Thus, we are putting a lot of energy into our export effort," he added.

That this extraordinary effort to meet our responsibilities and to generate healthy income, through exports, with which to finance our foreign trade, will be appreciated by the friendly nations that trade with Mexico.

We need "more production," he said, "not only to satisfy our domestic consumption needs, but also to place exports on the international market, so that we can secure healthy financing for the imports that our country needs for its development."

At the end of his speech, De la Madrid declared with a strong voice that "we will overcome our problems, within our system of democracy and liberty, applying the law and rejecting both violence and the intrigues of those who would like to see a bureaucratic and totalitarian system in Mexico."

Road, bridge pacts signed

WASHINGTON — The governments of the United States and Argentina have signed two separate technology sharing agreements. The U.S. Federal Highway Administration, in cooperation with Argentina's Vialidad Nacional, will participate in a series of seminars and courses covering advanced technology in bridge maintenance, pavements, highway design, control of truck weights, construction management and highway maintenance.

The agreement was signed in Buenos Aires by Federal Highway Administrator Ray A. Barnhart for the United States, and Eng. Julio Cesar Caballero, Administrator General of Vialidad, for Argentina.

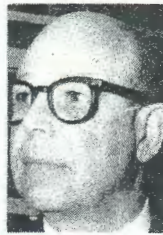
Names in the News

STICKS AND STONES:...UN Ambassador Jeane J. KIRKPATRICK refused to accept honors from Barnard (her own school) and Smith after noisy protests followed the announcement of her selection as a speaker. At Barnard, more than 1,000 students signed a petition against her receiving a medal, and even the faculty voted 48 to 18 in disfavor. Said MS. KIRKPATRICK, showing considerable more poise than her attackers: "Doubtless, we will all want to reflect on the events surrounding this episode and what they tell us about who we are and what we have become." A Barnard spokesman echoed her opinion: "a profound need for tolerance in institutions of learning throughout the land"...The White House has been scolded for naming "inexperienced foreign policy amateurs" to diplomatic posts, with a finger pointed at the new U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica, CURTIS WINDSOR JR. The criticism was answered in a letter to the editor by M. JON VONDRACEK of the Georgetown Center for Strategic Studies. Says he: WINDSOR is an eminent choice, with fluent Spanish, a doctorate in Latin American Studies at Brown, decades in international finance, and a trusteeship in a foundation that has long funded Latin American Studies....MICHAEL TOWNLEY, implicated in the death of Chilean ORLANDO LETELIER in Washington, is now held without bond here in the United States. In just a few days (July 22) he will find out whether our courts will permit his extradition to Argentina.

MILE STONES:...The U. of Miami's new Graduate School of International Studies will be headed by RAFAEL G. BENITEZ who is starting a fourth career. Puerto Rican born, Georgetown educated, BENITEZ ended a Navy career as Rear Admiral that included a stint as chief of the U.S. Naval Mission in Havana. Then came years as a PanAm VP handling Latin American affairs. After PanAm became Dean of Miami's Law School, where he founded *Lawyer of the Americas*, a Journal of International and Comparative Law. Now he passes a fourth milestone.... Double honors for U. of Texas History Professor STANLEY R. ROSS, author of 15 books, head of the Institute of Border Affairs and the Institute of Latin American Studies at Austin. He has been named (a) Ashbel Smith professor, and (b) elected a member of the Mexican Academy of History....His colleague, Economics Professor WILLIAM P. GLADE, has been appointed to the new Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies at Notre Dame....Harvard held its



Kirkpatrick



Benitez

first annual J.H. PARRY memorial lecture on May 12, honoring a beloved professor of oceanic history. Speaker for the occasion: MAURICIO OBREGON, "historian, engineer, ambassador, author, university professor, and navigator" who has followed "under sail and in light airplanes the voyages of the Argonauts, Odysseus, Columbus and Magellan." OBREGON is now Colombia's Ambassador-at-large to the Caribbean.

ROLLING STONES:...If followed his announced schedule, Brazil's president JOAO FIGUEIREDO has already been to Cleveland for medical tests related to a heart condition....Washington D.C. Mayor MARION BARRY, who was in Bermuda a month ago to visit an old friend and speak at an alumni meeting of Howard University graduates, followed that up with a trip to Jamaica, arranged by his wife. As he left he held associates: "I'm not going to do a minute of work"....Two years ago, when Panamanian ROBERTO DURAN lost his welterweight boxing title to SUGAR RAY LEONARD, he was so scorned by his countrymen that he said he would never return to Panama until had had won a little. Recently he TKO'ed DAVEY MOORE for the junior middleweight title, and Panama's President RICARDO DE LA ESPRIELLA sent his executive jet to bring ROBERTO back home to the cheers of thousands. In a pouring rainstorm, DURAN sported a Mexican sombrero and barked once again in applause....Heading for somewhere is TERENCE A. TODMAN who became U.S. Ambassador to Madrid to make room for Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs THOMAS O. ENDERS, who was removed from that job in a recent shakeup. TODMAN once had the ENDERS job (after serving well in Costa Rica), and now, after doing a splendid job in Spain there were rumors that he might go to Rio to replace our new Assistant Secretary. Also mentioned as a possible TODMAN assignment: Denmark.

HEAD STONES:...Famed Argentine composer ALBERTO GINASTERA died late in June at Geneva. His final opera *Barabas* is to be performed next season in New York....Guatemala's cardinal MARIO CASARIEGO who toured Guatemala with POPE JOHN PAUL II when the latter visited Central America recently, died recently of a heart attack. When he became a Cardinal in 1969, he was the first to receive that honor from Central America....ENRY LEPIDUS, once a Latin American correspondent for *St. Louis Post Dispatch* and later with AP and CBS died recently here in the United States. For the past 20 years he had been Dean of Humanities and Foreign Languages at the University of El Salvador....And, in Havana, dead at 64, ex-president of FIDEL CASTRO's Cuba (1959-1976), OSVALDO DORTICOS TORRADO, a suicide on June 23. Born at Cienfuegos, he took his law degree from the University of Havana and later became head of the National Lawyers Association. Older than FIDEL, quiet, always well dressed, DORTICOS gave the early CASTRO years some semblance of formality. The Cuban obituary hailed him as "a renowned revolutionary and a man of great historical merit," indicating his death followed a period of depression after his wife's death, and during pain from a spinal disease.

MORE HEAD STONES:...In Manhattan, FRANCOISE DE LA RENTA, wife of famed dress designer OSCAR DE LA RENTA (from the Dominican Republic), who met her husband-to-be in Paris at a dinner party of the Duchess of Windsor. At that time she was editor of the French *Vogue Magazine*....CSANAD TOTH, whose career spanned Europe and Latin America, and who experienced oppression as a child in Budapest, where his father was a well known journalist. During the bloody 1956 Hungarian uprising TOTH, whose father died in prison, was the editor of a Hungarian student newspaper, *The Truth*. After coming to the United States, CSANAD covered Latin America affairs during the 1960s for the International Development Foundation. Later he was an official of the Intern-American Foundation....Both of the newsmen killed recently on the Honduran-Nicaragua border had had considerable Latin American experience. DIAL TORGERSON was Mexico City Bureau Chief for the *Los Angeles Times*. Photographer RICHARD CROSS was on temporary assignment, but had previously spent four years with the Peace Corps in Colombia.

'Trends appear catastrophic'

Socialist leaders discuss regional woes

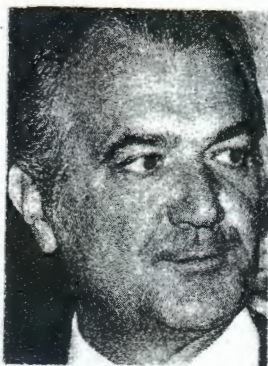
MEXICO CITY — President Miguel de la Madrid met early this month with Guillermo Ungo, leader of the Salvadoran FDR; Francisco Pena Gomez, leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD); Carlos Andres Perez, former Venezuelan president; Michael Manley, former Jamaican prime minister; and Anselmo Sule, of Chile. All are vice presidents of the Socialist International for Latin America.

De la Madrid had breakfast with the Latin American leaders and spoke with them about the Central American situation "and other regional topics."

BROAD REPRESENTATION

Ungo leads a broad front that includes the principal Salvadoran political forces involved in the struggle against the Alvaro Magana government, with which Mexico maintains relations.

The meeting was also attended by Foreign Secretary Bernardo



Miguel de la Madrid
Rejects 'simplistic' view

Sepulveda. After the breakfast, the Socialist International leaders met with Interior Secretary Manuel Barlett Diaz.

Interviewed at the conclusion of the meeting, Andres Perez, who is

also the leader of Democratic Action (AD), said that as long as hunger and poverty exist in Latin America there will be no political stability. This includes Mexico, he said. He also rejected the "simplistic" view that the White House officials hold on this subject.

REGIONAL WAR

He said that "Central America is currently experiencing a state of war that is on the verge of being regionalized. If we are unable to stop it and to open the door to peace, it would be truly catastrophic for Latin America and, I would dare say, for the world. This is what we must stop."

Questioned about reports in the United States on how the Central American situation will affect Mexico and about Reagan's view of the "fourth border," Perez said: "We are not anti-United States; however, we are not influenced by a foolish strategy of fools, nor do we accept pressure or blocs in the

region. Therefore, I don't think Mexico is threatened, as the United States says. The simplism of that position only makes the problem worse."

Perez added that in Latin America generally the problem is not communism but exploitation, hunger, and poverty suffered by millions of people, which is what "we must combat to achieve stability in Mexico, Central America, and Latin America."

He then referred to the Mexicans' "stoicism" in facing the crisis, and indicated that Mexico "has maintained its moral authority in the international arena because of its constant struggle for peace."

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FDN seeks Sandinista peace talks

TEGUCIGALPA — Enrique Bermudez, political coordinator of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), declared here that his organization "is prepared to listen to a Sandinista peace proposal." In an interview granted to a local radio station, Bermudez said that his struggle does not seek "to bloody Nicaragua unnecessarily." "We wish to oust the current regime, but we are not struggling for power. We want freedoms and we want free elections to exist," Bermudez added. He noted that the FDN launched a peace offensive last year, to which the Sandinistas have not responded.

He condemned the convocation of elections in 1985, because "no one engages in politics in Nicaragua, for fear of being called a counter-revolutionary. There is no political pluralism in my country; in fact, the Sandinista leaders have stated that the elections will consolidate their party's power."

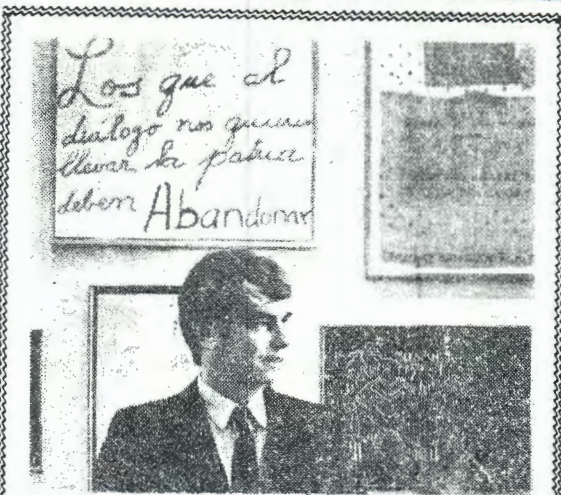
Bermudez, a former colonel in Nicaragua's National Guard, says that he was not a Somozist. "I served an institution, not a person, and the people were witnesses to my actions as a military officer," he said.

He also denied that the FDN is made up solely of former national guardsmen. "The National Guard," he said, "does not exist. Nicaragua now has a Sandinista Army, which is not even a national army; it was created to serve the Sandinista party."

Bermudez confirmed that the FDN is now down to some 8,000 or 10,000 men, "all of whom are in Nicaraguan territory carrying out operations in the departments of Managua, Nueva Segovia, Madriz Boaco, Leon, Jinotega, Chinandega and on the Atlantic Coast."

He said that serious talks may be held with Eden Pastora, "Commander Cero." "We are pluralistic," he said, "and Cero is wrong to call us Somozists. Somozism no longer exists. The National Guard no longer exists. The FDN is made up of workers, peasants, professionals, students, and deserters from the militia and from the Sandinista army itself."

Bermudez condemned the Sandinista arms buildup and reported that Nicaragua has received rockets, although he did not specify the type, Soviet MI-8 helicopters, tanks and other offensive weapons. He also said that those who claim that the FDN is divided and has stopped its military activities in various parts of Nicaragua are mistaken. "The fact is that we are waging guerrilla warfare and are not maintaining set positions; but evidence that we have not given up are the explosions at several Sandinista bases and the destruction of motorized equipment in various parts of northern Nicaragua."



His stand stands

Since his blistering rebuttal to President Reagan's speech on Central America before a joint session of Congress, Senator Christopher Dodd (D-Conn) has been a point-man among those urging dialogue between the rebels and the government in El Salvador. Thus, we were surprised when Pamela Terry, a sharp-eyed Times contributor, pointed out to us a picture which ran in the Washington Post last Wednesday.

The framed placard above Dodd's head, when translated into English, reads: "Those who want to bring us to dialogue, should leave the country." Since this is in complete opposition to Dodd's views, our curiosity was piqued.

A spokesman from Dodd's office explained that he had gotten the sign from a Salvadoran schoolgirl who was apparently protesting Dodd's visit to that country. According to the aide, Dodd kept the picture because he liked the girl and to "remind himself that there are two sides to the issue."

Lest conservatives think that Dodd is about to change his views on El Salvador, the aide assured us that "he remains firmly in favor of dialogue." (Photo by Henry Naltchayan—The Washington Post.)

Dissident military pushing for fewer strings from U.S.

SAN SALVADOR — A clandestine group of military men, self-styled the Blue and White Movement (the colors of the Salvadoran flag) has asked officers and soldiers to "recover the original goals of the insurrectional movement of October 1979," which put an end to President Carlos Humberto Romero's administration.

They expressed their concern about what they regard as the loss of the nation's sovereignty, noting that "our country is no longer the master of its decisions, either politically, economically or militarily. Everything is planned in the north."

In well-informed circles, it is believed that the letter probably was from the Army faction led by Colonel Adolfo Majano, one of the leaders of the 1979 coup, who was later removed from power by a higher-ranking officer.

The Salvadoran Army overthrew Romero, claiming at the time of the coup that "an intolerable level of human rights violations" had been reached, and that "the people's will" had been "frustrated by the electoral fraud imposed by the official sector" for 19 years.

The document states: "It is not clear that a real and definitive solution is being sought for the crisis, which, as we have already said, is a result of our country's unjust and oppressive structures. On the contrary, the current situation is moving toward in-



Col. Adolfo Majano
Author of letter?

creasing complexity. New factors that are not related to the real problem are constantly being introduced."

The movement denounces "the uninterrupted continuation of the same old plan, which is subject to foreign interests," in the armed forces, despite the recent changes in high command.

This document was numbered No.2, following the first, which was circulated several months ago. It was reportedly issued by "intermediate military commands," which are insisting on "the dialogue that those who sit behind desks are opposing."

Dissidents call for rescue

Soviets tainted real revolution

By MONICA MAECKLE
From The Tico Times

Three prominent Nicaraguan dissidents have issued a "call for peace," proposing a "civic struggle" to rescue the original Sandinista Revolution, which celebrated its fourth anniversary July 19.

The call was the third time in the past 14 months that organized dissidents have asked the Sandinistas to live up to their promises.

Before a black-and-white banner lettered "Rescue of the Nicaraguan Revolution," Arturo Cruz, former Ambassador to Washington under the Sandinistas; Alfredo Cesar, former president of the Nicaraguan Central Bank; and Leonel Poveda, former Vice-Minister of Internal Commerce, denounced the "totalitarian policy" and "Sovietization" of the Sandinista revolutionary process.

Angel Navarro, former director of the Nicaraguan Bank, was not present, but was named as a fourth dissident supporting the statement. All four are influential moderates who supported the revolution in 1978-79.

Describing themselves as "just a group of citizens making a declaration," the three took turns reading a 10-page statement that charged the Sandinistas with totalitarianism, censorship, human rights violations, and "the presence of thousands of Cuban, Bulgarian Libyan, East German, and Vietnamese internationalists" in Nicaragua.

"The problem of Nicaragua is fundamentally internal because the majority of the people want the revolution in its original concept but reject the Sovietization that they (the internationalists) want to impose," the statement read.

UNDAUNTED EFFORTS

Using the words "dialogue", "negotiations", and "civic struggle," the group called its initiative "just one more resource."

"It's hard to talk of war when you've lived it for the last two or three years," said Poveda, referring to the counter-revolutionary bloodshed that has intensified on Nicaragua's borders over the past few months.

Cruz personally expressed his support and admiration for personal friend Eden Pastora, who is challenging the Sandinistas militarily in southern Nicaragua. Speaking recently on the rebel radio station, Voice of Sandino "from somewhere in Nicaragua," Pastora announced a ceasefire and described it as a "temporary fallback to give us a chance to

review our accomplishments and seek new resources." The halt lasted 48 hours, and Pastora then announced he had opened an attack on the Nicaraguan port of San Juan del Norte.

