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JACK ANDERSON

Soviets Plotting Biotech War, President Told

The National Security Council has delivered a report to President Reagan warning of a frightening new development in biological warfare. The secret alert is based on CIA assessments that the Soviets have developed gene-splicing techniques as ominous as the atom-splitting discoveries that led to the nuclear bomb.

The startling evidence is contained in CIA reports, classified "Secret," which declare flatly that the Soviets could use their new biotechnology to incapacitate or destroy entire populations in a future conflict.

In stark language, the documents warn that the United States is dangerously far behind in developing biotech weapons. One CIA report estimates that the Soviets will be able to deploy these horror weapons in three to five years. Other scientists contend that biotech warfare is more than a decade away.

Of course, the production of harmful biological agents for use against people, animals or crops is strictly prohibited under the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention, which the Soviets signed. But this

has not deterred the Soviets from rushing ahead with biotech research. Declares a secret CIA report: "The evidence points strongly to illegal production or storage of biological agents and weapons."

The technical name for this research is "recombinant DNA technology." It is also referred to as "gene-splicing," "genetic engineering," "biotechnology" and "synthetic biology." It has to do with DNA, or deoxyribonucleic acid, which is the basic genetic ingredient.

The Soviets have developed a process for removing segments of DNA from the cell of one species and attaching them to that of another, thereby creating a new organism.

The military application is awesome. CIA sources told my associate Dale Van Atta that the Soviets will be able to reproduce mysterious human substances and produce super-viruses more deadly than any known to man today.

For example, the Soviets could reproduce such human substances as growth hormones, which have never been duplicated. One U.S. expert thinks the Soviets may be able to reproduce brain chemicals, which send command signals to various parts of the body. The fear is that the Soviets will be able to produce them in quantity and load them into spray weapons. This bio-gas would disorient and destroy the human brain.

Even more disturbing, the Soviets could use biotechnology to combine the most infectious, most virulent and most indestructible characteristics of disease-causing organisms to form super-viruses.

If it seems hard to believe that the Soviets would experiment with such civilization-destroying technology, consider this grim excerpt from a secret CIA report:

"Since World War II, sporadic reports and allegations have been received concerning Soviet involvement in offensive biological weapons development. Sources of the allegations have ranged from low-level defectors to high-level Soviet academicians. High-level political and military leaders have also alluded to possession of biological weapons."

The document describes other developments, which have been "closely observed by the intelligence community." For example, the Soviets have "acquired significant technology and equipment, built large-scale biological fermentation facilities and made progress in other areas considered useful should Moscow decide to pursue production of biological weapons."

At Sverdlovsk, the Soviets operate a biological warfare institute where an accident, involving a lethal strain of anthrax, reportedly caused hundreds of deaths in April, 1979.

How to help the Afghan guerrillas

Winter 5-7-84
Under the direction of two top Russian generals, a Soviet armored column has smashed for the seventh time into the Panjsher Valley and with the support of high-altitude carpet bombing is trying to break the back of the local Afghan resistance, led by 30-year-old Ahmed Shah Massoud.

According to reports from the battle front, Mr. Massoud had advance warning and was able to evacuate much of the civilian population, while ordering his armed mujahideen into mountain caves. Far from being over, as Kabul Radio has claimed, the battle is just beginning, and coordinated diversionary attacks by guerrilla groups in other areas demonstrate increasing cooperation among the resistance leaders.

But the spectacle of Badger bomber squadrons from Russian airfields indiscriminately pouring death and destruction on Afghan villages has raised again in Washington the whole question of whether enough is being done for these courageous people. There are critics on the Reagan team and in the Congress who feel that harsh rhetoric is no substitute for determined and imaginative action to provide more materiel, diplomatic, and propaganda support to the hard-pressed mujahideen.

Beyond the moral imperative of the need to stop the slaughter of the innocents caused by Soviet attempts to terrorize the Afghan countryside, there lies the historical memory of how the Bolsheviks took many years to defeat the Bas-

machi rebellion in Soviet Central Asia by a combination of ruthless terror and gradual assimilation.

If the present Soviet rulers are similarly allowed to get away with mass murder over a long enough period, even the Afghans' will eventually be broken and their children subverted by enforced indoctrination.

Although the Afghan guerrilla leaders are unanimous in their

mittee by one of its staffers, John B. Ritch. On the basis of a recent visit to both Pakistan and the guerrilla-controlled area of Afghanistan, Mr. Ritch has come up with a number of imaginative proposals, some of which seem eminently practical.

For example, Mr. Ritch points out that there are between 60 and 250 Soviet deserters and prisoners being held by guerrilla groups inside Afghanistan and in the bor-

prisoners, morale is so low that defections on a large scale could be encouraged by assurance of asylum in the West.

In order to succeed in their dark and bloody business in Afghanistan, the Soviets have relied on a deep veil of secrecy to hide both from their own people and from the outside world the true dimensions of the destruction.

Through jamming, censorship and propaganda, the Soviet regime has so far kept its domestic opinion under control. A combination of ignorance and indifference has characterized most of the Western media reaction. Only in France has a small group of volunteer French doctors and nurses returning from Afghanistan really kept the issue alive.

Reagan officials claim they are now determined to change this situation and to force the Soviet leaders to pay an unacceptably high political price for their aggression. Plans are well advanced for new transmitter sites closer to the Russian target that will allow both Voice of America and Radio Liberty broadcasts to break through the jamming. For the first time, these radios will be able to reach the 40-million Moslem audience in Soviet Central Asia in their own languages with daily news of the tragic fate of their co-religionists across the border.

What the Soviets are up to in Afghanistan cannot stand the light of day, and sustained public exposure could yet make the whole venture too politically costly to continue.

"What the Soviets are up to in Afghanistan cannot stand the light of day."

complaint that they are not receiving enough anti-aircraft and anti-tank weaponry to confront the Red Army, Reagan officials maintain that the real danger of Soviet retaliation sets a limit on how much "covert" American military aid the Pakistanis can allow to cross the border.

But the figure of \$75 million that has been leaked as the annual amount of U.S. military assistance seems ridiculously low when compared with the billions spent on weapons that may never be used. As one high Pentagon official said, "The rate of return is very high from anything we give the Afghan guerrillas, and I'm sure there is more that we could and should be doing."

The whole argument about what more can be done has been enlivened by the release of a report to the Senate Foreign Relations Com-

mittee by one of its staffers, John B. Ritch. On the basis of a recent visit to both Pakistan and the guerrilla-controlled area of Afghanistan, Mr. Ritch has come up with a number of imaginative proposals, some of which seem eminently practical.

For example, Mr. Ritch points out that there are between 60 and 250 Soviet deserters and prisoners being held by guerrilla groups inside Afghanistan and in the border area. The Soviets are so fearful of the propaganda potential of these eyewitnesses that they have attacked the bases where they are held in order to kill them.

Although these escapees from the Red Army have devastating testimony to give regarding Soviet atrocities and the low morale of Russian troops, only two have so far been able to come to the United States. The Senate staff report proposes that the administration work out with our allies a continuing program of resettlement in the West for Russian deserters and prisoners.

LA PRENSA GRAFICA

PREMIO DE PERIODISMO MARIA MOORS CABOT



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ño LXIX — N° 24,889

San Salvador, El Salvador, Sábado 17 de Marzo, 1984

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Comunismo crea la desinformación

"En una semana que tenemos de permanecer en El Salvador, hemos podido comprobar la cruel e inhumana desinformación que existe en los Estados Unidos respecto a este país".

Así se expresaron ayer dos jóvenes norteamericanos: John Quinn, perteneciente a "The National Center for Pan American Studies", con sede en Maryland; y Mike Waller, de la Asociación "Student for Better American".

Son ellos dos jóvenes cristianos convencidos de que un pueblo como el salvadoreño, que en su gran mayoría cree en Dios y prac-

tica su religión, es imposible que actúe en la forma como lo describen una mayoría de diarios norteamericanos.

"Hasta no ver no creer", dijimos y ello nos impulsó a venir a El Salvador, para conocer, entrevistar y palpar la realidad del país, mediante contactos personales con la juventud salvadoreña y eso es lo que hemos hecho, dicen.

"Pero qué distinta la realidad que hemos palpado y comprobado, a lo que allá en los Estados Unidos se informa y comenta".

El "Washington Post" y el "The New

_____ Pasa a la página 42 _____

Comunismo...

_____ Viene de la página 5 _____

York Times", mienten, engañan, inventan horrores de El Salvador, para impresionar al pueblo norteamericano. Pero esas atrocidades y crueldades se las achacan al Ejército, al gobierno y nada dicen de las infamias y asesinatos que cometen los extremistas; por el contrario, a éstos los describen como víctimas de un régimen sanguinario. A la par de esos diarios y periódicos, están muchas estaciones de televisión que también cooperan a la desinformación, mintiendo y engañando al pueblo y a la vez exaltando a los terroristas, diciendo de ellos que luchan y exponen su vida por liberar al campesino de las garras de los explotadores. ¡Qué ironía y cuánta infamia la que propalan esos medios de comunicación vendidos al comunismo internacional!, expresan los visitantes.

Plan preconcebido

"Este plan de desinformación a base de mentiras, lo vienen haciendo los comu-

nistas con la ayuda de la Unión Soviética, Cuba y otros países satélites del comunismo.

Señalan los jóvenes Quinn y Waller, este último editor en jefe del periódico "The Sequent", de Washington.

Está tan bien organizado ese plan en los Estados Unidos, que los dirigentes del FMLN-FDR no solamente reciben dinero de los países

comunistas, sino del mismo pueblo norteamericano incauto, engañado, que cree todas las patrañas que ellos, a través de los periódicos que les hacen el juego, y eso les sirve para viajar por todo el mundo haciéndose pasar como perseguidos y como víctimas.

Pero qué distinto lo que hemos comprobado aquí

_____ Pasa a la página 43 _____

OVER

Comunismo

Viene de la página 42

• dicen—, donde existe un pluralismo político muy grande y donde el pueblo vive angustiado, pero no por las acciones del Ejército sino de los terroristas, que asesinan a la gente del campo, especialmente, a la gente indelente y destruyen todo lo que encuentran a su paso. Nosotros hemos comprobado —agregan—, ese anhelo delirante de este pueblo salvadoreño por conquistar la paz, y todos, por lo menos la mayoría de los que hemos contactado, creen que la solución de esta guerra cruel e inútil que vive El Salvador, está en las elecciones del 25 de marzo.

Entrevistas

Nos dicen los jóvenes visitantes que se han entrevistado con diferentes círculos juveniles, universitarios y de nivel medio, al igual que con dirigentes políticos. Se manifiestan contra el FMLN-FDR. "Este día, precisamente, hemos tenido una charla con estudiante de una universidad. Todos son jóvenes de un criterio bien formado y entre ellos existe odio contra las guerrillas que ensangrientan este pequeño país.

El "CISPES"

Señalan que la desinformación en los Estados Unidos es propiciada por una organización llamada CISPES (Comités Internacionales de Solidaridad con el Pueblo de El Salvador). Este comité es financiado por FMLN-FDR y sus fundadores fueron los comunistas Farid Handall y un cubano de apellidos García Almeida, de la policía secreta cubana que trabaja en la ONU. Cuenta el comité con la ayuda de conocidos comunistas norteamericanos y de congresistas izquierdistas. Entre los primeros está Alejandra Pollack, que es miembro del Partido Comunista norteamericano y entre los segundos a un congresista demócrata Mike Barnes, quien se presta a hacerles el juego a los del FMLN-FDR. Hay un congresista izquierdista de nombre Ronald Dellums que viene con frecuencia a El Salvador y a su regreso lleva una sarta de mentiras que las entrega al CISPES, quien las transmite a más de 500 fi-

liales que tiene en los diferentes estados de la Unión. La sede del CISPES es Washington.

En Los Angeles hay un semanario exclusivamente editado por el Partido Comunista de El Salvador.

Además y para terminar, los visitantes manifiestan que les consta que el CISPES tiene en la ciudad de México un contacto, se trata del co-

munista mexicano Andrés Fábregas, cuyo nombre le envía en dólares toda la ayuda que recibe del pueblo incauto y mal informado de los Estados Unidos, en la creencia de que con esa ayuda se favorecerá al pueblo hambriento de El Salvador. Este Fábregas recibe los fondos y los envía a los lugares que le señala el FMLN-FDR y se invierten en

comprar armas, medicinas y pertrechos de guerra para la subversión, que le llega a través de Nicaragua.

Petición

Los jóvenes Quinn y Waller han pedido a la juventud salvadoreña con la que se ha entrevistado y lo seguirán haciendo con otros jóvenes, que no vacilen en

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escribir directamente cartas al presidente Ronald Reagan, a Washington, D.C. y al Senado o el Congreso norteamericano, solicitándole su ayuda sin límites para librarse de ese ogro que es el comunismo, que día a día sigue desangrando a este país. Y al congresista Mike Barnes le pidan que no vuelva más a este país a "observar la situación", como dice él, pero que en realidad a lo que viene es a entrevistarse en privado con los comunistas y a llevar a los Estados Unidos mentiras e infundios para contribuir a la desinformación que ha puesto por el suelo la imagen de El Salvador en aquel país.

Larry Mc Donald's book

Rosa Astorga

Sandinista - Vega murder

*Robin Ranger
→ Instt Strategic Studies - USC
Pim Ashby - Caribbean*

21.825

March 15, 1983

MOSCOW'S HOT WAR OF WORDS

INTRODUCTION

When Ronald Reagan last year described the Soviet Union as "an evil empire," the foreign policy establishment was outraged. Such language, they said, was intemperate and would impair Washington's relations with Moscow. Whether what Reagan said was true or not did not seem to matter.

What critics of White House rhetoric ignore is that, while the President has talked bluntly on occasion, it is standard operating procedure for the Soviets. If anyone is consistently guilty of verbal outrage and violations of the niceties of diplomatic discourse, it is the Kremlin's leaders. When, in February 1984, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko accused the U.S. of "recklessness and irresponsibility," it was tame compared to the other recent Soviet statements. It is not unusual, for example, for Soviet officials and official publications to accuse Ronald Reagan of "misinformation, distortion, and direct falsification" or to compare Reagan to Hitler. The Reagan Administration, meanwhile, is routinely excoriated by Moscow for "blackmail, insinuations and diktat," "criminal designs against peace and humanity," "state terrorism," and for being "the most bellicose ruling class."

It is strange that so many foreign policy analysts focus solely on U.S. rhetoric and ignore Moscow's. A sampling of Soviet bombast quickly demonstrates that in the East-West war of words, the U.S. has been a very tame combatant.

SOVIET ATTACKS ON U.S. POLICIES

U.S. Foreign Policy: "The more clearly and dangerously manifest is the militaristic policy of the present U.S. admini-

stration, which is out to upset the existing balance of forces in the world, ensure its superiority, dictate the American rules to everybody, the more demagogy is splashed out of the White House as facts cannot be refuted, they resort to misinformation, distortion and direct falsification....Taking an active part in all this is also personally the President of the United States of America."¹

"Wherever the Reagan administration fails to achieve its hegemonic aims by way of pressure, blackmail, insinuations and diktat, it resorts to the forces of arms, to overt aggression."²

"There is something wrong with morals in Washington's present policy, as there is just no room for morality there. U.S. imperialism is inalienably associated with such crimes as aggressive wars, interference in the affairs of sovereign states, and atrocities by racists and colonisers."³

"The statement says precisely that the militarist course of the U.S. Administration is to blame for the present tension, the threat of nuclear war. It is precisely the administration which, having proclaimed a crusade against real socialism, is daily pushing mankind toward the dangerous brink of a world conflagration."⁴

U.S. Defense: "In a bellicose speech over the television, President Reagan cited new CIA-fabricated figures about the Soviet military potential and used them to try to justify the unprecedented military spending of the United States."⁵

"In justifying his militarist course, Reagan, as previously, used his favorite device--intimidating Americans with the non-existent 'Soviet military threat.' Furthermore he referred to falsified statistics drawn from a recently published piece of Pentagon propaganda--the brochure entitled 'Soviet Military Power.'⁶

"Reports reaching Moscow from Washington indicate that the recent weeks have seen an unprecedented paroxysm of military hysteria whipped up by the American President and his team....The extraordinary pronouncements made in recent weeks by the White House are obviously aimed, among other things, at terrorizing Congress into accepting the unprecedented allocations for the Pentagon's needs insisted upon by Ronald Reagan and Caspar Weinberger. There is no doubt at all that the aim of Mr. Reagan's military program is to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union at all costs."⁷

¹ Moscow Pravda in Russian, November 3, 1983, 1st Edition, p. 4.

² Moscow TASS in English, 1511 GMT, September 20, 1983.

³ Moscow TASS in English, 1622 GMT, October 20, 1983.

⁴ Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, 1100 GMT, October 15, 1983.

⁵ Moscow World Service in English, 0800 GMT, March 26, 1983.

⁶ Moscow TASS International Service in Russian, 1010 GMT, March 24, 1983.

⁷ Moscow to North America in English, 2300 GMT, April 16, 1983.

Arms Talks: "By sabotaging the talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons the United States would like to free its hand to commit new crimes against peace. It is thus assuming a very grave responsibility toward mankind. No slanderous anti-Soviet fabrications will help it to evade this responsibility."⁸

"That information, which was picked up by the international press, our commentator Vladimir Koroliyov reports, is further evidence of the criminal designs of government circles in the United States directed against peace and humanity.

"Those countries where people are fighting for national independence and freedom are used as targets for the experiments with U.S. chemical and bacteriological weapons. As can be seen, this is not coincidental. The U.S. government circles have no compunction in using any means to impede the victory of these peoples and to keep them from living the way they want."⁹

Lebanon: "American ships and soldiers are waging military action against the population of Lebanon...All this represents the policy of state terrorism on the international scene. These actions by the Reagan Administration undermine peace and international security....Surely American votes did not give the President the mandate to tear up basic international law and pursue policies of international piracy."¹⁰

Korean Airliner Destruction: "In their endeavor somehow to justify their dangerous, misanthropic policy, they are heaping mountains of slander on the Soviet Union and socialism as a social system, and the tone is being set by the U.S. President himself. It must be frankly said that it is an unseemly spectacle when, having set themselves the aim of denigrating the Soviet people, the leaders of a country like the United States resort to what is virtually foul-mouthed abuse mingled with hypocritical sermons on morality and humanity.

"The world well knows the worth of this moralizing. In Vietnam morality as it is understood by Washington officials was instilled with the aid of napalm and toxins, in Lebanon it is being hammered in with volleys from ships' guns, and in El Salvador this morality is being introduced through genocide. This list of crimes could be extended. So we also have something to say about the moral aspect of U.S. policy, both when we remember history and when we are speaking of the present."¹¹

"The guilt of the organizers of the sophisticated provocation based on the South Korean airliner that was orchestrated by

⁸ Moscow TASS, March 17, 1982 (FBIS, Soviet Union, p. AA6).

⁹ Moscow to Cuba in Spanish, 0100 GMT, March 9, 1982.

¹⁰ Moscow to North America, 0001 GMT, November 2, 1983 (Igor Aleksandrov commentary).

¹¹ Yuri Andropov, Pravda in Russian, September 29, 1983, 1st Edition, p. 1.

the U.S. special services have long since been proved. It is obvious to the whole world. And yet there is no abatement across the ocean. New attempts are constantly being made there to whitewash the United States and to slander and malign the Soviet Union--to make black pass for white as they say.

"In Comrade Andropov's statement, this act is evaluated as an example of extreme adventurism in policy. The guilt of the organizers of this adventure has been proved. It is precisely with them that the whole responsibility lies for the death of the passengers who were on board the South Korean airliner. And Reagan and others of that ilk, have in vain adopted the guise of humanists, wring crocodile tears from themselves hypocritically bewailing the victims of their own adventure. Moreover, what significance can the lives of those who perish have for such so-called humanists if they are planning a nuclear blitzkrieg against the world of socialism."¹²

United Nations: "Imperial haughtiness and contempt vis-à-vis other countries have long ago been elevated to the rank of U.S. state policy. Now Washington is also flouting elementary rules of decency, among disrespect not only for the statesmen and states, but also for the United Nations organization."¹³

Arms Race: "Describing U.S. policy vis-à-vis the arms race, L. I. Brezhnev noted that 'Selfish imperialist interests, chauvinism and a reluctance to face up to the general situation in the nuclear age ultimately lie behind this aggressive approach to foreign policy....'"¹⁴

Democracy Initiative: "'The psychological warfare against the forces of peace, progress and socialism and the anticommunist 'crusade' which is being waged today by the militarists in Washington, are evidence of just one thing: the moral, political and economic crisis of imperialism,' political observer Nikolay Pastukhov writes in SELSKAYA ZHIZN. '...Hitler's men resorted to such methods, fanning up anti-Soviet and anticommunism during the period of preparation for the Second World War,' the author observes. Nuremberg condemned these actions as criminal. But these methods are again being revived in the present day by the latter-day crusaders from Washington. 'However much the present day crusaders rave, their policy and criminal actions are doomed to failure.'"¹⁵

¹² Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, 1230 GMT, October 2, 1983.

¹³ Moscow TASS International Service in Russian, 1957 GMT, September 28, 1983.

¹⁴ Moscow Literaturnaya Gazeta in Russian, September 29, 1982, p. 14.

¹⁵ Moscow TASS International Service in Russian, 0805 GMT, August 13, 1983.

ATTACKS ON U.S. INSTITUTIONS AND WAY OF LIFE

U.S. Human Rights: "Meanwhile, one cannot help asking such questions, the more so when farcical statements are made by the leaders of the country where democracy, freedom and human rights are trampled underfoot day after day and at every step...."¹⁶

The Pentagon: "The Pentagon has long gained the sordid reputation of a falsifier of figures concerning the balance of forces between the Soviet Union and the United States. In launching a campaign about the alleged 'Soviet military threat' before each new debate in Congress on requests for military needs, the U.S. Defense Department systematically, from year to year, understates the nuclear potential of the U.S.A. and the combat composition of the American Armed Forces."¹⁷

The FBI: "A political show, a rare one for its hypocrisy, took place in the White House. The reason: the 75th anniversary of the Federal Bureau of Investigation--the secret police of the American establishment...."

"The pompous celebrations at the FBI headquarters were attended personally by President Reagan who stinted no words to praise those whose activities have long since become a synonym of crying violations of the elementary civil rights and liberties of rank and file Americans...."¹⁸

"As for foreign policy results, the appearance of the Reagan administration in the White House completed, so to speak, the process whereby the most bellicose ruling class grouping has begun to set the tone in U.S. policy...."¹⁹

ATTACKS ON U.S. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

President Reagan: "It is hard to believe that sensible people in the West can take seriously the verbiage coming from Ronald Reagan about the U.S. desire for peace, or his shrill statements about some Soviet threat. Do they not see here a blatant lie, just as in the well-advertised homily that the U.S. President delivered to the participants in the Orlando conference of the National Association of Evangelicals? 'The world is full of sin and evil. The Holy Scriptures and our Lord Jesus Christ enjoin us to fight against these with all our might,' the master of the White House cried out with pathos, lifting his eyes unto the hills...."

¹⁶ Moscow TASS in English, 0710 GMT, October 26, 1982.

¹⁷ Moscow TASS in English, 1537 GMT, March 23, 1983.

¹⁸ Moscow TASS, July 27, 1983, Alexandr Shalner.

¹⁹ Moscow Komsomolskaya Pravda in Russian, December 30, 1982, p. 3.

"What astounding hypocrisy. It is quite obvious that in viewing the world through the prism of their imperial ambitions, the present crusaders in Washington are clearly relying on solving the most important international problems through unceremonious diktat and the use of crude force."²⁰

"In trying to substantiate his malicious statements, the President distorts and falsifies facts...."²¹

"I would say that perhaps there has never been a time in U.S. history when American leaders have told so many untruths. I am trying to be polite.

"That is because the Reagan Administration's deliberate distortions of the truth are the foundation for the current policy of unrestricted military spending and the creation of more destabilizing types of nuclear weapons. As has been the case in the past, the White House is using a favorite tactic."²²

Charles Wick: "A former Hollywood producer and a former music arranger, Wick sets the highest hysterical note in the 'psychological war' of unprecedented scope and intensity waged against countries and governments disliked by Washington....

"The bigger the lie, the easier people will believe it--the Washington propaganda men follow this thesis of Goebels. Using misinformation and slander the USIA distorts the foreign and home policy of socialist countries, their peace initiative directed at curbing the arms race, at drastically improving international relations."²³

The Administration in General: "George Shultz once again tried to deceive the Americans, trying to whitewash the present course of the Reagan administration....

"Let this political hypocrisy remain on the conscience of the members of the Washington administration."²⁴

"The present U.S. administration is already quite 'famous' for scandals--bribes, fraud of tax establishments, cooperation with the Mafia--and for fierce squabbles between the White House and departments, between secretaries themselves and between secretaries and Congress."²⁵

²⁰ Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, 0842 GMT, April 3, 1983.

²¹ Moscow TASS in English, 1118 GMT, July 23, 1983.

²² Moscow to North America in English, 2300 GMT, March 29, 1983.

²³ Moscow TASS in English, 1804 GMT, August 22, 1983.

²⁴ Moscow Pravda in Russian, November 19, 1983, 1st Edition, p. 5.

²⁵ Moscow Za Rubezhom in Russian, No. 36, September 2, 1982, p. 7.

SOVIET PERCEPTIONS OF THEMSELVES VIS-A-VIS THE U.S.A.

"The USSR's foreign policy, meeting the fundamental interests of the Soviet people, fully meets also the aspirations of all people in the world, who have a vital interest in upholding and enhancing peace. But there does exist evil on earth. Its main source is the militarist policy of Washington and NATO, which represents a grave threat to peace."²⁶

"The Soviet people and the broadest international public circles are continuing to discuss the statement by Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The news coming in from all capitals says the same: It is a document of tremendous international significance....

"It is not the first time that the Soviet state has had to face such assaults in its 65 years. Past experience shows that those who try to encroach on our state's integrity, on its independence, and on our system always end up on the ash heap of history. No one can turn back the clock. The USSR and the other socialist countries will continue to live and develop according to their own laws--the laws of the most advanced social system."²⁷

RECENT SOVIET THREATS

"The question is--either Turkey will live under the conditions of peace with its neighbors and the peoples of the Near and Middle East or, surrendering its territory to U.S. bases, it will spoil relations with its neighbors and in the event of a conflict become a nuclear cemetery."²⁸

"Referring to Nakasone's intention to make Japan an 'unsinkable aircraft-carrier' Tass said that this would 'make Japan a likely target for a nuclear response strike. And for a densely populated country as Japan, this could spell a national disaster more serious than the one that befell it 37 years ago.'²⁹

"Scandinavian countries are a 'bridgehead for aggression' which 'are to burn in the fire of nuclear war in the name of 'Atlantic solidarity.'³⁰

CONCLUSION

Reagan Administration rhetoric concerning the USSR has been criticized for aggressiveness, which has allegedly worsened

²⁶ Moscow TASS in English, 1622 GMT, October 2, 1983.

²⁷ Moscow Izvestiya in Russian, October 4, 1983, morning edition, p. 1.

²⁸ Pravda, February 27, 1980.

²⁹ TASS, January 19, 1983.

³⁰ Krasnaya Zvezda, June 21, 1983.

relations between the U.S. and the USSR. These statements have also supposedly given the wrong impression to the Soviets and our allies around the world--the impression that the United States is "trigger happy."

Such criticisms are not valid. After the invasion of Afghanistan, the oppression in Poland, the use of chemical warfare in Laos and Kampuchea, subversion (albeit occasionally, indirectly) in Africa and Central America, as well as the KAL airline incident, there is considerable foundation for Reagan's harsh statements.

Aside from these foreign policies, the Soviets are pledged to the overthrow of capitalism and the implementation of a violent, international proletarian revolution to destroy the Western way of life. While the Soviets have never categorically renounced these fundamental tenets of their social system, the U.S. has never subscribed to any underlying principle in its own political theory that espouses the reciprocal overthrow of the Soviet government. In addition, the Soviets have maintained a bellicose posture in recent times with continued threats aimed at any capitalist nation that opposes their external aims. The current Soviet leadership continues the tradition of active hostility toward capitalism that was started by Marx and Lenin.³¹

President Reagan's stern speeches, in truth, are only realistic and serve to make the American and Western European public more aware of the actual Soviet positions and policies vis-à-vis the West and capitalism. This in turn has helped the West realize the dangers in the false sense of security the U.S. let itself be lulled into during détente--indeed only now is the "window of vulnerability" swinging closed.

Reagan's tougher stance also reassures U.S. allies of the dependability of the American commitment to NATO's defense. And this new American attitude has increased the Kremlin's respect for U.S. resolve and capabilities, thereby diminishing the likelihood of open conflict.

It is difficult to understand how the Soviets--let alone certain U.S. commentators--can accuse President Reagan of exacerbating relations with the USSR on the basis of his recent speeches. Especially since Soviet statements, as can be seen above, have always been just as tough--and considerably ruder.

Greerson G. McMullen
Research Associate

³¹ Soviet domestic behavior can perhaps offer an explanation of the extensive use of threats. In order to achieve power in the CPSU, one needs to be able to dominate one's rivals completely. As there are no legal restraints on how one realizes this, threats and brute force play a major role. This also explains why the Soviets respect and are cautious of a tough adversary.



THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE DEFENSE OF TRADITION, FAMILY, AND PROPERTY

This is a clippings service providing our friends with news stories from large newspapers of South America which we found not to have been widely circulated by the press in Washington and New York.

In view of the common historic mission and interests of all the peoples of the Americas, we believe our friends will be interested in the enclosed material.

ALONG WITH EACH CLIPPING IS AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE PASSAGES WHICH WILL, WE BELIEVE, BE OF MOST INTEREST.

A translation of the full text of any particular article will be sent upon request.

IN LATIN AMERICA:
Russia's Cunning Diplomatic Offensive
Makes It Hard to Say No

"ECUADOR WILL RECEIVE AGRICULTURAL AND
ROAD-WORKING MACHINERY FROM EAST GERMANY"

"According to bilateral trade agreements, the government of the German Democratic Republic will send our country agricultural and road-working equipment to carry forward plans to rehabilitate the agricultural sector. . . announced Dr. Peter Voss, director of East Germany's exhibit at the VII International Fair of Ecuador" (El Universo, Guayaquil, 10/4/83).

"TRADE WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS DYNAMIC"

On analyzing the trade balance between Czechoslovakia and Ecuador after 1975 one finds a dynamic increase [in trade], but not all possibilities of commerce have yet been exhausted, said the representative of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia at the VII International Fair of Guayaquil" (Expreso, Guayaquil, 10/6/83).

"THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA WILL INCREASE RELATIONS
WITH ECUADOR"

"Ting Hao, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China, expressed to the National Congress in Quito his government's thanks for the approval of the cultural agreement between Ecuador and China and emphasized the ties of friendship between the two countries.

"The diplomat from the People's Republic of China met with Dr. Manuel Valencia, vice president of [Ecuador's] National Congress, who emphasized the legislature's decision to increase relations between the two countries, especially in cultural matters" (Expreso, Guayaquil, 10/31/83).

"POSSIBLE AGREEMENT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ECUADOR"

"Mr. Ivan P. Azarov, Minister of the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Ecuador, visited engineer Cristobal Mariscal, Undersecretary of Fishing Resources, to discuss a possible agreement on technical and academic cooperation between the two nations.

"The main topics of discussion were the exchange of teachers and students and the aid which will be provided to the fishing industry and for the construction of small fishing ports" (El Universo, Guayaquil, 11/23/83).

"HUNGARY'S VICE MINISTER ARRIVES"

"Lajos Faluvegi, Hungary's Vice Minister, will arrive in Montevideo in the beginning of December to increase trade relations between his country and Uruguay. A Hungarian delegation is now in our city preparing all the details of his visit. Trade relations between the two countries have increased since an agreement was signed in August, 1981" (El Diario, Montevideo, 11/8/83).

**LOOK
to Latin America.
The Soviets are.**

Maquinaria vial y agrícola recibirá Ecuador de la RDA

A través de convenios comerciales bilaterales, el Gobierno de la República Democrática Alemana suministrará a nuestro país, equipo agrícola y vial para poder llevar adelante planes que permitan hacer realidad la rehabilitación del sector agrícola, fundamentalmente del bananero, que requiere de manera urgente arreglar los problemas existentes en los sistemas de riego y drenaje, y así lo señala el Dr. Peter Voss, Director del Pabellón de este país en la VIII Feria Internacional del Ecuador **BUENAS NEGOCIACIONES**

Según reveló a nuestro servicio informativo, están previstas negociaciones muy interesantes, mediante el mecanismo de Convenios de Pago, sin utilizar divisas, solamente con la compra de productos primarios agrícolas del Ecuador

como bananos, cacao, café, harina de pescado, etc. que tienen grandes posibilidades de comercio en Alemania Democrática, siempre que haya reciprocidad con los bienes de capital, que al momento constituyen una solución a los problemas ecuatorianos.

RETROEXCAVADORAS

En los actuales momentos, en el recinto Ferial se exhiben retroexcavadoras de la acreditada marca "Beukema", las que han despertado el interés del sector agrícola y aún del sector camaronero, que pueden utilizarlas para solucionar los problemas de sus sistemas de riego y drenaje, utilizando equipos de probada confiabilidad, con amplio parque de repuestos y asistencia técnica, proveniente de Bogotá, donde existe una subsi-

diaria con capacidad para atender cualquier requerimiento en estas retroexcavadoras, como también en las dragalinas, niveladoras, rodillos, que pueden ser aprovechados igualmente en la reparación de carreteras y caminos vecinales, hoy destruidos por las prolongadas lluvias que cayeron en el país por diez meses.

AFIRMAR COMERCIO

El Director del Pabellón de la RDA en la Feria Internacional del Ecuador se muestra seguro de que a través de estos mecanismos del Convenio de Pago puede robustecerse el comercio y amistad de su pueblo con el Ecuador y mejorar considerablemente su desarrollo, aprovechando el mutuo beneficio que deriva de estas negociaciones establecidas.

Intercambio comercial con Checoslovaquia es dinámico

Exp. 6-X-83

Al evaluar el balance comercial mutuo entre Checoslovaquia y Ecuador, después del año 1975, se advierte un dinámico incremento, pero no están agotadas todas las posibilidades de comercio, dadas por el carácter de las dos economías nacionales, dijo el representante de la República Socialista Checoslovaca en la VIII Feria Internacional de Guayaquil, agregando que su país puede aumentar las compras, siempre que Ecuador observe el mismo comportamiento.

FAVORABLE A ECUADOR

Revisando el comportamiento de las relaciones bilaterales de comercio, se advierte que las exportaciones checoslovacas al Ecuador registran un volumen de 50 millones de dólares mientras que las exportaciones ecuatorianas a Checoslovaquia llegan a los 84 millones de dólares, con un saldo favorable al Ecuador por 34 millones de dólares, pero resumiendo un mutuo beneficio comercial para ambos pueblos.

INICIATIVA IMPORTANTE

Se considera como iniciativa importante para incrementar las exportaciones checoslovacas al Ecuador, el acuerdo con el Banco Nacional de Fomento, en un período de dura sequía que azotó al Litoral

ecuatoriano, y que hizo posible suministrar bombas de riego y tractores agrícolas, para después incorporar otros renglones que constituyen máquinas, herramientas y conformadoras textiles, de cuero y de impresión, mientras que en los renglones no mecánicos han estado concluidos el papel, la urea, utensilios y herramientas, artículos de cristal, instrumentos musicales, bisutería y otros.

COMPRAS AL ECUADOR

Las empresas checoslovacas iniciaron sus compras directas al Ecuador, a fines de la década de los años sesenta, y esto ha venido incrementándose en rubros como bananos, café, cacao, achote, cacao semielaborado, café soluble, aceite de ricino, madera de balsa, atún enlatado, pero renunciando a los revendedores e intermediarios, al punto que el comercio bilateral se ha tornado en algo normal y corriente.

ACREDITAR MERCADO

Checoslovaquia en materia de maquinarias, tanto para el sector agrícola como para las artes gráficas, se ha preocupado de mantener parque de repuestos y asistencia técnica, a plena satisfacción de los clientes ecuatorianos, concluye el expositor eslavo.

Un posible convenio de Rusia con Ecuador

(Boletín de Prensa)

El Ministro Consejero de la Embajada de la Unión Soviética en la República del Ecuador, Sr. Iván P. Azarov, dispuso una atenta visita al Subsecretario de Recursos Pesqueros Encargado, Ing. Cristóbal Mariscal, con el fin de dialogar sobre el posible establecimiento de un Convenio de Cooperación Técnica y Académica entre ambas naciones.

Luego del saludo protocolario, se discutió sobre los puntos principales que servirán de base para este Acuerdo Internacional, sobre todo en lo que hace referencia al intercambio de profesores y alumnos, y al asesoramiento que se impartirá en las áreas de piscicultura y construcción de puertos pesqueros artesanales.

El Ministro soviético estuvo acompañado por el Agregado de Prensa de la Embajada de su país, Sr. Alejandro K. Dogadin. Por la Subsecretaría de Pesca participaron el Blg. Marco Alvarez y el Ing. Edgar Arellano, Asesores de la Institución.

Llega el Viceministro de Hungría

Exposu 31/X/83

China Popular incrementará relaciones con el Ecuador

QUITO, (REX).- El Embajador de China Popular, Tinnng Hao, expresó al Congreso Nacional el agradecimiento de su Gobierno por la ratificación del convenio cultural suscrito entre Ecuador y China, al tiempo de reafirmar la amistad entre los dos países.

Para el efecto, el diplomático de China Popular se entrevistó con el Vicepresidente del Parlamento Nacional, Dr. Manuel Valencia, quien destacó la decisión legislativa de incrementar las relaciones entre los dos países, especialmente en el campo cultural.

Tinnng Hao reiteró su complacencia por el desarrollo que han registrado las relaciones políticas, comerciales y culturales con el Ecuador, puntualizando que su gobierno ha sido muy respetuoso de los principios internacionales de la no intervención en los asuntos internos de los países amigos, la coexistencia pacífica y la no agresión.

Relievó, asimismo, las magníficas relaciones comerciales que mantiene China Popular con nuestro país y el interés de incrementar la línea de importación de productos nacionales con la compra de maderas.



El Vicepresidente del Congreso, Dr. Manuel Valencia (Der.), se entrevistó con el Embajador de China Popular, Tinnng Hao, y dialogaron sobre diversos tópicos, especialmente en lo que se refiere a los convenios de cultura.

Finalmente confirmó la invitación para que el Vicepresidente del Congreso y una delegación de legisladores visiten China Popular, con el propósito de intercambiar experiencias entre los organismos parlamentarios de los dos países.

Por su parte, el Dr. Manuel Valencia subrayó la importancia que

reviste el convenio cultural con ese país desde el punto de vista legislativo, pues abre la posibilidad de intercambiar importantes experiencias en este campo.

Además, reiteró la vocación pacifista de nuestro país y el respeto a la libre determinación de los pueblos.

En los primeros días de diciembre, llegará a Montevideo el Viceministro de Hungría, Lajos Faluvégi, con el propósito fundamental de incrementar el intercambio comercial entre su país y Uruguay.

Con tal motivo, se encuentra en nuestra ciudad una misión húngara, que viene preparando todos los detalles de esta visita. Este grupo es presidido por el Subdirector General de la Oficina de Planeamiento, G. Jakssly y el Subdirector para América latina del Ministerio de Comercio Exterior de Hungría, R. Szentmáry.

La delegación mantiene contactos con autoridades de la Cancillería de la República, Secretaría de Planeamiento, Coordinación y Difusión, Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, Banco de la República y

Dirección General de Comercio Exterior.

El intercambio comercial entre ambos países se ha visto incrementado a partir de la firma de un convenio de contrapartida, en agosto de 1981.

De acuerdo a datos oficiales, dicho intercambio favorece a Uruguay, que hasta setiembre del corriente año exportó hacia Hungría por un total de US\$ 3.000.000, mientras adquirió productos por US\$ 300.000. Los números correspondientes a 1982 mostraron también un superávit comercial a favor de Uruguay.

Hungría compra en nuestro país, fundamentalmente, calzados, prendas de lana y de cuero, tops de lana, pescado y cítricos. Su interés está centrado actualmente en colocar en Uruguay maquinaria y equipos, en especial de locomoción, electricidad y medicina.

EL DIARIO (MONTEVIDEO) 3.11.83

"URUGUAY AND BULGARIA ARE FOR GREATER INTERCHANGE"

"Uruguay and Bulgaria signed a statement of intention to lay the foundation for increasing bilateral trade between the two countries.

"The Bulgarian delegation was headed by Andrey Bozhansky, director of the Latin American Department of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. After discussion, it was agreed to work to achieve a closer relationship between the agencies and companies of the two nations in order to improve existing trade relations" (El Pais, Montevideo, 12/10/83).

"KEYS TO THE CITY GIVEN TO DELEGATION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET"

"Augusto Ramirez Ocampo, mayor of Bogota, declared the delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldavia to be guests of honor. In a simple ceremony, the mayor handed the city's keys to Ivan P. Kalin, vice president of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and president of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of Moldavia.

"The [mayor's] decree states that the capital city sees this visit as a new opportunity to strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the two nations.

"The Soviet delegation was invited to Colombia by the Congress" (El Espectador, Bogota, 11/1/83).

"SOVIET DELEGATION VISITS BOLIVIA"

"A high-level Soviet delegation is visiting Bolivia. The delegation is led by Ivan P. Kalin, vice president of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet and president of the Republic of Moldavia. Three weeks ago, another Soviet delegation had signed with Bolivia an agreement for an extensive program of technological and economic cooperation" (El Nacional, Caracas, 10/20/83).

"IMPORTANT SALE OF WINE TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA"

"MENDOZA [Argentina] -- Engineer Bohumil Urban, the Czech Minister of Foreign Trade who visited this province as a special guest, announced that Czechoslovakia will buy 1 million liters of local wine.

"Urban pointed out that this purchase is one of the largest his country has made so far (La Nacion, Buenos Aires, 10/17/83).

"MOSCOW SAYS IT IS 'AGAINST INTERVENTION'"

"BUENOS AIRES -- Atanas Barkauskas, vice president of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet, said his country is 'against foreign intervention' in the internal affairs of countries in Central America and other areas, adding that the USSR's position in this matter coincides with that of Argentina. Barkauskas, who went to Argentina to attend the swearing-in ceremony of president Raul Alfonsin, met yesterday with foreign minister Dante Caputo to discuss the international situation and especially the situation in Central America and the Caribbean.

"Our positions coincide,' said the Soviet official as he left the meeting. 'We believe that you cannot use force to solve conflicts. It is necessary to explore the possibilities of a political dialogue.' Barkauskas said he hopes that with the new Argentine government, relations with the Soviet Union will be intensified in the fields of economics, trade, politics, science, technology, culture and sports" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/13/83).

Uruguay y Bulgaria por un Mayor Intercambio

Uruguay y Bulgaria firmaron un memorando tendiente a sentar bases que permitan incrementar el intercambio bilateral entre ambos países, como preámbulo de futuras negociaciones que consoliden tales intenciones.

Al cabo de las negociaciones cumplidas en nuestro país por parte de una delegación búlgara con la Dirección General de Comercio Exterior, se llegó a la víspera a la firma del citado documento, resumiendo las firmes intenciones manifestadas por ambas partes de acrecentar sus relaciones comerciales.

La misión de Bulgaria que trabajó en nuestro país el jueves y viernes, estuvo encabezada por el Director del Departamento para América Latina del Ministerio de Comercio Exterior, Andrey Bozhansky, quien envió al memorando con junta, juntamente con el Director General de Comercio Exterior de nuestro país, Sr. Jorge Sierra.

Al cabo de las deliberaciones existe coincidencia en cuanto a estimular un mayor acercamiento entre los organismos y empresas de ambas naciones, en aras de mejorar los perfiles comerciales existentes.

VARIOS PRODUCTOS INTERESAN A BULGARIA
La delegación búlgara resoltó marcado interés por productos uruguayos, entre los que se pueden citar a manera de ejemplo, cueros, manufacturas textiles,

Méteos, cfricos y carna. Al mismo tiempo manifestaron desos de colocar en nuestro mercado instrumentos electrónicos variados, maquinarias en general y suministros para telecomunicaciones.

Importante venta de vino mendocino a Checoslovaquia

MENDOZA. - Checoslovaquia comprará 10.000 hectolitros de vino mendocino, según anunció el ministro de Comercio Exterior de ese país, ingeniero Bohumil Urban, que visitó a esta provincia como invitado especial.

Señaló Urban que Checoslovaquia "compra a quien le compra", y que la operación anunciada es la de mayor volumen de vinos de cuantas ha concretado hasta ahora su país. El funcionario agregó que "los mejores tipos de vinos que compramos aquí se dedicarán a la mezcla, ya que el color del vino mendocino no puede lograrse en Europa".

Con respecto a las relaciones entre ambas naciones, dijo Urban: "Fueron y son tradicionales, pero fundamentalmente queremos que continúen, cualquiera fuere el gobierno que resulte elegido en la Argentina".

Misión soviética visita Bolivia

LA PAZ, 19 (UPI)

Una misión soviética de alto nivel se encuentra de visita en Bolivia, en momentos en que la Central Obrera Boliviana ha declarado el "estado de emergencia" entre sus afiliados para protestar contra las medidas económicas del gobierno.

La misión de la Unión Soviética, que llegó anoche a La Paz, está encabezada por el vicepresidente del Presidium del Soviet Supremo y presidente de la República de Moldavia, Ivan P. Kalin, el funcionario de más alto rango que visita Bolivia desde la subida al poder, hace un año, del gobierno de Hernán Siles Zuazo, en cuyo gabinete hay dos ministros del Partido Comunista.

La Central Obrera Boliviana decidió resistir medidas económicas del gobierno por considerarlas "fondomonetaristas", para lo que declaró "estado de emergencia" entre sus afiliados, que pasan del millón.

El gobierno se debate, entretanto, en la indefinición y las posiciones divergentes de algunos ministros sobre la oportunidad y alcances de aquellas medidas, lo que es motivo de irritación en el sector empresarial, que las demoras oficiales están causando un mayor agravamiento de la crisis.

La delegación está integrada por parlamentarios, y permanecerá en Bolivia hasta el próximo martes 25, según se informó, para conocer el país y sostener entrevistas con miembros del gobierno y las cámaras legislativas. Hace tres semanas, otra

misión soviética firmó con Bolivia un amplio programa de cooperación económica y técnica.

En la Cámara de Diputados, donde desde hace tres semanas se discute una interpelación a tres ministros, por el supuesto amparo oficial en el envío de bolivianos a Cuba para entrenarse en guerrillas, el debate estaba virtualmente estancado.

Antes de que los ministros respondan a cuatro pliegos interpelatorios, el principal de ellos planteó, por la opositora Acción Democrática Nacionalista, que lideriza el ex presidente general Hugo Bánzer, deberán hablar 38 parlamentarios inscritos a ese efecto.

En la sesión de anoche, el diputado comunista Marcos Domic acusó a tres parlamentarios de la ADN de haber estado, en el pasado, vinculados con la formación de grupos paramilitares, y acusó a ese partido de estar comprometido en planes sediciosos.

Por otra parte, volvieron hoy al trabajo casi 50.000 maestros urbanos que estuvieron en huelga en las dos últimas semanas, habiendo conseguido un reajuste salarial y otros beneficios colaterales. Permanece sin solución una huelga en los servicios públicos de salud, igualmente por una demanda económica.

La COB, además de decretar la emergencia, conversaciones con el Ministerio de Industria y problemas de abastecimiento de alimentos y "insensibilidad" del titular, Humberto Mur.

Moscú diz que é 'contra a intervenção'

OSF 13/12/63

BUENOS AIRES — O vicepresidente do Presidium do Soviet Supremo, Atanas Barkauskas, disse que seu país "é contra a intervenção estrangeira" nos assuntos internos dos países da América Central e em outras regiões, acrescentando que a posição da URSS sobre esse assunto coincide com a da Argentina. Barkauskas, que foi à Argentina para assistir à posse do presidente Raul Alfonsín, reuniu-se ontem com o chanceler Dante Caputo, para conversar sobre a situação internacional e especialmente sobre a América Central e Caribe.

"Nossas posições são coincidentes", disse o funcionário soviético à saída do encontro. "Consideramos que não se pode utilizar a força para a solução dos conflitos. É preciso buscar as possibilidades de um diálogo político." Barkauskas disse esperar que, com o novo governo argentino, as relações com a União Soviética sejam intensificadas no plano econômico, comercial, político, científico, técnico, cultural e esportivo.



El alcalde de Bogotá, Augusto Ramírez Ocampo, entrega las llaves de la ciudad a Iván P. Kalin, vicepresidente del Presidium del Soviet Supremo.

Las llaves de la ciudad a delegación del Soviet Supremo

El alcalde mayor declaró huésped de honor de Bogotá a la delegación del Soviet Supremo de la Unión de Repúblicas Socialistas Soviéticas y de la República Socialista Soviética de Moldavia.

El alcalde, en sencilla ceremonia, entregó las Llaves de la Ciudad al delegado Iván P. Kalin, vicepresidente del presidium del Soviet Supremo de la URSS y presidente del Presidium del Soviet Supremo de Moldavia.

El decreto, número 1841 de octubre 31, expresa que la capital identifica en esta visita una nueva oportunidad de afianzamiento de los lazos de amistad y cooperación y culturales existentes entre las dos naciones.

Asistieron a la ceremonia, los señores Iván P. Kalin, Ionas P. Kutilius, diputado miembro de la comisión para la educación popular y la

cultura del Soviet de las nacionalidades; Lidia A. Makérova, diputada, secretaria de la comisión para la salud pública y el seguro social del Soviet de la Unión; Víctor I. Dovbisch, diputado miembro de la comisión para la educación popular y la cultura del Soviet de la Unión; Vadim G. Chakmázov, subjefto del Segundo Departamento Latinoamericano del Ministerio de R.R.E.E. de la URSS; Valeri I. Kuzin, consultor del Departamento de Relaciones Internacionales del Presidium del Soviet Supremo de la URSS y secretario de la delegación; Serguei N. Kosehkin, agregado del segundo departamento latinoamericano del Ministerio del R.R.E.E. de la URSS y el ex-alcalde de Bogotá, Emilia Urrea Delgado.

La misión soviética fue invitada al país por el Congreso de la República de Colombia.

"THE USSR WANTS TO STRENGTHEN RELATIONS"

"BUENOS AIRES -- The Soviet Union proposed yesterday to the new Argentine president to intensify political, economic and trade relations, and expressed concern about U.S. intervention in Central America and its arms race in the world.

"In a message to President Alfonsin, the USSR's Supreme Soviet proposed to 'intensify political, economic and trade relations, based on the principles of equality, respect of sovereignty, non-intervention in internal affairs, and mutual benefit.'

"The note stresses the 'unchanged position of the USSR on a fair, negotiated solution of the Anglo-Argentine conflict over the Falklands.'

"In response, Alfonsin thanked the Soviet 'message of congratulations' and expressed his desire to 'endeavor to strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation that have been established' between the two nations" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/15/83).

"MOSCOW WANTS TO INCREASE RELATIONS WITH ARGENTINA"

"MOSCOW -- The Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declared that intensifying the development of relations between Moscow and Buenos Aires is 'desirable.'

"In its weekly meeting, the top Soviet organ approved the approach of its representative Atanas Barkauskas during his recent visit to Argentina to attend the swearing-in ceremony of the new Argentine president, Raul Alfonsin.

"Relations between the two countries in the last few years have developed especially in the fields of trade and culture" (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, 1/8/84).

"ODEBRECHT BUILDS HYDROELECTRIC PLANT IN ANGOLA

IN A JOINT UNDERTAKING WITH THE USSR"

"The construction of a hydroelectric power plant in Kapanda, Angola, even more important than its commercial value, may turn out to be an effective step of the Norberto Odebrecht Construction Co. [a Brazilian company] toward new joint undertakings abroad with the Soviet Union.

"The contract with the Angolan government, which establishes January 1984 as the date to begin construction of one of the two largest hydroelectric power plants in Angola, was facilitated by the Soviet state company Tecnopromoexport, which will furnish heavy equipment" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 12/18/83).

"TANKS AND AMMUNITION FOR MOZAMBIQUE"

"Ninety tanks made by ENGESA and eight containers with rifles and ammunition will be sent to Africa in the Brazilian ship Nicia.

"The port of destination of this materiel is Beira, in Mozambique, but that does not mean that all of it is for Mozambique. The rifle-filled wooden crates were marked 'Zimbabwe'.

"Today, Brazil exports war materiel to more than thirty countries in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 1/19/84).

URSS quer fortalecer as relações

BUENOS AIRES — A União Soviética propôs ontem ao novo presidente constitucional argentino a intensificação dos vínculos políticos, econômicos e comerciais, e manifestou preocupação pela ingerência dos Estados Unidos na América Central e por sua corrida armamentista no mundo.

Em nota dirigida ao presidente Raul Alfonsín, que assumiu o governo sábado passado, o Soviète Supremo da

URSS propôs “a intensificação dos laços políticos, econômicos e comerciais, baseados nos princípios da igualdade, do respeito à soberania, da não-intervenção nos assuntos internos e do mútuo benefício”.

A nota — que não faz qualquer referência ao presidente soviético Yuri Andropov, ausente da vida pública há meses — reafirma a “invariável posi-

ção da URSS em relação à justa solução do conflito anglo-argentino em torno das ilhas Malvinas, através de conversações”, no contexto das Nações Unidas.

Respondendo à nota soviética, Alfonsín agradeceu a “mensagem de felicitações” e manifestou seu desejo de “procurar estreitar os laços já estabelecidos de amizade e cooperação” entre os dois países. **FSP 15/12/83**

Moscú deseja aumentar las relaciones con la Argentina

Moscú, 7 (EFE) — El Politburó del partido Comunista de la Unión Soviética calificó de “deseable” una intensificación del desarrollo de las relaciones entre Moscú y Buenos Aires.

En su habitual reunión semanal, el máximo órgano del poder soviético aprobó la actuación del representante de Moscú, Antanas Barkaus-Kas, durante su reciente visita a la Argentina para asistir a la toma de posesión del nuevo presidente argentino, Raúl Alfonsín.

Las relaciones entre ambos países se desarrollaron en los últimos años en el terreno de los intercambios económicos y culturales, particularmente.

La balanza comercial es ampliamente favorable a la Argentina, lo cual en los últimos tiempos había provocado algunas dificultades en el comercio entre Buenos Aires y Moscú.

Estas dificultades — según fuentes dignas de crédito — podrían ser resueltas en un breve plazo.

Odebrecht constrói uma hidroelétrica em Angola em conjunto com a URSS

Salvador — Mais importante do que o valor da obra, a construção da usina hidroelétrica de Kapanda, em Angola, pode significar um passo efetivo da Construtora Norberto Odebrecht para desenvolver outros empreendimentos no exterior, em conjunto com a União Soviética.