When one newsman skeptically pointed out that Pastora's Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) and the U.S.-backed Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN) both made similar pitches for peace over the past 14 months to no avail, Cruz responded, "One of two things will happen. Nothing will happen or it will be a success. In any case, we feel it's our obligation to do this."

"There still exists a chance for a civil solution," said Cesar.



Arturo Cruz
Denounces Somozism

EL SALVADOR

NEWS-GAZETTE

I want to congratulate you on your newspaper. Your articles are well written, comprehensive, and objective. It should be required reading for U.S. policymakers in both Congress and the Reagan Administration.—Keith L. Miceli, Executive Secretary, Association of the American Chamber of Commerce in Latin America.

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U.S. is 'out to win' with its-new team at State

By WILLIAM GIANDONI
Copley News Service

WASHINGTON — The United States soon may modify its "no-win" strategy in Central America to conform with President Reagan's goal of impeding a communist takeover of the area. Once the personnel shuffle in the State Department's Bureau of Inter American Affairs is complete, diplomatic observers here expect less talk and more action out of Washington.

Up to now the United States has been providing El Salvador only enough economic and military aid to keep the Marxist-led guerrillas from toppling the government, but not enough to allow it to defeat the guerrillas militarily.

How much of a policy shift will be accomplished depends on factors other than merely the replacement of Assistant Secretary of State Thomas O. Enders by Langhorne Motley, currently U.S. ambassador to Brazil.

Congress doubtlessly will have its say. Die-hard liberals, who dominate the House Foreign Affairs

Committee and and their counterparts on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where Republicans hold the balance of power, may be expected to raise their voices in protest of any hardening of U.S. policy in Central America.

Liberals have been particularly vehement in opposition both to increasing support for the embattled, though elected, government of El Salvador, and to continuing U.S. support for the "freedom fighters," as President Reagan terms them, who are struggling against the marxist regime in Nicaragua.

However, there has been a noticeable decline in the volume of congressional criticism of Reagan policies since the administration began publicly explaining the nature of the Marxist threat in Central America and the Caribbean area.

Some former critics have been silenced by weight of the evidence that the Soviet Union and Cuba are working through Nicaragua to destabilize Central America. Those

who have not been swayed by the administration's presentations reportedly are at least concerned about their re-election possibilities were they to be accused of losing Central America to the communists.

Although President Reagan has said that there are not changes to be expected in his policy toward the region, a stiffening of the U.S. stance there seems logical to expect.

FIRST HAND KNOWLEDGE

For one thing, Motley, the man the president picked to succeed Enders, knows Latin America and Latin Americans well, in a way that Enders, by accident of birth, could not.

Motley was born in Brazil and lived there most of his first 17 years of life. He held dual U.S.-Brazilian citizenship until 1981 when the president chose him for the ambassadorial post in Brasilia. Then he had to renounce his Brazilian citizenship. He has spoken Por-

tuguese as well as English since infancy.

What is more, Motley graduated from the Citadel, the prestigious military academy in Charleston, S.C., and became a U.S. Air Force pilot. Among his other assignments, he spent two years as aide to the Air Force commander in the Southern Command in Panama.

Motley's long residence in Latin America, his formal education and military experience combined, suggest a more knowledgeable approach to hemispheric affairs than that of the academics or career diplomats who so often head the State Department's Inter American Affairs Bureau.

Add that to the concerns the Defense Department has been voicing about the "war without frontiers" that the Sandinistas are waging with Cuban and Soviet help, and Latin diplomatic observers here come up with the impression that the United States may start paying more attention to the security needs of the Central American and Caribbean countries than has been the custom.

For one thing, there may be less emphasis on talk about dialogue with "opposition democrats" in El Salvador. U.S. intelligence indicates that there are no opposition democrats there who are not already participating in the nation's politics. Only those who refuse to lay down the arms they have taken up against the government remain outside the process.

Something else that may be expected is exposure, if not restriction, of the Marxist lobbying that goes on here in Washington. One Salvadoran diplomat recently noted that the Marxist Farabundo Marti Liberation Front representatives here have not been limited in their activities despite the murder in San Salvador of Lt. Cmdr. Alber Shaufelberger who fell victim to terrorists' bullets.

Finally, expectations are that U.S. military aid to El Salvador may be speeded up, particularly since the State Department disclosure that Salvadoran soldiers who, having run out of ammunition, had to surrender to guerrilla forces, were summarily executed.

Politicians coming around on solutions

WASHINGTON [CNS] — Some U.S. and other politicians now seem to realize that they have backing the wrong side in Central America.

Now more and more have started talking in terms of long-term solutions to Central America's economic and social problems, of mini-Marshall Plans, of an updated Alliance for Progress that might bear fruit in decades or so.

Sens. Henry Jackson, D-Washington, and Charles Mathias, R-Md., Reps. Tom Kemp, R-N.Y., Michael Barnes, D-Md., who is chairman of the House Western Hemisphere Affairs subcommittee, and House Majority Leader Jim Wright who talks of a new alliance, all have spoken recently in favor of aid programs of one sort or another.

No one has said they are trying to disassociate themselves from the liberal group that has made President Reagan's Central American policy a partisan political issue. But some of them either overtly opposed the president's efforts to prevent further communist conquests of power in Latin America or, by their long silence, seemed to acquiesce to the opposition.

Americans, or North Americans, as the neighbors to the south prefer it, are not the only ones who now seem to be trying to divert attention from their recent actions or inaction.

For example, Spain's Prime Minister, Felipe Gonzales, one of the early backers of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua in their violent struggle to overthrow the Somoza dynasty, now talks of a peaceful solution to Central American conflicts.

As he passed through Washington, having earlier made a five-nation tour around the Caribbean without visiting Nicaragua or the other Central American nations, Gonzales was vague in his public statements on the region and its problems.

As he is the Socialist International's recognized specialist on Latin America, Gonzales was

asked how it is that the European-based Socialist group had come down so emphatically on the side on the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. And what is more, why they refused to change their stance despite the complaints of Costa Rican socialists — President Luis Alberto Monge and his National Liberation Party — that the Sandinistas are imposing communism on Nicaragua and are waging "war without frontiers" in Central America.

Gonzales heard the question put in English, listened to an interpreter translate it into Spanish and then replied in Spanish.

What European socialists think or say does not concern him much, Gonzales said. That is why he places more emphasis on the support that British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, French President Francois Mitterrand and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl voiced for the efforts of "the Contadora Group" to bring peace to Central America. The still-to-be proposed solution of the Contadora Group, made up of Panama, Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela, goes beyond the political ideology of each party, each group in power, Gonzales said.

COSTA RICA EXPOSED

Then he said he understands the anguish of the Costa Ricans. They have no armed forces and consider themselves defenseless against the Sandinistas who, although he did not mention it, have the largest army in Central America, thanks to the support Cuba and the Soviet Union give them.

None of that explained the European socialists' disinclination to heed the advice and complaints of the moderates among their Latin counterparts.

But Gonzales changed the subject by calling attention to the threat he perceives in "the Southern Cone," presumably Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, all of which are



Felipe Gonzalez
Supports peaceful solution

under right-wing military control.

The Southern Cone, blessed with a sufficiency of human and natural resources, will grow 20 times in economic terms by the year 2000, but no one knows what will happen there unless a method of sharing the wealth among the different sectors of the population is found, Gonzales said.

"If there is no stable democracy in the major part or all of the countries of the continent," Gonzales said, "we can imagine the quantity of terrible conflicts between the great deprived masses and the groups of oligarchs who have everything, and besides, try to control all power in their hands."

That is an inaccurate characterization of the Southern Cone countries, as millions of Spanish and other European immigrants who have found a better life and even fortune there could attest.

Clearly, though, Gonzales, like many others who have been championing the Sandinista cause in Central America, would prefer to divert attention from the war without frontiers being waged from Nicaragua to more distant times and places.

"A 30- to 50-year vision of building democracy, increasing economic opportunity and reinforcing human rights for the peoples of Central America is praiseworthy," a retired U.S. businessman with Latin American experience commented. "The only trouble is that the battle on the isthmus will be over long before the year 2013."

Suriname claiming CIA is meddling

PARAMARIBO — The government of Suriname has placed its military forces and police on a state of alert and announced plans to triple the size of its army. These measures were announced by Suriname's military leader, Colonel Desi Bouterse, at a public rally held here to protest against a feared C.I.A. intervention in Surinamese affairs. Bouterse told the estimated 10,000 people who gathered for the rally that "We are demonstrating to the world that we do not want any interference in our internal affairs, and that we can solve our own problems."

The demonstration was sparked by reports that the CIA had drawn up plans last year to overthrow the Bouterse regime. Reportedly, the CIA proposed covert action in Suriname after the killings of fifteen opposition leaders in December by army forces. The

plan was halted because of opposition from the Senate Intelligence Committee.

The Surinamese demonstrators delivered a note to the U.S. Embassy here that stated that "we have learned with disgust about the plans of the CIA and President Reagan to invade our beloved fatherland with mercenaries. These plans were nothing short of a serious insult to the Surinamese people."

Bouterse also criticized the decision by the government of Netherlands to cut-off its \$100 million development aid program to Suriname as a protest against the executions. Bouterse said "The Netherlands does not have the right to keep this money to which the Surinamese are entitled." A note delivered to the Dutch Embassy termed the aid cut-off as "black-mail."

Mont, smaller parties insisting on '84 date

GUATEMALA CITY — The Guatemalan government, supported by several political groups of minor importance, continues to insist that elections for a Constitutional Assembly be held in the middle of 1984. Traditional parties, meanwhile, maintain that the date for these elections should be moved up considerably.

President Efraim Rios Montt said in a radio message last week that a tentative agreement on this matter has been reached in talks with political groups and other sectors, but most political observers express doubts that such an understanding can be realized.

According to the President of Council of State, Jorge Serrano Elias, a call for elections will be issued on March 23, 1984. The elections will be held on July 29, and on September 15 the winners will take possessions of their seats.

The four parties with the most

electoral force, the Movement of National Liberation (MIN) and the Nationalist Authentic Central (CAN), both rightist, and the center-oriented Guatemalan Christian Democracy (DCG) and the national Renewal Party (PNR), have again started talks aimed at preparing unified demands for presentation.

Costa Rica

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Ex-army officer tells why he joined anti war protest

[Ed. note: There were two political rallies in Washington on July 2, 1983, and they were noted on page one of our edition of July 6. The active participation of a prominent Latin Americanist scholar, Jack Child, is one of the groups caught press attention. We asked Mr. Child to tell us about his thinking, here is his answer, abbreviated somewhat because of our austerity of space, but retaining his overall theme.]

By JACK CHILD

WASHINGTON — I participated in the demonstration against the Reagan Administration's Central American policies because of my growing concern that we are slipping into an increasingly dangerous situation in that region.

It was my first political demonstration. I was in uniform and, as a retired regular Army officer, I was probably in technical violation of regulations concerning the wearing of the uniform at political events.

I think we are moving, in small and sometimes imperceptible increments, towards something that could turn out to be another Vietnam War.

This perception flows from my background as a professional military officer, my long involvement with Latin America, and my present role as an educator. I retired from the U.S. Army as a Lieutenant Colonel (Foreign Area Specialist Latin America) in 1980 with 22 years service, including two years in Vietnam. Since my retirement in 1980 I have been assistant dean and a teacher of Spanish and Latin American Studies at the American University here in Washington.

APPLY THEORY

At the American University I teach (among other things) courses dealing with Latin American geopolitics, wars, and peacekeeping. This fall we will be focusing on the Falkland-Malvinas Argentine-British conflict, on Che Guevaras's guerrilla campaigns, and on the on-going Central American crisis. My students and I will try to apply, for example, the following theoretical, intellectual and practical framework to suggest a path towards peace in El Salvador and Central America:

Peace-building: the construction of the economic, moral, social and political foundations for lasting peace in the region, to include progressing towards representative forms of government, protecting human rights and reducing injustices. In practice this means a lot of economic assistance (from the United States, international organizations, and other countries), help in curbing militarism and right-wing violence by putting conditions on our aid, aggressive investigation and reporting of human rights abuses, and support for groups in the political middle, such as the Christian Democrats and the social Democrats.

Peace-keeping: the use of an international peace force made up of acceptable third party military, police and civilian elements to supervise a cease-fire and elections. To work, the peace-keeping

force cannot include U.S. troops.

Peace-making: the process of dialogue, negotiation, conciliation and compromise between all parties in all the conflicts of the area, be they internal or international. In practice, the U.S. (and all the others involved) must be willing to accept the fact that they will have to settle for less than their maximum goals. No agenda or preconditions for the dialogue can be set up, and the international peace-keeping force must guarantee that neither one side nor the other uses the peace-making process for military or political advantage.

Confidence-building measures: the imaginative use of a series of techniques, such as "hot lines" and advance notification of military movements, to diminish tension between armed groups in the area and diminish the possibility of stumbling into a war by accident or misperception. These techniques have been used successfully (although only to a modest extent) to do just between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in Europe, and between the U.S. and the Soviet Union during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

Is El Salvador our Central American Vietnam? I realize that the analogy is flawed, that no two situations are the same, and that the politics, geography and proximity make El Salvador quite different from Vietnam. But I have the gut feeling that we have been down this road before, and that each of us needs to decide soon whether we will speak out and act in time, or live with our silence later, as I did in Vietnam. I have recently made my personal decision, and it is to come out of my closet and speak up.

There have been a few times in my life when I could later pin down the time and place of an important decision. This one had been gnawing at me and growing for many months, but fell into place about 1:30 AM on the morning of Fathers Day at the darkened V of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The contrast with the brightly-lit Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument was impressive. The only lights at the Vietnam Memorial were those of occasional by passing cars reflecting against the wet black marble; it struck me as odd at first that the reflections were so irregular. Then I realized the irregularities were from the names carved on the wall.

I thought of my father, who served with Pershing's Punitive Expedition and in World War I, who supported me when I went to Vietnam in 1962 and who asked me no to go back in 1971 because by then it all seemed so pointless. I thought of my two sons reaching draft age. I thought of my students at American University, who have taught me far more about this issue than I have taught them. It would be they who would bear the physical and psychological burden of any conflict we get into in Central America.

I thought of my feelings when I went to Vietnam in 1962 as part of the first group of advisors and military assistance that General Maxwell Taylor told President



Jack Child is a retired Lieutenant Colonel in the U.S. Army and Associate Professor of Spanish and Latin American Studies at the American University.

Kennedy were all that South Vietnam needed. I very much admired and respected both men (and still do). Both were wrong. At the time I was a lieutenant in the 101st Airborne Division, fresh out of college, just married, idealistic, enthusiastic, and proud to be playing a role in Kennedy's Camelot.

I thought of my feelings when I returned to Vietnam in 1971 as a major at the Saigon headquarters of the Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV). Our job then was no longer to win hearts, minds or anything else: It was to get out as skillfully as we could to cut our losses and protect the political future, of Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon. My memories of that period are of corruption, cynism and moral decay — among the U.S. officers and troops as much as among the Vietnamese. I could not believe what the war had done to us or to Vietnam.

I thought of the creeping incrementalism of our involvement in Vietnam, of my own part in the process, and of the parallels to El Salvador: first economic aid; then military aid; then logistics advisors to check up on the aid; then combat advisors to train the local troops; then, inevitably, the first U.S. casualties among the advisors; then the first U.S. combat support units (medical, communications, transportation, helicopter); then the casualties among the U.S. combat support units; then U.S. combat detachments to protect the combat support units; then U.S. air strikes and bombings; and finally, U.S. combat units with orders to seek out and destroy the enemy as the local troops did less and less and let us do more and more.

It had rained earlier that night in Washington, and there was a soft summer fog on the grass; I thought of the fog hiding the Viet Cong as it rolled up the river towards Ben Giang, a South Vietnamese Army regimental outpost between Danang and the Laotian border where I spent an unforgettable two weeks in 1962.

Suddenly it all seemed to come together: the best way I could honor the 57,939 names in front of me was to work at making sure that we never went to war again without a clear purpose, a cause I could believe in, and a nation that fully backed its military.

U.S. may have lost Canal treaty rights, Sen. East claims

WASHINGTON [CNS] — The United States may have signed away its treaty right to defend the Panama Canal, Sen. John East (R.-N.C.) has suggested.

By accepting the 1977 treaties under which the inter-oceanic waterway is being turned over to the Panama by the end of the century, "we gave up sovereignty, control and, at the same time, we never did reserve ... the right to unilaterally intervene militarily in Panama if necessary to reopen or restore operations of the canal," East said.

The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee of Separation of Powers, which he heads, heard testimony from witnesses who discussed the constitutionality and current legal validity of the treaties that President Jimmy Carter and Gen. Omar Torrijos, then "Head of Government" of Panama, signed here Sept. 7, 1977.

The State Department witness, Robert E. Dalton, declared that "in our view no serious question as to the validity" of the treaties exists.

Dalton challenged the argument that Carter's acceptance of a Panamanian statement warning that "Panama will reject, in unity and with decisiveness and firmness, any attempt by any country to intervene before the treaties could be considered properly ratified."