O contrato com o Governo angolano, que prevê para o começo de 1984 o início da construção de uma das duas maiores hidroelétricas do país, foi facilitado pela empresa estatal soviética Tecnopromoexport, que vai participar fornecendo equipamentos pesados. Não há, ainda, outra obra em vista para ser realizada em conjunto, mas é possível que isto ocorra no próximo ano. **JB 15/12/83**

Tanques e munições para Moçambique

Noventa tanques de guerra da Engesa (Engenheiros Especializados S/A) e oito containers com rifles e munições serão remetidos para a África via Santos, em embarque no navio brasileiro Nicia. Embora produzidos pela Engesa e outras empresas de material bélico, a exportação é processada pela Engex Co Exportadora S/A, uma trading company (firma de comércio exterior).

O porto de destino desse material é Beira, em Moçambique; porém, não significa necessariamente que a remessa toda seja para este país africano. Os rifles acondicionados em containers, embora tenham Beira como terminal portuário de descarga, são destinados ao Zimbábue, conforme indicavam as caixas de madeira antes de serem colocadas nos containers.

Na última sexta-feira, dia 13, três caminhões com placas de Itajubá, Minas Gerais, trouxeram caixas de madeira contendo rifles produzidos pela Imbel — Indústria de Material Bélico vin ulada ao Ministério do Exército e com várias fábricas em alguns Estados brasileiros. As caixas indicavam ainda o peso líquido de 110 quilos e bruto de 148 quilos, bem como as dimensões 12,7 decímetros por 5,5 dm por 4,9 dm.

A descarga das caixas trazidas

pelos caminhões para um depósito de transportadora, devidamente licenciada e autorizada pelo Exército, era fortemente vigiada por soldados. Posteriormente, as caixas foram colocadas em containers também escoltados. O porto de Santos é regularmente escoadouro de tanques de guerra da Engesa, Armas e Munições.

O sigiloso uso do porto de Santos como escoadouro de material bélico exportado para o exterior é reflexo da política de comércio internacional para o setor, adotada pelo Brasil. (Em novembro de 1982 o jornal norte-americano Christian Science Monitor informava que o Brasil tinha construído a maior e mais avançada indústria de armas entre países do terceiro mundo, e que os armamentos estavam em vias de se tornar o principal item de exportação do nosso País).

O Brasil hoje exporta material bélico para mais de 30 países da América Latina, África, Oriente Médio e Sudeste Asiático. O ministro da Aeronáutica, Délio Jardim de Mattos, a respeito da política nacional de vendas, afirmou: “A indústria brasileira de armas produz para vender. Se aparecer cliente da União Soviética, do Japão ou da China, querendo comprar, venderemos”. **FSP 19.1.84**

"ENERGY AGREEMENT WITH CHINA"

"Cesar Cals, [Brazil's] Minister of Mines and Energy, and Qian Zhengyng, China's Minister of Hydroelectric Resources, signed a statement of intention on technical cooperation in the field of electric energy, including nuclear energy, as well as on the construction of hydroelectric plants and the setting up of high tension power lines.

"The agreement also includes the establishment of a bilateral Commission of Scientific and Technological Cooperation, which may intensify relations between Brazil and China in the field of electric energy" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/3/83).

"CHINA TESTS AND APPROVES THREE LIGHT ARMORED CARS OF ENGESA"

"After rigorous tests in China, near the border with the Soviet Union, in temperatures under -40 degrees centigrade, the light armored cars made by ENGESA -- Brazil's largest arms producer -- were approved by the Chinese. ENGESA is now waiting for a Chinese delegation to start negotiations to buy its products, according to company directors.

"ENGESA directors believe President Figueiredo's visit to China in 1984 will be important for trade relationships between the two countries and may secure arms sales to the Peking government" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 12/6/83).

"EXPORTING TEXTILE FIBERS TO CHINA"

"Brazil is exporting 6 thousand tons of synthetic textile fibers to mainland China" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/15/83).

"PHILIPS SELLS CHINA 1.5 MILLION TV CRTs"

"Philips Brazil yesterday sold China 1.5 million CRTs for black and white TV sets, to be delivered over the next 24 months. This is the largest export of Brazilian manufactured products to China" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 12/24/83).

Acordo energético com a China

Do Sucursal de Brasília

O ministro das Minas e Energia, César Cals, e a ministra dos Recursos Hídricos e Energia Elétrica da China, Qian Zhengyng, assinaram ontem um protocolo de intenções prevendo a cooperação técnica no setor de energia elétrica, incluindo a de origem nuclear, bem como a construção de usinas hidrelétricas e linhas de transmissão.

Subcomissão especial

Segundo o protocolo, deverá

também ser criada uma subcomissão mista de Cooperação Científica e Tecnológica, que poderá intensificar o intercâmbio entre Brasil e China no setor de energia elétrica.

A ministra chinesa está no Brasil desde o dia 20, já tendo visitado as usinas hidrelétricas de Itaipu e Tucuruí, o Centro de Pesquisas da Eletrobrás, a Nuclep, as usinas nucleares de Angra dos Reis e o Instituto de Pesquisas Florestais da Sudam.

A comitiva chinesa deverá deixar o Brasil hoje à noite. **ESR 3/12/83**

*WARM UP
relations with Latin America.
The Soviets are.*

China testa e aprova três blindados leves da Engesa

São Paulo — Os blindados leves da Engesa — Engenheiros Especializados S.A., maior fabricante nacional de armamentos, foram aprovados após rigorosos testes na China, resistindo a temperaturas inferiores a 40 graus negativos, nas proximidades da fronteira com a União Soviética. A Engesa aguarda, agora, uma missão da China para iniciar negociações para a venda de seus produtos, informaram dirigentes da empresa.

Missões chinesas visitaram as instalações da Engesa em São José dos Campos no ano passado e no primeiro semestre deste ano, ficando acertada a realização de testes com os blindados leves naquele país. Dirigentes da Engesa acham que a visita que o Presidente Figueiredo fará à China, no próximo ano, será importante para o relacionamento comercial entre os dois países, podendo consolidar as vendas de armamentos para o Governo de Pequim. (....) JB 6/12/83

Exportação de fibras para a China

Para a China Continental, o Brasil está exportando 6 mil toneladas de fibras têxteis sintéticas em fardos através do porto de Santos. A remessa foi negociada pela Comexport (Companhia de Comércio Exterior), que embarca a mercadoria no navio libiano Future Hope, atracado no cais dos armazéns 33 e 34 da Codesp (Cia. Docas do Estado de São Paulo) e representado pela Agência Marítima Laurits Lachmann.

O cargueiro atracou no último sábado procedente do Rio de Janeiro, onde recebeu produtos brasileiros de exportação. O vapor, entretanto, quase não pôde ser operado no final de semana, pois chuvas fortes impediram o desenvolvimento normal dos serviços de embarques nos porões da embarcação. O lote é constituído de 5.192 fardos com embalagem de nylon, que devem levar cerca de dez dias para embarcar.

O carregamento é acompanhado, desde o início, pelo funcionário da Deicmar Haniel S/A Despachos Aduaneiros Assessoria e Transportes, David Peres de Oliveira. Essa comissária de despachos, representante da Comexport, providenciou a estocagem da carga exportada para a China Comunista nos armazéns 9, 7-A e 14 externos da Codesp, bem como em depósitos particulares. FSP 15/12/83

Philips vende para a China 1,5 milhão de cinescópios de TV

São Paulo — A Philips brasileira fechou, ontem, um contrato inédito de exportação: vendeu, para a China, 1 milhão 500 mil cinescópios para aparelhos de televisão branco e preto, que serão entregues nos próximos 24 meses, segundo informou ontem o diretor da empresa, Sebastião Rosas, que, "por estratégia de mercado", não revelou o valor do negócio.

— Se revelássemos o valor, nossos concorrentes do Oriente estariam oferecendo seus produtos à China, amanhã, tentando ganhar mercado — ressaltou Rosas. — Essa é a maior exportação de manufaturados brasileiros para a China. Este ano, a própria Philips vendeu à China 170 mil cinescópios, que foram aprovados, originando o novo contrato.

A Philips brasileira começou a produzir cinescópios para aparelhos branco e preto de televisão em 1957. "Agora, com a redução do mercado interno, temos a oportunidade de exportar os cinescópios, o que mantém a fábrica em atividade", afirmou Sebastião Rosas.

— Hoje, a Philips tem condições de produzir, por ano, 1 milhão 300 mil cinescópios para aparelhos a cores e 3 milhões 500 unidades para branco e preto. E temos, hoje, a única unidade integrada de fabricação de cinescópios da América do Sul, onde investimos, ao longo dos anos, 150 milhões de dólares — acrescentou.

L A T I N A M E R I C A L E F T W A T C H

PRESS CONFERENCE BY NICARAGUA'S ORTEGA

Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of Nicaragua's governing Junta, held a press conference at Hotel Quito in Quito, Ecuador, on December 8, 1983. Ortega was accompanied by Fr. D'Escoto and another Nicaraguan Minister. The following is a transcript of the taped exchange between a representative of ABIM news agency/TFPs and Ortega:

Representative ABIM-TFP: Commander Ortega, I represent the Brazilian News Agency ABIM and the publications of the Societies for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property [hisses and boos from the leftist clique] in fifteen nations [hisses continue] ... Commander Ortega was speaking about democracy, so I ask you to let me speak [silence]... I represent the publications of the Societies for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property, inspired by the Brazilian Catholic thinker, Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira and would like to ask Mr. Ortega two questions [Several people protest, saying he should be allowed to make only one question. A representative of the ultra-leftist Prensa Obrera had asked three questions and no one had protested]. The first question is: Once it is consolidated in Nicaragua, does the Nicaraguan regime intend to expand its fight against capitalism throughout Central America? If so, by what means? By ideological means or by promoting social revolution in other Central American countries?

Now, since the publications of the Societies for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property disagree entirely with the overthrow of the capitalism in Nicaragua and in Central America, my second question is: Could you explain what increases in freedom and prosperity occurred as a result of the change of regime in Nicaragua? Do you have the figures to show that? Are there statistics compiled by independent researchers? If you have this statistical data, could you give it to us?

Ortega - I believe it would be advisable, since there are so many newsmen here, that only one question be asked, so as to give everyone a chance to ask a question. But let us answer the two questions that you asked... [turns to Fr. D'Escoto asking him what was the first question]. What I have to say about this is the following: this is an accusation being made against us by the United States, which does not really understand that the changes in Central America are due to the economic injustice in which our peoples live. Perhaps it would be advisable to review a bit of history for us to recall that in the last century there were interventions by the U.S. [in Central America] and in the early part of this century there were military interventions by the U.S. in Nicaragua, and neither the Bolshevik revolution, let alone the Cuban one, had yet triumphed. But there is some, or rather a lot of underestimation of the capacity of peoples to determine a policy of change. One always tries to attribute it to somebody else. In this case there has been a revolution in Nicaragua, and the Nicaraguan revolution was not made for export. It was not made to expand. On principle, revolutions cannot be exported; they are born where the conditions are right, where the conditions are not right there simply cannot be revolution. Revolutions cannot mature by force, artificially, they take place where there are conditions for them. And the situation of injustice in which the peoples of Central America have lived is really not a new one. It goes back a few centuries, with U.S. involvement even then. It is clear that the U.S. has committed itself to support repressive regimes in Central America and unjust situations. Therefore, what it is harvesting in Central America are struggles of liberation. This is the fruit of a bad policy, it is the product of an attitude of supporting repressive regimes and of confronting the peoples. So the U.S. is harvesting the fruits of its bad policy in Central America.

As to the benefits of the Nicaraguan revolution, all you have to do is to go to Nicaragua. If you haven't been to our country you can go there, in our country you can enter freely [applause from the leftist clique].

(over)

PRESS CONFERENCE BY NICARAGUA'S ORTEGA . . .

Representative ABIM-TFP: Can you give the statistics? [several people protest asking for silence].

Ortega: . . .to know the reality of Nicaragua. There are statistics recognized by international organizations such as UNESCO, that show the success, a democratic conquest, achieved within a few months after the revolution by the national campaign for literacy. We managed to reduce illiteracy from more than 50% to 10.7%. We are still fighting now. This is something that many other governments were unable to achieve during decades. And another statistic which is also recognized worldwide has to do with something which used to happen systematically in our country as though it were normal. These were the deaths, year after year, of scores of children due to polio. There used to be an annual epidemic of polio in our country. So, a democratic measure of the revolution was to seek a way of eradicating polio as a cause of infant mortality. And international world health organizations have recognized this achievement in Nicaragua, since we have been practically three years without one case of polio in Nicaragua.

And I could cite other very important achievements. For example, before the triumph of the revolution, only minority groups, above all the rich, had access to the media in our country. Now the workers have access to the media. This is another democratic conquest of the revolution.

L A T I N A M E R I C A L E F T W A T C H

"PERU SUPPORTS SANDINISTAS"

"LIMA -- 'We find in Peru a great spirit of solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution,' said Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of Nicaragua's governing Junta, before returning to Managua after his 48-hour visit to Peru" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 12/5/83).

"REAGAN LOSES A POINT OF SUPPORT"

"With the victory of Lusinchi [in the presidential elections in Venezuela], social democracy recovers an important bastion. It was from Venezuela with former president Andres Perez (of Democratic Action) and Lusinchi, that the Socialist International launched its Latin American operation. The fact that this operation has been covering the Sandinistas explains the speed with which Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of Nicaragua's governing Junta, became the first person to send a telegram of congratulations to Lusinchi.

Ortega plans to attend the swearing-in ceremony for Alfonsin. In the last few years the party of the new Argentine president, the Radical Party, came closer to the Socialist International, participating in its meetings and decisions. But the election of Lusinchi will have an even greater impact, since Venezuela considers itself a regional power in the Caribbean, with its own interests which, from the standpoint of Democratic Action, coincide little with those of the United States.

With Lusinchi, Venezuela will more vigorously oppose the Reagan administration's policy in Central America and the Caribbean and will try to recoup the role of interlocutor taken by the Betancur Government in Colombia, which has been sought by representatives of the rebels and of El Salvador's government.

Lusinchi's victory will also have reflections on the country's foreign debt and the IMF. The IMF has a package of measures whose application it plans to impose on Venezuela in exchange for a green light to renegotiate the debt with international banks. Lusinchi has already said that he will not accept anything that may affect the standard of living of Venezuelans or make Venezuela even poorer" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/7/83).

"THE USSR WARNS AGAINST 'AGGRESSIONS' DIRECTED AGAINST CUBA"

"Jaime Lusinchi, Venezuela's newly elected president, will send an official delegation to Cuba in February, soon after he takes the oath of office, to normalize relations with the government of Fidel Castro" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 1/10/84).

"CUBA AND ECUADOR REACTIVATE RELATIONS"

"Nearly three years after reducing their diplomatic relations to the level of charge d'affaires, Cuba and Ecuador yesterday announced the reopening of their embassies" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1/25/84).

CREATE
*conditions for smooth relations
with Latin America.*

THWART
*Soviet attempts to aggravate
our differences.*

Reagan perde um ponto de apoio

Newton Carlos

Peru apóia sandinistas

Lima — “Encontramos no Peru grande espírito de solidariedade com a revolução nicaraguense”, disse ontem o Coordenador da Junta de Governo da Nicarágua, Comandante Daniel Ortega, antes de deixar Lima com destino a Manágua, concluindo visita de 48 horas, que chegou a causar surpresa, já que não fora anunciada previamente. “Encontramos de parte do Presidente Belaunde Terry receptividade a nossas preocupações (sobre uma eventual invasão da Nicarágua pelos Estados Unidos)”, afirmou. Sobre a saída da Nicarágua de cerca de 2 mil professores e técnicos cubanos, explicou que isso era normal nesta época de fim de ano, quando se inicia o período de férias. No comunicado conjunto Peru-Nicarágua, divulgado em Lima ao final da visita de Ortega, o Governo do Presidente Belaunde Terry reiterou seu apoio ao Grupo de Contadora (México, Venezuela, Colômbia e Panamá). **JB 5/12/83**

URSS adverte contra “agressões” à Cuba

HAVANA - Piotr Demichev, membro representante do birô soviético, disse ontem que “todos aqueles que desenvolveram agressões contra Cuba deveriam lembrar o quanto isto lhes custará. E particularmente recordaria o Vietnã e a Baía dos Porcos”. Demichev fez o pronunciamento no Lenin Park, diante da presença do presidente Fidel Castro e outros líderes cubanos.

Em Caracas o presidente eleito da Venezuela, o social-democrata Jaime Lusinchi, enviará uma delegação oficial a Cuba em fevereiro, logo após sua posse, com o objetivo de normalizar as relações com o governo de Fidel Castro. Os integrantes da comissão, segundo a agência IPS, serão os diplomatas Alfredo Baldo e Ignacio Luis Arcaya.

As relações entre Venezuela e Cuba estiveram congeladas durante todo o governo de Herrera Campins, acusado por Fidel Castro de impedir a punição dos responsáveis pelo atentado contra um avião cubano, que deixou 73 mortos. Sete anos após o atentado, o processo ainda está tramitando, com extrema lentidão. **FSP 10.1.84**

Com o triunfo de Lusinchi, a social-democracia recupera um importante bastião. Foi a partir da Venezuela, com o ex-presidente Andres Perez, “adeco” (da Ação Democrática) como Lusinchi, que a Internacional Socialista lançou a sua operação latino-americana. Essa operação tem dado cobertura aos sandinistas, o que explica a rapidez que levou o coordenador da junta de governo da Nicarágua, comandante Daniel Ortega, a tornar-se o primeiro a felicitar Lusinchi por telegrama.

Ortega projeta ir à posse de Alfonsín. O partido do novo presidente argentino, o Radical, aproximou-se nos últimos anos da Internacional Socialista, participando de reuniões e decisões. Mas nesse âmbito a eleição de Lusinchi terá projeções mais fortes. A Venezuela se considera uma potência regional do Caribe, com interesses próprios, e do ponto de vista da Ação Democrática pouco coincidentes com os dos Estados Unidos.

Choques

Com o atual presidente venezuelano, Herrera Campins, foi diferente. Campins é democrata-cristão e sustentou o que pode a presidência de Napoleón Duarte, outro democrata-cristão, em El Salvador, perfilando com o governo Reagan. Há quase um ano a Venezuela não entrega à Nicarágua os 7.500 barris diários de petróleo estabelecidos num acordo de facilidades, negociado em San José, capital da Costa Rica. Apesar de suas dificuldades financeiras e das dificuldades de pagamento da Nicarágua, o México continua entregando a sua parcela e assim evitando a paralisação da economia nicaraguense.

O governo de Herrera Campins rateou diante da invasão de Granada. A condenação da violação do princípio da não-intervenção foi imediata e incisiva, mas em reunião do Ministerio os entrechoques quase quebraram vidraças e foram ouvidos nos corredores. O ministro do Exterior teve de defender-se da acusação de negligência, de permitir o surgimento de uma “cabeça de ponte comunista” a pouca distância do território venezuelano. A solução encontrada por Herrera Campins foi mandá-lo em viagem ao Caribe com a tarefa de promover acomodações.

Com Lusinchi a Venezuela deve contrapor-se com mais vigor à política centro-americana e caribenha do governo Reagan e tentar retomar o papel de interlocutor assumido pelo governo Betancur da Colômbia, para onde têm convergido representantes dos rebeldes e do regime salvadorenho.

Divisão

Os sandinistas sabem, no entanto, que discussões internas na Ação Democrática já criaram problemas sérios para eles com a Internacional Socialista. Há entre os “adecos” uma forte tendência, do qual faz parte Lusinchi, favorável a que se exija dos sandinistas medidas de relaxamento interno na Nicarágua e a convocação o mais breve possível de eleições. O rápido telegrama de Ortega é sinal de que os sandinistas se consideram ajustados a essas exigências (o diálogo com a Igreja foi retomado, é decretada uma anistia parcial e reiterado que haverá eleições em 85) e vêem como um triunfo a eleição de Lusinchi.

Outras projeções das eleições venezuelanas, com a vitória de Lusinchi, se referem à dívida externa e FMI. O Fundo tem pronto um pacote de medidas cuja aplicação pretende impor à Venezuela em troca de sinal verde para renegociação com os bancos internacionais. Lusinchi já disse que não aceitará nada que afete o nível de vida dos venezuelanos, que empobreça ainda mais a Venezuela. O secretário-geral de seu partido, Manuel Penalver, é também dirigente da Confederação dos Trabalhadores da Venezuela, que terá peso no novo governo e na montagem do pacto social proposto por Matos Azocar, principal estrategista econômico de Lusinchi. **FSP 7/12/83**

Cuba e Equador reativam laços

Havana e Quito — Quase três anos depois de terem reduzido suas relações diplomáticas a nível de Encarregados de Negócios, Cuba e Equador anunciaram ontem a reativação de suas Embaixadas. Em fevereiro de 1981, soldados cubanos invadiram a Embaixada do Equador em Havana para libertar o então Embaixador Jorge Perez Concha, retido por 14 cubanos que exigiam permissão para abandonar Cuba. **JB 25.1.84**

L A T I N A M E R I C A L E F T W A T C H

"AMERICAN GENERAL WARNS OF GUERRILLA ACTION IN THE SOUTHERN CONE"

"American Air Force General Robert Schweitzer, president of the Inter-American Defense Board said to Argentine military men whom he met in Buenos Aires that the guerrilla movement active in Peru and Bolivia, 'extends to Chile, Argentina, Paraguay and Brazil.' Schweitzer's unusual disclosure coincides to the letter with information from the Bolivian government about a guerrilla unit discovered over the weekend, which reportedly chose the State of Acre, in Brazil, as the 'strategic zone' for its operations in the country.

"Schweitzer's statements and the information disclosed in Bolivia give continental dimension to the guerrilla phenomenon" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 11/26/83).

"ATTACKERS OF CUTUFI PROPOSE TO INTERNATIONALIZE ARMED STRUGGLE"

"The Castroite guerrilla movement of Colombia, the self-titled 'National Liberation Army,' declared that it is taking up the revolutionary flag of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara to 'internationalize the proletarian struggle' and liberate the 'Latin American fatherland from yankee imperialism and the exploitation of man by man.'

"The Sunday morning attack against the Venezuelan military outpost of Cutufi, carried out by a commando of the NLA, is the beginning of the internationalization of armed struggle in Latin America, said the guerrillas in a press conference with two Colombian newsmen.

"The problem of Colombia, Venezuela, or the Central American countries is the same, and therefore the National Liberation Army has to intervene in these nations,' four members of the NLA said to the reporters.

"The attack against Cutufi was led by the Spanish priest Domingo Lain, who was thought to have died more than ten years ago in a battle with the army. They added that members of the 'Red Flag' Venezuelan guerrilla movement also participated in the attack.

"In their press conference, the guerrillas announced that one of their contingents went to El Salvador to reinforce the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and that they are also ready to fight in Nicaragua to defend the Sandinist revolution, assailed by counter-revolutionary groups" (El Nacional, Caracas, 9/22/83).

"IN LATIN AMERICA, A SUBVERSIVE ALLIANCE OF GUERRILLAS FROM
COLOMBIA, CENTRAL AMERICA, PERU AND VENEZUELA"

"BOGOTA -- Leftist guerrilla movements of Colombia, Central America, Peru and Venezuela have established a 'subversive alliance' as part of the expansionist strategy of international communism in Latin America,' stated General Gustavo Matamoros, commander of the Colombian Armed Forces.

"A proof of this alliance is the recent attack by Red Flag and the National Liberation Army (NLA) against Cutufi, in Venezuela,' he said.

"Red Flag, a Venezuelan guerrilla movement, and the NLA, a Castroite Colombian guerrilla movement, attacked Cutufi in the first joint operation of subversive groups of the two countries.

"General Matamoros added that 'international communism is working to destabilize some governments in Central America to later strike in Colombia. Once they achieve their goal in Nicaragua and El Salvador, the next target will be Colombia'" (El Universal, Caracas, 9/23/83).

209/11/83

General americano advierte sobre acción da guerrilha no Cone Sul

Clóvis Rossi
de Buenos Aires

O general da Força Aérea norte-americana, Robert Schweitzer, presidente da Junta Interamericana de Defesa, afirmou na semana passada a interlocutores militares com os quais esteve em Buenos Aires que a guerrilha que atua no Peru e, segundo ele, também na Bolívia, "se estende ao Chile, Argentina, Paraguai e Brasil". A insólita revelação de Schweitzer coincide, quase "ipsis literis", com as informações do governo boliviano a respeito de uma célula guerrilheira descoberta no fim-de-semana, que teria escolhido o Estado do Acre, no Brasil, como "zona estratégica", para as suas atividades no país.

Pode-se levar a sério a informação que o general norte-americano transmitiu a seus colegas argentinos (ele reuniu-se sigilosamente com a Junta Militar e outros oficiais de alta graduação)? Aparentemente não. Em primeiro lugar, porque os serviços de inteligência dos países mencionados estão suficientemente bem estruturados para descobrir, antes mesmo que a CIA, qualquer preparativo para uma ação guerrilheira de alguma importância. E, ao que consta, o SNI brasileiro não

mencionou, até agora, a existência desse suposto foco.

Em segundo lugar, as denúncias parecem coincidir com o alastramento das pressões sobre o governo boliviano para afastar do poder o presidente Hernán Siles Zuazo, no que teria todo o interesse o governo norte-americano. É sintomático que Schweitzer tenha revelado, aqui em Buenos Aires, que espera mudanças na Bolívia, "a curto prazo", e que os militares norte-americanos não as veriam com desgosto.

Conexão cubana

Tudo leva a crer que os Estados Unidos pretendem demonstrar uma conexão cubana também na América do Sul, intimamente vinculada ao governo Siles Zuazo. No mês passado, já se armou um escândalo em torno do suposto treinamento de jovens bolivianos em Cuba, com patrocínio do Ministério do Interior boliviano. Agora, descobre-se um funcionário do governo, Fernando Araujo, envolvido em ações terroristas, o que afeta diretamente o homem-forte do partido de Siles, Felix Rospigliosi. Ocorre que, segundo a denúncia, Araujo trabalha para a Junta Nacional de Ação Social, cuja diretora é parente de Rospigliosi.

Arma-se, assim, o cenário para a

oerrubada de Siles, seja pela via clássica de colocar os tanques nas ruas, seja por intermédio de um golpe no Parlamento, destinado a levar à presidência o arqui-rival de Siles, Victor Paz Estenssoro. Com isso, os Estados Unidos se livrariam do incômodo que representa o fato de que o Partido Comunista boliviano está representado no atual governo.

Mais ainda: as declarações de Schweitzer e as revelações feitas na Bolívia dão dimensões continentais ao fenômeno da guerrilha, o que sugere, implicitamente, a necessidade de manter aparatos repressivos hiperdesenvolvidos em toda a região e especialmente na Argentina.

O ultraconservador vespertino "La Razón" — que geralmente reflete os humores da cúpula militar — em sua edição de ontem trata dessa preocupação, em nota de primeira página que não passa de um editorial disfarçado. Não há nela uma única informação, mas, sim, a observação sutil de que "o sistema democrático não constitui uma garantia automática a respeito da extirpação da violência subversiva".

Observação que deve ser lida contra as intenções de Alfonsín de desmantelar o aparato repressivo e subordinar as forças de segurança às normas democráticas.

Internacionalizar
la lucha armada
se proponen
asaltantes de Cutufí

El E.L.N. anuncia desde Medellín que trasladará la guerrilla a "toda la patria latinoamericana"

Bogotá, 21 (AP). La guerrilla castrista colombiana que se autodenomina "Ejército de Liberación Nacional" (ELN) declaró que toma la bandera revolucionaria de Ernesto "Che" Guevara para "internacionalizar la lucha proletaria" y liberar a "la patria latinoamericana del imperialismo yanqui y de la explotación del hombre por el hombre". El ataque contra el puesto militar venezolano de Cutufí en la madrugada del domingo, ejecutado por un comando del ELN, es el principio de la internacionalización de la lucha armada en América Latina, dijo la guerrilla en una conferencia de prensa con dos periodistas colombianos.