"The Panamanian statement is not an amendment or reservation" to the treaties, Dalton, State's assistant legal adviser for treaty affairs, said.

Other witnesses took a contrary viewpoint. They insisted that the three-paragraph Panamanian statement was a "counter-reservation" to the addition Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) made to the treaty. The DeConcini reservation provides that "if the Canal is closed, or its operations are interfered with, the United States and Panama shall each independently have the right to take such steps as each deems necessary, ... including the use of military force in the Republic of Panama...."

Dalton testified that, after the DeConcini reservation was added, the Senate proposed an amendment to the Neutrality Treaty and a reservation to the Canal Treaty.

The first provided that "the right of each nation to protect the canal does not mean ... a right of intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of Panama." The so-called "Leadership Reservation" to the Canal treaty

declared that "any action taken by the United States ... shall not have as its purpose to be interpreted as a right of intervention in the internal affair of the Republic of Panama or interference with its political independence or sovereign integrity."

Dr. Charles Breecher, a former State Department official who was introduced by Sen. Paul Lacalt (R-Nev.), insisted that the Panamanian understanding of the treaties "means the United States could not exercise independently military force without the agreement of Panama."

Phillip Harman, chairman of the Committee for Better Panama and United States Relations, a man who testified he has "been politically involved with Panama longer than any other American," since 1956, made the most detailed presentation. He offered the subcommittee a xerographic copy of a letter President Carter wrote stating that the treaty of neutrality and the statement of understanding "provide the United States this right," to send in troops to keep the canal open to ships of all nations.

However, Harman declared in his statement that "when one analyzes all the documents, ... one arrives at the conclusion that the Government of Panama must have been convinced by President Carter, the State Department, and the Senate leadership that the leadership amendment of April 18, 1978 eliminated U.S. unilateral rights in the DeConcini Condition."

Toward the end of the hearing, East complained that "the United States gave up total sovereignty, or is in the process of giving it up, without any consideration at all," the right to intervene militarily to keep the canal open.

The treaties did not bring peace, stability or respect for us in that part of the world," as their advocates had assured, East noted.

Rather they were interpreted as a sign of weakness and emboldened the Soviet Union and Cuba to increased activity.

East indicated that his subcommittee's final report will call for some better form of Senate oversight of the executive branch of the government "other than just trusting."

If the Senate, which approved the Canal treaties by a one vote margin, "had known then what we know, ... I doubt it would have passed," East declared.

EL SALVADOR

NEWS-GAZETTE

I want to congratulate you on your newspaper. Your articles are well written, comprehensive, and objective. It should be required reading for U.S. policymakers in both Congress and the Reagan Administration.—Keith L. Miceli, Executive Secretary, Association of the American Chamber of Commerce in Latin America.

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Easy Chair

Crises becoming familiar

By CLARENCE W. MOORE
The Easy Chair has returned persistently to the need to review the past in order to capture the meaning of today's Central America. For still another historical slant, let's go back to the spring of 1965 and to the crisis in the Dominican Republic.

Then Congressman Brad Morse (Now U.S. Administrator for the UN Development Program) spoke to his colleagues about that crisis in the Caribbean which involved more than 20,000 U.S. troops, and which was originally labeled a step to protect U.S. citizens and later catalogued as a move against Communist expansion in Latin America.

"U.S. policy," said Morse, "has regrettably been accompanied by occasional tendencies toward the patronizing attitude to which the Latin Americans have become understandably sensitive through the long history of hemispheric relations. During the Dominican crisis official U.S. pronouncements have permitted two unfortunate interpretations: First, that because of Latin insufficiencies, only the United States can adequately protect the hemisphere and its peoples; second, that there is something noble about U.S. intervention."

Then his Congressional Record 1965 statements went to express a 1983 theme: "The U.S. presentation of the imminent dangers of communists involvement in the Dominican revolution has not been sufficiently documented to gain full and unquestioning support. Latin Americans frequently believe that the United States is unduly anxious to ascribe Communist direction to any popular manifestations of the social and economic revolution in which the entire continent is absorbed. It is vital, therefore, for the U.S. to document with precision the evidence which proves its case in any instance where it either asks for multilateral action, or feels it must act alone in the face of the Communist efforts in the hemisphere."

Do nothing more than insert El Salvador for the word Dominican, and it's today.

"It is neither necessary nor possible," Morse pointed out, "to convince all who doubt U.S. motives or wisdom of the factual basis of our policies. But the public presentation of the case should be made, and it should be full, consistent, and unemotional."

THERE WAS A second major theme in the Morse address. It is a concept that, unfortunately, has been blunted by the lack of U.S. creativity during the years. "The long-term interests of the U.S. favor a new national commitment to a strengthened OAS.

The OAS has scarcely been heard from during the Central American crisis. There's the U.S., and there's the Contadora group, and there are ad hoc approaches, but the main component to any effective solution for Central America must involve the only single regional organization capable of playing a significant role in the crisis. So far, it has not found a way to act.



"—Last night I went out dancing with a Swedish girl..."
"—Did you include your expenses into the foreign debt?"
Landru in Clarin, Buenos Aires

Other Voices

Sandero syndrome

By CUTHBERT O. JONES
From The Lima Times

One thing the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) attacks on Lima and Paramonga show is that not only does the government not know what it's doing—that's par for the course in the early stages of insurgency—but who it's up against.

That's at least partly what the attacks were meant to show, of course. It could even be that Sendero is getting clever enough to time its publicity efforts to go with international events, in this case the signing of important agreements with the international banks.

But banks abroad are used to rude guerrilla noises erupting from behind their customers' backs and don't pay too much attention, though Sendero may not know that: guerrillas and terrorists tend to be just as impressed with their own importance as government officials.

But if Sendero, which is somewhere to the left of Pol Pot, has its eye on New York, Havana, or whatever they call Saigon now, it might explain the firebombing of the Bayer plant, the most visible foreign industrial investment in Lima.

For the moment these are idle speculations. What is not speculative, however, is that the grasp by the general public of what's going on in Ayachucho, where Sendero seems to have its headquarters, is abysmal, no better than it would be in your run-of-the-mill dictatorship (which is nearly what we've got for the next two months. The whole of Peru has become, in the legal sense, a

macrocosm of Ayachucho).

That doesn't mean, for sure, that the government is as ill-informed as everyone else. But you can't be certain. You just have to look at the Buenos Aires end of the Falklands fracas to recall that governments often believe their own propaganda.

A month ago President Belaunde announced that Sendero was on the run and that the army would be replaced by a special unit, not a bad idea in itself, according to counterinsurgency specialists.

What's really worrying, however, is that the government thinks that the almost-daily announcements of successful anti-terrorist operations—"18 terrorists killed", "169 Senderistas, killed this week", and so on—is being lapped up by the Lima public.

The latest of these was a communique saying that 50 terrorists had been killed in the actions. Five campesinos, meanwhile, plus a forestry expert, had been executed by Sendero, the communique said. As usual no idea was given of army casualties, and apparently no terrorists were either injured or taken prisoner.

The newspaper-reading public may believe that this many people are being killed, but they certainly don't believe that the dead are mostly terrorists. They think that most of the dead are ordinary campesinos in the same way that ordinary campesinos are getting killed in Central America.

The total kill count for the past month ran to well over 350, according to the official communique. That's a kill rate of over 4,000 a year, which is well up to the best Central American standards.

Editorial

A good move...

It was only a few weeks ago that Senator Henry M. Jackson, speaking for himself and three colleagues, called for the creation of a bipartisan commission on Central America "to chart a course of hope for the peoples of Central America." This paper took due note of that effort in its edition of May 25, 1983. Now, probably happily, the concept has won a wide following and, by the time most of our readers receive this edition, it is likely that President Reagan will have acted to name such a commission.

The idea's popularity surely stems at least partially from the quality and non-ideological mix of its sponsors. On the Senate side, along with Jackson, is Maryland's liberal Charles McMathias, Jr. In the house co-sponsors are liberal Michael Barnes and conservative Jack Kemp. Off Capitol Hill, the idea gets support from the UN's Jeane Kirkpatrick, William P. Clark of the National Security Council and White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III.

But, we can hope that it stems, basically from an increasing awareness that a national policy must be developed that will be accepted by the people of this country. That involves the need for a constituency that understands the problems and appreciates the concerns of the government. It will be necessary that the appointees have real stature with the general public, and it is equally necessary that the press treat the matter intelligently, not brushing it off as nothing more than an updated Marshall Plan which is exactly what it should not be. On the bright side, this will be the first such group that will view the problems of Latin America with a specific mandate from the White House, and with meaningful support from Capitol Hill. May it succeed beyond our dearest hopes.

Welcome suggestion

Editorial in *Expreso*, Lima

Anatoly Filatov, the new Soviet ambassador, has just arrived in Lima. He replaces Leonid Kuzmin, who was here for over three years. At a time in which terrorism is leaving a sequel of blood and destruction, it is only proper for the new Soviet representative to explain some issues.

The first of these should be the repudiation of the sorrowful actions that are being perpetrated by the Shinning Path, and not just at the official and diplomatic levels. Let us suggest that the Soviet representative exert any "influence" he might have on certain parties and/or institutions that strictly follow the Marxist doctrine by adopting a clear and definitive position.

Peru maintains excellent relations with the USSR. Therefore, just as we respect and accept their political system and their government leaders' decisions, we believe it only fair that we receive a similar treatment, nothing more nor less. Therefore, we welcome the Soviet representative to Peru. But in doing so, we trust that by strengthening cultural, technical and economic ties with his country, he will not try to interfere in Peruvian domestic affairs. Unfortunately, there have been many recent cases in this regard which have only harmed relations between nations and peoples. We hope that Ambassador Filatov's diplomatic experience and personal qualities will help to maintain good relations between our nations and not exacerbate ill feelings.

The Times of the Americas

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Op-Ed

Argentine military botched everything...

By AARON SEGAL

Argentina is in the midst of another of those major crises that have so marked its modern history. The military which took power in 1976 has become thoroughly discredited. Its leaders have declared their determination to hold elections at the end of October and to transfer power to an elected civilian government in January 1984. The military is also determined to prevent any successors from opening the dark pages of seven years of military rule. It is doubtful that any civilian party or politician can win an honest election or exercise power if they agree to whitewash the military in advance.

MISSING ISSUE

The biggest furor is over the 6,000 or more Argentines who "disappeared" between 1976 and 1980 during the civil war between the military and three radical movements. In a May 1983 statement the military junta claimed that all actions during the anti-guerrilla war were "acts of service" justified legally by the state of siege and other measures. Under consideration is a proposed law that would require that only military courts handle the cases of military or police accused of illegal acts in the campaign. It is unlikely that the politicians or much of the population will sit still for a total exoneration of so much slaying of innocents.

The second cross that the military bears, and for which they fear civilian vengeance, has to do with the disastrous Falklands war. Although former President and

Aaron Segal, Ph.D.
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Commander-in-Chief Leopoldo Galtieri was given 60 days detention by a military court for publicly criticizing his subordinates, the military has avoided any general investigation into the war. Galtieri has alleged gross errors of military intelligence. Why did Argentina's leaders believe that Britain would not fight or that the U.S. would not take the side of Britain?

The military appears determined to prevent a civilian government from conducting an inquiry into the conduct of the war. Yet the word has spread throughout Argentina of famished soldiers, shoddy equipment, brutal officers, and general staff negligence. How can the military retain its claim to defend national security if it will not open its records?

Less damning, but also discrediting, is military mismanagement of a stricken economy. The external debt is nearly \$40 billion, inflation is close to a world record, and production and living standards are declining. The military failed to take the tough measures to curb borrowing, debt, artificial subsidies, and runaway money supplies—measures which are now being imposed on

Argentina by its creditors.

If the army is prepared to hand over power, who are the likely successors? Political parties are organizationally weak with little popular support. The far right and the right cling to military rule and are ready to repudiate elections. The Radical Party under Raul Alfonsín and other center and moderate elements lack a following and a coherent program. A return to parliamentary rule has scant appeal in a country where parliament has so singularly been unable to rule.

SPLINTER GROUPS

Again it is the Peronist movement with its deep divisions and several factions which dominate the disheveled civilian scene. Its core consists of the major trade unions, especially the Metalworkers, Electrical workers, and the General Confederation of Workers. Its organization, union-operated social services to members, and solidarity offers a potential solid voting bloc, although probably not a majority. The left-wing Peronists, represented by Vicente Leonidas Saadi and the



Intransigent Movement, are seeking to build a national populist movement among the unskilled workers and the unemployed. Isabel Peron, even if allowed to return from exile in Spain, is legally forbidden from again running for the presidency, and has lost most of her influence.

The military claim that the leading 1970's guerrilla movement, the Montoneros, is resurfacing. It accuses the Intransigent Peronists

of playing footsies with the Montoneros, a charge that they deny. Whatever the validity of the charges the military have provided themselves with a pretext well in advance for either postponing or intervening in the elections.

The military must go, but this time Argentina needs a workable civilian government to take their place. The military in its desire to cover its past may sow the seeds of future disasters.

Economic subversion imperils El Salvador

Editorial in the News Gazette
El Salvador

Few persons, Salvadorans, foreigners, Senators and Congressmen understand just how successful the subversive strategy has been. They fail to see the hazards and perils of the situation. They are blithely unaware of the great danger.

The subversive strategy is to sabotage the economy to create dissatisfaction among the people, reduce the offensive potential of the armed forces, disperse the army on guard duty around the country and destabilize the government by destroying its economic basis. When a government can't pay its bills it is destabilized.

The victories and defeats in this war are not counted in the number of dead nor the battles won or lost. They are a matter of statistics and the numbers are there for all to see.

1. The country lost more than 25 percent of its annual output since 1979.
2. There has been a one-third drop in the standard of living since 1979.
3. Private consumption is down 22 percent, private investment is down 75 percent.
4. Public capital formation has fallen 42 percent.
5. Unemployment is estimated at 40 percent of the adult population.
6. Exports fell from \$1.1 billion in 1979 to \$740 million in 1982.
7. Imports declined from \$1

billion in 1979 to \$820 million in 1982.

8. Government's overall balance dropped from a surplus of \$39 million in 1979 to a deficit of \$241 in 1982.

There may never be a replay of the fall of Saigon in San Salvador with the horrendous scenes of a bungled evacuation before a victorious army. But it will be just as tragic if the government collapses because its economic foundations have been completely undermined.

It all adds up to a hazardous and perilous situation of which everybody should be aware.

Economic problems aside, the country has a communications problem as well.

TRUTH UNIMPORTANT

El Salvador is a country in which truth counts for very little. Reality exists on two levels. One level is the reality for public consumption and the other level is the rarely revealed reality of hard facts.

So deeply ingrained in the psyche of the Salvadoran people is the disregard for truth and the belief that anybody will believe anything that they see in print, that the most flagrant abuses have been overlooked, to sink beneath the surface and eventually be forgotten. Unfortunately, this attitude, this belief, is evident in official pronouncements prepared for export.

While it is true that the foreign press has repeatedly distorted facts on El Salvador, and continues to do so, reporting has been less biased against the government in the recent past.

Nevertheless, reporting still consistently reflects the suspicion and distrust that arises because the media is not allowed to "see for itself," and the natural suspicion that it could be "taken in" by distortions in official pronouncements. The foreign press cannot be entirely blamed for a bias against the government if it has never been invited to spend weeks on end in the field with the Armed Forces, whereas the subversives have provided just that experience to newsmen.

The whole official philosophy of dealing with the public in El Salvador, from time immemorial, is to conceal the true facts and to present versions that protect individuals, the authorities and the government. In other words, Salvadorans cannot understand why an official blunder, that could be damaging to the image of El Salvador abroad, should not be covered up. And they resent attempts to the the reality known.

In other words, the cover-up, is a respected and accepted tool, which is used quite successfully. If the public suspects that truth is being withheld, it is merely a matter of maintaining silence long enough for

the distortion, or cover-up, to be eventually accepted as fact. In due time anything can become irrelevant.

As long as the people of El Salvador persist in this attitude of disregard for the truth—which of course can be justified by saying that all nations are the same—they will never be able to come to an understanding with the United States.

We are moved to make these comments, which undoubtedly will provoke the displeasure of our readers and the authorities, when

we read that General Guillermo Garcia emphatically denies that any pressure was exerted to force him to resign on the one hand, and Major Roberto D'Aubission praises General Garcia's record as Defense Minister on the other.

We hope that it will be finally understood that truth, like water, seeks its level and cannot be completely suppressed. Further, suppressed truth, like stagnant water, stinks worse than fresh and timely revelations. We dare say, that to a large extent this is the stench that permeates El Salvador.

In next edition's Op-Ed page...

Robert F. Claxton, associate professor in the history department at West Georgia College, perceives that Americans have a "shocking ignorance" about Latin America. Because the region is so critical to the United States, there is a need to awaken an awareness. Claxton's suggestion: *Rx: A dose of Latin American studies...*

Jon Basil Utley, associate editor of *The Times of the Americas*, claims that ABC television swallowed Cuba's hook, line, and sinker when it broadcast a special about the Caribbean country June 13. Calling the special "a pure piece of propaganda," Utley submits that *Cuba sold ABC television a bill of goods...*

Books

This pioneering work will stimulate research

WOMEN IN HISPANIC LITERATURE. Icons and Fallen Idols. Edited by Beth Miller. University of California Press. 1983. \$27.