La conferencia se realizó en la clandestinidad en las montañas cercanas a Medellín, segunda ciudad del país, y en ella participaron los periodistas Hermy Ocampo, de la cadena radial Caracol, y José Nicolás Díez, del diario La Tarde de la ciudad de Pereira, donde fueron secuestrados hace cuatro días por los guerrilleros.

Los periodistas Ocampo y Díez fueron liberados hoy en Medellín en donde presentaron los informes recibidos de los jefes del ELN.

"El problema de Colombia, de Venezuela o de los países centroamericanos, no es distinto y por eso el Ejército de Liberación Nacional tiene que incursionar en esas naciones", dijeron cuatro integrantes del ELN a los periodistas.

"El Ejército de Liberación continuará con la lucha que trazó el Che Guevara de poner a América Latina en pie de guerra contra el imperialismo yanqui", agregaron.

Los jefes guerrilleros opinaron que "el incendio guerrillero revolucionario no está en la casa vecina sino que está en toda la patria latinoamericana y es un fuego que va a quemar hasta sus raíces la explotación del hombre por el hombre".

Confirmaron que en la madrugada del domingo el mayor

y no alcanza a reunir mil combatientes. Sus actividades en Colombia han estado limitadas a actos de terrorismo urbano y algunos asaltos y secuestros en remotas zonas rurales". El ELN está lejos de tener la capacidad militar de las auto-denominadas "Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia" (FARC), prosovieticas, y del Movimiento 19 de Abril (M-19), de tendencia nacionalista, que según cálculos de la inteligencia militar podrían tener cada uno alrededor de 2,000 combatientes.

El ELN ha rechazado la amistad que fue decretada por el congreso el pasado 20 de noviembre, mientras que las FARC y el M-19 están en conversaciones con el gobierno para buscar fórmulas que les permitan deponer las armas.

En opinión de los organismos de seguridad del Estado, el ELN es una de las guerrillas más pequeñas que opera en Colombia

comando en armas del ELN atacó a Cutufí, puesto de la Guardia Nacional de Venezuela, cerca de la frontera con Colombia, para dar comienzo a la "internacionalización de la lucha proletaria". El ataque contra Cutufí fue encabezado por el sacerdote español Domingo Lain, quien se suponía había muerto hace más de diez años en un combate con tropas del ejército. Añadieron que también participaron miembros de "Bandera Roja", una guerrilla venezolana. En su conferencia de prensa, los guerrilleros anunciaron que uno de sus contingentes se trasladó a El Salvador para reforzar al frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional y que están dispuestos también a luchar en Nicaragua para defender la revolución sandinista asediada por grupos contrarrevolucionarios.

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Comandante de las Fuerzas Armadas colombianas
Alianza Subversiva de Guerrillas
de Colombia, Centroamérica, Perú
y Venezuela en América Latina

La unión — precisó el oficial colombiano — tiene como objetivos los planes de expansión del comunismo internacional en la región

BOGOTÁ, 22 (AP) — Las guerrillas izquierdistas de Colombia, Centroamérica, Perú y Venezuela han puesto en marcha una "alianza subversiva" que forma parte de la estrategia expansionista del comunismo internacional en América Latina, afirmó el comandante de las Fuerzas Armadas Colombianas, general Gustavo Matamoros.

"Una prueba de esta alianza es el reciente ataque de Bandera Roja y el Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN) a la localidad de Cutufí, Venezuela, donde murió un guardia", dijo Matamoros en una entrevista que publica hoy el diario "El Tiempo".

Bandera Roja, guerrilla venezolana y combatientes del ELN, guerrilla castrista colombiana, asaltaron Cutufí en la madrugada del domingo en la primera operación conjunta de grupos subversivos de los dos países.

En una conferencia de prensa clandestina celebrada ayer en las montañas del norte del país, jefes del ELN anunciaron que con el ataque a Cutufí se inicia "la internacionalización de la lucha proletaria para liberar a la patria latinoamericana del imperialismo yanqui y de la explotación del hombre por el hombre".

El comandante de las fuerzas militares de Colombia reveló que la alianza entre las guerrillas latinoamericanas, que incluye a los grupos Sendero Luminoso de Perú y el Frente Farabundo Martí de El Salvador, fue pactada en una reunión que celebraron los jefes de los grupos subversivos en Esmeraldas, Ecuador, en fecha reciente.

Agregó que "el comunismo internacional está tratando de desestabilizar algunos gobiernos de Centroamérica para después dar el golpe en Colombia. Una vez logren su objetivo en Nicaragua y El Salvador, el objetivo será Colombia.

Afortunadamente nuestras instituciones no son débiles para permitir que esto suceda".

Las afirmaciones del jefe militar coinciden con los anuncios formulados por el ELN de ayudar con contingentes armados a las guerrillas del Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación de El Salvador y al gobierno de Nicaragua que está bajo el asedio de grupos armados que no comparten la orientación marxista del régimen sandinista.

El objetivo, dijeron los jefes del Ejército de Liberación Nacional, es "rescatar la bandera revolucionaria del Che Guevara para colocar a América Latina en pie de guerra contra el imperialismo yanqui". Ernesto Guevara, revolucionario argentino-cubano, murió en Bolivia en 1967 cuando intentaba provocar allí una revolución similar a la de Cuba.

En un reportaje con "El Tiempo", Belaúnde dijo que el grupo maoísta Sendero Luminoso recibe armas y dinero de narcotraficantes, especialmente colombianos.

El embajador de Venezuela en Colombia Pedro Contreras Pulido dijo también que el ataque contra Cutufí pudo haber sido una represalia de las guerrillas por las enérgicas medidas adoptadas recientemente para evitar el ingreso de cocaína proveniente de Colombia por ese sector de la frontera.

"Resulta muy significativo que el asalto a Cutufí se registre pocos días después que fueron incautados 80 kilos de cocaína y se habían fumigado extensas plantaciones de marihuana que habían sido descubiertas en esa zona", declaró el embajador.

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L A T I N A M E R I C A L E F T W A T C H

"CUBANS TRAIN THE M-19 IN COLOMBIA"

"Cuban experts train the M-19 Colombian guerrilla movement in the jungles of Caqueta y Putumayo and also exchange know how and weapons with the revolutionary group 'Sendero Luminoso' [Shining Path] of Peru, said a member of the M-19 who deserted last week.

For obvious reasons we will keep his identity secret, but for the purposes of this report we will call him Pedro. He maintained that the M-19 has Fal, AK-25 and M-16 rifles, and a weapon which he did not know before and which is called 'shooters,' with a capacity of shooting 130 bullets per second. Part of this war material was impounded by Brazil [when Lybian planes were forced to land there], but it finally made it to the guerrillas. According to Pedro, a good part of this material comes from the leftovers of war in Vietnam and Cambodia.

"The terrorists assigned to act in the cities are also trained in the jungles, and exchanges are made with the Peruvian guerrilla movement 'Sendero Luminoso,' whose members are trained in the schools of Caqueta. 'Sendero Luminoso' provides the M-19 with weapons and receives training from it in return.

"In order to prevent 'enemy infiltration,' a prospective guerrilla is examined before entering combat by Cuban psychologists who interrogate and carefully analyze his answers.

"According to Pedro, one of the tests to which the recruits are subjected to see whether or not they are infiltrators, is to have them kill in cold blood one of their companions who committed a grave fault.

"The M-19 and 'Sendero Luminoso' guerrillas complement their training in the jungles of Caqueta and Putumayo with film strips on guerrilla warfare in Vietnam and the Middle East.

"Pedro noted that although the people of Caqueta and Putumayo have been 'conscientized' by the guerrillas, their collaboration fell below expected levels and so the guerrillas have no roof to sleep under" (EI Tiempo, Bogota, 11/9/83).

"ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE ISLAND, CONGRESSMEN CALL FOR A
RESUMPTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN BRAZIL AND CUBA"

"MEXICO CITY -- Congressman Harold Sanford, head of the group of Brazilian congressmen which made an official visit to Cuba this week, announced here yesterday that upon returning to Brasilia he will launch a campaign in Congress 'to bring home to all our colleagues in the House and the Senate, and to the government itself, the need of speeding up the reestablishment of relations between Brazil and Cuba.'

"This was the first official visit of a Brazilian parliamentary delegation to that country since the breaking of diplomatic and trade relations between Brasilia and Havana more than 20 years ago. The trip was organized by the United Nations and by the National Congress for the group of congressmen which studies family planning in Brazil" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 12/4/83).

Cubanos entrenan al M-19 en Colombia

El M-19 recibe entrenamiento de expertos cubanos en las selvas del Caquetá y Putumayo y mantiene intercambio de conocimientos y de armas con el grupo revolucionario "Sendero Luminoso" del Perú, dijo un integrante de la agrupación que desertó la semana pasada.

Según el guerrillero, el M-19 tiene 2.500 hombres en los frentes del sur del país, pero muchos de ellos están decepcionados por el trato que reciben, el duro trabajo en el monte y están dispuestos a huir.

El desertor indicó que en el reciente asalto a Garzón (Huila) participaron cinco columnas del M-19, cada una compuesta por 70 hombres que eran dirigidos por primera vez en la historia de las tomas de poblaciones, por dos comandantes, uno de ellos Jaime Capera Díaz.

El hombre, cuya verdadera identidad mantenemos en secreto por razones obvias, pero que para efectos de este relato llamaremos Pedro, señaló que Capera Díaz fue dado de baja por el Ejército por un error táctico, luego de que tuvo un desacuerdo con otro jefe guerrillero que lo acompañó a Garzón.

El incidente entre los dos subversivos se produjo en el momento en que se encontraban la población y Capera hizo frente durante varias horas a una columna de las tropas que finalmente lo cercó y eliminó.

Para los guerrilleros lo más temido son los helicópteros artillados que posee el Ejército, y por esta razón tratan de caminar por las zonas cubiertas de vegetación o se desplazan de noche por la selva.

Dijo que cuando un guerrillero resulta herido en un combate, si su caso es grave, otro compañero le da muerte para evitar que sufra y por que a partir de ese momento se convertiría en carga para el movimiento.

Pedro reveló que los entrenamientos en las escuelas guerrilleras y especialmente los polígonos son hechos en túneles profundos con el objeto de que los militares no escuchan las detonaciones.

Sostuvo que el M-19 tiene fusiles Fai, Ak-25, M-16 y un arma para él desconocida que llaman "tiradores" con capacidad para 130 proyectiles por segundo. Parte de este material de guerra fue el que Brasil decomisó al mandatario de Libia, coronel Kadhafi, pero que finalmente llegó a la guerrilla. Buena parte de este material, de acuerdo con lo manifestado por el desertor, proviene de los resagos de la guerra de Vietnam y Camboya.

También en la selva se entrenan los terroristas que deben actuar en las ciudades y se producen intercambios con la guerrilla peruana "Sendero Luminoso", cuyos hombres reciben preparación en las escuelas

del Caquetá. "Sendero Luminoso" le da armas al M-19 y éste le entrena a sus hombres.

Pedro, quien fue acompañado por un redactor de EL TIEMPO hasta la oficina del Procurador General, Carlos Jiménez Gómez, ante quien se acogió a la amnistía, anotó que prescindió su servicio militar y que fue reclutado para la guerrilla por una estudiante de la Universidad Nacional en Bogotá.

Para evitar la infiltración de "enemigos" antes de que el aspirante pueda entrar a combate, es sometido a exámenes de psicólogos cubanos que lo interrogan y analizan cuidadosamente sus respuestas. Un error en una de estas sesiones fue la que costó la vida a dos militares que fueron fusilados por Capera Díaz en presencia de periodistas bogotanos.

Según Pedro, una de las pruebas que son sometidos los reclutas para descubrir si son o no infiltrados, consiste en que deben matar a sangre fría a uno de sus compañeros que haya cometido una falta grave.

Uno de los sufrimientos para el guerrillero raro es la comida, pues su alimentación consiste en enlatados ecuatorianos de baja calidad, los cuales deben consumir la mayoría de las veces en plena marcha, por cuanto el asedio del Ejército es permanente.

Cuando un soldado es muerto por la guerrilla, el subversivo cae como gárguila sobre él, porque el Ejército consume enlatados americanos, que son superiores a los ecuatorianos, dice Pedro.

La guerrilla del M-19 y de "Sendero Luminoso" complementa su entrenamiento en las selvas del Caquetá y Putumayo con proyección de películas sobre la guerra de guerrillas en Vietnam y el Medio Oriente.

El M-19 —según cuenta Pedro— ha efectuado contactos con los sandinistas de Nicaragua pero no han podido llegar a ningún acuerdo debido a que los "nicas" quieren imponerles su ideología y el movimiento colombiano no la acepta. El grupo guerrillero tiene en la actualidad 22 frentes de combate gracias a las alianzas que han hecho con otros movimientos como las FARC, el ELN y el EPL y todos están listos para entrar en combate cuando ordenen.

Los guerrilleros son vacunados constantemente para preservarlos del paludismo, las infecciones propias del clima de la región y cuando son mordidos por las culebras.

Pedro aceptó que tomó parte en el asalto a Paujil, donde la guerrilla sufrió más de 15 bajas. En las filas del Ejército también hubo muertos, "pero nosotros nunca nos deteníamos a contarlos por miedo a que nos emboscaran. También intervino en el

sangriento asalto de Belén de los Andes.

Antes de una toma la guerrilla estudia la región varias veces. Preferencialmente se analiza la zona desde una avioneta de fumigación y se hace un plano sobre los distintos caminos para entrar al poblado y para huir, lo mismo que los puntos en que pueden ser atacados por el Ejército. Siempre se busca —dice Pedro— que haya una diferencia de tres horas entre las tropas perseguidoras y los guerrilleros. El asalto a Garzón (Huila) fue estudiado durante dos meses.

Se entra en acción cuando un informante en el pueblo da la señal de que se puede actuar. Entre los pocos incentivos que brindan al guerrillero figura la entrega esporádica de 10 mil pesos para sus gastos. Sin embargo Pedro y sus compañeros llegaron a Bogotá sin cinco centavos y descalzos, temerosos de ser asesinados por los grupos urbanos.

La retirada en la cual los guerrilleros deben cargar pesados bultos, casi siempre de viveres, ropas y drogas sustraídas de los mercados, se hace en pequeñas columnas de seis u ocho hombres que se vuelven a reunir después de 15 ó 20 días en un sitio previamente indicado.

En el asalto de Garzón los guerrilleros recogieron bastante dinero y la muerte de Capera sirvió para que Pedro y los otros subversivos se eva-

dieran y regresaran a la ciudad.

Para Pedro, el mando supremo del M-19 lo tomará un ingeniero bogotano que adelantó cursos de guerrilla en Libia. El relevo se hará luego de una cumbre que se celebrará este mes en algún lugar del país.

El desertor dice que la guerra en el Caquetá la tiene ganada el Ejército y que su asedio es permanente, lo que hace que el guerrillero se desespere porque debe estar en movimiento a toda hora y no le queda tiempo ni para dormir. Este acoso es el que obliga a los guerrilleros a comer enlatados, pues no pueden prender hogueras por temor a que el humo los delate.

Pedro anota que aunque los pobladores del Caquetá y Putumayo han sido concientizados por la guerrilla, estos no han colaborado como se esperaba y por eso no pueden dormir bajo techo.

Las relaciones sexuales solo pueden hacerla los guerrilleros una vez al mes, previo permiso de sus superiores y con el consentimiento de las mujeres del grupo. Quien viole la orden puede ser fusilado.

Finalmente, dijo que la lucha del M-19 no conducirá a nada y que quienes continúan en el monte esperan la oportunidad para desertar. Pedro lamenta de los dos años de vida que le brindó a una estéril campaña.

Deputados pedem retomada de relações Brasil-Cuba em visita oficial à ilha

Cidade do México (Rosental Calmon Alves) — O chefe do grupo parlamentar brasileiro que visitou Cuba, oficialmente, esta semana, Deputado Haroldo Sanford (PDS-CE), anunciou ontem, nesta Capital, que ao regressar a Brasília lançará campanha, no Congresso Nacional, "para sensibilizar todos os nossos colegas Deputados e Senadores e o próprio Governo sobre a necessidade de se apressar o restabelecimento de relações entre o Brasil e Cuba".

Embora vários Deputados e Senadores brasileiros tenham visitado Cuba antes, isoladamente ou para participar de reuniões internacionais, esta foi a primeira visita oficial de uma delegação parlamentar do Brasil àquele país, desde o rompimento de relações diplomáticas e comerciais entre Brasília e Havana, há mais de 20 anos. A viagem foi organizada pelas Nações Unidas e pelo Congresso Nacional, para o grupo parlamentar que estuda a questão do planejamento familiar no Brasil. (..)

DB 4/12/83

L A T I N A M E R I C A L E F T W A T C H

"FOR CASTRO, BRAZIL IS NOT A PRIORITY"

"MEXICO CITY -- President Fidel Castro responded with arrogance to the initiative of Brazilian congressmen that visited Havana, of seeking to immediately resume diplomatic relations between the governments of Brasilia and Havana. He said he was not interested in the subject because 'Brazil is not a priority for Cuba.' With even greater arrogance, he added: 'Cuba does much more for the world than Brazil.'

"The statements of the Cuban president surprised all the Brazilian congressmen who, only a few moments earlier, had expressed to the Cuban deputies who received them in the National Assembly of People's Power, their intention of earnestly trying to have Brazilian authorities resume diplomatic relations between Brazil and Cuba as soon as possible" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/7/83).

"CUBA HAS 'POINTS IN COMMON' WITH BRAZIL"

"QUITO -- The Cuban government coincides in many points with Brazilian foreign policy, but it is in no hurry to resume diplomatic relations with Brazil or any other country. This statement was made by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the Council of Ministers and one of the 'strongmen' of Fidel Castros' regime, in an interview with O Estado de S. Paulo. Rodriguez heads his country's delegation to the Latin American Economic Conference.

"On the question of resuming relations he said that Latin America lives a moment of revision 'which will permit us all to make a new assessment of our respective forms of envisaging relations with different countries.' The Cuban delegation considered 'very satisfactory the remarks of [Brazilian] Foreign Minister Saraiva Guerreiro, which allows us to coordinate more and more, in international forums, the positions of Brazil and Cuba, which have often coincided.'

"[He goes on:] 'There are many things, such as this conference, which make our actions coincide. Our peoples are friends, and this is enough. Cuba is not in a hurry, but is always ready for a greater understanding with Latin American countries.'

"'We are following very attentively the action of Brazil in the Third World, which to us appears to be very interesting. It seems to us that Brazil has an advanced technology which provides it economic conditions -- in spite of its enormous difficulties with debt -- that favor its collaboration with Third World countries.'

"'According to him, 'Brazil can make an even greater contribution to the cause called South-South, to which Cuba is also committed. And to the extent in which countries which have more or less advanced technological and developmental conditions, like Brazil, its presence will be very important for us to conduct our relations with the South-South countries according to the terms of the Latin American Conference'" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 1/4/84).

Para Castro, o Brasil não é prioritário

1/12/83
GERALDO SEABRA FILHO
Especial para O Estado

CIDADE DO MÉXICO — Ao

contrário do que informaram as agências internacionais, o presidente Fidel Castro respondeu com arrogância à iniciativa dos parlamentares brasileiros que estiveram em Havana na semana passada — no sentido de um imediato restabelecimento das relações diplomáticas entre os governos de Brasília e Havana — afirmando que o assunto não lhe interessava porque “o Brasil não é prioritário para Cuba”. Ainda mais arrogante, acrescentou: “Cuba faz muito mais pelo mundo do que o Brasil”.

Castro fez essas declarações diante dos senadores Marcondes Gadelha (PDS-PB), Martins Filho (PDS-RN) e Alvaro Dias (PMDB-PR) e dos deputados Hélio Duque (PMDB-PR), Antonio Câmara (PMDB-RN), Oscar Alves (PDS-PR), Haroldo Sanford (PDS-CE), Leonir Belém (PDS-CE), José Sarney Filho (PDS-MA), Roberto Freire (PMDB-PE), Amauri Müller (PDT-RS) e Beth Mendes (PT-SP), durante um encontro de duas horas e 50 minutos que com eles manteve na Casa do Protocolo, um luxuoso clube nas cercanias de Havana onde o governo cubano recebe autoridades e delegações estrangeiras.

As afirmações do presidente cubano surpreenderam indistintamente a todos os parlamentares brasileiros, que momentos antes haviam manifestado aos deputados cubanos, que os receberiam em sessão especial da Assembleia Nacional do Poder Popular, o propósito de se empenharem junto às autoridades do Brasil para que o restabelecimento das relações diplomáticas entre este país e Cuba se concretizasse dentro da maior brevidade possível. Mais diplomáticos que o anfitrião, os parlamentares não contestaram Castro. (“

Cuba tem “pontos em comum” com Brasil

CHICO DIAS
Enviado especial

QUITO — O governo cubano tem muitos pontos em comum com a política externa brasileira, mas não tem pressa em restabelecer relações diplomáticas com o Brasil ou com outro país qualquer. A afirmação é do vice-presidente do Conselho de Ministros de Cuba, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez — um dos “homens fortes” do regime de Fidel Casto — em entrevista exclusiva a **O Estado de S. Paulo** e **Jornal da Tarde**. Rodríguez chefiava a delegação de seu país à Conferência Econômica Latino-Americana.

Sobre o problema do reatamento de relações, disse que a América Latina vive um momento de revisão. “que nos permitirá a todos, uma nova avaliação de nossas respectivas formas de focar as relações com os distintos países”. Para a delegação cubana, “foi muito satisfatória a intervenção que ouvimos do chanceler Saraiva Guerreiro, permitindo-nos coordenar, cada vez mais, nos foros internacionais, as posições de Brasil e Cuba, que muitas vezes têm sido coincidentes”.

Segundo o vice-presidente cubano, “depende inteiramente do Brasil decidir quando considera conveniente o reatamento e depende de Cuba decidir também que é chegado o momento propício. Mas no momento não há nada que nos contraponha. Há muitas coisas que nos levam — como esta conferência — a coincidir nas nossas ações. Nossos povos são povos amigos, e isso é o suficiente. Cuba não está apressada, mas está sempre disposta a um entendimento maior com os países da América Latina”.

Indagado sobre como Cuba vê as mudanças que se estão processando

na América do Sul, especialmente as eleições argentinas e o processo político brasileiro, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez afirmou que o Continente latino-americano e a região caribenha, em seu processo de desenvolvimento histórico, chegaram a uma situação tal em que se tem demonstrado que a força da repressão — empregando inclusive os piores métodos, como, em certo momento, empregaram as forças retrógradas no Brasil e como acabam, faz pouco tempo, de utilizar as forças militares argentinas e como ainda estão empregando no Chile — só demonstrou a sua inoperância. “Ela recorreu a todo tipo de brutalidade. Na Argentina, verifica-se que existem cerca de 25 mil desaparecidos com um número de assassinios conhecido e público. E apesar disso tudo, não podem manter-se”.

— Como Cuba vê a ação do Brasil, hoje, no contexto do Terceiro Mundo?

“Nós estamos seguindo com muita atenção a ação do Brasil no Terceiro Mundo, que nos parece muito interessante. Parece-nos que o Brasil dispõe de uma tecnologia avançada que lhe dá condições econômicas — apesar de suas enormes dificuldades com a dívida — que propiciam a colaboração com os países do Terceiro Mundo.

O Brasil, segundo o vice-presidente, “pode trazer uma contribuição ainda maior para a causa denominada Sul-Sul, com a qual Cuba também está comprometida. E na medida em que países que têm condições tecnológicas e de desenvolvimento mais ou menos avançado, como é o caso do Brasil, naturalmente, para conduzir nossas relações com os países Sul-Sul, nos termos em que ficou colocado na Conferência Latino-Americana, esta presença será de muita importância”. **DESP 14.1.84**

"GERMAN PROFESSOR FORESEES A SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN BRAZIL"

"The implementation of the International Monetary Fund program may lead to a social revolution in Brazil, university professor Hermann Goergen, president of the German-Brazilian Society, said in Bonn yesterday. According to him, 'this may move the whole of [Latin] America and place at risk the protection that the United States represents to the western world.'

"Goergen stated: 'Because of this, it is necessary to take the foreign debt of Latin America' (about U.S.\$300 billion) as a loss. He spoke at the Iberian Club of Bonn during a lecture by Wolfdiete Wabnitz, director of the Latin American Department of the Institute of Credit for Reconstruction, an executive agency in state capitals of West Germany headquartered in Frankfurt" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/19/83).

"AMERICAN CONGRESSMAN PROVOKES INCIDENT AT ASENCIO'S HOME"

"Itamaraty [the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs] gave full support to the attitude of Ambassador Asdrubal Ulisseia, head of the African Department, of leaving the residence of Diego Asencio, the new U.S. Ambassador. Ulisseia left after hearing a small speech by an American congressman, Stephen Solarz, of the Democratic Party, who was participating in a reception at Asencio's house.

"According to an official of Itamaraty, the [congressman's] statements, which were considered arrogant and in bad taste, made reference to the shadows of Brazilian dictatorship and disclosed he had an interview with a Brazilian military authority from whom he was unable to get the information he wanted. The same official said the congressman ridiculed the Brazilian Armed Forces.

"According to the official, it is not unusual for a visitor to place Brazil in a ridiculous position. Although the incident does not harm relations between Brazil and the U.S., it creates some tension at a time in which diplomatic authorities are trying to warm up relations with several types of cooperation, including the military sphere" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 1/5/84).

"CHILE, A FAVORITE TARGET OF THE USSR"

"SANTIAGO -- The Soviet Union spends 'about 400 million dollars annually on propaganda and terrorist actions in the West, mainly in Latin America.' The disclosure was made by General Humberto Gordon, head of the National Information Center (CNI), the main anti-subversive organization of the Chilean military regime. Gordon said that 'Chile is one of the favorite targets of Moscow in Latin America.'

"The CNI director denied the accusations being made by the Church that employees of his organization torture political prisoners. Some weeks ago the Church organized a street demonstration protesting against the torture of prisoners and demanding that the National Information Center be dismantled" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/1/83).

"CHILEAN SOCIALISTS GATHER, TEN YEARS AFTER"

"SANTIAGO -- The proscribed Socialist Party of Chile held last night its first public session in the ten years of General Pinochet's military regime. The meeting was held in a theater of the capital which seats 1,000 people and was filled to capacity" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/28/83).

Professor alemão prevê revolução social no Brasil

FSP
17/12/83

A aplicação do programa do Fundo Monetário Internacional pode levar a uma "revolução social" no Brasil, disse anteontem em Bonn o presidente da Sociedade Germano-Brasileira, professor universitário Hermann Goergen. Segundo ele, "isso pode comover a América inteira e pôr em perigo a proteção que os Estados Unidos significa para o mundo ocidental".

Goergen afirmou: "Por isso, é preciso dar por perdida a dívida externa na América Latina" (cerca de US\$ 300 bilhões). Ele falou no Ibero Club de Bonn, durante conferência de Wolfdiete Wabnitz, diretor do Departamento Latino-Americano do Instituto de Crédito para a Reconstrução, órgão executor da assistência em capitais da Alemanha Federal, com sede em Frankfurt.

Disse ainda Goergen que no Brasil, com 125 milhões de habitantes, 40 milhões passam fome e há 15 milhões de menores abandonados. Só em São Paulo, segundo ele, há meio milhão de crianças que comem só uma vez por dia, num dos países potencialmente mais ricos do mundo.

Goergen concluiu: "Os latino-americanos não podem pagar os créditos que conseguiram nos bancos comerciais internacionais, frequentemente com 13% de juros a prazos de seis meses a um ano, porque os créditos suaves, às vezes de 2%, contratados com os países desenvolvidos, estão sendo reembolsados."