Sixteen men and women specialists contribute 17 pioneering essays about women as portrayed in Hispanic literature and writings of Hispanic women from 11th through 20th centuries in Spain and Latin America.

Dr. Beth Miller, University of Southern California teacher of Spanish and Portuguese, notes women's literary production in Spanish is meager until modern times. Moreover, Hispanic scholars have produced little scholarly research relating Hispanic women's history and female literature works.

She charges that most editors of anthologies are male and neglect female authors. She notes Hispanic women conduct significant research on women in anthropology, history and political science, not literature.

Dr. Miller observes many Anglo critics cannot read Spanish and are unaware of Hispanic literature. She cites a need for increased comparison of women writers of Hispanic and other cultures.

"Hispanic writers have written largely in isolation, with less writerly contact and less assurance of an eventual audience than their male counterparts," she explains.

"Unfortunately, most Hispanic writers who achieve fame, even posthumously, undergo a rapid transformation from cliché to archetype...and, in due course, a further progression from icons to fallen idols.

"Hispanists have lagged behind other scholars in recognizing the existence of women's studies. Even at the present time, course syllabi in university Spanish departments

include even fewer women authors than those in English departments.

One chapter treats Spain's first women writers, as Leonor Lopez de Cordoba and Teresa de Cartagena. Another concerns the amazon myth in medieval Spanish literature, as writings of Juan Rodriguez del padron, the 15th century defender of women.

One subject is sex humor in misogynist medieval exempla, as the undisguised aggression toward wicked women with satanic power or desire to deceive husbands. One contributor analyzes the "Book of Good Love," by the Hita archpriest, Juan Ruiz, whose poem describes one representative male figure and 13 different female types.

Mexican literature deals with Malinche, Cortes' Indian interpreter and mistress, to show those corrupted by foreign influence. Another chapter presents the masculine woman averse to men, love and marriage.

Another subject is the convent as catalyst for two 17th century Mexican nuns, the Venerable Madre Isabel de Jesus, poor shepherdess, and Sor Juan Ines de la Cruz, of a wealthy family.

Most women in 18th century Spanish theater display unattractive personality traits from laughable foibles to outright vices. An interesting portrait is the biography of the 19th century Spanish feminist, Gertrudis Gomez de Avellaneda.

The ideology of Gabriela Mistral, Nobel Prize winner, is highlighted. She championed social Christianity, human rights for political and racial minorities; antitotalitarianism, pacifism, and an American indigenous stress on communal organization and agrarian reform.

Contrasted are the Mexican literary archetypes of women who kept and lost their virginity.

Another contributor describes the Argentinian writers, Norah Lange, Victoria Ocampo and Alfonsina Storni.

Another reviewer compares the treatment of female and male in tragedies of Federico Garcia Lorca, of Spain. Dr. Julianne Burton of the University of California at Santa Cruz, comments, "Lorca's heroines, trapped and beaten down by society's constraints, never reject the society itself, but rebel only against certain isolated manifestations of its injustice."

In "The Changing Face of Women in Latin American fiction," Prof. Marcia L. Welles of Barnard College comments, "The portrayal of women by male authors tends to be facile stereotypes, drawn more from the dimension of myth than that of actuality.

The characterization of women by female authors is more convincing because the outlines are less distinct, less articulate. These women can no longer be readily identified as types. They fit into no specific classifications as wife, mother, virgin, or prostitute. The all-good or all-evil feminine archetype does not exist."

One chapter discusses "The Censored Sex: Woman as Author and Character in Franco's Spain," Prof. Linda Boule Levine of Montclair State College notes there now are more than 50 different feminist groups in Spain, and the situation of all women, including writers, is changing.

Another subject is "Sexual Politics and the theme of Sexuality in Chicano Poetry." Prof. Elizabeth Ordonez of the University of Texas

at Arlington comments, "Chicano feminism has been a natural consequence of the overall Chicano struggle for justice, equality and freedom."

The concluding essay treats "From Mistress to Murderess: The Metamorphosis of Luis Bunue's film Tristana." "Although Tristana is perhaps the greatest of Bunuel's female creations," Prof. Miller says, "she seems paradoxically, to be the one least understood by critics...The film has been similarly underrated, in large part owing to a consistent failure to comprehend its political and, especially, its socialist-feminist statement."

This significant, pioneering collection of essays presents insight and perspective that will stimulate research, thought and more literary production by and about women writers. (J.W.C.)

THE TOP OF THE LINE FROM TRANSACTION BOOKS

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1982 328 pp. \$9.95

Order from your bookstore or prepaid from: Transaction Books
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Good migration study —belongs on bookshelf

CARIBBEAN MIGRANTS. Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis, By Bonham C. Richardson. University of Tennessee Press. 1983. \$12.50.

Emigration has become a way of life on many small Caribbean islands. Four centuries of plantation agriculture has resulted in deforestation, soil erosion, and ecological deterioration. Human and animal overpopulation has worsened the degraded environment. Migration has become "ongoing livelihood adaptations to ensure survival on small, wornout, and precarious resource base."

Geographer Richardson advances his thesis neatly for the Commonwealth Caribbean and then zeroes in on the minuscule sister islands of St. Kitts and Nevis in the Leeward Islands chain. Elegantly relying on oral interviews, old newspapers and archives, records of transferred savings, and other sources, he reconstructs the extraordinary migration history of these two islands since the emancipation of slavery in 1838. Using their ingenuity and willingness to try many kinds of work, islanders have ventured abroad to the new sugar

plantations of Trinidad and Guyana (1840-1850), the dockyards of Bermuda (1900-1905), the sugar estates of the Dominican Republic (1900-1930), the United Kingdom when legal entry was possible (1950-1962), the U.S., legally and illegally since 1894, and in recent years to the U.S. Virgin Islands. It is a remarkable story in which remittances from migrants continue to provide a livelihood for nearly 50,000 islanders otherwise dependent on played out sugar, tiny farms, worn soil, and a few tourists.

Migration culture has emerged extending from gala Christmas reunions to radio broadcasts announcing funerals to distant kin. Family structure has been adapted to provide for children cared for by grandparents with their parents abroad. While middle-class brown islanders tend to stay abroad, black "special people" come and go. "Permanent" and "temporary" are, however, theoretical categories, better suited to social scientists' pigeonholes than they are to the motivations and desires of a mobile human populace. Add this little book to the growing shelf of studies of what migration is all about. (A.S.)

Maude's *Slavers*: Stunning and well researched work

SLAVERS IN PARADISE. The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864. By H.E. Maude. Stanford U Press. 244pp. 1981. \$23.50.

Scholars of Latin America tend to look east to Africa and Europe, or north to the United States, but seldom west to the Pacific and Polynesia.

H.E. Maude's *Slavers in Paradise* focuses on Polynesia and the awesome devastation wrought by Peruvians who ransacked the islands for "slave labor" from 1862 to 1864. Professor Maude's work isn't the easiest to read, laden as it is with detail, and certainly not considering the unremitting tragedy of the subject. However, the extensively illustrated book — 50 pictures and 12 maps necessary for most readers unfamiliar with the geography of the South Pacific — is a stunning, valuable study.

Professor Maude fits together all the aspects, starting with the politics in Peru which launched the trade, at first modestly. (During the United States Civil War, Britain sought other sources of cotton to replace those of the Confederacy. Peru became a major supplier.)

Like Tsunami, the wave of recruitment began rolling out from the epicenter, Callao, engulfing a region totally unprepared, which never even conceived of such a visitation.

Quantifying numbers, objectifying events is difficult considering the trickiness of the oral tradition and the secretiveness of the operation. For example, more people were reported removed from Atafu than ever lived there. Ship captains either never kept logs or soon destroyed them.

However, the author faces these difficulties successfully to draw a coherent picture, replacing the "prolific crop of sensational

assertions retailed by the purveyors of South Sea romance," demolishing many time-honored illusions. Despite these obstacles, the author attempts to avoid a narrative "hirsute with caveats." He divides his work, which covers the two years from the granting of the official license on 1 April 1862 to the Franco-Peruvian settlement in June 1864 into two parts: Peruvians in Polynesia, and Polynesians in Peru.

Slavers In Paradise is so rich in detail, horror, questions, personalities and international influence that a review can only hint at the contents and strongly urge a reader to plunge in himself.

HELL'S GATE

There is the Peruvian shortage of hands, a problem endemic to South America's history, the awful trickery of getting laborers aboard the ships, abetted by traditions of short voyages among the islands for work, missionary-bred faith and by outright kidnapping. Callao, the chief Peruvian port of embarkation, became known as a gate of hell; authorities belatedly realized that however cloaked in legal terminology, the labor trade was in fact a pure slave trade.

Recruits began to die in great numbers on the ships, of what appeared to be melancholia, loneliness as well as harsh treatment — exhausting work, inadequate food and beatings when they landed.

Owners threw them on dung heaps in their final sickness; one report found "not a single islander alive who had been more than six months in Peru." Some urged immediate repatriation. Even the longed for going home was a tragedy of small pox, dysentery, and ship fever bred by over crowded, unsanitary, pest house conditions. Some were abandoned, dumped not necessarily on their home island.

LEARNING TO COPE

The starkness is dramatized in one of Professor Maude's concluding sentences: "The real (sic) percentage of Polynesians repatriated is therefore 1.28 percent." But despite the trauma and the losses, communities began coping, built on generations of coping with tidal waves, losses of ocean-going canoes, interisland warfare and other disasters. Repopulation began. Unlike earlier reactions to disaster, this was marked by conversions to Christianity and lost of the original culture.

For Polynesia, the author concludes, the Peruvian slave trade "consisted of genocide of an order never seen before or since in her history." But the islanders isolated from each other as they were by distance, language and colonial states, never fully understood this. Rather, parents passed down to children the terror and pathos of the man-stealing raids.

Professor Maude has not only gathered material previously ignored or left scattered, but he has painstakingly and poignantly given insight to the pain inflicted by Peru in the perceived paradise of Polynesia. M.K.P.

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[A.S.] Aaron Segal, a Senior Reviewer, is Professor of Political Science and Communications at the University of Texas, El Paso.

[J.W.C.] James W. Carty, Jr., a Senior Book Reviewer, is Professor of Communications at Bethany (WN) College.

[M.K.P.] Marion K. Pinsdorf, a Senior Reviewer, is adjunct professor of Brazilian Studies at Brown U, and a corporate executive.

Knife and Fork

Potato - dish of the Incas

By MARY ROBERTS
Food and Wine Editor

Gone is the gold of the Incas and the silver from Potosi, gone with a failing Spain and its vanquished Great Armada, but what may have seemed one of the most insignificant of all the gifts made by the New World to the Old, the humble potato, is still with us and remains the queen of the kitchen in Europe and practically all over the world.

Though by association of ideas Ireland is the name that comes to mind in connection with potatoes, Peru is the real potato country, the one that has the greatest number of indigenous varieties, and where they figure prominently in the local cuisine and in that of neighboring countries. Dishes like the following may even have been eaten by the Incas!

Papas a la Huancaína Peru

6 medium sized potatoes
16 ounces cottage cheese
¼ teaspoon cayenne pepper
1 teaspoon salt
½ teaspoon pepper
¼ teaspoon tumeric
3 tablespoons evaporated milk
third of a cup of vegetable oil
2 tablespoons of chopped onion
hardboiled eggs and olives for decoration.

Boil potatoes in their jackets, peel when cool and refrigerate. In blender mix cottage cheese, seasonings, milk, oil and onion until creamy. Place halved cold potatoes on lettuce leaves, pour cheese sauce over them and decorate with chopped hardboiled eggs and olives

Causa Limena Peru

1 finely chopped onion
juice of 2 lemons or limes
2 teaspoons salt
1 teaspoon hot pepper, washed and seeded. (Or use dried)
8 medium sized potatoes boiled in their jackets, peeled and cubed
¼ cup of olive oil

Mix onion and seasonings and allow to marinate for at least an hour. Mash boiled potatoes until



smooth, add marinated onions and oil, mix well and shape into small flat cakes. Serve with onion sauce made with:
1 finely sliced onion
1 teaspoon hot pepper, washed and seeded
½ cup of oil and vinegar dressing. Mix onion with other ingredients and pour over potato cakes. Serve with white cheese, corn on the cob and shredded lettuce.

Papas chorreadas Ecuador

2 pounds potatoes
2 large, finely chopped tomatoes
1 tablespoon butter
2 tablespoons of shortening
4 ounces of grated cheese
2 finely chopped cloves of garlic
Salt and pepper to taste.

Cube potatoes and boil. Heat the butter and shortening and fry the onion and garlic until soft, add the tomatoes, grated cheese and a tablespoon of water; simmer until thickened. Serve hot over hot potato cubes.

ESTRATEGIA^{MR}

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Travel

HAITI: Tourism optimism...

By NOËL LEON
Associate Editor

PORT-AU-PRINCE—Haiti's travel industry is optimistic about its future despite the fact it is grappling with an inordinate number of crisis-rank problems. Speaker after speaker at the Haiti Hotel and Tourism Association's fourth annual congress, held here last week at the Club Med resort, rose to cite the many problems that are affecting the Caribbean nation's hotel industry.

Among these:

- Negative press, mostly in the United States, brought about by the highly publicized Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) disease.
- A world recession that has cut into tourist travel everywhere.
- Adverse publicity from the "boat people"—refugees who made their way to Florida to become exiles in the U.S., ostensibly to escape political repression.
- The inability of the Haitian economy to pump sufficient funds into the tourism sector and enable it to compete with other Caribbean destinations.
- Insufficient supply of promotional materials on Haitian hotels.

"Haiti has a soul and a cultural personality," said John Keller, president of Caribbean Holidays of New York, a tour operator. "That can be so much a part of an authentic travel experience."

He explained that Haiti is competing with other Caribbean islands which spend much more on tourism promotion. "The Bahamas is spending \$28 million; Jamaica \$19 million," Keller said. "Your competition is formidable."

Fellow panelist Steve Hicks, director of marketing for the Caribbean and Atlantic for American Airlines, noted that Haiti has "a product that is priced competitively, an important element in a price-sensitive market."

Haiti hotel association is counting on *qualité*

By YANICK ERNEST
PORT-AU-PRINCE—"Le *qualité* avant tout."

"Quality first."

That was the theme for the Haiti Hotel and Tourism Association's conference and the up-tick mood of the tourist industry of Haiti as it prepares for the fall/winter season.

The theme which emerged from the three days of meetings is that Haiti has a good product—friendly people, beautiful beaches, mountains, climate—and that it is reasonably priced.

With that in mind, the association and the government feel they can compete with other, higher-priced Caribbean markets, even though the expenditures for tourism promotion do not come close to that of other countries.

Panelists generally agreed that Haiti is not the "typical" tourist destination. Rather, it is more appealing to a well-traveled individual who "would truly appreciate the country."

In addition to various govern-



Michel-Ange Voltaire
Challenges private sector

Michele V. Marcelin, who heads the Haiti Tourist Bureau in New York told the 150-or-so tourists leaders attending the conference that her office cannot fulfill requests for hotel information because very little is available.

She noted that Haiti has a total of 1,609 hotel rooms, including 451 rooms in the higher-price (\$70 and up) category; 457 in the middle (\$40-\$60) range; 342 in the modest (less than \$40); and 359 in beach/resort properties. "I can be of tremendous help to you," she told the group, "—if you send me the information."

Haiti Tourism Director Michel-Ange Voltaire and M. Erick Danies, president of the Association exchanged opinions on funding and budgets; Voltaire insisting that the private sector, which profits from the tourist business "must match public-sector funds on an equal basis as it has been done in other Caribbean countries." He cited neighboring Dominican Republic as an example.

Danies pointed out that the hotel industry has a \$62-million investment already in place in Haiti, "and we contribute to the economy of our country through taxes."



M. Erick Danies
'We have a \$62-million investment'

Danies called for greater cooperation and coordination among government departments in order to attain the desired "marketing mix." As examples he pointed out that the agriculture department has to produce food for the tourist; the sanitation department has to keep cities clean; and communications has to educate the people. He said that each area has a major impact upon tourist trade.

Voltaire cited a number of government-sponsored projects aimed at improving the product Haiti has to offer. One such project being the \$17-million port expansion program in the north-coast city of Cap Haitien, a facility which will accommodate two cruise ships and some malls.

In addition, Voltaire noted, new sewers are being installed in downtown Port-au-Prince, and the city's cruise pier is being remodeled.

Voltaire blamed Haiti's depressed tourist business on "a worldwide recession." He noted that revenues from tourism had dropped from \$61.7 million in 1979 to \$41.9 million in 1981 (the most recent available data).

In another panel session, dealing with aviation, Hicks noted that American Airlines had expanded, at its own expense, the Jean Claude Duvalier Airport.

Felix Forestieri, regional manager and head of public relations for Eastern Airlines, noted that the airline is fully committed to serving Haiti and that it is publicizing the country with promotional materials and advertising.

"Haiti as a product is pure," Forestieri said. "Its people, its culture, its paintings can offer something different to the tourist. Haiti is not for everyone—it's for the sensitive and intellectual tourist who has affinity for its purity."

Air Florida's Emilio Dirube, vice president for sales and marketing, said that the airline is expanding more and more into European markets, which will result in more tourism from that area.

Representatives of the major passenger airlines which serve Haiti, Air Jamaica, Air Canada, as well as Eastern, Air Florida, and American Airlines expressed a willingness to cooperate with the association and the Government of Haiti by cosponsoring familiarization tours for bona fide travel writers who might be invited to provide coverage.



ment projects aimed at improving facilities and ambient, there is a plan to organize a new hotel school to train administrators, and a project to build a handicrafts mall at the Bicentenaire Park.

But, because austerity budgets will not allow otherwise, emphasis will be on the intangibles. Quality. Quality care for the client.

As Marc Tombez, director of marketing for Club Med—where the meeting was held—noted, the quality of our service is manifested through one word: *L'amour*.

ON BUSINESS TRAVEL

Capsules for the business traveler: In this new feature column, The Times of the Americas offers its readers bits n' pieces of information they may find useful during their trips to Latin America and the Caribbean. The column will cover such items as new airline schedules and routes, places to see, things to do, travel offerings designed for the business traveler, where to send for information, etc. Times welcomes contributions from readers who may have visited especially interesting places, experienced a great restaurant, etc., and want to share the information.

Avianca T-shirts Pedaling through Bogota...

BOGOTA—Get your exercise and see Bogota at the same time: New bicycle paths have been opened in this capital city on Sunday mornings. They are called *ciclovias* and enable visitors to see the city in a leisurely manner. Until supplies are exhausted, Avianca offices in Bogota are giving away "Ciclovía" tee shirts to anyone presenting a used Avianca ticket.

Avianca has joined the ranks of other carriers and is offering frequent flyer specials. Domestic Avianca passengers may bring in copies of their full fare tickets and earn a credit of 15 percent of the value to be used toward the purchase of international flights to the U.S.

Third Century Great way to learn Spanish

MIAMI—For a fun way of learning Spanish, Third Century Tours and Air Florida are offering total immersion courses, starting at \$548 per person, double occupancy, in Costa Rica.

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Brochures and additional information may be obtained from Third Century Tours, P.O. Box 526032, GMF, Miami, FL 33152, Tel: (305) 592-5888.

Wilderness Travel The wild side of South America

BERKELEY, California—Wilderness Travel has just published a 40-page full-color catalogue listing its 1983-84 adventure tours, including such packages as *Andean Odyssey*, *Andes, Amazon & Galapagos*, *Peru Explorer*, *Peru and the Galapagos*.

Wilderness specializes in unusual and active tours, trekking expeditions, wildlife and nature tours, anthropology and archeology trips, and jungle exploration. Tours range from 10 to 35 days in length and from \$950 to \$3,490 in cost, including air fare, first class hotel accommodations, most meals in cities and all meals and camping gear in wilderness areas.

The firm also arranges private travel for individuals, families, or small groups who wish to visit South America. Their standard offerings include 19 different South America programs.

The catalogue is free and may be ordered from Wilderness Travel, 1760 Solano Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94707. Tel: (415) 524-5111. Telex: 67-7022.

Eastern Airlines Fare prices to Colombia...

MIAMI—Eastern Air Lines has reduced its round trip excursion fares between Miami, Bogota, Cali, and Barranquilla, Colombia by up to 40 percent through August 14. There is no advance purchase requirement; the only restriction is a minimum stay of seven days.

The Miami-Bogota fare is \$299 (compared to the normal \$503); Miami-Cali, \$309, (normal \$531); Miami-Barranquilla, \$299 (normal \$439).

Eastern, in conjunction with Holiday Inn, is also offering a special deal for passengers traveling to Panama before October 1. By showing an Eastern boarding pass or ticket receipt when registering at the new Holiday Inn downtown, the guest may stay three nights and pay only for two.

The new Holiday Inn has 270 rooms, shopping facilities, swimming pool, Panama's largest casino, plus entertainment, baby sitting service, etc.

Continental Airlines Direct route to Venezuela

HOUSTON—Continental Airlines this month began nonstop service from Houston to Maracaibo and direct service to Caracas, Venezuela, to operate on Wednesdays and Fridays.

The carrier now offers two flights weekly to the Venezuelan cities, via New Orleans, operating on Thursdays and Saturdays. In all cases, flights depart at 3:30 p.m.

To meet the summer vacation demand, Continental will be initiating additional week-end round trip flights between Houston and Acapulco, Cancun, and Guadalajara. Those will operate on Saturdays with Sunday returns.

The Arts



Bizarre or genius?

WASHINGTON—Modern art in Latin America is a vibrant and imaginative medium, but few painters can match the bizarre and faintly haunted images created by Alejandro Colunga.

Colunga was born in Guadalajara, Mexico. He turned to painting late in his life after dabbling with architecture, anthropology, and rock music. The time that left the greatest impression on his painting was his year of performing odd jobs with a traveling circus. He also spent some time as a member of a gypsy caravan.

Fernando Gamboa, former director of the Mexican Museum of Modern Art, wrote of Colunga: "his powerfully expressionistic

figurative art derives in part from Hispanic-Mexican religious spectacles with their profusion of lights. In the whirlwind of his fantastic imagery, there also appear figures reminiscent of his dealings with sorcerers and magicians, with the clowns and trapeze artists of traveling circuses, with puppet shows, with street walkers and their frightful hangers-on. Not to speak of devils, ghosts, and figures out of old wives' tales told at night by candle light."

Colunga's art was recently featured in a showing at the OAS Museum of Modern Art in Washington. He has previously exhibited throughout Latin America, and in Europe.

Brazilian films big hits in Brazil

Brazilian films enjoyed a record number of admissions in 1982 in their own country. Figures released by Embrafilme (The Brazilian film agency which finances and promotes domestic films) show that 60 percent of theater admissions in Brazil were to see Brazilian films, and five of the top ten money-earning films were Brazilian.

One factor in this increase in attendance for Brazilian movies is the new law passed in 1982 which raised to 140 the number of days that the theatres must show Brazilian films. A quota system to

promote the Brazilian film industry has been in effect since 1967 when theatres were required to set aside 56 days per year for domestic films.

Another factor boosting Brazilian films is the increasing involvement of Embrafilme in producing and distributing films. Last year, Embrafilme was involved in the production of 21 of the 79 film releases in Brazil.

The top ten money-earning films in Brazil in 1982 were:

1. *Vagabundos Trapalhoes* (BR)
2. *Coisas Eroticas* (BR)
3. *Menino do Rio* (BR)
4. *Endless Love* (US)



"Os Trapalhoes na Serra Pelada," with J.B. Tanko.

5. *Blue Lagoon* (US)
6. *Os Trapalhoes na Serra Pelada* (BR)
7. *Luz del Fuego* (BR)
8. *Mad Max II* (AUS)
9. *Caligula* (US)
10. *Conan, the Barbarian* (US)

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Business

Lose faith in government

Brazilians still expecting the worst

By F. PAUL MALOOF

It is clear that Brazil is currently in a recession. The majority of Brazilians, who spoke to me during a two-week period in the cities of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Brasilia, believe that tomorrow will be worse for them than today.

Brazilians are depressed because some are losing faith in the government, unemployment is officially at 12 percent, unofficially at 25 percent, their external debt is US\$ 80 billion while their internal debt is even larger, and prices are rising at an uncontrollable rate.

With respect to the decay of confidence in the government, a parallel can be drawn between the last year of the Carter Administration and the current Figueiredo Administration. This is to say that no matter what the Figueiredo Administration tries to do with the economy, the people of Brazil are not supportive of its moves.



F. Paul Maloof

afraid that if there is no job available, they will become part of the unemployed. There is no social safety net in Brazil. With inflation predicted to run at 115 percent in 1983 with no social programs and a recession, it is clear that bureaucrats will continue to try to hold onto their positions at the expense of their country.

On the political front, the international bankers and business community are rumored to be losing their support for the Maxi Trio. The matter has been of such concern that a major New York multinational bank has contracted to have a highly prominent risk analyst from Washington, D.C. stationed in their offices in Rio de Janeiro. Apparently, it wants a daily report on the events.

Some so-called Brazilian realists have voiced the opinion that there should be a moratorium on payments to international banks. Their argument is that Argentina and Mexico called for a moratorium and they have a better economy today. The rebuttal in that Argentina and Mexico are sliding backwards and they could have great difficulties for several years to secure international loans for their country's development.

The issue of a moratorium appears to be a tool of negotiation

being cautiously but firmly utilized by Brazil to keep the banks at a distance while simultaneously permitting hopes for a stronger future.

In a conversation on an airplane from Brasilia to Rio with the Director of the Latin American Division of a major U.S. corporation, one of the more credible solutions was discussed. He stated that the nation of Brazil is structurally more sound than either Argentina or Mexico. Furthermore, he believed that the international banks should give Brazil more time to work out its economic difficulties, especially in light of its increasing international trade. It makes sense not to record a default which would require a write-off of the loans by the banks.

On June 30, 1983, President Figueiredo announced to the Congress in Brasilia that he was leaving for Cleveland since he was again experiencing heart problems. The people, however, needed a leader. Difficulties were growing, inflation was increasing, unemployment was expanding and the government's credibility was dropping. For the leader of Brazil to leave in such difficult times is unusual from the perspective of an American. Nevertheless, the Brazilians are more European. It is accepted that the Vice-President, Aureliano Chavez, who ruled the country while the President was previously in Cleveland, could rule again.

FUTURE UNCLEAR

The picture of Brazil's economic and political future is unclear. Perhaps Figueiredo will return in two weeks and resume his duties. Perhaps he will remain in Cleveland for two months or more. He may undergo surgery. This may be a prime opportunity for him to step aside because of health. This may permit him to save face as a military man and government official, which is distinctly European. The dilemma is that there is no clear successor. Perhaps the vice-President can retain the power with the military in support. Perhaps a banker who is accepted in the banking community will be a successor. Interior Minister Mario Andreazza who is currently campaigning for the office of President for 1984 has also been named. Perhaps Federal Deputy Paulo S. Maluf (PDS-SP) will be elected to lead the country out of its complex problems. Maluf is a strongman among the people but the military has not supported him.

Out of the darkness, complexity and confusion that exists in Brazil, one can speculate that there is light that will emerge from the darkness. It is always risky to make predictions prior to an indication of where the power will rest. Answers will emerge from key information sources who are connected with several crucial sectors of Brazil as to whether a civilian with a plan based on long term economic foresight will be the next leader of Brazil. Such a leader will give light to the darkness.

[Ed. note: Mr. Maloof is a partner in the Washington law firm Berliner & Maloney, and has just returned from a trip to Brazil.]



SHORTAGE OF PRODUCTS AND BUYERS — Bolivian farmers normally set up their well-stocked stalls on the Avenue of the Poet in La Paz. However, of late there has been little to sell, and the products offered show the time they have been on display. Buyers are scarce and prices continue to climb.

Caricom reaches some trade agreements

PORT OF SPAIN—Government leaders of the 113-nation Caribbean Community (Caricom) wound up four days of talks last week with agreements on trade and integration aimed at strengthening the 10-year old group.

In a noticeably less abrasive atmosphere than at the last summit in Ocho Rios, Jamaica, in November—where Jamaica and Barbados engaged in verbal conflicts with Marxist-ruled Grenada—Caricom agreed to meet more often and accepted the principle of ideological pluralism among members.

Caricom leaders will now meet once yearly, having got together only four times in the last 10 years, with the next summit due to take place in July 1984 in the Bahamas, which this week became the 13th full member.

Jamaica's Edward Seaga has also pushed for bringing non-English speaking countries into the group, but warned that any candidates must obey basic democratic principles and ruled out Cuba because of its "declared policy of subversion in the region."

Among possible candidates for association with Caricom discussed at the summit were the Dominican

Republic and Puerto Rico, although officials said members are wary of admitting countries to the common market arrangements which might dominate trade.

Haiti and Suriname, which already have limited observer status, are not likely to progress beyond this stage until doubts on their human rights records are cleared up.

Human rights were not on the agenda in Port of Spain, although Seaga indirectly criticized Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop for abuses and Bishop, who came to power in a March 1979 coup, retaliated by accusing Seaga of neglecting human rights during the 1980 election campaign.

Caricom also agreed to draw up a comprehensive energy plan within six months covering the five Caricom refineries—two in Trinidad and one each in Jamaica, Barbados and Antigua—with a total capacity of just under 500,000 barrels per day. The leaders decided to make Trinidad, the group's only net exporter, the priority supplier to member countries. Trinidad will thus complement Venezuela and Mexico which supply oil to Jamaica and Barbados.

Venezuelan unemployment at 15% 'crisis' level

CARACAS—The economic crisis in Venezuela has resulted in about a million unemployed, according to figures released by the Venezuelan Workers Confederation (CTV).

Jose Beltran, CTV's director of Health and Security, reports that the number of unemployed represents about 15 percent of the total labor force of the country. The unemployed are stated to be divided almost equally between professionals and factory workers. Opposition political leaders are

saying that the government of President Luis Herrera Campins is responsible for this situation. Both Social democrats and Socialists claim that the number of those out of work has increased considerably during the four years of Herrera's presidency.

However, impartial observers argue that the decline in revenues from the sale of petroleum and the costs involved in carrying foreign debts are directly responsible for the economic crisis.

Commentary

The vision of weakness of the Brazilian Government machinery has subsumed not only the Office of the President but also the "Maxi Trio", which consists of Minister of Planning Delfim Neto, Central Bank Chief Carlos Langoni, and Treasury Minister Ernani Galveas. A recent action was the free flowing money supply before the November 1982 elections, only to tighten the money supply immediately after. With economic recession in parts of the world, the value of Brazil's exports dropped sharply. The Central Bank of Brazil took drastic action by restricting imports, except for those vital to national security. These included petroleum, medicines and a few other items.

Brazil applied to the International Monetary Fund for loans to avoid default. It is apparent that even these loans have not helped because the Government continued to spend funds for state-owned corporations. There are too many state corporation bureaucrats who are not willing to be weaned away from the government breasts. These individuals are

Labor group says Haitians working Dominican mills

GENEVA — Haitian sugar cane-cutters are being forced to work on plantations in the neighboring Dominican Republic, an inquiry commission of the International Labor Organisation (ILO) said.

Workers reportedly were being recruited from Haiti to work on state-owned sugar plantations in the Dominican Republic under contracts they were not allowed to see.

The three-man commission was appointed last year to study complaints that the Governments of Haiti and the Dominican Republic were violating ILO conventions on forced labor and freedom of association.

The ILO commission said that every year a contract was made between the Dominican Sugar Board which manages the state-

owned plantations, and the Haitian Government to recruit workers in Haiti to harvest Dominican sugar.

Recruited workers were obligated to stay during six or seven months at the plantation to which they were assigned.

"In the Dominican Republic, security forces including the military, take an active part in locating workers who cross the frontier and supplying them to sugar plantations," the commission said.

"Evidence was received that Haitian workers who had gone to work in other agricultural sectors had been arrested and returned to the sugar plantations at harvest time." In many cases, their earnings were substantially below minimum wages for agricultural jobs, the report said.

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OPENING MARKETS

Note: Many of the items reported in this column are about projects which have been funded by international lending institutions. Bidding on those projects is generally open to interested firms and/or individuals in the U.S. For further information, contact The Times of the Americas.

United States

Advice for exporters...

NEW YORK—Business and government experts will offer authoritative advice to U.S. exporters at the 69th National Foreign Trade Council conference which will take place here, at the Pierre Hotel, September 19.

Registration is \$150, which includes luncheon and admission to all sessions. The program covers such topics as:

- Capitalizing on new developments in export financing
- Invoking legal rights and diplomatic support in response to unfair foreign trade barriers
- Operations under antibribery laws
- Operations under export controls and anti-boycott regulations
- Managing foreign exchange risks

Additional information may be obtained from the Council at 100 E. 42nd St., New York, NY 10017, Tel: (212) 867-5630.

Chile

Major road repair program

SANTIAGO—The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) has approved a \$128-million loan to Chile for the reconstruction of about 600 kilometers of the country's Longitudinal Highway. It is the largest ever IBRD loan to Chile.

The four-and-a-half year project calls for reconstruction and includes periodic maintenance of about 1,400 km of main roads and construction and rehabilitation of some 85 bridges.

Also included is the preparation of two transportation sector and preinvestment studies to be done under the auspices of the Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications.

Interested U.S. individuals or firms who wish additional information may contact the World Bank, 1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433.

Argentina

\$560-million for highways

BUENOS AIRES—Argentina will spend \$560 million on a major-scale road construction project.

A variety of subprojects are planned, including the construction of urban beltways and access roads and installation of road signs and markings. Affected will be approximately 5,500 kilometers of roads.

The Argentine National Highway Directorate is in charge of the program, from whom additional information may be obtained.