"Chile, alvo predileto da URSS"

SANTIAGO — A União Soviética gasta "cerca de 400 milhões de dólares por ano com propaganda e atos terroristas no Ocidente, principalmente na América Latina". A revelação foi feita pelo general Humberto Gordon, diretor da Central Nacional de Informações (CNI), o principal órgão anti-subversivo do regime militar chileno. Em uma entrevista publicada ontem pelo jornal *El Sur*, Gordon disse que "o Chile é um dos objetivos prediletos de Moscou na América Latina".

O diretor da CNI negou as afirmações que a Igreja vinha fazendo, acusando os funcionários do organismo de torturar presos políticos. A Igreja, há algumas semanas, realizou uma manifestação de rua protestando contra as torturas dos presos e exigindo a dissolução da Central Nacional de Informações.

Gordon disse ainda: "As torturas e as brutalidades contra presos políticos não existem no Chile. Elas são comuns nos países marxistas". Ele afirmou que os controles feitos pela CNI têm "cráter preventivo" e que as autoridades "orientam seus funcionários no sentido de evitar desordens, e só".

Sobre as recentes manifestações de protesto contra o regime militar, iniciadas em maio deste ano, Gordon disse: "É claro que os comunistas e os marxistas estão por detrás disso mas nós continuamos com os olhos bem abertos".

CEBP 1/12/83

Deputado americano provoca incidente na casa de Asencio

Da Sucursal de Brasília

O Itamarati apoiou integralmente o gesto do embaixador Asdrubal Ulisséa, chefe do Departamento de África, quando este se retirou da residência do novo embaixador dos Estados Unidos, Diego Asencio, esta semana, após ouvir um pequeno discurso de um deputado americano, Stephen Solarz, do Partido Democrata, que participava de uma recepção na casa de Asencio.

As declarações, consideradas de mau-gosto e prepotentes, segundo um assessor do Itamarati, referiam-se a sombras da ditadura brasileira e repressão no Brasil e ainda revelavam uma entrevista com uma autoridade militar brasileira, na qual o deputado não teria obtido nenhuma informação que desejava. O mesmo assessor afirmou que o deputado ridicularizou as Forças Armadas brasileiras.

Diante disso, o deputado Edson Lobão (pró-indiretas, PDS-MA), que também estava na recepção e que minutos antes havia feito uma saudação ao deputado americano, retirou-se, seguido pelo embaixador Asdrubal Ulisséa.

De acordo com o assessor do Itamarati, não é usual que um visitante coloque o Brasil em posição ridícula. Além disso, o incidente, embora não prejudique as relações entre os dois países, cria alguma tensão num momento em que as autoridades diplomáticas tentam uma maior aproximação com vários tipos de cooperação, inclusive na área militar.

Estavam presentes na recepção cerca de 35 pessoas, entre as quais o deputado Lobão, o embaixador Ulisséa, dois jornalistas, os deputados Homero Santos (PDS-MG) e Sebastião Rodrigues (PMDB-PR), o único, segundo o assessor, que apoiou as palavras do deputado americano.

FSP 5.1.83

Socialistas do Chile reunidos, 10 anos depois

SANTIAGO — O proscrito Partido Socialista do Chile realizou na noite de ontem a sua primeira manifestação pública em dez anos de regime militar do general Augusto Pinochet. A reunião aconteceu num teatro da capital, com capacidade para mil pessoas, que ficou totalmente lotado.

Um grande número de policiais foi deslocado para o local, mas não ocorreram incidentes. Os líderes socialistas defenderam a formação de "uma grande frente oposicionista". O dirigente Júlio Stuardo, um dos principais oradores, afirmou que "a atual luta do povo chileno deve envolver todos os setores da sociedade, para se chegar ao triunfo da volta à normalidade democrática e o fim da ditadura".

Ainda ontem, em Santiago, um carabineiro ficou gravemente ferido durante um atentado ocorrido na periferia. As versões para o ocorrido são bastante confusas e o carabineiro ainda não pôde ser ouvido. Segundo os policiais que investigaram a ocorrência, homens armados e possivelmente encapuçados atacaram o carabineiro Francisco Perez com tiros de fuzil, mas nenhum grupo assumiu a autoria do ataque.

CEBP 2/12/83

IN LATIN AMERICA, REACTIONS AGAINST COMMUNISM

RADIO MOSCOW ON THE CHILEAN TFP

"You are tuned to Radio Moscow, program Escucha Chile ["Listen Chile"].

. . .

"They have again turned to aggression, calumnies and harassment against the Church, and have resurrected this organization that seems to have come from the Middle Ages both by its gaudy dress and by its thinking.

"You are talking about Fiducia, this organization called Tradition, Family, Property.

"Right, Pepe, these cavemen who did much at the service of the rightist conspiracy against the government of the Popular Unity, and who also attacked the government of Eduardo Frei.

"That is to say, under the disguise of a medieval crusade against Marxism, the same crusade that is talked about in White House circles, the Fiducias [defend] the interests of the terrorist and criminal dictatorships, and they obviously do it at the service of the CIA.

"Only a few days ago the holy alliance of the dictatorship of Pinochet and El Mercurio gave them two pages to place an ad against the Church, against opposition to the dictatorship, against the people of Chile in general. And this they did to stage their comeback and resume their attacks against the Catholic Church, on a date with religious meaning, December 8.

"So that the aggression against the Chilean Catholic Church is now like it was in its heyday, and the regime of Pinochet, El Mercurio and the CIA have their hands into it all the way" (Audio Noticias Internacional, Radio Moscow, program Escucha Chile, 12/19/83, 18:30 hs. GMT.

"GERDAU DENOUNCES 'STATIST SOCIALISM'"

"RIO -- In one of the most striking criticisms made in the last few years by business leaders against state intervention in the economy, Jorge Gerdau Johanheter, president of the Gerdau Group (metallurgy) denounced the fact that 'in many sectors, real socialism already prevails, with state mechanisms of intervention unparalleled in the western world.' In a much applauded speech to about 800 corporate businessmen, the president of the Gerdau Group -- which is the 16th largest private company in Brazil, stated that in today's Brazil 'central state planning, real socialism, bureaucratic structure and total centralization of resources are antidemocratic instruments that prevent the consolidation of the economic opening.'

"Speaking in the name of corporate leaders, he said: 'the sacrifice which is imposed on the worker, on the middle class and on the small and medium-size businesses, including in the rural area, is not proportionate to the sacrifice required of the government sectors,' adding that 'the taxpayers are the ones who really pay for the eternally unproductive state structure.' He warned that 'it is imperative to bring this process resulting from an excess of centralization back to equilibrium. There is no government that can manage or dominate this process without having recourse to a Siberia'" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 11/25/83).

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95/11/83

Gerdau denuncia o "socialismo estatizante"

Da sucursal do
RIO

Na crítica mais contundente feita nos últimos anos por líderes empresariais contra a intervenção estatal na economia, o presidente do grupo Gerdau (siderurgia), Jorge Gerdau Johanpeter, denunciou que, "em muitos setores, já predomina o socialismo de fato, com mecanismos estatizantes de tal dimensão, que, praticamente, não encontra paralelo no mundo ocidental". Com um discurso muito aplaudido por cerca de 800 empresários que ontem home-gearam, no Rio, o vice-presidente Aureliano Chaves, o presidente do grupo Gerdau — colocado em 16º lugar entre os maiores do setor privado, em 1982, com patrimônio líquido

de Cr\$ 70,2 bilhões — afirmou que, no Brasil de hoje, "o planejamento central, estatização, socialismo de fato, estrutura cartorial e centralização total dos recursos constituem instrumentos antidemocráticos que impedem a consolidação da abertura econômica".

Segundo afirmou Jorge Gerdau, em nome das lideranças empresariais, "o sacrifício imposto ao operário, à classe média e aos pequenos e médios empresários, inclusive da área agrícola, não é proporcional ao exigido da maioria dos setores governamentais", acrescentando que "quem realmente custeia a estrutura estatal, eternamente improdutivo, são os contribuintes". E lançou em seguida a advertência: "É imperioso

reequilibrar esse processo, resultado do excesso de centralização. Não há governo que possa geri-lo ou mesmo dominá-lo, sem o recurso de uma sibéria".

INEFICIÊNCIA

Gerdau defendeu a necessidade de uma definição precisa para os limites das funções do Estado, destacando que "se não integrarmos a abertura política com a abertura econômica, correremos até o risco de cair em uma sociedade fechada, com o desaparecimento da liberdade individual".

"Os interesses tecnocráticos e burocráticos envolvidos na questão — disse — com seus vícios levarão a sociedade, de modo progressivo e fatal, a um nível de ineficiência que

impedirá a construção de uma sociedade politicamente aberta."

Na linha de suas denúncias contra o avanço da estatização no Brasil, o presidente do grupo Gerdau afirmou que "com a estrutura estatizante que paira sobre nós, o indivíduo — tanto o empresário como o operário e o intelectual — começa a ser impedido de usar todo o seu potencial de trabalho em benefício do desenvolvimento, tais as limitações que se lhe infligem".

Ele também denunciou o aumento da tributação e dos déficits das estatais, advertindo que "todo esse esforço de acumular poupanças para garantir o crescimento econômico está ameaçado de se perder, se per-

sistirem os erros de gestão do estado governamental.

"O segmento governamental — disse Jorge Gerdau — deixou ao empresário privado nacional reduzidas possibilidades para captar seus recursos e com eles gerar desenvolvimento e, conseqüentemente, impostos e empregos. Nesse campo, o apetite do Estado é avassalador, tanto pelos aumentos permanentes de impostos de toda natureza quanto pela existência de empréstimos compulsórios como Pis, Pasep, FGTS, Obrigações da Eletrobrás, e impostos sobre calamidade, entre outros. E ainda mais: pela simples emissão de dinheiro e, finalmente, pela centralização total da gestão da poupança, inclusive do sistema bancário priva-

do, por meio das resoluções do Banco Central do Brasil."

Ao destacar que o governo aumentou ultimamente as taxações sobre a renda da empresa nacional, Jorge Gerdau assinalou que "o que nos preocupa é o fato de essas solicitações do poder público não estarem condicionadas no tempo à reorganização de nossas contas", acrescentando que o governo, em vez de buscar mais receitas, deveria diminuir suas despesas.

A CRISE

Ao referir-se aos problemas econômicos e sociais que o País enfrenta, o presidente do grupo Gerdau afirmou que "o problema maior não é vencer a crise atual, mas compreender por que estamos nela".

IN LATIN AMERICA, REACTIONS AGAINST COMMUNISM

CHILE: WHY MOSCOW IS UPSET

Faced with the growing subversive action of many priests, nuns and seminarians who were limiting access to the Sacraments and favoring the return of the nation to the conditions which existed during the time of Allende, three hundred mothers from the city of Pundhuel circulated a petition expressing their alarm over the situation.

In support of their action, the Chilean TFP published an Open Letter to Msgr. Juan Francisco Fresno, Archbishop of Santiago in El Mercurio (11/6/83) respectfully spelling out in detail the concerns of the 300 mothers noting that their attitudes were shared by hundreds of thousands of other Chilean Catholics. The paid advertisement was titled, "From Pundhuel: The Distress of 300 Mothers Over the Action of Priests and Nuns in Low-Income Neighborhoods Ascends to Msgr. Fresno."

Shortly thereafter, the Chilean TFP published an extensive document also addressed to Msgr. Fresno analyzing in-depth how the political/institutional crisis in Chile was concealing the subversive activity taking place in the religious field. The lengthy study, "There Are Some Who, in the Name of the Faith, Intend to Lead Us to an Atheistic, Bloody and Tyrannical Regime -- A Puppet of Moscow," appeared in the December 8, 1983 edition of El Mercurio. Having pointed out the grave dangers facing the nation, the study asked Archbishop Fresno, as the spiritual leader of millions of Chileans, to take some action.

There was no official reply.

Unofficially, however, there was a reply and a surprising one.

The December 14 issue of La Tercera published a statement of Msgr. Bernardino Pinera, Archbishop of La Serena and president of the Chilean Bishops' Conference.

During the last session of the Bishops' Conference, Msgr. Pinera was quoted in the paper as saying, "In a certain way, all of us are infiltrated. . .because ideas circulate all throughout the ambiances. Probably, there is a Christian infiltration in Marxist groups as there must also be Marxists in Christian groups. . .an infiltration of ideas, of influence is inevitable and good."

Taking this as an answer to its previously published critical study of the inroads that leftist subversion had made into the ranks of the Chilean clergy, the Chilean TFP responded by publishing its own reply, "Infiltration of Marxist Ideas and Influence in the Church: Good (Msgr. Fresno) -- The TFP Respectfully Asks the President of the Chilean Bishops Conference for an Explanation" El Mercurio, 12/22/83).

Finally, the hierarchy responded. A Statement issued by the Secretary of the Bishops Conference, Msgr. Sergio Contreras, Archbishop of Temuco railed that the TFP did not merit any response and denied that it was a Catholic organization.

The Chilean TFP answered this outburst by publishing the prelate's statements in full and reaffirming not only the facts about the subversive actions of the clergy in the country but the organization's genuine Catholicity as well (El Mercurio, 12/17/83).



Tradición Familia y Propiedad

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SERVICIO DE PRENSA

La Sociedad Chilena de Defensa de la Tradición, Familia y Propiedad tiene un particular interés en que sus amigos y benefactores conozcan el importante documento que se transcribe a continuación.

EL MERCURIO, domingo 6 de noviembre de 1983. Página C9

DE PUDAHUEL: LA TRIBULACION DE 300 MADRES SUBE A MONSEÑOR FRESNO A PROPOSITO DE LA ACCION DE SACERDOTES Y MONJAS EN BARRIOS POPULARES

Un estado de espíritu muy generalizado en el país, pero que venía siendo mantenido en respetuosa y discreta reserva, acabó reventando en Pudahuel. La acción subversiva de ciertos sacerdotes, monjas y seminaristas en barrios populares, restringiendo el acceso a los Sacramentos y favoreciendo la vuelta del país a los tristes días de Allende, alarma a todos los verdaderos católicos de Chile. Esta alarma encontró su expresión pública en el grito de aflicción lanzado por más de 300 madres de Pudahuel al nuevo Arzobispo de Santiago.

Pudahuel, Octubre de 1983

Señor
Arzobispo de Santiago
Monseñor Juan Francisco Fresno
Presente.

Señor Arzobispo:

Las abajo firmantes, madres de familia católicas de la Comuna de Pudahuel, desconcertadas con las enseñanzas y las actitudes impartidas y asumidas por sacerdotes y religiosas que trabajan entre nosotras, se dirigen a Vuestra Excelencia para darle a conocer algunos hechos que, a nuestro modesto entender, distan mucho de corresponder a lo que se nos enseñó otrora en los catequismos, prédicas y confesiones. Con dolor vemos aumentar, a consecuencia de los hechos que pasamos a señalar, la incompreensión y el malestar frente a nuestra Santa Madre la Iglesia Católica, el alejamiento de muchos de la práctica religiosa y hasta, en no pocos casos, el abandono de la verdadera Fe para adherir a falsas religiones:

1.— **Administración de los Sacramentos:** El acceso a los Sacramentos se hace cada día más difícil en esta comuna. El bautismo es negado a las guaguas cuyos padres no hayan hecho cursos previos obligatorios: la Primera Comunión tampoco se da a los niños si sus padres no participan de los cursos correspondientes; y la Confirmación sólo se concede a los jóvenes que hayan hecho una preparación que dura dos años. De esta manera resulta que muchos niños que quisieran recibir la Primera Comunión, no lo pueden hacer por las dificultades naturales que los padres tienen de asistir a todos esos cursos. Lo mismo ocurre con los jóvenes que ya están en edad de confirmarse pero que les resulta muy difícil asistir a un curso de dos años de duración. Y así, en nuestras poblaciones son cada vez más numerosos los niños sin Bautismo, sin Primera Comunión y sin Confirmación.

2.— **Cursos Parroquiales:** Las madres que hemos comenzado los cursos, con sacrificios a veces no pequeños, hemos quedado sorprendidas con los temas ahí tratados. Esperando recibir enseñanza religiosa, se nos ha hablado de Derechos Humanos, de presos políticos, de opresión, de protesta. En fin, es con dolor que lo decimos, con frecuencia nos parece notar una fuerte inspiración marxista en las doctrinas que oímos: cuestiones por cierto bien ajenas a los motivos que nos acercaron a la parroquia.

3.— **Catequesis infantil:** Si así son los cursos para los padres, todavía peor son las charlas de catequesis para nuestros hijos. Los niños siempre están abiertos a recibir las enseñanzas que a sus mentes inocentes se les proponga, máxime si ellas provienen de un sacerdote o de una religiosa. Son frecuentes los casos en que han vuelto a sus casas con ideas tan cambiadas, que muchas madres nos hemos visto en la dolorosa alternativa de: o prohibirles continuar asistiendo a esas catequesis, antes que lleguen a torcerlos definitivamente, o verlos progresar, no en el amor de Dios y de las buenas costumbres, sino por el camino del resentimiento, del odio y de la agitación.

4.— **Participación Política:** La participación activa de sacerdotes, religiosas y seminaristas en estas tristes manifestaciones que han acarreado la muerte de vecinos inocentes, no es por nadie ignorada en nuestras poblaciones. Se vieron religiosas repartiendo volantes por las casas y blocks, golpeando cacerolas, tocando las campanas de las capillas, haciendo parte de las quematinas y disturbios; en fin, en acciones que nunca pensamos que un sacerdote o una monja pudiesen realizar. Es cierto que si no supiésemos que son religiosos, nadie los identificaría, pues hace ya mucho tiempo que los sacerdotes no usan ningún distintivo y es común ver a las religiosas con pantalones.

5.— **¿A quién atraen y a quién marginan?:** Como consecuencia de lo anterior, las parroquias se han visto reducidas a puntos de reunión de una minoría que atrae y agrupa a conocidos revoltosos, mientras la mayoría de los católicos nos vemos marginados, alejados y como extraños en nuestra propia Iglesia, que debería ser la Casa de Dios y la Puerta del Cielo.

No podemos pensar que estos y muchos otros hechos, que para ser breves no incluimos, puedan contar con el beneplácito del nuevo Arzobispo de Santiago. Pero como vemos que esta lamentable situación está produciendo consecuencias desastrosas, no sólo para los más altos intereses de nuestra Religión, sino que también para la tranquilidad de nuestra Patria, venimos a solicitarle respetuosamente que por el amor de Dios, de la Santísima Virgen y de la Santa Iglesia, tome las medidas que Vuestra Excelencia juzgue más apropiadas para que con la mayor brevedad se cambie la orientación arriba descrita. O, si fuésemos nosotras las que estuviésemos equivocadas en la apreciación de los hechos, pedimos entonces a nuestro Arzobispo una explicación que nos capacite para comprender estos hechos. Y estamos seguras, Monseñor, que millares de otras madres sencillas de todo Chile se sienten perplejas, como nosotras, por creer que la autoridad religiosa adopta actitudes que en el fondo favorecen lo que aquí hemos expuesto.

Reafirmando nuestra inquebrantable Fe en la Iglesia Católica, hacemos ver al Sr. Arzobispo, lo que él en su larga experiencia pastoral habrá comprobado mil veces, esto es, que la madre católica chilena sufre inmensamente más con las privaciones y orfandades espirituales que con los infortunios de la pobreza.

Esperando su palabra esclarecedora, y confiando que tomará las medidas adecuadas para remediar esta situación, imploramos su bendición.

FRESIA ARCÓS A.

NORMA GUTIERREZ V.

Siguen 336 firmas de señoras con sus respectivas direcciones conforme certificado del Notario Público don ORLANDO GODOY REYES otorgado el 2 de noviembre de 1983

Las personas que quieran adherir o colaborar con el pedido de las madres de Pudahuel, pueden llenar el siguiente Cupón y enviarlo a la Casilla 3389, Correo Central, Santiago.

CUPON DE ADHESION

- Adhiero al pedido de las madres de Pudahuel, publicado en "El Mercurio" del día 6 de noviembre de 1983.
- Deseo recibir _____ listas del "grito de aflicción de las madres de Pudahuel", para recolectar firmas de adhesión al mismo.

Nombre:

Dirección: Barrio:

Ciudad:

Llene este Cupón y envíelo a las "Madres de Pudahuel"
Casilla 3389 Correo Central - Santiago de Chile



IN LATIN AMERICA, REACTIONS AGAINST COMMUNISM

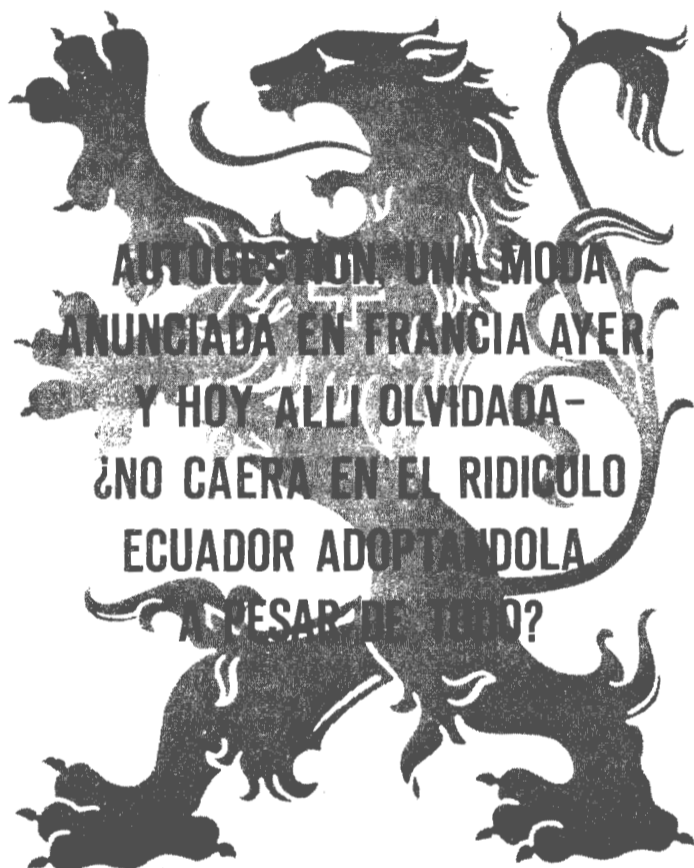
ECUADOR

LAND REFORM AND SELF-MANAGEMENT

As a result of an ongoing polemic throughout the country over the subject of land reform, in December the Ecuadorian TFP published and widely distributed a statement, "Confiscatory Socialist Land Reform Breaks the Commandments, Makes the Fields Proletarian and Ruins the Crops." The document pointed out how outspoken were the proponents of the land reform plan and how silent were its critics, a tactic that left the rest of the country almost helpless to make a sound decision. Further, it noted how the advocates of land reform always avoid displaying its confiscatory, egalitarian and collectivist character.

In a follow-up document, "Self-Management: So Fashionable in France Yesterday and So Forgotten Today -- Wouldn't Ecuador Be Ridiculed for Adopting It Now?" the Ecuadorian TFP demonstrated how self-management is linked to the land reform program and how the acceptance of self-managing socialism would ultimately lead the country to communism.





Habiéndose pronunciado la **Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Defensa de la Tradición, Familia y Propiedad (TFP)**, en los días que pasaron, sobre el significado que la **Reforma Agraria** tiene para el País, desde el punto de vista de la doctrina católica tradicional, juzga necesario hacerlo ahora más a fondo sobre la autogestión.

Los varios años durante los cuales ha venido siendo aplicada esa reforma en Ecuador estuvieron salpicados de continuas expropiaciones o confiscaciones en el ámbito rural, seguidas muchas veces de la constitución de un régimen autogestionario en los predios afectados. Es decir, en ellos era instituido el dominio colectivo y el trabajo pasaba a ser ejecutado en común, siendo que el hipotético fruto de éste correspondería a los propios campesinos; en lo sucesivo, las decisiones pasaban a ser tomadas en conjunto, esto es, por mayoría simple, después de haber recibido la "orientación" de los "asesores" nombrados por el Estado.

A pesar del celo en las esferas de Gobierno en el sentido de que no trascendieran a la opinión pública las cifras de la producción de esas propiedades, se expandió por todas partes la convicción del rotundo fracaso de la experiencia.

Al mismo tiempo que era aplicada la Reforma Agraria, era puesto en marcha un plan de "desarrollo rural integral", el cual no es otra cosa sino la promoción gradual, pero metódica y generalizada, del sistema autogestionario; es decir, usando la conocida táctica de poner un nombre inocuo para un procedimiento que no lo es, se empezó a procurar movilizar a las masas campesinas para que exigiesen un impulso creciente a la misma Reforma Agraria, así como su aplicación en casos concretos, para el ulterior establecimiento de la autogestión en los predios afectados.

LA AUTOGESTION ES LA META DEL COMUNISMO, NO UNA FORMA DE EVITARLO

En qué consiste ésta realmente, y qué juicio merece a la luz de la doctrina católica, la TFP lo dijo al publicar el memorable Mensaje "El socialismo autogestionario, frente al comunismo: ¿es una barrera o una cabeza de puente?", obra del insigne pensador católico Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira ("El Comercio", "El Universo" y "El Tiempo" del 23 de Enero de 1982).

Al dar a conocer ese estudio, transcrito en los principales diarios de casi todas las capitales de Occidente, a partir de fines de 1981, las TFP procuraban advertir

IN LATIN AMERICA, REACTIONS AGAINST COMMUNISM

"COLOMBIAN GENERAL DOES NOT WANT RELATIONS WITH CUBA"

"BOGOTA -- General Gustavo Matamoros, commander of the Colombian Armed Forces, said he is against the resumption of diplomatic relations with Cuba and that his country 'does not need to have relations with a dictator,' referring to president Fidel Castro. Commenting on the consultations the Colombian government recently had with Cuba about the crisis in Central America, the general said this does not mean that there will be a resumption of relations soon.

The two countries broke off relations in 1981, when a group of M-19 guerrillas trained in Cuba launched an invasion against Colombia's Pacific Coast" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 1/8/84).

"MINISTER SAYS CUBA SHOULD IMITATE BRAZIL"

"Commenting on Fidel Castro's statements that 'Brazil is not a priority' and that his country 'has done more for the world than Brazil and the United States put together,' the Chief of Staff of the Brazilian Armed Forces, Minister Waldir Vasconcelos, said yesterday in Rio that 'Cuba should imitate Brazil and hold direct and free elections for an independent Congress.' According to him, if they held elections in Cuba like those that took place in Brazil in November last year, 'Cuba would stop being a satellite, an authentic colony of the Soviet Union.'

"'Cuba -- he went on -- 'has no cultural expression and all it does is to export revolution, whereas Brazil is a nation which contributes to humanity in several sectors, whether in the industrial, scientific or cultural spheres. Cuba has lost its own nationality by subjecting itself to communism as a mere Soviet satellite, with a government lacking legitimacy and incapable even of holding a free election, because it is kept together by a police state'" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/8/83).

"PRESIDENT OF THE TFP WANTS THE END OF COMPULSORY VOTING"

"Plinio Correa de Oliveira, president of the National Council of the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) said he 'has no objection, within the present constitutional picture, to direct elections.' Nevertheless, he said, 'one cannot suppose that the elections will authentically fulfill the end desired by those who promote them unless voting ceases to be obligatory.'

"'Only this can lead the political parties to present candidates in whom the grassroots are really interested, rather than slates distilled through the winding coils of party arrangements,' he added.

"For the president of the TFP, 'if people are obliged to vote, they will have no choice other than two or three 'distilled' candidates. If they are free to vote or to stay home, and if all the candidates are 'distilled,' the turnout will diminish so much as to amount to an irresistible protest. Furthermore, artificial slates create a climate in which the left can put in its own seasoning at will'" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/13/83).

OBSP. 8.1.84 General colombiano não quer relações com Cuba

BOGOTÁ — O comandante das Forças Armadas da Colômbia, general Gustavo Matamoros, declarou-se contra o restabelecimento de relações diplomáticas com Cuba e disse que seu país "não precisa de relações com um ditador", referindo-se ao presidente Fidel Castro. Comentando as consultas mantidas recentemente pelo governo colombiano com Cuba, a respeito da crise na América Central, o general disse que isto não significa que haverá em breve um reatamento.

Os dois países estão rompidos desde 1981, quando um grupo de guerrilheiros do M-19, treinados em Cuba, lançou uma invasão no litoral da Colômbia, através do Pacífico. Mais de 100 guerrilheiros morreram e outros 200 foram capturados pelo Exército colombiano. Matamoros afirmou que existe um "impedimento moral" para o restabelecimento das relações com Cuba e acrescentou: "Não podemos relacionar nos com um governo presidido por um ditador comunista que treinou pessoas para invadir nosso território".

Numa entrevista à televisão colombiana, o general admitiu que as decisões sobre a política externa e as relações internacionais cabem ao governo, mas deixou claro que os militares rejeitam a hipótese de reatamento com Havana.

No plano interno, o general desmentiu as acusações do procurador-geral da República, Carlos Jimenez Gomez, sobre a participação de membros das Forças Armadas no desaparecimento de inúmeras pessoas, garantindo que se trata de versões não confirmadas. Assegurou que os militares bolivianos estão interessados na pacificação interna e advertiu que a guerrilha deve renunciar a "todas as aspirações de tomar o poder pelas armas, porque as Forças Armadas não permitirão que isso aconteça". Segundo afirmou, o Exército quer uma "paz certa, não uma paz falsa que seria o princípio da guerra civil na Colômbia".

Presidente da TFP quer fim do voto obrigatório



Plínio Correa de Oliveira, presidente da TFP, é a favor de "diretas autênticas" — Pág. 5

O presidente do Conselho Nacional da Sociedade Brasileira de Defesa da Tradição, Família e Propriedade (TFP), Plínio Correa de Oliveira, declarou "nada ter a objetar, dentro do atual quadro constitucional, às eleições diretas". Entretanto — ressaltou —, "não se pode supor que elas alcancem toda a autenticidade do fim desejado por seus propugnadores a não ser que cesse a obrigatoriedade do voto".

"Só assim os partidos políticos se verão conduzidos a apresentar candidaturas não produzidas nos tortuosos alambiques das combinações partidárias, mas pessoas que interessem realmente ao eleitorado de base", acrescentou.

Para o presidente da TFP, "se o voto for obrigatório, não haverá como escolher senão entre dois ou três candidatos 'alambicados'. Com o voto livre, se forem 'alambicados' todos os candidatos, o eleitorado minguará tanto que sua abstenção significará um protesto irresistível. Ademais, na concessão das candidaturas artificiais fica criado clima para as esquerdas meterem à vontade o seu tempo".

FSP 13/12/83

OBSP. 8/12/83 Cuba deveria imitar o Brasil, afirma ministro

Das sucursais e do serviço local

O chefe do Estado-Maior das Forças Armadas, Waldir Vasconcelos, afirmou ontem no Rio que "Cuba deve imitar o Brasil e realizar eleições diretas e livres para um Congresso independente" — ao comentar a declaração de Fidel Castro de que "o Brasil não é prioritário" para seu país, que "fez mais pelo mundo do que o Brasil e os Estados Unidos juntos". Segundo o ministro, se realizasse eleições como as que foram feitas no País em novembro do ano passado, "Cuba deixaria de ser um satélite, uma autêntica colônia da União Soviética".

No Palácio do Planalto, o porta-

voz Carlos Atila não quis comentar as declarações de Castro — ainda não tinha lido a matéria do Estado — mas admitiu ser natural que o presidente cubano ache seu país mais importante que o Brasil. Também o Itamaraty não se manifestou oficialmente. Fontes da chancelaria lembraram que o Brasil não considera prioritária a questão do restabelecimento das relações diplomáticas com Cuba, rompidas em 1964, e que o assunto nem está sendo analisado. De acordo com as fontes, o Brasil não concorda com a concepção de relações exteriores adotadas pelos cubanos, baseada numa política de intervir em assuntos internos dos parcelos. (...)

"Cuba — insistiu — não tem nenhuma expressão cultural e só exporta a subversão, enquanto o Brasil é uma Nação que oferece contribuições para a humanidade em diversos setores, tanto no campo industrial, quanto no científico e no cultural. Cuba perdeu a sua própria nacionalidade quando se submeteu ao comunismo, na condição de mero satélite soviético, com um governo sem legitimidade, incapaz, sequer, de realizar uma eleição livre, porque é mantido através de um regime policial, em que o medo começa do próprio ditador, como a própria reportagem de O Estado de S. Paulo mostra, quando informa que Fidel Castro aparece com um policial que tem um aparelho detetor de metais disfarçado de gravador".

SOUTH AMERICA:
A WORLD POWER IN THE 21st CENTURY?

"BRAZIL WILL BE NO. 1 IN MEAT SALES, SAYS GATT"

"Brazil will be the world's largest exporter of meat, surpassing Argentina — which will take the second place — and the European Economic Community, according to a study released yesterday by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 1/4/84).

"BRAZIL WILL BECOME THE THIRD LARGEST OIL PRODUCER
IN LATIN AMERICA"

"By July 1984 Brazil will be the third largest producer of petroleum in Latin America and the fifth largest in the Americas, trailing only the United States, Mexico, Venezuela and Canada. It will be ahead of Argentina, which produces 470,000 barrels per day.

"Productive capacity will reach 450,000 barrels per day in the next few days as PETROBRAS activates the drilling system in Linguado, in the Campos basin, which can make Brazil the world's twentieth largest oil producer.

"BRAZIL WILL HAVE A SURPLUS OF 191,000 TONS OF ALUMINUM"

"This year Brazil will have a surplus of 191,000 tons of aluminum and may export 181,000 tons, 50,000 of which as manufactured products and the remainder as aluminum bars, according to Alcir Castanho Savio, president of the Brazilian Aluminum Association (ABAL)" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1/21/84).

"BRAZIL EXPORTS 95% OF THE ARMS [IT PRODUCES]"

"Engineer Jose Luiz Whitaker, president of ENGESA and IMBEL, defended yesterday the policy of arms exports adopted by the country. He claimed that the local market can currently absorb only 5% of the country's arms production -- the remainder 95% are exported.

"Whitaker said Brazil now exports arms to 40 countries, especially in the Middle East. . . .He disclosed that there are possibilities of new exports to Lybia, with which Brazil has signed eighteen contracts" (Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 11/30/83).

Brasil será 1.^o nas vendas de carne, diz Gatt

BRASÍLIA — O Brasil será o maior exportador mundial de carne, superando a Argentina — que ficará em segundo lugar — e a Comunidade Econômica Européia, de acordo com estudo divulgado ontem pelo Acordo Geral de Tarifas e Comércio (Gatt).

A posição do Brasil, segundo o Gatt, só será possível graças à brusca retração do consumo interno, em consequência da política recessiva adotada a pedido do Fundo Monetário Internacional, que reduziu o poder aquisitivo da população.

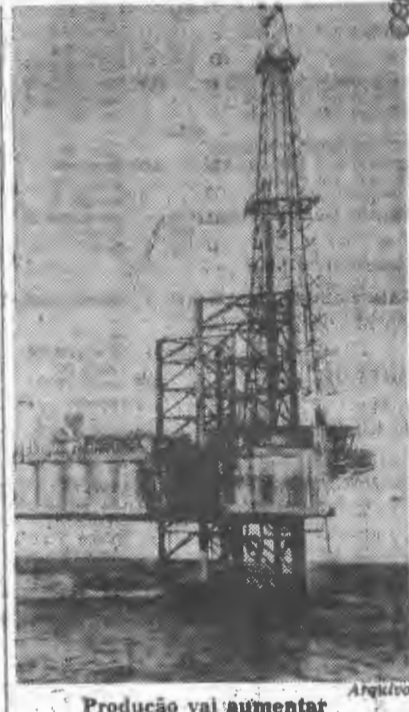
O estudo do Gatt, destinado a orientar os países signatários do Acordo Internacional de Carne Bovina, firmado em 1979, afirma que as exportações brasileiras do produto (esfriado, congelado, "in natura" e industrializado) alcançaram este ano 600 mil toneladas, contra 370 mil no ano passado.

Oleo: País se tornará o 3.^o produtor da AL

Da sucursal de BRASÍLIA

Até julho de 1984, o Brasil será o terceiro maior produtor de petróleo da América Latina e o quinto das Américas, ficando atrás somente dos Estados Unidos, México, Venezuela e Canadá, ultrapassando a Argentina, que produz 470 mil barris diários.

Assim que a Petrobrás colocar em operação o sistema de produção antecipada de Linguado, na bacia de Campos, o que deverá acontecer nos próximos dias, a capacidade nacional de produção deverá atingir 450 mil barris diários, podendo fazer do Brasil o vigésimo maior produtor de petróleo do mundo. A Petrobrás teve uma produção de 123,8 milhões de barris em 1983, o que representa economia em divisas de US\$ 3,5 bilhões.



Produção vai aumentar

Brasil terá superávit de 191000 t de alumínio

O Brasil terá este ano um superávit de produção de 191 mil toneladas de alumínio, podendo exportar 181 mil toneladas, das quais 50 mil de produtos transformados e o restante em lingotes de metal, informou o presidente da Associação Brasileira de Alumínio (Abal), Alcir Castanho Sávio.

Em 1983, para um excedente previsto de 174 mil toneladas, foram exportadas 161 mil toneladas. Desde 1982, a produção brasileira de alumínio tem superado o consumo e, este ano, será ainda maior devido ao aumento da capacidade da Valesul, CBA (Companhia Brasileira de Alumínio) e Alcan, bem como da entrada em operação do projeto Alumar, no Maranhão. A oferta total de alumínio no ano passado no mercado brasileiro foi de 469 mil 100 toneladas, incluindo a recuperação de 34 mil toneladas de sucata e a importação de 9 mil toneladas de alumínio especial, para uma demanda interna total de 294 mil 600 toneladas. (21/1/84)

O Brasil já exporta 95% dos armamentos

Das sucursais

O presidente da Engesa e da Imbel, engenheiro José Luiz Whitaker Ribeiro, defendeu ontem a política de exportação de armamentos adotada atualmente pelo País, alegando que o mercado interno só tem condições de absorver atualmente 5% da produção nacional neste setor — os 95% restantes são exportados.

Whitaker, que compareceu à solenidade de posse do general-de-exército José Albuquerque, na chefia do Departamento de Material Bélico do Exército, afirmou que o Brasil exporta hoje armamentos para 40 países, principalmente o Oriente Médio, obtendo assim importantes divisas que contestam aqueles que criticam o crescimento da indústria de armamentos. "Não fazemos — frisou — armamentos para ataque, e sim para a defesa do nosso território."

Whitaker aplaudiu a posição oficial do Itamaraty contrária à exportação de qualquer armamento de fabricação brasileira para o Irã, em face dos compromissos assumidos pelo País com o Iraque. Depois de salientar que "brigamos por isto", o presidente da Engesa e Imbel classificou como "imbecil" a notícia publicada por uma revista semanal, segundo a qual o Brasil exportou 40% de sua produção de armamentos para o Irã.

Revelou que há possibilidades de novas exportações para a Líbia, com a qual o Brasil já realizou o total de 18 contratos. Quanto ao anúncio feito pela Argentina, segundo o qual este país já possui o ciclo atômico, Whitaker esclareceu que isto não significa que tenha condições de fabricar a bomba atômica.

Outras revelações feitas por Whitaker: a Imbel vendeu no mês passado, para o Serpro, sua sede nesta capital, ao preço de dois bilhões de

cruzeiros. A operação foi oportuna, pois a sede, que era ocupada por 55 funcionários da Imbel, agora é ocupada por 700 funcionários do Serpro. Disse ainda que a fábrica da Imbel em Itajubá será privatizada nos próximos meses. A empresa se associará com a "Taurus", na produção de armamentos leves.

COMBATE

O Centro Tecnológico do Exército está desenvolvendo a tecnologia para um novo carro de combate brasileiro. O comandante do Instituto Militar de Engenharia, general Ney Machado, disse que esta foi uma das pesquisas realizadas este ano pelo IME, que "se dedica a pesquisas básicas e cooperou este ano em estudos de alguns pontos sensíveis do carro de combate a ser desenvolvido pelo Cetex. É o caso típico da estrutura, para a identificação tecnológica deste componente", acrescentou o general.

Tal como ocorreu com outros projetos, o do novo carro de combate deverá ser entregue à indústria privada, para produção e o general Ney Machado ressaltou que "o IME faz pesquisa básica também em outras áreas fora da tecnologia de carro de combate, como a de propelentes para mísseis".

CORRIDA

O ministro-chefe do Estado-Maior das Forças Armadas (EMFA), brigadeiro Waldyr Vasconcelos, informou ontem no Rio que o Brasil não pretende entrar em uma corrida armamentista, mas tem o direito e até mesmo o dever de ter acesso à tecnologia atômica, com um objetivo básico: a sua utilização para fins pacíficos.

Ele deu ênfase às pesquisas sobre o emprego do raio laser "com a finalidade de salvar vidas, e não de fazer guerra".

SOUTH AMERICA:

A WORLD POWER IN THE 21st CENTURY?

"AVIBRAS EXPORTS ROCKET LAUNCHER TO THE MIDDLE EAST"

"Astros, the multiple rocket launcher produced by Avibras [a Brazilian aeronautics company] in Sao Jose dos Campos, is the newest item on the list of Brazilian arms exports. Some units are being shipped to the Middle East in the beginning of this year. Avibras has not revealed the names of client countries because of a contract clause demanded by the buyers requiring it to withhold their names.

"Astros is a product entirely developed by Avibras. According to arms specialists, Avibras has received U.S.\$300 million in orders for the launcher, to be delivered over the next four years.

"The multiple rocket launcher can fire rockets of 30, 40 and 60 mm. Also known as Integrated Defense System (SID), Astros has sophisticated electronic equipment and even a radar, all of it developed by Avibras" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1/17/84).

"EMBRAER WILL SELL 120 PLANES TO EGYPT, THE LARGEST TRANSACTION EVER"

"Embraer [the Brazilian aeronautics company] announced yesterday the formal signing of the largest commercial transaction of its history, worth 181 million dollars, of 120 T-27 Tucano military planes to Egypt. The planes are used for advanced training and attack on ground positions" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/16/83).

"BRAZIL WILL HAVE A NUCLEAR SUBMARINE BY 1991"

"The first Brazilian nuclear submarine will be ready by 1991 or 1992 at the latest, if research is kept at its current pace. The philosophy of the undertaking is to 'horizontalize' production by contracting a large number of the nation's companies.

"The Navy Minister calculates that the first Brazilian nuclear submarine, a small unit, will cost no more than 200 million dollars. The cost of subsequent units will diminish as production rises" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1/16/84).

Avibrás exporta lançador de foguetes para O. Médio

São Paulo — O Astros, lançador múltiplo de foguetes, produzido pela Avibrás, de São José dos Campos, é o mais novo integrante da pauta de exportações de produtos bélicos brasileiros. Algumas unidades estão sendo embarcadas neste início de ano para o Oriente Médio. Os nomes dos países compradores não foram revelados pela Avibrás: uma cláusula exigida pelo comprador impõe sigilo por parte da companhia nacional.

A Avibrás deverá exportar este ano cerca de 30 milhões de dólares em armamentos, o que representará 90% de seu faturamento. O Astros é um produto inteiramente desenvolvido pela Avibrás e foi apresentado na Europa, no ano passado, na exposição aérea de Le Bourget, na França. De acordo com informações de especialistas em armamentos, a Avibrás tem cerca de 300 milhões de dólares de encomendas de Astros a serem entregues nos próximos quatro anos. •

Manutenção

Além de vender os seus equipamentos, a Avibrás também presta um serviço de manutenção técnica para seus principais compradores no Oriente Médio. Um dos maiores compradores da Avibrás é o Iraque, que adquire

desde foguetes até mísseis, com o combustível Composite, desenvolvido pela empresa.

Para este ano, a Avibrás espera manter em seu faturamento a proporção de 90% de exportações e 10% em vendas no mercado interno.

O Astros, um lançador múltiplo de foguetes, tem capacidade de utilizar foguetes de 30 milímetros, 40 milímetros e 60 milímetros. Também é conhecido como Sistema Integrado de Defesa (SID), possuindo equipamentos eletrônicos sofisticados e até um radar, todos desenvolvidos pela Avibrás.

As exportações brasileiras de armamentos deverão alcançar este ano um total de 600 milhões de dólares, contra cerca de 500 milhões do ano passado. O maior exportador brasileiro é a Engesa, que colocou no mercado externo, no ano passado, 300 milhões de dólares em equipamentos.

Os principais exportadores além da Engesa, são a Embraer, cujas vendas externas foram de 95 milhões de dólares em 1983; a Avibrás, com 30 milhões de dólares; e a D.F. Vasconcellos, com um valor estimado em 5 milhões de dólares. Outros exportadores participam com mais 100 milhões de dólares (Imbel, Vale do Paraíba e outras). **JB 17.1.84**

Brasil terá submarino atômico até 91

São Paulo — O primeiro submarino nuclear brasileiro deverá estar pronto em 1991, ou mais tardar um ano depois se for mantido um bom ritmo de pesquisas. O projeto da primeira unidade está orçado entre 180 e 200 milhões de dólares, englobando os gastos com pesquisas. A filosofia do empreendimento é a de horizontalizar a produção, distribuindo encomendas a um grande grupo de empresas nacionais, entre as quais já estão qualificadas a Avibrás e a Eletrometal.

A embarcação movida a energia nuclear será derivada da experiência de fabricação de dois submarinos convencionais IKL — 1400 que serão produzidos em convênio com a Alemanha — um naquele país e outro no Brasil — informou o Ministro da Marinha, Maximiano da Fonseca. Essas duas unidades convencionais têm um custo estimado em 200 milhões de dólares e, conforme revelou o Ministro, ainda há opção para a fabricação de outros dois submarinos do gênero no País, com tecnologia inteiramente nacional.

Arma do futuro

A capacitação para a produção de submarinos no Brasil começa pela habilitação do Arsenal da Marinha, no Rio de Janeiro, em fabricar navios de guerra modernos, explica Maximiano da Fonseca.

— Desde 1938 construímos seis navios mineiros, nove destróiers, seis de patrulha costeira, um monitor, três hidrográficos, três de patrulha fluvial, além de fragatas. Em alguns casos, como dos destróiers e fragatas, empregamos tecnologia parcial dos Estados Unidos e Inglaterra e algumas vezes compramos unidades no exterior, porque o financiamento é mais fácil. Se tivéssemos dinheiro faríamos tudo aqui, porque estamos perfeitamente habilitados — acrescentou o Ministro da Marinha.

A seguir, demonstrou que a Marinha de Guerra Brasileira dispõe de 800 milhões de dólares para seu plano de construção e reconstrução de 10 anos, enquanto a Argentina, por exemplo, dispõe de 5 bilhões de dólares para um programa de apenas cinco anos. De qualquer forma, acentuou que a filosofia do plano naval de guerra brasileiro, denominado Alfa, é a de evitar a qualquer custo uma interrupção, que levaria a evasão de mão-de-obra especializada.

No projeto dos submarinos, o objetivo é conjugar os projetos de embarcações convencionais e nucleares. "Iremos começar com unidades movidas por turbinas a gás, com o que há de mais moderno, e aos poucos, no decorrer do próprio desenvolvimento do projeto, iremos incorporar os avanços tecnológicos que forem surgindo, de forma a evitar qualquer tipo de defasagem. O submarino já é a arma do presente na Marinha de Guerra e será, muito mais, no futuro".

No seu entender, a passagem para um submarino nuclear deverá ser apenas um passo tecnológico.

Propulsão

— Veja que iremos produzir um submarino convencional, mas com todas as características de uma embarcação nuclear. Na primeira versão, a diferença básica será a capacidade de se deslocar com menor velocidade, pois a unidade estará subempregada, o que não ocorrerá no modelo atômico. Mas a mudança de um para outro consistirá basicamente no sistema de propulsão — revelou.

O reator será desenvolvido a partir do projeto inteiramente nacional, assegurou o Ministro da Marinha. "Se quiséssemos comprar um submarino atômico, poderíamos fazê-lo na Inglaterra, que se prontificou a vendê-lo e a fornecer as cargas de combustível, mas isso não tem sentido.

Queremos ter o nosso próprio reator e isso ninguém vende", destacou o Ministro. O protótipo do reator está sendo desenvolvido no Instituto de Pesquisas Energéticas e Nucleares, em São Paulo, segundo Maximiano. Deverá estar concluído logo no início da década de 90.

No momento, o programa de submarinos da Marinha de Guerra não foi totalmente deflagrado, pois depende de definição de detalhes do financiamento com a Alemanha. Mas, de acordo com o Ministro Maximiano da Fonseca, já está constituído um grupo de engenharia naval brasileira, que antecipa os estudos necessários ao projeto.

A segunda maior preocupação desse grupo refere-se ao controle de qualidade das peças e componentes, que, no caso de um submarino nuclear, é duplamente rigoroso; uma vez que se trata de um submersível e, além disso, movido a energia atômica. "Começa peça chapa de aço, cujo material tem que ser especialíssimo, mas que podemos produzir no País. Depois surge o problema com uma determinada válvula que não é vendida no exterior. Iremos distribuir as encomendas, ao mesmo tempo que o Arsenal da Marinha constrói o resto, já que ali temos desenvolvida uma tecnologia sofisticada com soldas especiais, embutidas em equipamentos que fornecemos à Petrobras, por exemplo", acrescentou.

O Ministro da Marinha estimou que o primeiro submarino nuclear brasileiro, uma unidade de pequeno porte, custará um pouco mais do dobro de uma embarcação convencional, não ultrapassando os 200 milhões de dólares. Os custos dos submarinos nucleares seguintes deverão cair, devido à economia de escala.

08-16-84

ENEAS MACEDO FILHO

Embraer vai vender do Egito 120 aviões, na maior transação

ROBERTO GODDY

A Embraer anunciou ontem a formalização da maior transação comercial de sua história, no valor de 181 milhões de dólares (cerca de Cr\$ 170 milhões e 140 milhões), referente à venda para o Egito de 120 aeronaves militares T-27 Tucano, turbohélices de treinamento armado avançado e ataque a posições no solo.

O presidente da Empresa Brasileira de Aeronáutica, engenheiro Ozires Silva, assinou o contrato no Cairo há uma semana, mas a informação foi mantida em sigilo "até que alguns poucos detalhes finais fossem ajustados".

É também o primeiro acordo firmado entre uma indústria nacional que exporta produtos de tecnologia de ponta, para instalação de uma linha de montagem no local de entrega. Assim, apenas as 40 unidades iniciais sairão da fábrica de São José dos Campos completas; todas as demais serão moduladas para serem enviadas em lotes, permitindo que sejam posteriormente montadas no parque fabril de Helwan, mantido pela Arab Organization for Industrialization no Sul do Egito. O pedido implica a liberação rápida dos aviões, que seguirão voando para o Cairo a partir do segundo semestre de 1984.

A próxima concorrência internacional de grande porte na qual a Embraer se habilitou este ano com o Tucano é a da escolha de um novo avião de treinamento para a Royal Air Force da Inglaterra, envolvendo mais de 300 aeronaves, mas ainda distante de uma decisão final. En-

quanto isso, a empresa continua analisando os resultados de um giro de demonstrações de 57 mil quilômetros cumpridos pelo T-27 em 160 horas de voo, passando por 20 países: Venezuela, Panamá, Honduras, Haiti, Jamaica, República Dominicana, Estados Unidos, Inglaterra, França, Grécia, Egito, Sudão, Quênia, Uganda, Tanzânia, Zâmbia, Suécia, Islândia, Finlândia e Dinamarca. O contrato com o Egito "aproxima enormemente" a Embraer de uma meta econômico-financeira para 1983, que é de fechar o balanço com lucro operacional efetivo de Cr\$ 24 bilhões. Desde outubro, a organização está operando com lucratividade positiva, tendo vendido até então 178 aeronaves civis e militares.

059 6/12/84

THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH
IN THE WORLD'S LARGEST CATHOLIC BLOC: SELF-DESTRUCTION

"WE SOCIALISTS AND CATHOLICS
IDENTIFY WITH EACH OTHER MORE AND MORE"

"Julio Stuardo, former mayor of Santiago, member of the Democratic Alliance and representative of the Socialist Party, has told El Sur that in Chile, socialists and Catholics identify with each other more and more every day, that the doctrines of the Church and those of the Socialist Party, rather than being opposed to each other, pursue the same goal.

"Upon being asked about denunciations that the Socialist Party is infiltrating the Catholic Church, Stuardo pointed out that 'this is false, we do not infiltrate the Church. Nevertheless, we can say that the Socialist Party has an extraordinary majority among the Chilean people, who in turn have a Christian and Catholic culture. This is what makes so remarkable the basic identification that exists between Catholics and socialists, which becomes clearer every day'" (El Sur, Concepcion, Chile, 11/20/83).

"THE ARMY ARRESTS SUSPECT PRIEST IN GUATEMALA"

"GUATEMALA CITY -- The American priest, Fr. Donald Haren Pokie, 62, was arrested by the Army in the Department of Peten, in the northern part of the country, and turned over to his ecclesiastic superiors a few hours later. A military bulletin informed that the priest was circulating in an area usually frequented by the guerrillas, and an American-made grenade pin was found in his car.

"Fr. Pokie, a member of the Maryknoll congregation, returned to Guatemala four months ago, after living in El Salvador for some years" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/24/83).

"PRIEST RECRUITS BRAZILIANS OF SEVERAL PROFESSIONS
TO WORK IN NICARAGUA"

"Wanted: Brazilian professionals, agronomic engineers, social workers, physicians, dentists, teachers, business administrators willing to volunteer to work for one or two years in Nicaragua. They will join Canadians, Cubans, Hollanders, Irishmen, Spaniards, Germans and Americans who are already there and are known as 'internationalists.'

"This is not an ad, but rather an idea of a Jesuit priest, Fr. Walmir Fernandes Brandao, 54, who works with the Youth Pastoral of the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo. Last year he spent a little over three months in Nicaragua and justifies the formation of a group of Brazilian 'internationalists' by saying: 'Nicaragua direly lacks technicians and specialists, because 10,000 of them left the country after the revolution'" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 1/22/84).

"SAO PAULO WILL SEND PRIESTS TO AFRICA"

"Even though Brazilian priests themselves lament the slump in priestly vocations in the country, the cardinal of Sao Paulo announced that missionaries will be sent to two communist-dominated African countries, Angola and Mozambique. According to the cardinal, 20 secular priests and 40 regular priests were ordained this year in Sao Paulo, which will enable him to soon fulfill the request of Angolans and Mozambicans. The CNBB [National Conference of Brazilian Bishops] is asking foreign priests to come to Brazil" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/23/83).



Dirigentes socialistas en Concepción. En la fotografía aparecen Augusto Jiménez Jara, exsubsecretario del Trabajo; Hernán Vodanovic, miembro de la Alianza Democrática, al igual que Julio Stuardo, y Marcel Cerda, de la dirección regional del PS.

Señaló dirigente del PS, Julio Stuardo

“Socialistas y católicos nos identificamos cada día más”

• Dijo que no han infiltrado a la Iglesia y que ambas doctrinas no se contraponen.

El exjefe de Santiago y miembro de la Alianza Democrática, en representación del Partido Socialista, Julio Stuardo, manifestó a EL SUR que cada día es mayor la identidad entre católicos y socialistas en Chile, y que las doctrinas de la Iglesia y del Partido Socialista no se contraponen, sino que ambas pugnan un mismo fin.