St. Lucia expansion: Sign of a new boom

CASTRIES, ST. LUCIA—St. Lucia is embarking on four major construction projects amid signs of improvement in its troubled economy. Prime Minister John Compton has announced a 10 to 15 percent increase in industrial production over the past twelve months and anticipates a boom in the industrial sector in coming months, when funds for leading development projects should start coming on stream.

Vieux Fort, the island's second largest town, is to be developed as a major industrial site and a road constructed to link the capital Castries with the Soufriere, Anse-la-Raye and Canaries areas. These areas are considered to have vast potential for tourism and agricultural development.

The government also plans building a dam to supply water to the northwest coastal development area and restarting drilling at the geothermal project in Soufriere—site of the dormant La Soufriere Volcano—which was interrupted in 1979. Compton said there was new interest in the geothermal project,

particularly by the Los Alamos Institute of the United States and preliminary exploration was being undertaken with European Development Fund financing.

The Vieux-Fort Industrial Free Zone project is currently being studied by the World Bank for possible funding. "A mission from the bank completed a study late last month, and spoke very positively about the project," Compton said.

A World Bank study has confirmed a government plan to make Vieux-Fort, which has an airport and seaport along with roads, water and electricity, the industrial capital with Castries as the commercial capital.

Compton said the Canadian International Development Agency is preparing a design survey for the proposed dam and he expects this project to be completed in 1986.

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Soviet stopover

Nicaraguan port is 'coming alive'

By MARLISE SIMONS
From the Lima Times

SAN JUAN DEL SUR, NICARAGUA—This tiny, forgotten Pacific harbor, once a key point on the gold rush route from New York to San Francisco, is about to get a new life as a port of call for Soviet fishing boats.

A 7,000-ton Soviet drydock and a 60-foot-long floating pier are scheduled to be anchored in this bay in three months to service Russian tuna vessels, according to Nicaraguan officials.

Under an agreement signed a year ago in Moscow, the Nicaraguans are making available to the Soviet Union its second center of this kind on the Pacific coast of Latin America. The site has the advantage of being more centrally situated in area fished by the Soviet fleet than the port it now uses in Peru. The Soviet Union will pay Nicaragua \$200,000 a year as a rental fee, the officials said.

The first hints of change came recently when Soviet engineers started taking depth soundings in the mile-wide bay, lined with flame trees and small homes. Now one of two hotels there is being refurbished to accommodate 60 Soviet technicians.

But well before any Russian ship has been sighted, a diplomatic incident is looming. Nicaraguan and United States officials have exchanged sharp comments about the projects which some American officials are reported to believe is only a smokescreen for further Soviet military expansion in the region.

The United States regarded this part of the isthmus as of such strategic importance that it came close to war with Britain over it in 1848. A senior Nicaraguan official said he expected that when the drydock and pier arrived, the White House would produce satellite photographs as evidence of a Soviet naval base.

San Juan del Sur gained fame in the last century when Cornelius Vanderbilt created the shortest and cheapest route through here to the California gold fields. Coaches traveled the stretch of land to and from San Juan River and across Lake Nicaragua from the Caribbean coast. This same route was almost chosen by the United States as the site for the canal that was later built in Panama.

After the opening of the Panama Canal, this once-thriving port began to dwindle into the present poor community of some 3,000 fishermen, dockworkers and farmers, whose numbers are increased slightly on weekends by visitors from the capital, 80 miles away.

Last year the Nicaraguan Government chose this spot as a target of development, and as a result the San Juan project was a feature of the technical aid agreement Mr. Ortega signed in Moscow in May last year.

Development plans also call for a new packing plant for the area's abundant shrimp and lobster and for the purchase of six fishing boats already ordered in Peru. Soviet technicians are to train some 100 Nicaraguans to manage the new equipment.

But in this quiet little community where oxcarts trundle along and turtles crawl from the surf, the

revolution still seems remote. On a recent morning the stillness was broken only by the thud of mangoes falling on a zinc roof and by an old van with a loudspeaker occasionally broadcasting political slogans, its engine further warming the already hot air.

A Nicaraguan Navy contingent, two small craft with machine guns mounted on the front, puttered in circles around the empty tenders and fishing boats moored in the bay.

"...most all the young people have left," a local priest said, pointing out the empty streets. "They have gone to study or gone north to fight in the American war," he explained, referring to the rebellion along the border with Honduras.

A group of aging longshoremen sat out by the dock, reminiscing

about past decades when large vessels pulled in and they would stow them with wood, cattle and cacao.

The workers had heard about a Soviet drydock and the "new foreigners" who would arrive. They appeared to believe the plans were a good thing. Francisco Amotti, who worked on the dock for 30 years, said: "If the foreigners bring equipment and technology, we don't care who comes here. We can't do this on our own and we have no work."

Only Sebastian Lanza, a large-shouldered, wrinkled man with a deliberate tilt to his hat was doubtful. Saying that he would be "100 years old on Sept. 5, at 5 a.m.," he added that he did not believe San Juan would now get its drydock. "We've been hearing that story for the last 50 years," he said.

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Confirmation hearings

Motley passes Committee test

WASHINGTON [CNS] — After hearing Ambassador Langhorne (Tony) Motley reject the idea of negotiating "the Central America question" with the Soviet Union and Cuba, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved his nomination to be Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

Motley told the committee that "there are no quick fixes" in Central America. "Certainly no lasting or democratic solution can be expected from violent minorities lacking any popular mandate," he said, alluding to the Marxist-led guerrillas who have been waging war against the U.S.-backed government of El Salvador.

Management of U.S. foreign affairs requires "awareness of the long haul," Motley said. "We must guard against impatience in dealing with Central America."

Motley was nominated by President Reagan to succeed Thomas O. Enders, the career diplomat who is becoming ambassador to Spain.

Motley has served the last two years as U.S. ambassador to Brazil, where he was born in 1938, the son of an American father and a Brazilian mother.

Although a political appointee, Motley, who speaks Spanish as well as Portuguese, served with distinction that merited him wide praise in Brazil.

Typical were the comments of the newspaper, *O Estado de S. Paulo*, which said that his appointment as assistant secretary of state "could turn out to be of fundamental importance for relations between the United States and the continent".... The Brazilian government loses... a friend and ally...

At any rate, a new phase now opens in inter-American relations because, for the first time in many years there is now a tough man at the Department of State, a man who is in tune with the White House and



Amb. Langhorne Motley
"Don't expect quick fixes"

the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, *O Estado* said.

In his statement to the foreign relations committee, Motley said that the Reagan "Administration seeks a responsible regional consensus — one rooted in principle, and one that protects our national security and that our neighbors." In Central America, for example, he said "terrorists and opportunists are exploiting local grievances rooted in decades of power and ideology."

Motley noted that "the vast majority of Central Americans want democracy," and that "democracy can be slow in achieving results, sometimes frustratingly so.... But surely we have the patience to help our neighbors shield themselves from communism and build democratic institutions capable of serving all the people."

Under questioning by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), Motley said that some of the recommendations of

the report recently released by former Ambassador Sol Linowitz were acceptable to the administration.

But "we felt it would not be prudent to involve the Soviet Union and Cuba in the negotiations on the Central American question," as the Linowitz report suggested. "Part of the problem is the Soviet and Cuba," Motley said.

He told Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.) chairman of the committee, that the long-range adverse impact on U.S. relations with Latin America of the U.S. decision to side with the United Kingdom in its dispute over the Falkland Islands with Argentina was not "irreversible."

Motley assured Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) that he anticipates no increase in the U.S. military presence in Honduras, that Salvadoran President Alvaro Magana had said that the trial of those accused of the murder of four U.S. churchwomen will start soon, that violence comes from both sides in El Salvador and that "it will take a while" to bring peace to that troubled country.

To Sen. Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.), who complained that Motley's opening statement was "very thin," the ambassador explained that the several nation-wide protests against the government of Gen. Augusto Pinochet in Chile amount to "a difference of opinion as to the pace and direction in which the democratization of that country will take place."

He went on to say that Chile "is the one country that came back from a Marxist-Leninist regime," and that "is difficult, incorrect, for the United States to dictate timetables" for the Chilean democratization process although it does not call for elections until 1989.

Sen. Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska), where Motley was state secretary of commerce for two years before coming to Washington in 1977 as a lobbyist for the state, asked for comment on the debt problems of Mexico and Brazil.

Motley said that, although Mexico "is not out of the woods yet," it is "blessed" with ample petroleum reserves and has not been mired in recession as long as Brazil. He said that "the answer" to the problems of those, and other, countries, "is an increase in world trade and global development," and said there is no doubt the U.S. economy continues to pick up and will encourage Latin American recovery.



CULTURAL CENTER — The Architects House in La Paz, Bolivia, was converted into a cultural center in an inauguration ceremony on July 16. According to plans, the center will house exhibitions of paintings and sculpture, conferences, and workshops.

Orfila praises tour of flying hospital

WASHINGTON, [OAS] — "Project Orbis brings a new vision to our troubled world," Alejandro Orfila, Secretary General of the Organization of American States (OAS) said, while the flying eye hospital was on the first leg of its journey around the world, this month in Latin America.

Orfila pointed to the success of last year's inaugural world tour, when the Orbis crew was invited to return in each country it visited.

"The project can provide a valuable service to the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean," said Orfila. "This ingenious hospital on wings is the fastest way to demonstrate the latest surgical techniques and spread knowledge and skills from one country to another," he said.

This year's itinerary includes San Jose, Costa Rica (June 4-18), Cali, Colombia (June 18-July 2), Montego Bay, Jamaica (July 2-16), and Arequipa, Peru (July 17-30). Visits are tentatively planned for Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil and other countries.

According to Orbis, blindness already affects 42 million people in the world, and 500 million are on the way to becoming blind. "Two thirds of the world's blindness can be prevented or cured with techniques already known," said Orbis Executive Director George Hambleton earlier this year, "if only the expertise and the patient can be brought together."

The teaching hospital nestles in the interior of a DC-8 jet aircraft and contains sophisticated microsurgery and laser equipment in an operating room, with adjacent classroom space. The plane can land in any city in the world which has a medium-sized airport, and the hospital can begin functioning within a few hours after arrival.

The flying hospital stops in each country whose ophthalmological society requests a visit, and the host country determines the curriculum according to its needs.

Although local patients benefit from the operation performed during each demonstration, the project's primary purpose is educational: to train local doctors, who in turn will treat other patients long after Orbis has flown to other places.

In an effort to promote the dissemination of techniques that are useful and relevant to the host country, project Orbis demonstrates only equipment that is available or will soon be available locally. Orbis has also become active in training local technicians in the maintenance of new equipment.

Most Orbis surgical operations are video-taped, and the edited tapes are then used in medical education programs world-wide.

Orbis is a non-profit, privately-funded organization based in New York.

The Orbis crew includes eight full-time doctors and an international medical faculty of ophthalmologists who volunteer their time on missions to different countries.

AID is seeking funds for elections in Salvador

WASHINGTON—Permission to spend \$3.4 million to assist El Salvador run its election campaign late this year has been requested by the Agency for International Development (AID).

Some objections are anticipated, and chairmen of four congressional committees—House Foreign Affairs, Senate Foreign Relations, and the Appropriations Committees

of both houses—have 15 days to veto the proposal.

The funds would be reallocated from economic support monies already appropriated. The U.S. contribution would pay for a computer to upgrade lists voters and count ballots; transport, food and lodging for 200 international observers; and 69 "workers months" of help from U.S.

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TALKING POINTS

Vol. III, No. 12, August 17, 1983

Central America: Working for Peace

"The national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America. If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail elsewhere. Our stability would collapse, our alliance would crumble, and the safety of our homeland would be put in jeopardy."

-- President Reagan
April 27, 1983

One look at a map and the importance of Central America is very clear. El Salvador is closer to Texas than Texas is to Massachusetts. Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica are not far from U.S. borders. And these nations, which are the focal point of all the present troubles in Central America, are very close to the Panama Canal and Caribbean where our interests are crucial.

- Two-thirds of all U.S. foreign trade passes through the Panama Canal or Caribbean sea lanes.
- In a European crisis, at least half of our supplies for NATO would go through these sea lanes.
- The U.S. shares an 1,800 mile border with Mexico, a country that could, within a relatively short time, be threatened by the instability and violence in Central America.

All of Central America (particularly the nations of El Salvador and Honduras) is being threatened by Communist guerrillas, who are receiving support from Nicaragua. But Cuba and the Soviet Union pose an even greater threat to the peace and freedom of the approximately 20.5 million people of Central America. Cuba and the Soviet Union, with visions of duplicating Castro's takeover in Cuba, are supplying aid and military support to rebels throughout the region.

President Reagan believes the people of Central America have the right to live in freedom and peace. His policies will prevent a wider crisis and bring about a lasting peace. There are four points to U.S. policy in Central America:

- Support for democracy, reform, and human rights;
- Support for economic development;
- Support for dialogue and negotiations among the countries of the region and within each country;
- Support for the security of Central America's threatened nations to provide a shield for democratization, development, and diplomacy.

Cuba: The Soviet Surrogate

The Soviet Union and its surrogate, Cuba, provide the greatest threat to peace in the Caribbean Basin and Central America. Armed and economically supported by the Soviet Union, Cuba is providing training and material assistance to radical groups and revolutionaries in their so-called wars of "national liberation" in Central America and the world over.

- The Soviet Union gave Cuba \$600 million for arms and military support in 1982. The Soviet supply of arms to Cuba has increased to the highest level since the Cuban missile crisis in 1962.
- Cuba has sent 2,000 military advisors to Nicaragua and also has 6,000 civilian personnel there.
- Cuba has aided rebels in El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Colombia, and Honduras.

Nicaragua: A Revolution Betrayed

The key to understanding the troubles in Central America lies in the turmoil in Nicaragua. The Reagan Administration believes that the Sandinistas (the regime that overthrew the Nicaraguan government of Anastasio Somoza in 1979) constitute a threat to peace in Central America for three principal reasons:

- The Sandinistas have failed to fulfill the promises of the "people's revolution" of 1979.
 - The Sandinistas made a written promise to the Organization of American States (OAS) when they came to power in 1979 to hold free elections and guarantee democratic freedoms. Soon after they took control, the Marxist-Leninist members of the Sandinista regime took power. They now say that elections (if they are held) will not be, in the Sandinistas words, "bourgeois elections," but will ratify the revolution.
 - The Sandinistas have attacked democratic political parties, trade unions, and the media. The press, radio, and television are heavily censored.
 - The Sandinistas have been violating the human rights of many segments of the Nicaraguan society. Thousands of Miskito Indians have been forcibly relocated. Thirty-nine Miskito villages and Miskito crops and livestock have been destroyed.
 - In order to enforce internal repression, the Sandinistas have instituted a "block" system of state security. The "block" system consists of spying on your neighbors and reporting to the authorities those who do not work for the revolution.
- Nicaragua, with the support of Cuba and the Soviet Union, is intent on becoming the strongest military power in Central America.
 - Under the Sandinistas, Nicaragua's army numbers 25,000, supported by a militia of 50,000. It is supplemented by 2,000 Cuban military advisors.
 - The Nicaraguan army is not only the second largest in the Caribbean and Central America (Cuba's is the largest), it is also equipped with the most modern weapons: dozens of Soviet-made tanks, Soviet 152 millimeter howitzers, anti-aircraft guns, planes, and helicopters.
 - According to the State Department, there is roughly one foreign military advisor for every one thousand Nicaraguans. The population of Nicaragua is 2.5 million. There are estimated to be 2,000 Cuban military advisors, 150 Soviet-bloc advisors (Bulgarians, East Germans, and Soviets) and 50 PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) advisors.
- The Sandinistas are attempting to spread their revolution to other parts of Central America -- principally El Salvador.

- The House of Representatives' Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence reported (May 13, 1983) that Cuban and Nicaraguan aid for rebels "constitutes a clear picture of active promotion of 'revolution without frontiers' throughout Central America . . ."
- In 1980, the Farhundo Marti Liberation front (FMLN) was created in Havana; its headquarters established in Managua, Nicaragua. The FMLN is an umbrella organization of leftist groups whose aim is to establish a one-party dictatorship in Central America linked to the Soviet Union.
- According to the State Department, Nicaragua's Sandinistas are aiding the guerrillas fighting the government in El Salvador by supplying arms, training, and financial aid and by allowing the guerrillas command and control center to operate near Managua.
- The Nicaraguan Sandinista government is being opposed by many groups throughout Nicaragua, including some former Sandinistas who are disenchanted with the current leftist regime in Nicaragua.

El Salvador: Fragile Democracy

The U.S. supported government in El Salvador is being threatened by leftist guerrillas. In March 1982, after years of military rule, 80 percent of the people of El Salvador voted in free democratic elections, despite threats from the guerrillas. The guerrilla's slogan: "Vote today, die tonight."

One year later the government is making positive changes:

- New elections will be held later this year or in early 1984, open to all political parties. The government has invited the guerrillas to participate in the elections, is preparing an amnesty law, and a Peace Commission has been formed to bring all factions into the electoral process.
- A land reform program is well underway. Twenty percent of the arable land in El Salvador has been redistributed to more than 450,000 individuals.