El personero realizó una visita a la zona, junto a Hernán Vodanovic, también miembro de la Alianza en representación del socialismo, y Augusto Jiménez, exsubsecretario del Trabajo.

Consultado en relación con denuncias en el sentido de que el PS está infiltrando a la Iglesia Católica, Stuardo señaló: “Eso es falso, nosotros no infiltramos a la Iglesia. Sin embargo podemos decir que el Partido Socialista es extraordinariamente mayoritario en el pueblo chileno, que a la vez tiene una cultura cristiana y católica. Por ello es notable la identidad de base cada día más clara que existe entre católicos y socialistas. Y creo que esto es bueno para el país; no va en desmedro del partido ni de la

liberación del hombre, el pleno ejercicio de sus facultades y de la libertad”.

Frente a otra consulta, Stuardo negó que en Chile exista terrorismo de izquierda.

“El terrorismo que ha existido es de los sectores de la derecha. Por lo general, los atentados que se han producido, atribuidos a la izquierda, corresponden a infiltración de quienes no debieran tener otro deber que cuidar del orden”.

Reconoció que su participación como representante del socialismo en la Alianza Democrática ha sido cuestionada, pero atribuyó esas críticas a “la derecha y voceros del régimen, lo que no es nuevo en la vida de los militantes de nuestro partido, ya que todos, cuál más cuál menos, hemos sido denigrados”.

LOS UNICOS

Por otra parte, Hernán Vodanovic señaló que el PS es el que ellos militan es el único y tradicional partido, “el del presidente Allende”. Reafirmó que ellos están en la Alianza Democrática y que “cualquier otra expresión no

Padre recruta brasileiros de várias profissões para trabalharem na Nicarágua

São Paulo — Procuram-se profissionais brasileiros — engenheiros agrônomos, assistentes sociais, médicos, dentistas, professores, administradores de empresa — dispostos a trabalhar por um ou dois anos, voluntariamente, na Nicarágua. Eles se juntarão a canadenses, cubanos, holandeses, irlandeses, espanhóis, alemães e norte-americanos que já estão naquele país e são conhecidos como “internacionalistas”.

Este não é o texto de um anúncio, mas uma idéia do padre jesuíta Walmir Fernandes Brandão, 54 anos, que trabalha na Pastoral da Juventude da Arquidiocese paulista. Ele esteve pouco mais de três meses, no ano passado, na Nicarágua, e justificou a formação do grupo de “internacionalistas” brasileiros: “A Nicarágua tem muita falta de técnicos e especialistas, porque cerca de 10 mil deles deixaram o país com a revolução”.

SUSTOS

Padre Walmir, assim que juntar os voluntários, pretende voltar à Nicarágua para trabalhar com os pobres e os jovens. Durante o tempo em que esteve na América Central, o jesuíta visitou todas as regiões da Nicarágua e rezou missa campal para homenagear agricultores mortos em combates com os ex-guardas somozistas, na fronteira com Honduras.

Confessa que levou alguns sustos, como no dia 8 de setembro do ano passado, quando foram bombardeados o Aeroporto Internacional Augusto César Sandino e as proximidades da residência do Ministro das Relações Exteriores, Mi-

guel D'Escoto. “A noite antes, no colégio dos padres jesuítas Centro-América em Manágua, fica perto da casa do Ministro D'Escoto. Quando houve o bombardeio, todos os vidros do colégio ficaram quebrados”.

O sacerdote disse que médicos e professores cubanos estão ajudando o Governo sandinista na reconstrução na Nicarágua, “mas eu não vi nenhum russo por lá”. Além dos cubanos, segundo o padre, há 200 norte-americanos que trabalham como assessores do Governo nicaraguense. Ele explicou sua viagem, afirmando que estava curioso em conhecer a realidade do país depois da revolução, porque aqui “a gente tem notícias muito distorcidas”.

Exército prende padre suspeito na Guatemala

CIDADE DA GUATEMALA — O padre norte-americano Donald Haren Pokie, de 62 anos, foi preso pelo Exército no Departamento de Peten, na região norte do país, e entregue horas depois a seus superiores eclesiais. Um boletim militar informou que o padre circulava por uma área onde costumam agir os guerrilheiros esquerdistas e que em seu automóvel havia uma espoleta de granada, de fabricação norte-americana.

O Exército lembrou que na região de La Libertad, onde ocorreu a prisão, durante uma inspeção de rotina, fica a cooperativa Yachilan, onde no dia 12 deste mês um comando guerrilheiro preparou emboscada para uma patrulha militar. Os soldados resistiram e houve um intenso tiroteio que terminou com a morte de 25 guerrilheiros e seis militares. O padre detido é membro da congregação de Mariknoil e retornou à Guatemala há quatro meses, depois de viver alguns anos em El Salvador.

São Paulo vai enviar padres para a África

Apesar de os próprios padres brasileiros lamentarem a diminuição das vocações sacerdotais no País, o cardeal de São Paulo anuncia o envio de missionários para dois países africanos dominados por regimes comunistas — Angola e Moçambique. Segundo o cardeal, este ano

foram ordenados 20 padres seculares e cerca de 40 religiosos formados nas três faculdades de Teologia de São Paulo, o que permite atender, proximamente, ao pedido feito por angolanos e moçambicanos. A CNBB pede a vinda de padres estrangeiros ao Brasil.

THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH . . .

"BCCs WILL CHANGE SOCIETY, FRIAR SHOWS"

"In Rome, the Lelio Basso International Foundation for the Right and Liberation of Peoples held, in a room adjacent to the Palace of the Chamber of Deputies, a series of workshops on Central America and other regions, as well as on some Brazilian problems.

"Frei Beto [Dominican friar, one of the leaders of the wing of the Catholic Church in Brazil which is compromised with the left] also participated. In his report, he narrated the twenty-year history of the Basic Christian Communities and stated that they 'have a potential for transforming Brazilian society.' He admitted that the BCCs were at first only ecclesiastical initiatives, then in times of repression 'they became the refuge of former militants of the people's movement, and finally, the hideout of persecuted political activists.'

"His report concludes: 'In spite of the difficulties inherent in any social movement, one thing is certain: the BCCs, with this new way of being of the Church, are really inaugurating a new model of a people's democratic society which is socialist both in the reality of the ecclesiastical sphere and in what it provokes within the people's movement. How and to what degree this embryo can grow does not depend exclusively on the BCCs but on the overall picture in which the confrontation of political forces will decide the destiny of Brazil.'" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/3/83).

"IN '84, THE CHURCH WANTS TO DOUBLE THE NUMBER OF COMMUNITY CENTERS IN THE SUBURBIA"

"The action of the Catholic Church in the suburbs of Sao Paulo will be even more profound next year. To have an idea of the volume of work to be carried out, it is enough to recall that the Archdiocese has planned to build another 1,200 community centers (averaging twenty per week). It is from these centers, as has been happening with the 1,200 that are operating, that the Church develops all of its pastoral action geared to the poor, with a special emphasis on the Basic Christian Communities (BCCs).

"In each center at least one new BCC will be created, which means that the number of these communities will have doubled by the end of 1984. Most of the Community Centers will be built by the inhabitants of each region, with their own resources, as happened this year. But the Archdiocese received aid from abroad this year, and will also receive it next year. Germany, for example, sent funds for the construction of 70 centers. A contribution from Switzerland is now about to come.

"The Basic Christian Communities first appeared in 1971, when Cardinal Paulo [Evaristo Arns, Archbishop of Sao Paulo], launched the 'operation periphery.' ... Beginning that year, there was a real revolution. 'People began to discuss their problems and seek solutions,' Cardinal Paulo explains. In the first four years, with the growth of the Community Centers, the Basic Christian Communities also gained strength, oriented by pastoral agents (priests, progressive nuns).

"A real explosion is happening around Sao Paulo,' says Cardinal Paulo. 'The people participate and actively discuss their problems.' The BCCs were of fundamental importance for that. Nearly all people's rights movements that appeared in Sao Paulo originated from the BCCs.

"A BCC is usually formed when a group of people gather in a church or Community Center to pray or meditate. 'This prayer,' says Fr. Henrique Pereira Junior, 'is not an abstract one. It is made above the concrete things of everyone's daily lives. Generally, the pastoral agent (priest or nun) is the one who orients. And from these discussions, people gradually gain consciousness [of their 'oppressed condition'] and begin to understand many things.' In the latest elections, the BCCs were oriented to vote for the parties whose platforms had a social content and whose candidates were really committed to society" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/25/83).

Igreja quer dobrar em 84 número de Centros Comunitários na periferia

ANTENOR BRAIDO

Da nossa equipe de reportagem

A ação da Igreja Católica na periferia de São Paulo será ainda mais profunda no próximo ano. Só para se ter uma idéia do volume do trabalho a ser realizado, basta lembrar que a Arquidiocese programou a construção de mais 1.200 centros comunitários (uma média de vinte por semana). É a partir deles, como vem acontecendo com os quase 1.200 que estão em funcionamento atualmente, que a Igreja desenvolve toda a sua ação pastoral voltada para os pobres, conferindo ênfase especial para as Comunidades Eclesiais de Base (CEBs).

Em cada centro surgirá pelo menos uma nova CEB, o que quer dizer que no final de 84, o número dessas comunidades será duplicado.

"É o povo que nos obriga a isso", explica o cardeal d. Paulo Evaristo Arns. "A vontade de participar é tanta e temos visto que antes mesmo de os centros serem concluídos, eles já estão lotados. E nesses locais que o povo busca esperança e a solução para muitos de seus problemas."

Segundo o cardeal, o ano de 83 foi muito bom para a Igreja em São Paulo. Além da construção de Centros Comunitários por toda a periferia, aumentou bastante o número de vocações sacerdotais e a Arquidiocese ganhou 136 novos padres. Muitos deles já estão integrados em trabalhos de favelas, paróquias e comunidades pobres. A perspectiva para o próximo ano em função disso é otimista.

A maioria dos Centros Comunitários programados deverá ser construída pelos moradores de cada região, com recursos próprios, como aliás aconteceu neste ano. Mas a Arquidiocese recebeu neste ano, e deverá receber também no próximo, ajuda do Exterior. A Alemanha, por exemplo, forneceu verbas para construir 70 centros. Agora está sendo esperada uma contribuição da Suíça.

A origem

O surgimento das Comunidades Eclesiais de Base, que ultimamente vêm-se multiplicando em torno dos Centros Comunitários, aconteceu em 1971, quando o próprio d. Paulo (ainda arcebispo) lançou a "operação periferia". Essa operação nada mais foi do que a construção de vários centros em Vila Brasilândia — uma região muito carente, com grande número de favelas.

Nesses locais, as pessoas necessitadas, além de se encontrar para rezar, ler a Bíblia e outros textos religiosos, passaram também a receber orientação e até mesmo cursos semi-profissionais (corte e costura, por exemplo). Muitos não tinham documentos e o Centro Comunitário resolveu o problema.

A partir desse ano, aconteceu uma verdadeira revolução. "O povo passou a discutir seus problemas e começou a buscar também as soluções", explica d. Paulo. Nos primeiros quatro anos, com o crescimento dos Centros Comunitários, as Comunidades Eclesiais de Base também ganharam força, orientadas pelos agentes pastorais (padres, freiras progressistas).

Inicialmente, as CEBs foram sustentadas (com dinheiro e orientação na discussão dos problemas) por paróquias da classe média. Hoje, o movimento está totalmente integrado na periferia.

"Está acontecendo uma verdadeira explosão em volta de São Paulo", diz o cardeal d. Paulo. "O povo participa e se mostra ativo na discussão de seus problemas". As CEBs foram fundamentais para isso. Quase todos os movimentos reivindicatórios surgidos em São Paulo nos últimos anos tiveram origem nas CEBs.

O Movimento de Loteamentos Clan-



D. Paulo: participação obriga aumento dos centros

CEBs são para mudar a sociedade, mostra frade

ROCCO MORABITO
Nosso correspondente

A Fundação Internacional Lello Basso pelo Direito e pela Libertação dos Povos organizou em Roma, num salão adjacente ao Palácio da Câmara dos Deputados, a assim chamada *auletta* di Montecitorio, uma série de mesas-redondas a respeito da América Central e outras regiões, bem como a determinados problemas brasileiros.

Desta mesa-redonda participou, entre outros, o frei Beto — Carlos Alberto Libanio Christo. Ao afirmar, no seu relatório, a tese de que "as comunidades eclesiais de base constituem um potencial de transformação para a sociedade brasileira", frei Beto relatou a história dos vinte anos das CEBs. Ele admitiu que essas comunidades, que no princípio eram apenas iniciativas clericais, nos tempos da repressão "se tornaram receptáculos de antigos militantes do movimento popular e, por fim, esconderijo de ativistas políticos perseguidos.

Destacou como elas se salvaram da tentação de se afirmar como forças políticas e de adotar a forma de

um "cristianismo de esquerda", como ocorreu na década de 60 nas JUC, que de certa forma se transformaram em "ações populares".

Segundo ele, as CEBs sempre conservaram sua fisionomia de evangelização pastoral, mesmo com alinhamentos políticos confusos. Se na região do ABC de São Paulo é evidente o interesse dos militantes cristãos pelo PT, no Nordeste a preferência é dada ao PMDB e em algumas zonas do Sul do País ao PDT. Os cristãos e os políticos que chegaram a acreditar que as CEBs poderiam ser *ghettos* eleitorais de um único partido se enganaram.

A conclusão do seu relatório foi a seguinte: "Não obstante as dificuldades inerentes a qualquer movimento social, uma coisa está certa: as CEBs com este 'novo modo de ser Igreja', estão realmente inaugurando um novo modelo de sociedade popular democrática, socialista, seja na realidade em que vivem na esfera eclesial, seja no que provocam dentro do movimento popular. Como e em que medida este embrião poderá crescer não depende exclusivamente das CEBs, mas da conjuntura na qual o confronto das forças políticas decidirá os destinos do Brasil". *OMP 3/12/83*

munidade Eclesial de Base se reuniu e estudou o problema. Novas reuniões foram realizadas. O movimento ganhou amplitude e depois se espalhou por toda a cidade.

Consciência crítica

A formação de uma CEB geralmente acontece quando um grupo de pessoas se reúne em uma igreja ou Centro Comunitário para rezar, meditar. "Essa oração — afirma Henrique Pereira Júnior — não é abstrata. Ela é feita em cima das coisas concretas, do dia-a-dia de cada um. Geralmente o agente pastoral (padre, freira) orienta (pode ser de uma forma mais ou menos crítica). A partir dessas discussões, o grupo vai ganhando consciência e passa a entender muitas coisas."

Henrique explica que o processo é quase idêntico para toda a periferia, mas as CEBs não são todas iguais. Cada uma tem sua característica. E isso orienta o trabalho que deve ser seguido. De 74 em diante, as CEBs ganharam um grande impulso surgindo a

to, transporte, pronto-socorro) nasceu nas Comunidades de Base. A fé e a ação estavam juntas. Para muitas CEBs, esse trabalho causou uma certa confusão e muitos políticos usaram as Comunidades. Em mais de uma oportunidade, o cardeal d. Paulo teve que intervir, lembra Henrique.

"É nosso dever de cristãos, brasileiros e amigos dos pequenos, não permitir que as CEBs sejam instrumentalizadas pelos partidos", afirmou o cardeal no início de dezembro de 1980, acrescentando que "elas (as CEBs) não podem ser transformadas em cenários de lutas partidárias e, se isso acontecer, perderão sua força original".

Mas isso não quer dizer, que as Comunidades Eclesiais de Base não tenham participado politicamente. Nas últimas eleições, por exemplo, (em novembro passado), as CEBs recebiam a orientação de votar nos partidos que defendiam programas, que tinham um conteúdo social, além de candidatos realmente comprometidos com a sociedade.

THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH . . .

"THE BCCs ARE UNDER CONTROL, BISHOP SAYS"

"The explosion of Basic Christian Communities (BCCs) all over Brazil is causing concern in government sectors which are not resigned to the scope that the Church has been taking on, especially in the suburbs of major cities. Recently, several newspapers published a report on the action of the BCCs in Sao Paulo. Whether true or not, the document also criticizes some bishops who support the action of these groups.

Bishop Antonio Celso Queiroz of the Ipiranga region in Sao Paulo, whom the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops put in charge of orienting the BCCs on a national level, says he understands the reaction: 'After all, when the people organize, they begin to annoy the system'. But he guarantees that the BCCs are under control and do not harm the hierarchical principle of the Catholic Church because they are linked to it through the bishops and pastoral agents.

"It is around the Basic Christian Communities that the pastoral and evangelizing action of the Church develops and will continue to develop ever more in the future,' says article 140 of the General Guidelines for Pastoral Action of the Church in Brazil. This document, which was approved in the latest meeting of Conference of Bishops, plans the pastoral action of the Church in Brazil until 1986.

"If anyone is now concerned about the BCCs,' says Bishop Angelico Sandalo, of the region of Sao Miguel Paulista, where the BCCs are very active, then let us be on the alert, because the BCCs haven't even started to annoy yet.' According to him, 1984 will be the year of the BCCs in Brazil. 'It is the Church's new way of being, which is achieving success among the less favored and marginalized people.'

The BCCs, which were first brought to Brazil between 1968 and 1970, were initially organized in rural areas and later in the cities, have grown enormously during the last decade. Today, no one knows how many BCCs actually exist. The leadership of the Church prefers not to give figures. However, unofficial estimates place the number of active BCCs spread throughout Brazil at more than 100,000" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 1/1/84).

"DIRECT ELECTIONS AND ANSWERS TO ACCUSATIONS"

"Direct elections are being discussed in the BCCs, as well as hunger, unemployment, social inequalities, and other problems such as the situation of Nicaragua and other countries of Central America.

"Msgr. Angelico Sandalo, bishop of the episcopal region of S. Miguel Paulista, is a great enthusiast of the Basic Christian Communities. During the Christmas novena, along with Msgr. Luciano, bishop of the Eastern region, he published a booklet on 'The Gospel and the Present Reality of Brazil and World Politics.' The work was amply studied (and still is) by the BCCs. 'Stemming from a critical reading of this kind of document, and of the Gospel,' he says, 'the BCCs acquire an awareness of the situation in which they live and of what must be done to change. People become aware that a world divided between a few rich and many hungry people is not the world that Christ announced. If this awareness is subversion, let it then be called so, since Christ himself was called revolutionary when he was on the Earth and suffered for this.'

"Solidarity, participation, living together, the communion which is aroused by the BCCs,' the bishop emphasizes, 'are something fantastic which really provokes subversion, since the people realize who is exploiting them, who its enemies are, and where the changes must take place. The powerful are concerned because they can't control this" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 1/1/84).

CEBs estão sob controle, afirma bispo

Dom Antônio Queiroz garante que não devem existir preocupações sobre atuação das Comunidades

ANTENOR BRAIDO

Da nossa equipe de reportagem

A explosão das Comunidades Eclesiais de Base (CEBs) em todo o Brasil passou a preocupar setores do governo, inconformados com o espaço que a Igreja vem ocupando, especialmente nas zonas periféricas das grandes cidades. Recentemente, vários jornais publicaram um relatório focalizando a atuação das CEBs em São Paulo. Verdadeiro ou não, o documento critica também alguns bispos que apoiam a atuação desses núcleos.

D. Antônio Celso Queiroz, bispo da região episcopal do Ipiranga (São Paulo) e encarregado pela Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil (CNBB) de orientar as CEBs a nível nacional, afirma entender essa reação — "afinal de contas quando o povo se organiza, passa a incomodar o sistema" — mas garante que as CEBs estão sob controle e não ferem o princípio hierárquico da Igreja Católica, uma vez que estão ligadas a ela através dos bispos e agentes pastorais (padres, freiras, religiosos).

"E ao redor das Comunidades de Base que se desenvolve e se desenvolverá cada vez mais, no futuro, a ação pastoral e evangelizadora da Igreja", diz o artigo 140 das Diretrizes Gerais da Ação Pastoral da Igreja no Brasil, documento que traça a atuação pastoral da Igreja até 86 em nosso País, aprovado na última conferência da CNBB. Pela ordem de prioridade aparecem em primeiro lugar os jovens, depois as CEBs e a seguir vocações e ministérios, famílias, leigos e o mundo do trabalho.

"Se há alguém preocupado com as CEBs agora — afirma d. Angélico Sândalo, bispo da região episcopal de São Miguel Paulista, onde as Comuni-



Dom Angélico Sândalo

dades Eclesiais de Base são muito atuantes — então é bom ficar alerta porque elas ainda não começaram a incomodar." Segundo d. Angélico, 1984 será o ano das CEBs no Brasil: "É a nova forma de ser Igreja — destaca — que está dando certo entre as pessoas desfavorecidas e marginalizadas."

Trazidas para o Brasil entre 68 e 70, inicialmente organizadas no campo, passando depois para as cidades, as CEBs se reproduziram em grande número da última década. Hoje, ninguém sabe dizer concretamente quantas existem. A cúpula da Igreja prefere não divulgar números e mostra pouco interesse por isso. No entanto, estimativas não oficiais asseguram que é superior a 100 mil a quantidade de CEBs em franca atividade, espalhadas pelo País. *FSP 1-1-84*

Eleições diretas e as respostas às acusações

As eleições diretas estão sendo discutidas nas CEBs, assim como a fome, o desemprego, as desigualdades sociais e outros problemas como a situação da Nicarágua e outros países da América Central (na zona Leste, por exemplo, esse último tema atrai mais a atenção do que todos os outros).

Com relação às diretas, dom Celso Queiroz destaca que a Igreja já manifestou sua opinião (é francamente favorável), mas existe um consenso que alcançá-las é tarefa da sociedade civil. Daí porque a Igreja não assume posição de vanguarda no amplo movimento que os partidos e outras instituições estão organizando.

Os participantes das CEBs são orientados a participar, mas não como tal (CEBs), "pois o esforço que deve ser feito é do conjunto da sociedade civil. O movimento de 64 decepcionou as lideranças". Isso, no entender do bispo, talvez explique a dificuldade de mobilização. Mas ele entende que, embora a Igreja tenha uma malha espalhada por todo o País, mobilizar seus adeptos para esse fim, seria promover o paternalismo.

"É subversão, sim"

D. Angélico Sândalo, bispo da região episcopal de São Miguel Paulista, é um grande entusiasta das Comunidades de Base. Na novena de Natal, juntamente com d. Luciano, bispo da região Leste, publicou um livreto sobre "O Evangelho e a realidade atual do Brasil e a política mundial". Esse

trabalho foi amplamente estudado (e continua sendo ainda) pelas CEBs.

"A partir da leitura crítica desse tipo de documento e do Evangelho, as CEBs — afirma — adquirem a consciência da situação em que vivem e do que deve ser feito para mudar. O pessoal fica sabendo que um mundo dividido entre alguns ricos e muitos famintos não é o mundo que Cristo anunciou. Se essa consciência é subversão, então que seja chamada assim, pois até mesmo o próprio Cristo foi chamado de revolucionário quando esteve na Terra e sofreu por isso."

O bispo da região de São Miguel disse que encara com a maior tranquilidade as acusações que são feitas à Igreja, por causa da atuação das CEBs. "Sinal — afirma — que estamos trabalhando." D. Angélico reuniu, semana passada, os fiéis para uma celebração e leu parte de um documento do serviço de informações do governo, onde a certa altura se diz que "o bispo de São Miguel é o mais perigoso de São Paulo por sua atuação". Foi muito aplaudido.

Fantástico

"A solidariedade, a participação, a convivência, a comunhão que é provocada pelas CEBs — destaca o bispo — são uma coisa fantástica e isso realmente provoca a subversão, pois o povo percebe quem o está explorando, quem são seus inimigos e onde é preciso mudar. Os poderosos estão preocupados porque não conseguem controlar isso." *FSP 1-1-84*

THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH . . .

"BISHOP ANGELICO ASKS EMERGENCY SOLUTION TO UNEMPLOYMENT"

"In speech strongly critical of the Federal Government, Msgr. Angelico Sandalo, bishop of Sao Paulo's eastern zone, participated yesterday in a service sponsored by the members of the 'Christmas Fast Movement Against Hunger and Unemployment' who were camped in front of St. Francis Church since Sunday.

"Bishop Angelico spoke to about 80 people on the topic 'Christmas and Hunger.' He said 'the country is catching fire and a drowsiness invades the inert Brazilian government which fails to adopt any emergency solution to the problem of unemployment and lack of food.' He said the life of the country's leaders in Brasilia is 'a scandal' and demanded more employment, the implementation of land reform, and the end of corruption.

"While saying he is against violence -- 'whether from the Army or from guerrilla groups' -- the Bishop stated that 'the sufferings of the people are so many that those who believe in weapons would already have more than sufficient reasons to start an armed revolution.' On the camping [of people in front of the church], Bishop Angelico said 'it is a prophetic gesture since it is done amidst an ocean of alienation of society in regard to hunger, at a moment in which no government presents any solution at all.'

"According to the organizers of the movement, 48 people are fasting there, taking turns. Nine of them, including workers and religious, promised to remain without food until 9:00 p.m. of December 24. Another 19 people are fasting in their homes or work places.

"The 'Christmas Fast' is being held simultaneously in 9 state capitals" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/22/83).

"LAND REFORM, A TOPIC OF BISHOP IVO"

"In his weekly radio allocution 'The Shepherd's Voice' yesterday, Bishop Ivo Lorscheider, president of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, again defended a land reform for the country" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 11/30/83).

"BISHOP HELDER WANTS ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL UNITED AGAINST THE IMF"

"Helder Camara, Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, yesterday called for a union of the principal debtors in Latin America -- Brazil and Argentina -- to take over the 'management of their own debts, expelling the intervention of the IMF.' His statements were made during a press conference.

"Archbishop Camara said that this decision of managing one's own destiny is even more important than having direct elections. In his opinion, the IMF (International Monetary Fund) 'deserves to disappear, since it crushes our people even more and never [fulfills] its purpose, which is to help the underdeveloped countries'" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 12/11/83).

Dom Angélico pede solução de emergência para o desemprego

O bispo participou de ato público de acampados

Com um pronunciamento marcado por fortes críticas ao governo federal, o bispo da zona Leste da Capital, dom Angélico Sândalo, participou ontem do culto promovido pelos integrantes do movimento "Jejum de Natal — contra a fome e o desemprego", acampados desde domingo defronte à igreja de São Francisco.

No ato, realizado ao final da tarde na tribuna do "território livre" do largo, dom Angélico falou para aproximadamente 80 pessoas sobre o tema "Natal e Fome". Disse que "o País está pegando fogo e há um sono invadindo o governo brasileiro, que, inerte, não adota nenhuma solução de emergência para resolver o problema do desemprego e da falta de alimentos". Classificando a vida dos dirigentes do País em Brasília como "um escândalo", o bispo reivindicou mais emprego, implantação da reforma agrária e o fim da corrupção.

Sustentando ser contrário ao uso da violência — "do Exército ou de grupos guerrilheiros" — o bispo afirmou ainda que "os sofrimentos do povo são tantos,

que aqueles que acreditam em armas teriam razões de sobra para iniciar uma revolução armada". Sobre o acampamento, dom Angélico disse "ser um gesto profético, pelo fato de estar sendo feito no meio de um oceano de alienação da sociedade a respeito da fome, e num momento em que governo nenhum apresenta qualquer solução".

Jejum

De acordo com a coordenação do movimento, 48 pessoas estão jejuando no local, por diferentes períodos, sendo que nove, entre trabalhadores e religiosos, comprometeram-se a permanecer sem alimentação de domingo passado até às 21 horas do próximo dia. Foram cadastrados também 19 pessoas que estão jejuando nos locais de trabalho ou em suas moradias.