Fragile Economy: The general economic situation in El Salvador is poor. The international recession has depressed agricultural markets which El Salvador depends on for foreign exchange. In some areas, unemployment has reached 40 percent.

- The guerrillas have also been hurting El Salvador's economy by:
 - attacking and destroying farms;
 - destroying 55 of the country's 260 bridges and damaging others;
 - attacking the telephone system causing millions of dollars in damage;
 - attacking 112 water facilities;
 - attacking the electrical systems. Electrical systems have suffered more than 5,000 guerrilla-caused power interruptions in the past two years, an average of almost eight per day.

Administration Action: Defending Freedom

The goal of the Reagan Administration in Central America is peace. To help those nations of Central America and the Caribbean who want to protect their democracies from the threat of Communist expansion, the Reagan Administration has developed a comprehensive strategy based on economic and military assistance. Economic assistance is the primary tool of U.S. policy in these areas. (The ratio of economic to military assistance is 3-to-1.)

- **The Caribbean Basin Initiative:** The President's program for economic de-

velopment of the Caribbean Basin is based on trade opportunities, tax incentives to encourage private initiative, and aid.

-- **Diplomatic Initiatives:**

-- President Reagan recently established a commission headed by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to study the problems of Central America and make recommendations for U.S. policy. The Commission will report to the President in February 1984.

-- The President appointed Richard Stone as special envoy to Central America and directed him to work toward negotiations with the various groups in Central America.

-- The administration is working with Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela (the "Contadora" group), and also with the OAS, in pursuing a negotiated settlement.

-- **Military Assistance:**

-- The administration has sent 55 military instructors to El Salvador to help train its armed forces.

-- The aircraft carrier USS Ranger recently completed routine military exercises off the western coast of Nicaragua and has left Central American waters. The battleship USS New Jersey is now steaming toward Nicaragua's west coast and the aircraft carrier USS Coral Sea is off the east coast of Nicaragua to conduct exercises.

-- The U.S. is also jointly conducting military exercises in Honduras that are designed to improve the training and readiness of our own forces and those of Honduras.

Secretary of State George Shultz recently reported (August 4, 1983) to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that U.S. policy in Central America is beginning to pay off. The secretary noted that Cuba, Nicaragua, and leftist guerrillas in El Salvador have given indications they are willing to change their course.

The outcome of the present tensions in Central America is vital to the United States. The Reagan Administration is working today to provide peace, freedom, and stability and prevent disastrous political developments in Central America.

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14 Aug '83

Dear Mr. Blackwell.

You will recall I'm sure our discussion regarding why was the McNeil/Lehrer Report unable to find a civilian secretary to "oppose" Adm. Stanfield's Turner's opposition to maneuvers in Central America — and as a result had to call me in Philly! I must say I was glad to "strike a blow" — but feel the system needs to be "tinkered with" so you can respond to such requests promptly. After all, it's prime time and a chance to give the President's views.

I also discussed with you the program Pres. Carter used when selling the Canal Treaties. I among many other "opinion makers" across the US were brought to D.C. — given lunch — a strategy session on how to sway grass roots opinions (+ a brochure with examples) and a visit to the White to hear the President! Most effective. I recommend that you adopt a similar program in Central America. Sincerely
Theo. C. MATAXIS
1319 Gen USA Int

State of Maryland

HARRY HUGHES
GOVERNOR

RUTH MASSINGA
SECRETARY OF HUMAN RESOURCES



EMILIA BADILLO MONTES
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REV. DALTON D. DOWNS
VICE CHAIRMAN

CARLOS ANZOATEGUI
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Governor's Commission on Hispanic Affairs

August 22, 1983

The Honorable Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

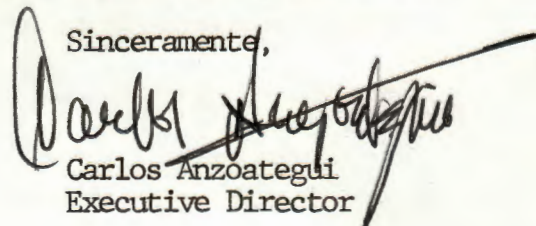
Thank you for your letter of August 17 and its enclosures. I shall give each Digest full time and attention in order to keep informed on matters concerning Central America.

Enclosed is the completed registration form and I am asking that you do place my name on the regular clearance list for future meetings. You will note that I have a dual role as Executive Director of the State of Maryland Governor's Commission on Hispanic Affairs and as the Chairman of the Committee on Human Rights for the People of Nicaragua, and both organizations benefit greatly from the information emanating from your briefings.

Please convey my appreciation for being invited to the briefings to Mrs. Faith Ryan Whittlesey and I particularly commend Joyce Thomann for the fine work she is doing in the organization aspect of the meetings. You have a great team, keep up the good work.

If I can be of any service please do not hesitate to let me know, meanwhile please receive my very warm regards and good wishes.

Sinceramente,



Carlos Anzoategui
Executive Director

CEA:msl

ADDRESS:

GLOBE BUILDING, SUITE 404, 817 SILVER SPRING AVENUE, SILVER SPRING MARYLAND 20910

TELEPHONE:

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HISPANIC PRAYER GROUP
WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

22 AUG 1983

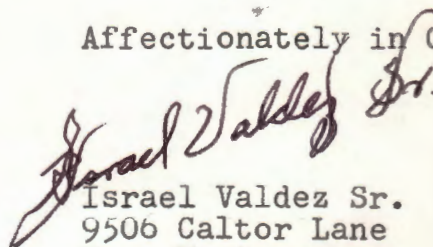
Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
Office of Public Liaison,
Suite #191-OEOB,
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Sir:

Thank you for sending me copies of the five White House Digests on Central America. I am in contact with a number of Christian brothers and sisters from South and Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean to encourage united prayer for peace in these areas. Many have responded and have a high degree of interest on what President Reagan is doing and or plans to do as concerns their particular country. The information you shared with me will assist me to respond to their many inquiries.

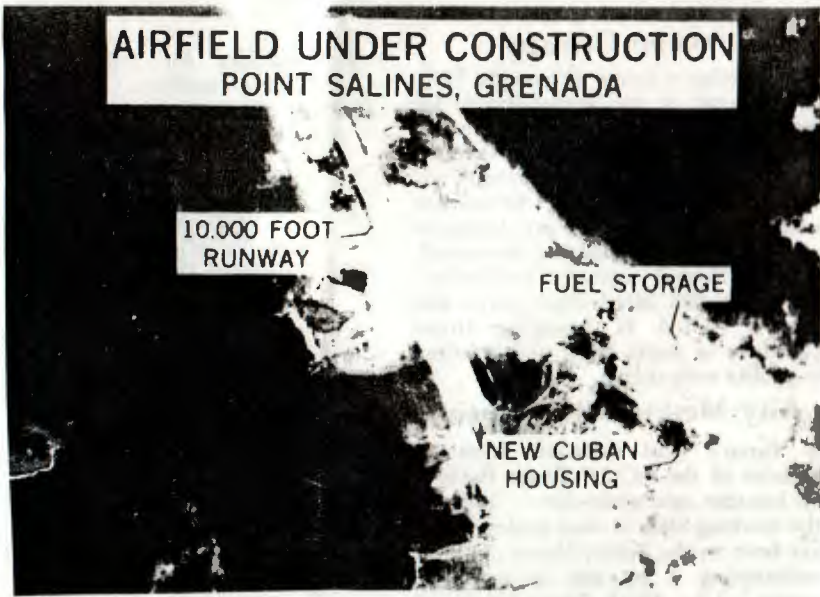
I wish to express appreciation for your kind invitation to become a member of the White House Outreach Working Group.

Affectionately in Christ,



Israel Valdez Sr.
9506 Caltor Lane
Fort Washington,
Maryland 20744

Telephone 301-248-2179



**AIRFIELD UNDER CONSTRUCTION
POINT SALINES, GRENADA**

**10,000 FOOT
RUNWAY**

FUEL STORAGE

**NEW CUBAN
HOUSING**

THE CARIBBEAN IS FAST BECOMING A RED SEA. THE INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES (IPS) HIRED CASTRO AGENT ORLANDO LETELIER AND PROVIDED HIM WITH "COVER" LETTERS FROM LETELIER AND LANDAU WERE FOUND IN HIS BRIEF CASE.



Speaking of Proclamations, Gary Patton earlier this year gave a proclamation to the Communist abassador from Grenada. This Caribbean island was seized by force while two Soviet cruisers sat in the harbor the morning of the Communist coup. Like Nicaragua, they too are building missile sites and bomber bases with the help of Fidel Castro. The coup was in 1979, and the Communists there like the Communists in Nicaragua, and like Castro's Communist Cuba have not held elections. Patton and Panetta must like that. They save their criticism for those defending themselves against Marxist Socialism.



GARY PATTON WAS PART OF THE GLEEFUL GAGGLE CELEBRATING IDENTIFIED COMMUNIST DELACY. DELACY SAID TO ONE DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATOR... "WE MADE YOU AND WE'LL BREAK YOU."

As "If They Were to Originate Openly from the KGB"

lib cont. Am.
The Communist Quest for Power

Is the ACL for

or against U

**SPECIAL FACT
BULLETIN
August
\$1.00**

"Hate Literature"

"Hate literature" whined an anti-intellectual "female" whose upper lip would draw heavy competition for concessionary rights by the electrolysis business in town. She was referring to the honest and truthful reprint that deliberately put in information that the liberal organizers deliberately left out of a proclamation honoring one of their own.

Kindergarten Babble

In a futile attempt to defend Gary Patton, Leon Panetta, and Dan Bessie, this intellectual vacuum hallucinated orally about the difference between a big C Communist and a little c communist. You know a liberal has run out when they revert to that kindergarten babble.

Communist Propaganda

This trio, this troika, were honoring Hugh DeLacy who according to government reports... "devoted virtually all his time to the operation of Communist front operations and spreading Communist propaganda." That is Communist with a big C.

Daniel Bessie

Danny Bessie was part of the "Youth Action Union," a "lineal descendant of the Young Communist League." That is Communist with a capital C, the same kind of capital C used for the Communists using poison gas against the citizens of Afghanistan.

Leftist Leon Panetta

Leftist attorney, Leon Panetta, voted aid to the Communistas in Nicaragua and voted billions to implement the transfer of the Panama canal to Soviet puppet

Omar Torrijos. Thanks to Panetta, Soviet Communist ships are passing through the canal with massive arm shipments for Communist subversion and violence in the Americas.



LEON PANETTA VOTED TO GIVE THE PANAMA CANAL AWAY AND VOTED AID FOR THE COMMUNIST SANDISTAS. HE TOO "HONORED" BASKIN AND DELACY.

Sickness of Socialism

While most progressives are beginning to see the inherent sickness of socialism, DeLacy, Patton, Panetta, Rotkin, Bessie and Joe Cucchiara were celebrating it. Leon Panetta knows exactly what the celebration was all about. He was part of the formal program. Panetta has and is continuing to prevent any arming of anti-Communists to defend themselves, while Soviet ships pass through the canal he helped give them.

Sentinel Doesn't Say

Pannetta also voted your tax moneys for the Communista government in Nicaragua. The Sentinel didn't tell you that. Panetta, over UCSC radio last year while most people were listening to the World Series, proclaimed his preference for Communist China (which killed over 68,000,000 of their own people) over Free China. And sure enough the record shows Panetta voted against HR26, America's Mutual Defense Treaty with Free China.

Star is Red

As the Sentinel said, Panetta's star is rising. It failed to say the star is Red.

Inexcusable

In fact the Sentinel fails to inform this community about a lot of things. It is inexcusable.

Cuban Connection

As Gary Patton and Leon Panetta both must know, Hugh DeLacy and Dan Bessie conducted classes in "Marxism" (with a capital M) at 4402 Melrose in L.A. In fact the Cuban Connection with Bessie goes back to a program on south Arlington in L.A., when Bessie shared a platform with Presidential Assassin Lee Harvey Oswald's Co-Chairman for FAIR PLAY for CUBA.



FIDEL CASTRO IS SUPPLYING COMMUNIST TROOP AND SOCIALIST INSTRUCTORS TO NICARAGUA AND GRENADA, BUT ACTUALLY MOSCOW'S MAIN MAN IN THE CARIBBEAN IS NOT CASTRO BUT "BOR" KISSINGER.

Moscow West

At the Santa Cruz Loudon Nelson Center (Moscow West) Patton, Panetta and Rotkin expressed "love" "appreciation" and "solidarity" for former Communist organizer Dorothy Baskin. Written into the Proclamation honoring the Communist organizer, these liberals refer to themselves as "comrades."

Red Ruby

Identified Communist Dan Bessie's father Alvah Bessie, who wrote under a pseudonym of David Ordway, is a real ruby.

Espionage System

Alvah's name is mentioned as one of a "very accurate...list...whose purpose" was to "set up an espionage system...helping Soviet Russia..." according to government reports.

Civil Liberties?

Alvah Bessie signed a letter to keep America out of the war when the Communazis divided up Poland. He protected the HITLER-STALIN PACK. What a fine civil liberties advocate! As soon as dictator Hitler turned on dictator

Stalin, this pacifist advocated war by joining a Communist front Artists to Win the War, again to benefit the Soviets.

Socialism Advocates

Alvah was an instructor for the Communist Party's Workers School in N.Y. City. Dan Bessie, like his father Alvah, like DeLacy, like ROTKIN are instructors that advocate "socialism."

Snail Slick

The Communists and now the IPS's organizing in Santa Cruz is self evident. Their activity is as apparent as the shining snail slicks across an ivy walkway in early morning. Almost all the fronts in Santa Cruz benefit Soviet policy.

IPS/KGB

Robert E. Taren's ACLU in Santa Cruz is inviting Saul Landau to town August 15th, representing the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). The director of the London Institute for the Study of Conflict says that the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) is the "Perfect intellectual front for Soviet activities which would be resisted if they were to originate openly from the KGB."

Second in Command (DGI)

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) hired Orlando Letelier as director for Transnational Institute as a "cover" for his activities as an unregistered Castro agent. He was killed by a bomb placed in his car along with IPS Moffett. Correspondence found in Letelier's briefcase showed he was in touch with the wife of the second in command of the Cuban Secret police (DGI) which is controlled by the Soviet KGB.



DANIEL BESSIE WHO WAS AN IDENTIFIED COMMUNIST INSTRUCTOR, ALONG WITH HUGH DELACY, ALSO SHARED THE PLATFORM WITH FORMER CO-CHAIRMAN FOR OSWALD'S FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA.

Terrorist Groups

Upon Letelier's death, IPS made Tariq Ali the head of the Transnational Institute. Ali is a leader of the British section for the Trotskyite Fourth International, which maintains contact with terrorist groups world-wide. Newsweek quoted Ali as saying "We are dedicated to achieving socialism all over the world, and not through peaceful revolution." Remember IPS hired these guys and Taren's ACLU is bringing these operatives to Santa Cruz and splitting the profits with them.

Any Means Whatsoever

Is Taren's goal different from the founder of the ACLU? Roger Baldwin, the founder, said when the... "power of the working class is once achieved, as it has been in the Soviet Union, I am for maintaining it by any means whatsoever." Like Alvah Bessie he sounds like a real civil liberties champion.

ACLU's Goal

What is the goal of the ACLU? Well, the founder, Roger Baldwin said... "I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class, and sole control of those who produce wealth. *Communism is the goal.*" It seems pretty clear what they are up to. Even a liberal with a kindergarten IQ can understand this.



GENERAL ALEXSANDR PANYUSHKIN, "SECOND DIRECTORATE" OF THE KGB, COORDINATED 5,000 KGB AGENTS OPERATING IN THE U.S.A.

Ford Foundation's Goal

Derek Shearer, who wrote Tom Hayden's Mein Kampf, "ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY" (the forward was written by an identified Communist and was funded by the council on Foreign Relations saturated Ford Foundation, the president of which said that their purpose is to... "so alter the United States that it could be comfortably merged with that of the Soviet Union.") is a member of the steering committee of IPS's Committee for Alternative State and Local Public Policies. He is an

organizer for Jane Fonda's Caesar Chavez's and Ron Dellum's conferences of the Campaign for Economic Democracy.



Mike Rotkin

The Resource Center for Non-Violence has as one director, Mike Rotkin. It programs demonstrators and orchestrates protest actions from mass rallies to public hearing disruptions. The independent citizens or small businessmen don't even know they are in competition-funded organizations.

Aspen Institute

The Aspen Institute, with strong ties to the Institute for Policy Studies (I.P.S.), has had over a score of Santa Cruz Planning Department members transfer to Aspen, prepaid and funded from Aspen. We challenge the Sentinel to follow through on that "STORY". Bruce, why not one actively anti-communist columnist and one reporter that will pursue Leftist Activism in Santa Cruz?

Senile

The Sentinel has looked the other way while intensive, well-funded political organizing has expanded into a web that affects everybody's life in Santa Cruz. The Sentinel in fact discourages expose's in this community. They literally sold out last year to Dow Jones which is dominated by CFR members.

The Creative Initiative Foundation is tied to the Institute for Policy Studies. The Foundation is a front for the Sequoia Seminar Foundation in Ben Lomond.



Daniel Bessie

HAVE THE CAPTIVES BEEN CONNED ?

50¢

G. Richard Arnold believes that "the captives" must "take the offensive."



Reagan and Bush offer **HOT AIR AND HAND CLAPS** while accelerating shipments to the Soviets. Aid to the Communists is "actually accelerating very rapidly under the Regan Administration, **despite statements** to the contrary."

President Ronald Wilson Reagan gleefully held up the "24th Annual Captive Nations Proclamation" this July 19, 1982 at a Rose Garden Ceremony . . . "or was it a cemetery" said Arnold. "He is simply accepting the betrayal of a billion people . . . and has initiated nothing, absolutely nothing to end their enslavement."

Arnold ripped into Vice President George Bush, Former CIA Chief whom he calls a Trilateral triggerman for David Rockefeller. Bush was among the attendees who "applauded this appalling pronouncement," said Arnold, (*They Need Action Now*) not another 24 years of *Hot Air and Hand Claps*.

"Reagan has bailed out the big banks — who put up billions of America's "Depositor's" →

Money" to pay for this madness. It is murder!"

"He is taxing us, (referring to the default of the 35 billion loan to Communist Poland) to pay for their . . . tyranny."

"Reagan is sending the Soviets our grain — to feed their army while they annihilate the Afghans and they imprison the Poles."

ABSOLUTE MADNESS

"We are approaching a quarter of a century — with a quarter of the Earth's people *imprisoned*. And the Reagan Administration is still doing business "as usual" with these Bolshevik Butchers," Arnold answered. "It is absolute madness! Over a hundred million people have been mass murdered to enforce this tyranny. Yet not once has any administration — had the guts — be it Republican or Democrat to make a move to free the over half a hundred nations that have been captured by Communism," Arnold proclaims.

"Quite the contrary, one administration after the other under the yoke of Rockefeller's "Council on Foreign Relations" have *aided the enemy* — and accelerated their advance toward *Global Government*."

"I pray that this is the last year that any administration accepts this outlandish outrage."

"I urge the administration to follow my lead by openly *aiding our allies* and the enslaved to throw off the shackles of Socialism. President Abraham Lincoln could not and would not accept a nation half slave and half free. . . Gary Richard Arnold can not accept *a world* half slave and half free. I will no longer accept the unacceptable. . . nor tolerate the intolerable."

THEY OUT-HITLER HITLER

"As a congressman, I will introduce legislation, to have the United States recognize the existence of all these "enslaved nations" . . . And to end the recognition of the ruthless regimes — that have enslaved them. We must recognize the suppressed and the enslaved of this Earth. We must recognize their nations in exile. We must support every movement everywhere to overthrow these tyrants and their Trilateral "Support Team", here in the United States, Europe and Japan. They out Hitler Hitler at the height of his hysteria."

"It should be incumbent upon every president of the United States on behalf of our free and sovereign citizens to support the slaves — not the slave masters, as is now the case. It is absolutely criminal."

Arnold continued, "Aiding and trading with the enemy — is totally unacceptable. It is not only immoral in the case of the Communists it is murder." "Unfortunately," said Arnold, "this aid is actually accelerating, very rapidly under the Reagan administration, despite statements to the contrary."

"It is absolute madness that the Marxist murders have been given millions upon millions of our money."

"It is time the Captive Nations Organizations are *eliminated* and replaced with the recognition of — free nations — in exile."

"It is time that all of these "enslaved nations" — turn down the President and all the other placating politicians who paralyze *these people* with their *Defeatist Proclamation*."

WE HAVE BEEN CONNED

"We have been conned, coerced and controlled — by this whole captive nation concept — it is time they joined the *free world*, make a 180 degree turn, lift their heads up to see where they have been for 24 years. . . and throw off the Captive's Title which engenders *defeat rather than defiance*."

"*The ostrich can be the most dangerous bird in the world, once it gets it's head out of the sand.*"

"It is time these people realize that they have been deceived — and that no one in the Eastern establishment is going to come to their aid. . . not now or ever — regardless of the rape and ravage of their Republics. These people must come to understand the enemy within."

"The enemy being that which operates through organizations such as the Trilateral Commission, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Club of Rome. They (those who represent the enslaved nations) must work night and day to oust this evil oligarchy who controls this country, this continent and this world."



America's number one "Traitor-Trader" Dr. Armand Hammer with his favorites Brezhnev, Tito, Lenin and Ronald Wilson Reagan. Hammer was Republican co-chairman for a 1982 \$1,000 a plate dinner in Century City, Calif.

THE ENEMY IS VULNERABLE

"This enemy is vulnerable — they can — and they must be replaced by responsible representatives in all areas of influence."

"The time has come for tyrants to topple and for free men to stand."

"We must declare out independence."

"Administration, after Administration has betrayed these people," charges Arnold.

"During the Eisenhower Administration, radio free Europe was encouraging the Hungarian fighters to revolt . . . three days later — Eisenhower wired the Soviets that he would not come to their aid. Just like the 256th Brigade — *they were set up* . . . to be slaughtered."

"From Kissinger to Brezinski, from Haig to Shultz, all the Secretaries of State have represented Rockefeller not this Republic. All have been members of Rockefeller's *Council on Foreign Relations*."

THEY FEAR THE STATE DEPT.

"Groups like *Amigos Del Pais* say that they fear the State Department more than they fear — the Communists. **And rightly so,**" says Arnold. "They in the CIA have constantly betrayed our allies and aided our enemies."

"It would not surprise me to discover that it was one of Rockefeller's "Inner Circles" who initiated the Captive Nations Concept . . . in order to cripple or control any effort to free their lands from a Commufacist enslavement."

"Freedom fighters are losing their children, their wives and their lives and their countries. Freedom fighters are too old — to be running around sucking on *political pacifiers* . . . like the Captive Nations it is like an artificial nipple . . . *That gives nothing!*"

"There has never been any battle fought anywhere — over anything — at any time that has been won defensively. Winning requires *Offensive Agressive — Action*."

Arnold sees a lack of sophistication and ignorance about the enemies "methods of operation" and a lack of "offensive action" as key contributors to — the captive's defeat.

"The Afghans are a current example of the problem. 5 million have already been mass murdered. Twelve year old children wrapped with explosives as human bombs run and throw themselves on Soviet tanks — in an effort to slow down the slaughter. While American wheat fills the bellies of the butchers.

AFGHANS DON'T UNDERSTAND

"The Afghans still cannot understand that the instigators — of this war against them may well be the ones who are feeding the Soviet troops."

"The Afghans still cannot understand that the in-

stigators — of this war against them may not be located in Kabul, The Kremlin or somewhere along the Kyber Pass. But may well be located in Washington or on Wall Street."

"Freedom fighters around the world must come to understand that in addition to battling with the deadly tentacles of this "oligarchy octopus" . . . they can never *kill the monster* until they strike out it's *all seeing eye*."

THE ILLUSION THAT REAGAN IS AN ANTI-COMMUNIST IS WRONG.



California election winner G. Richard Arnold and Barry Goldwater Jr.

Barry Goldwater Jr., Jack Kemp and 10 other California Republican Congressmen and eight Democratic Congressmen have joined **G. Richard Arnold** in criticism of President Reagan for breaking his promise to the American People and the Free World.

Quoting a letter to the President signed by the Congressmen:*

"Mr. President, you were elected by an overwhelming majority of the American people because they were sickened by foreign policies which have led to a **THIRTY YEAR CHAIN OF DEFEATS IN THE FACE OF COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM.**

You promised vigorously that Central America "would not be a fresh source of victims" ...

...Your Administration "with generous access to the media are conditioning American people to the acceptance of another Communist victory" ...

ELECT
G. RICHARD ARNOLD
 UNITED STATES
 CONGRESSMAN

2-1645 East Cliff Dr., Suite 8, Santa Cruz,
 CA 95062 (408) 462-0929

16th District
 California Central Free
 Coast

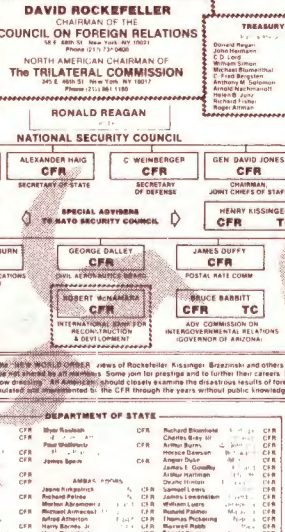


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Order membership lists from CFP/TC headquarters. Check former members in each issue. Complimentary Orders are also useful for verification. Obtain these from your Senator or Representative.

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- U.S. MILITARY**
- Past & Present CFP/TC Members (partial listing)**
- ALLIED SUPREMACY**
- 1893
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- MILITARY FELLOWS**
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CHE: HASTA LA VICTORIA SIEMPRE (1972)

Artist: Luis Martínez Pedro
Silkscreen poster, original size 20" x 30"
From a Casa de las Américas poster exhibit, Havana, Cuba
From the poster collection of
CENTER FOR CUBAN STUDIES
220 East 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010
A non-profit educational resource center and library on Cuba.



040ST726

Morton -

by their own admission!

Dave

Dave Barron

7914 Ben Franklin
station

Washington D.C.

20044

The BFGoodrich Company
1800 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
202-872-0570

Robert D. Buehler
Staff Vice President
Government Relations

August 24, 1983

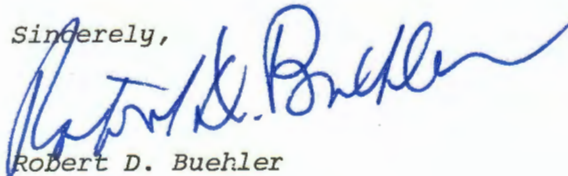
The Honorable
Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Blackwell:

Thank you for sending me the material on the
Outreach Working Group on Central America.
It will be most helpful.

Pursuant to your request, I am returning the
form indicating my desire to be placed on
the regular clearance list to attend meeting
on this program to Mrs. Thoman.

Sincerely,



Robert D. Buehler

RDB:go

1166 S. 11TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19147

215-336-3300

FRANCIS J. CHIAPPARDI

NATIONAL PRESIDENT

NATIONAL FEDERATION INDEPENDENT UNIONS

SUITE 301
1111 19TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

202-659-1490



FRED M. FEDER
ATTORNEY AT LAW

300 LEWIS TOWER BUILDING
225 S. 15TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA 19102

(215) 545-2825

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/22/83

MORT —

~~PLEASE~~ ENTER

"FRANK" CHIAPPARDI, PRES.

(NATIONAL FEDERATION
INDEPENDENT UNIONS)

TO BE ON YOUR

CENTRAL AMERICAN

TASK FORCE OR

WORKING GROUP —

HE SHOULD BE

INVITED FOR NEXT

WEDNESDAY —

REGARDS
John R.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

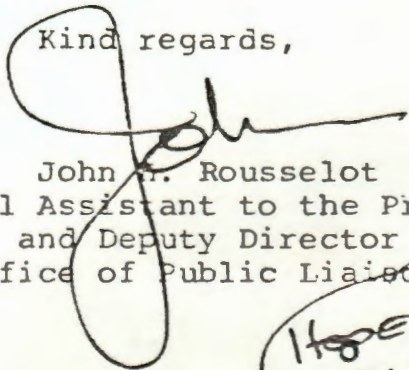
June 23, 1983

Dear Mr. Chiappardi:

Thank you for your letter of May 18, 1983 to Mrs. Whittlesey. On two different occasions, we have made attempts to reach you to discuss putting together a "working group" for the purpose of uniting the American people behind President Reagan's program in Central America.

We are extremely interested in your suggestion and I wish to find out how we can work together to achieve this goal.

Kind regards,



John A. Rousselot
Special Assistant to the President
and Deputy Director
Office of Public Liaison

HOPE TO
TALK TO
YOU

Mr. F. J. Chiappardi
President
National Federation Independent Unions
Suite 301
111 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

MUST CALL
WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

ID #

159850

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence received (YY/MM/DD) 83105120

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: F. G. Chiappardi

John R. ... Please follow up w/ him I just got your ...

PL Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

SUBJECT: Nat. Fed. Independent Unions offer of assistance

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	DISPOSITION		
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>PL MORE</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>83105120</u>	<u>6/3/85</u>	<u>1-1</u>
<u>PL ROUS</u>	Referral Note: <u>I</u>	<u>83105120</u>	<u>6/15/85</u>	<u>1-1</u>
<u>PL WHIT</u>	Referral Note: <u>Respond if you think necessary</u>	<u>83105120</u>		<u>1-1</u>
	Referral Note:			<u>1-1</u>

ACTION CODES:	DISPOSITION CODES:	FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:
A - Appropriate Action	A - Answered	Type of Response = Initials of Signer
C - Comment/Recommendation	B - Non-Special Referral	Code = "A"
D - Draft Response	C - Completed	Completion Date = Date of Outgoing
F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be	S - Suspended	
1 - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary		
R - Direct Reply w/Copy		
S - For Signature		
X - Interim Reply		

COMMENTS:



National Federation Independent Unions

SUITE 301 • 1111 19TH STREET N. W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • 202-659-1490

FRANCIS J. CHIAPPARDI ✓
National President

May 18, 1983

Suite 301
1111 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: (202) 659-1490

Ms. Faith Whittlesey
Director of Public Liaison
Old Executive Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20500

FRED W. TITTLE
Executive Secretary-Treasurer

263 Main Street
Brookville, Pa. 15825
Phone: (814) 849-2325

Dear Ms. Whittlesey:

Executive Vice Presidents

Eastern Region
MICHAEL TIRRELL
1708 Washington Blvd.
Easton, Pa. 18042
Phone: (215) 252-7553

It was with great interest that I noted in a recent issue of the Washington Times that you are putting together a "working group" for the purpose of uniting the American people behind President Reagan's program in Central America.

Southern Region
E. D. Mitchell
P.O. Box 2701
Baton Rouge, La. 70806
Phone: (504) 927-0426

If the National Federation of Independent Unions can help you in any way, please feel free to call upon us.

Northern Region
RAYMOND JACKSON
Box 85
Tecumseh, Michigan 49286
Phone: (517) 423-4040

Cordially yours,

Central Region
O. ROBERT DICKSON
1281 Walnut Drive
Zanesville, Ohio 43701
Phone: (614) 453-6343

F. J. Chiappardi
President

FJC/aac

Western Region
RILEY SLOAN
P.O. Box 9227
Fort Worth, Texas 76107
Phone: (817) 332-9004

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE

FRED M. FEDER
General Counsel

1166 South 11th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19147
Phone: (215) 336-3300

WASHINGTON

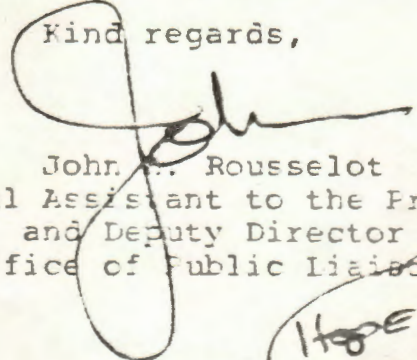
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Kind regards,



John F. Rousselot
Special Assistant to the President
and Deputy Director
Office of Public Liaison

HOPE TO
TALK TO
YOU

Mr. F. J. Chiappardi
President
National Federation Independent Unions
Suite 301
111 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Please put on
Central American
list.
Thank you,
Jim

MUST
 WHITEHOUSE
 CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

O - OUTGOING
 I - INTERNAL
 I - INCOMING
 Date Correspondence received (YY/MM/DD) 83105120

~~7/15/83~~
 Please
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NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: F. J. Ciappardi

PL Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

SUBJECT: Nat. Fed. Independent Unions offer of assistance

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	DISPOSITION
Office Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response Code Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>PL MORE</u>	ORIGINATOR <u>83105120</u>	<u>6/15/83</u> 1-1
<u>PL ROUS</u>	Referral Note: <u>I 83105120</u>	<u>5-15-83</u> 1-1
<u>PL WHIT</u>	Referral Note: <u>Response if you think necessary</u>	<u>I 83105120</u> 1-1
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| ACTION CODES:
A - Appropriate Action
C - Comment/Recommendation
D - Draft Response
F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be | DISPOSITION CODES:
1 - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
R - Direct Reply w/Copy
S - For Signature
X - Interim Reply | FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:
A - Answered
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S - Suspended | FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:
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FRANCIS J. CHIAPPARDI ✓

National President

May 18, 1983

Suite 301
1111 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: (202) 655-1490

Ms. Faith Whittlesey
Director of Public Liaison
Old Executive Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20500

FRED W. TITTLE

Executive Secretary Treasurer

Dear Ms. Whittlesey:

263 Main Street
Brookville, Pa. 15825
Phone: (814) 849-2325

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If the National Federation of Independent Unions can help you in any way, please feel free to call upon us.

Cordially yours,

F. J. Chiappardi
President

FJC/aac

Executive Vice Presidents

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170E Washington Blvd
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Phone: (215) 252-7555

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Phone: (614) 453-6343

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Philadelphia, Pa 19147
Phone: (215) 336-3300