O "Jejum de Natal", que está sendo realizado simultaneamente em nove capitais do País, terá no culto de hoje a tarde a participação do jurista Hélio Bicudo e do rabino Henri Sobel, da comunidade israelita, que falarão sobre "Natal, Violência e Corrida Armamentista".

D Hélder quer Argentina e Brasil unidos contra FMI

O Arcebispo de Olinda e Recife, D. Hélder Câmara, defendeu ontem a união dos principais devedores da América Latina — Brasil e Argentina — para assumirem a gerência de suas próprias dívidas, expulsando a ingerência do FMI. Suas declarações foram feitas em entrevista coletiva, momentos antes de pronunciar conferência na OAB, em comemoração aos 35 anos da Declaração Universal dos Direitos do Homem.

D. Hélder classificou com muito mais importante esta decisão de gerir o próprio destino do que até mesmo o projeto das eleições diretas, ainda "mais que há alquimistas das eleições que são capazes de fabricar qualquer resultado". Na opinião dele, o FMI — Fundo Monetário Internacional — "merecia desaparecer porque esmaga ainda mais o nosso povo e nunca sua finalidade, que é ajudar os países subdesenvolvidos".

Perigos

Depois de advertir que "água está subindo

e sufocando o povo", D. Hélder disse que "ninguém agüenta mais". Para ele, "se continuar o desemprego mais cruel, se o custo de vida continuar como está, se não se chegar a mudar as estruturas em que vivemos, se tivermos mais sofrimento, a violência vai aumentar".

— Chegamos a um momento em que há tanta violência, que algumas pessoas acreditam que a repressão é capaz de parar a violência. A repressão não é solução. Temos que procurar as causas de tudo isso, que são o desemprego, a fome, o desespero que levam ao sufoco de todo o povo.

D. Hélder emocionou as mais 100 pessoas que lotavam o plenário da OAB, quando, ao ouvir um choro de criança, pediu a todos que trabalhassem para "que as crianças tenham um mundo melhor". E mais uma vez recebeu aplausos de pé quando repetidamente condenou "a fome e a miséria, as maiores violências".

A reforma agrária, tema de d. Ivo

Da sucursal de PORTO ALEGRE

O presidente da Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil, d. Ivo Lorscheider, voltou a defender uma reforma agrária no País, em sua allocução semanal de ontem "A Palavra do Pastor", transmitida pela rádio Medianeira de Santa Maria. Tendo como tema sua visita pastoral às paróquias de Agudo e de Cortado, no município de Santa Maria, d. Ivo lembrou as dificuldades dos agricultores: "Na verdade, quando se observam as condições difíceis dos que trabalham com a terra, cresce na gente a convicção da necessidade de uma reforma agrária, que permita a tantas valorosas famílias trabalhar em terras mais fáceis e mecanizadas. Apesar da crise, também muito comentada nessas regiões, encontrei um povo decidido e trabalhador, merecendo por isso todo o apoio".

Dom Ivo ainda fez algumas sugestões: "Organizar grupos permanentes de famílias para rezar e refletir; organizar a pastoral dos agricultores, com adequada conscientização e sindicalização; seguir as linhas pastorais da diocese; e descobrir e formar sempre mais líderes para a catequese; liturgia e grupos de jovens".

CEBP 30/11/83

JB 11/12/83

"WE MUST DISTRIBUTE LANDS FOR PRODUCTION"

"[Cardinal Paulo Arns, Archbishop of Sao Paulo, in a press conference] called to mind the two great catastrophes of the year -- the floods in the South and the drought in the Northeast -- and mentioned the warning of Aloisio Lorscheider, Archbishop of Fortaleza: 'Three million Brazilians are threatened with death if there is no urgent change. Drought is not a fatality, it is a political matter. We need a land reform to distribute lands for production.'

"Asked about the state of relations between the Church and the State in Brazil, the cardinal restated his longstanding position: 'The Church is the people organized, and when the government drifts away from the people, it also drifts away from the Church. When the government is in conflict with the people, it is also in conflict with the Church.'

"Finally, Cardinal Paulo analyzed the controversial question of human rights, for which the Church was much criticized in 1983 by sectors of the media and the more conservative sectors of society. The criticism could be summarized in the phrase, 'the Church is defending the bandits.'

"After revealing that Pope John Paul II is gathering theologians from the whole world to elaborate a Theology of Human Rights 'in order to have a more ample basis and a justification before the Christians who to this day are still not convinced about this policy,' the Cardinal said that the Justice and Peace Commission and the centers for the defense of human rights of the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo 'will be reorganized and will adopt a new strategy in 1984, once this emotional climate created by those who do not understand that Human Rights are the security of security itself, has passed away'" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 12/31/83).

"Precisamos distribuir terras para a produção"

D. Paulo lembrou as duas grandes catástrofes do ano — enchentes no Sul e seca no Nordeste — e falou da advertência feita por d. Aloisio Lorscheider, arcebispo de Fortaleza: "Três milhões de brasileiros estão ameaçados de morte, se não houver uma mudança urgente. A seca não é uma fatalidade, é uma questão política. Precisamos de uma reforma agrária, distribuindo terras para a produção".

Foi a pressão popular, afirmou d. Paulo, que levou às mudanças na Lei de Segurança Nacional. "A LSN deixou de ser um tabu intocável, mas ela terá que ser modificada ainda mais, como nós esperamos. Foram estas mudanças que permitiram a libertação dos padres franceses, além de outras pessoas presas, com base na LSN."

No plano internacional, d. Paulo destacou o Sínodo dos Bispos em que se discutiram problemas da crise cultural e do pecado social. Pela primeira vez, dois bispos brasileiros foram escolhidos para o Conselho Permanente do Sínodo. Ainda em 83, quatro conferências episcopais — dos Estados Unidos, do Japão, da Holanda e da Alemanha Federal — se manifestaram contra o armamentismo.

Diante de uma pergunta sobre a quantas andavam as relações da Igreja com o Estado, no Brasil, o cardeal voltou a repetir a sua posição de sempre: "A Igreja é o povo organizado e, quando o governo se distancia do povo, se distancia também da Igreja. Quando o governo entra em conflito com o povo, entra em conflito também com a Igreja".

D. Paulo citou dois casos em que isso ocorreu: nas centenas de conflitos de terra e no enquadramento de leigos e religiosos na Lei de Segurança Nacional. Os problemas mais graves que persistem, segundo o cardeal, são "o desemprego e o alto custo de vida, ou seja, a fome do povo".

Neste sentido, a Campanha da Fraternidade do próximo ano terá como tema central "A Defesa da Vida" — base para todo um projeto que realmente a esperança popular,

"não apenas para não morrer de fome, mas para melhorar a qualidade de vida cultural e espiritual nas comunidades". Para isso, será incentivada a participação dos cristãos nos sindicatos e associações de classe, "que de fato assumam a defesa da população".

Para d. Paulo, "só a evolução política não traz a democracia, mas é um esteio forte para a evolução social. A coisa já está pegando fogo. Embora a CUT esteja dividida, ela existe; embora não seja legalizada, ela funciona. Me parece que já se pode contar com algum progresso neste campo".

Por fim, d. Paulo analisou a polêmica questão dos Direitos Humanos, razão de muitas críticas feitas à Igreja, em 83, por determinados setores dos meios de comunicação e das áreas mais conservadoras da sociedade, resumidas na frase "a Igreja está defendendo os bandidos".

Depois de revelar que o papa João Paulo 2º está reunindo teólogos de todas as partes do mundo para que elaborem uma Teologia dos Direitos Humanos, "para ter uma base mais ampla e uma justificação perante os cristãos que até hoje não se convenceram desta política", o cardeal informou que a Comissão de Justiça e Paz e os centros de defesa dos Direitos Humanos da Arquidiocese de São Paulo "vão se reorganizar, adotar uma nova estratégia em 84, uma vez passado esse clima emocional que se criou, sobretudo por parte daqueles que não entendem que os Direitos Humanos são a segurança da própria segurança".

"Quem não defende o direito de todos acaba permitindo a violação do direito de qualquer um, e nós seremos vítimas das discriminações que fizemos. Mas uma coisa é preciso ficar bem clara: nunca, jamais, a Igreja vai privilegiar o bandido sobre a vítima. A Igreja jamais abandona qualquer pessoa, porque combate o erro, não a pessoa", concluiu o cardeal, desejando a todos um feliz ano novo, acompanhado do conselho de sempre: "Coragem!". FSP 31/12/83

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MOSCOW AND THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT IN LATIN AMERICA

by Pedro Ramet and Fernando Lopez-Alves

The increasingly close ties between Nicaragua and the Soviet Union and the concomitant spread of Soviet-supplied guerrilla war, first to Guatemala and subsequently to El Salvador, are symptomatic of a new phase in Soviet policy toward Latin America.¹ This new phase is characterized by (1) the radicalization of Central American politics, (2) consequent Soviet perception that major changes may be in the offing, and (3) an intensification of involvement on the part of the Soviet Union and of Soviet proxies and associates (primarily Cuba, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Libya, and the PLO) in supporting leftist guerrilla groups and in reinforcing the revolutionary tendencies of leftist regimes (chiefly Nicaragua and, until the U.S. invasion, Grenada). Thus, Moscow's new opportunities in Latin America are more the result of growing indigenous anti-American sentiment in the region than of Soviet initiative.

It is important to understand that the Soviets do not recognize the legitimacy of spheres of influence. Hence, those in the West who write about Eastern Europe being a "legitimate" zone of Soviet interest and Latin America being a "legitimate" zone of U.S. interest fool themselves when they expect the Soviets to accept this line of thinking. In addition to the fact that this approach helps to account for the anti-American backlash in Latin America today (and is, in any event, scarcely

¹ Although the Kremlin has never been given to thinking in terms of spheres of influence and has maintained a global interest since the earliest days of the Bolshevik Revolution and the Comintern, Latin America has traditionally been the area most beyond Soviet reach and thus the area to which the Soviets have paid the least attention. See James D. Theberge, *The Soviet Presence in Latin America* (New York: Crane, Russak, 1974), pp. 3, 6; Leon Goure and Morris Rothenberg, *Soviet Penetration of Latin America* (Miami: University of Miami Press, 1975), p. 127; and Centro Americano de Estudios, *Centroamerica: crisis y politica internacional* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1982), pp. 195-96.

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a doctrine whose "legitimacy" small nations will ever be inclined to accept), the Soviets repudiate it because they refuse to accept limits to their imperial expansion. The Soviets will support any leftist group and back any insurrectionary movement which promises to erode the U.S. position and to open new opportunities to the Soviets. The Soviets are not gripped by an obsession with absolute control; they play a cautious game and have been quite satisfied to make small gains in sundry locales. In this context, it is perhaps not so surprising that some of Moscow's biggest Third World successes (Cuba, India, Libya, Nicaragua, Syria, and South Yemen) have been gained without the traditional Communist parties (CPs) playing any major role.

It seems preferable, when discussing Latin America, to speak of Soviet interests there rather than of Soviet goals. While it is clear that the diminution of U.S. influence, the expansion of Soviet trade contacts and political influence, and the installation of collectivist regimes inspired by "anticapitalist" sentiment are all in the Soviet interest — which the Soviets can reasonably be expected to further where they deem it feasible — to speak of goals is to speak of specific policy objectives that may vary both from country to country and from one year to the next. To speak of Soviet goals in Latin America, then, can be seriously misleading, since to do so suggests the very inflexibility that the Soviets most abhor. Trained from youth to look for evidence of the dialectical view of history, Soviet policymakers endeavor to be alert to political flux and the consequent change in the weight of variables (though, for all that, the Soviets have been known to display a fondness for comparing sundry developments around the globe to specific episodes, even to specific months, in their own national experience, often with considerable distortion).

The Latin American political landscape is a complex one. An economic inequality supported by U.S. corporate interests has unavoidably been associated with ever more assertive anti-American currents, and anti-Americanism seems (often mistakenly) to open new opportunities for the Soviets. Yet Moscow has learned to be wary of Third World leaders whose purpose in promoting bilateral relations may be considerably at variance with Soviet interests (the cases of Somalia, Iraq, and even Cuba between 1960 and 1968 come to mind), and, if nothing else, the Soviets' recent experience in Iran has taught them that anti-Americanism does not automatically translate into the desire to cooperate with the Soviets and may even exist in tandem with anti-Sovietism.

It is sometimes thought in the West that the Soviets have incomparable advantages in dealing with the Third World. Chief among them are said to be, first, the fact that the Soviet Union cannot be identified

with the colonialism of the period before World War II (unless, of course, one wishes to talk about Mongolia) and, second, the supposition that instability and revolution in the Third World are apt to work in the Soviets' favor. Both these assumptions, however, are seriously flawed. In the first case, the image of Soviet "purity" is both mitigated considerably by a general distrust in the Third World of Great Powers of any political hue (and hence the persistence of the Nonaligned Movement) and badly tarnished by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which was almost universally condemned in the Third World. As for the notion that revolution is apt to favor the Soviets or lead to communism, one need only think of Jonas Savimbi in Angola and Eden Pastora ("Commander Zero") in Nicaragua to realize that revolution has no automatic proclivities but necessarily threatens vested interests in the status quo, whoever they might be.

The Soviets have been slow to extend their field of interest to Latin America, and although they presided over the establishment of some seventeen Communist parties in Latin America between 1918 and 1950, they remained largely absorbed with Germany and China throughout the Stalin period. Under Khrushchev, the Soviets began to think globally, and developed close relations with various Middle East and African states. At this juncture, Moscow placed a premium on the development of good state-to-state relations and showed itself willing to sacrifice local Communist parties in the interests of good state relations. Local CPs were advised to cooperate with Soviet client regimes.²

Soviet policy in Latin America, and the Third World generally, must take into account a complex web of interacting forces including moderate regimes (like those of Venezuela and Mexico), leftist regimes (Cuba, Nicaragua, and, until recently, Grenada), the local CPs, various Trotskyite groups, leftist guerrillas who may or may not be amenable to communization, and miscellaneous other radical groups, such as the Montoneros of Argentina and the Tupamaros of Uruguay. The Soviets have tried to encourage all forces for change without committing themselves to any — which is a tricky balancing act, even for the Soviets.

Aside from local CPs and Trotskyites, Soviet advisers, economic aid and trade, and KGB subversion (lately focused very much on Argentina³), the Soviets have, in the past decade, made systematic use of a network of proxies and associates, including East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Libya, the PLO, North Korea, and Cuba. These proxies provide

² Roger E. Kanet, "Soviet Attitudes toward Developing Nations since Stalin," in Roger E. Kanet, ed., *The Soviet Union and the Developing Nations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp. 34-36.

³ Brian Freemantle, *KGB* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982), p. 120; and Theberge, *The Soviet Presence*, pp. 34-35.

technical and economic assistance to "progressive" regimes, ship or trans-ship arms both to those regimes and to leftist insurgents and terrorists, and provide guerrilla training to insurgents in training camps in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Libya, Cuba, and elsewhere. The resulting network has itself become a factor in Latin American politics, as recent contacts between local leftists and Libyan and PLO backers, as well as Basque terrorists, make plain.⁴

Recent Soviet involvement in Latin America seems to reflect a change in Soviet perceptions about opportunities for penetration in this hemisphere and about the specific utility of the aforementioned foreign policy instruments.

Moscow's Initial Entry into Latin America, 1961-70

Moscow's early pessimism about the prospects of communist revolution in Latin America was not altered by Castro's 1961 conversion to Marxism-Leninism. In fact, despite the Kremlin's readiness to finance Castro's Cuba,⁵ Moscow and Havana were sharply divided in the mid 1960s over precisely this question, with Castro and his lieutenant, Ernesto "Che" Guevara,⁶ urging the export of revolution guerrilla-style and Soviet spokesmen urging restraint.

For Moscow, Castro's eagerness to export revolution and the presence of revolution-prone leftists in Latin America represented a real dilemma. On the one hand, Moscow believed that the Cuban experience was *sui generis*, and that less militant tactics were apt to prove more useful elsewhere on the continent. On the other hand, Moscow was

⁴ The PLO has been actively involved with Latin American leftism since 1966, when PLO representatives attended the first conference of the Cuban-sponsored Organization of Peoples' Solidarity of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In 1972, the PLO signed an agreement with Cuba, opening up its bases in Lebanon, South Yemen, and Libya for the training of Latin American guerrillas; the Cubans provided the training instructors. As of 1983, the PLO was training and supplying Haitian leftist guerrillas and flying reconnaissance and transport missions for the Nicaraguan Air Force. Libya's Colonel Qaddafi has been in contact with leftist guerrillas in both El Salvador and Haiti and met in July 1982 with leftist guerrillas from Antigua, St. Lucia, Dominica, Barbados, and St. Vincent. Qaddafi has also maintained warm relations with the leftist regimes in Grenada, Nicaragua, and Surinam and has provided economic support to the Nicaraguan Sandinista regime. For more details, see *Foreign Report*, November 28, 1979, p. 6; July 1, 1982, p. 8; September 23, 1982, p. 8; and March 24, 1983, p. 8; *Los Angeles Times*, January 16, 1983; *Business Week*, April 18, 1983, p. 54; *Congressional Record*, August 18, 1980, p. H7072; Radio Tripoli, March 12, 1981, and JANA-Tripoli, March 25, 1981, and April 9, 1982, translated respectively in Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), *Daily Report* (North Africa), March 13, 1981, March 27, 1981, and April 12, 1982; and Manilo Tirado, *La Revolucion Sandinista* (Mexico City: Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, 1983), p. 165. See, also, Edward S. Herman, *The Real Terror Network* (Boston: South End Press, 1982), p. 59. Regarding the role of Basque terrorists, see *Christian Science Monitor*, January 17, 1984.

⁵ See V. V. Volsky, *SSR i Latinskaya Amerika, 1917-1967* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya, 1967), pp. 158-69.

⁶ Actually, there were some tensions between Castro and Guevara in this period, though Castro eventually came over to Guevara's position on guerrilla warfare. See Edward Gonzalez, *Cuba under Castro: The Limits of Charisma* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974).

interested in maintaining influence over these sundry groups, Cuba included, and to do this, it seemed necessary to offer some support to the armed struggle. Hence, late in his term of office, Khrushchev decided to come to an understanding with the Castroist groups. Castro had, at that point, not yet endorsed the Soviet position in the Sino-Soviet rift, and Khrushchev perceived, not without reason, that there was a danger of Castro edging closer to Maoism and taking with him the entire gallimaufry of Castroist parties in Latin America. Hence, in late 1964, in what has come to be called the "Havana Compromise," Moscow gave its endorsement to the strategy of armed struggle, albeit in only five Latin American countries — Venezuela, Colombia, Honduras, Paraguay, and Haiti. During 1964 and 1965, *Pravda* repeatedly ran articles supporting guerrilla warfare in the Western Hemisphere, and, in January 1965, specifically endorsed guerrilla warfare in Venezuela, Guatemala, "and various other countries." Shortly thereafter, two couriers, bearing \$330,000 in Soviet cash earmarked for the Venezuelan guerrillas, were arrested by Venezuelan police.⁷ Later, at the Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America meeting in Havana, S. R. Rashidov, head of the Soviet delegation, delivered a fiery speech in support of armed revolutionary struggle and declared that the Soviet Union was ready to assist guerrillas in Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, and Guatemala.⁸

Except for the funds sent to Venezuelan guerrillas, however, there is little evidence of direct Soviet aid to advocates of armed struggle in this period. One possible explanation of the disjunction between the temporary rhetorical endorsement of armed struggle and the absence of concrete assistance is that it took the Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership two years to consolidate its control and to define its policies. In the interim it would have been loath to make any firm commitments and perhaps also unable to assert a clear line among diverse opinion groups in the Soviet political elite.

Despite Cuba's support for guerrillas in Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru, and Nicaragua, Moscow preferred to pursue the normalization of diplomatic relations and trade—even with the anti-Castro governments of Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela.⁹ Hence, Moscow denied that Latin America was "objectively" ripe for revolution, and, together with its loyal CPs, insisted on the possibility of a peaceful path

⁷ Carla Anne Robbins, *The Cuban Threat* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983), pp. 30, 151.

⁸ Donald D. Pizinger, "Present Soviet Policy in Latin America," in *Naval War College Review*, April 1969, pp. 101-2, 109; and Robbins, *The Cuban Threat*, pp. 151-52.

⁹ Gonzalez, *Cuba Under Castro*, p. 137; Robbins, *The Cuban Threat*, pp. 51-52, 247; Jorge Domínguez, *Cuba: Order and Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 383-85, 387, 390; *New York Times*, February 24, 1981; William E. Ratliff, *Castroism and Communism in Latin America, 1959-76* (Stanford, Calif.: AEI Hoover Policy Studies, 1976), p. 41; and *Los Angeles Times*, March 24, 1981.

to power. *Pravda* criticized Castro repeatedly for "petit bourgeois revolutionism," and Castro replied in kind, assailing Moscow, in a 1967 speech, for its policy of détente and lashing out at the Latin American CPs loyal to Moscow.¹⁰

Those leftists who adopted guerrilla tactics did so without help from Moscow and by the late 1960s, the Venezuelan armed struggle had evaporated, the Peruvian guerrillas had been destroyed, the Colombian guerrilla movement had withered away, and the Brazilian leftist urban insurgency had collapsed.¹¹ The Guatemalan coup of 1963, moreover, created a precedent for future anti-Communist and anti-leftist repression in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay.

Moscow was unruffled by these developments since it had set no store by guerrilla insurgency. On the contrary, Moscow blamed the "ultraleftists" for contributing to setbacks in several countries. In a lengthy article in November 1968, *Pravda* railed against

the various ultraleftist groups of adventurists that have sprung up in recent years under the influence of anti-Marxist, Maoist ideas that have been disseminated. . . . Such groups have come into being in Brazil, Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Chile, and Bolivia. The political platform of these leftist schismatic groups actually has nothing in common with communism and coincides completely with the platform of the Trotskyite groups. . . . [Indeed,] the ultraleftists have completely discarded the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution [since,] . . . in their opinion, armed struggle can be called into being artificially at any time in any country, regardless of conditions.¹²

Soviet optimism was stimulated in the late 1960s and early 1970s by the rise of anti-American regimes in Peru, Panama, Ecuador, and Honduras, which were favorably inclined toward cooperation with the Soviet Union. Moscow accordingly instructed its loyal CPs to cooperate with anti-American regimes and lend them support. By the end of 1968, moreover, through a combination of economic and political pressure, Moscow had bridled its wayward Cuban ally and brought it into line, and, after Cuba's disastrous sugar campaign of 1970, Castro patched up his relations with the orthodox CPs of Latin America.

¹⁰ Boris Goldenberg, "Fidel Castros Revolutionstheorie im Konflikt mit Moskau," in *Europa Archiv*, September 25, 1967, pp. 649-50, 652.

¹¹ See Benedict Cross (pseudonym), "Marxism in Venezuela," in *Problems of Communism*, November-December 1973, pp. 58-59; Goldenberg, "Fidel Castros Revolutionstheorie," p. 656; and Riordan Roett, "Brazilian Communism: A History of Failure," in *Problems of Communism*, January-February 1976, pp. 79-80.

¹² *Pravda*, November 20, 1968, trans. in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press (CDSP)*, December 11, 1968, p. 21.

The Lessons of Chile, 1970-79

The election of Salvador Allende, at the head of a leftist bloc, as president of Chile in autumn 1970 seemed to confirm the rectitude of Moscow's gradualist policy. The Chilean election was consonant with Moscow's predilection to have the local CPs abjure guerrilla warfare and seek legalization as a basis for the expansion of their activities. Moscow likewise welcomed the relative moderation in Allende's program and praised his government for having rejected "attempts to nudge it into an adventurist forward leap."¹³

In an article for the CPSU organ, *Kommunist*, Boris Ponomarev, head of the International Department of the Central Committee Secretariat, made the most of Chilean developments. "The victory of the National Unity Bloc in Chile," he wrote there, "the progressive changes in Peru and the serious successes achieved by the revolutionary struggle in Uruguay and several other countries lead us to believe that the revolutionary process here is continuing to develop at a pace faster than in other parts of the nonsocialist world."¹⁴ Ponomarev drew several conclusions from Allende's accession, among them that Communist collaboration with Socialists in electoral coalitions can produce electoral victory and that socialist-communist governments can take power by peaceful means.¹⁵ But while some Soviet experts in Moscow's Latin America Institute were by and large optimistic about the prospects for Allende's program, others—that is, those in the Institute of World Economy and International Relations—predicted it would be overthrown by military coup.¹⁶ Thus, at no point could Moscow's attitude toward Allende be characterized as equanimous.

Moscow was clearly unwilling to bankroll the Chilean revolution and therefore refrained from recognizing the Allende regime as a bona fide Socialist regime. Although well aware of Allende's economic needs (with a Chilean foreign debt exceeding \$2 billion by early 1972), they provided only a modest amount of aid—a total of \$183 million between 1971 and 1973, according to U.S. State Department figures.¹⁷

¹³ *Pravda*, November 4, 1971, trans. in *CDSP*, November 30, 1971, p. 16.

¹⁴ Boris Ponomarev, "Characteristics of the Revolutionary Process in Latin America," reprinted in T. Stephen Cheston and Bernhard Loeffke, eds., *Aspects of Soviet Policy toward Latin America* (New York: MSS, 1974), p. 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁶ Bernhard Loeffke and T. Stephen Cheston, "Factors in Policy Formulation toward Latin America," in Cheston and Loeffke, eds., *Aspects of Soviet Policy*, p. 80.

¹⁷ Joseph L. Noguee and John W. Sloan, "Allende's Chile and the Soviet Union," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, August 1979, pp. 353-56. See, also, John C. M. Oglesby, "Chile unter Allende: auswärtige Beziehungen und innere Probleme," *Europa Archiv*, August 25, 1972; and R. Ulyanovsky, "The Third World—Problems of Socialist Orientation," *International Affairs* (Moscow), September 1971, p. 28.

After the military coup that removed Allende from power, Moscow reassessed its position on gradualism and armed struggle. Its conclusions were stated by Ponomarev in mid 1974. According to Ponomarev, the Chilean reversal was attributable in part to the inability of the Chilean CP to maintain the necessary flexibility to switch to a policy of violence when the situation called for it. "The events in Chile," Ponomarev argued,

are a further reminder of the importance of maintaining revolutionary gains, of the tremendous importance of being prepared to promptly change forms of struggle, peaceful and nonpeaceful, of the ability to repel the counterrevolutionary violence of the bourgeoisie with revolutionary violence. Those events are also a reminder of the need to approach the issue of the peaceful, non-armed road to a victorious revolution from a correct Leninist position. The peaceful development of the revolution is guaranteed not only by an alignment of social forces under which the bourgeoisie would not venture to start a civil war, but by the constant preparedness of the revolutionary vanguard and the masses—in deed and not in words—to use the boldest means of struggle should the situation require it.¹⁸

Initially, Moscow seems to have been discouraged by the Chilean coup, and though an electoral strategy seemed to be seriously handicapped, O. Tikhonov argued, in the January 1974 issue of *Kommunist*, that revolution was not exportable à la Che Guevara either.¹⁹ Still, the general consensus among Soviet observers of the Latin American scene, in the course of the postmortem after Chile, was that the recourse to extra-legal means should not have been eschewed.²⁰ It is a direct line from this conclusion to a Soviet encouragement of guerrilla activity in Latin America.

That Moscow was leaning now toward armed struggle as the primary (though not exclusive) means of social-political transformation in Latin America was suggested by the publication in the party organ, *Kommunist*, in January 1975, of a strident article by Ruben Dario Souza, general-secretary of the People's Party of Panama. Souza boldly spoke of a turning point in the "liberation" struggle in Latin America and claimed that Latin America had become a "socio-political volcano"²¹—an early warning, two to three years before most U.S. observers noticed any change. Souza continued, with calculated praise for the Soviets: "The peaceful community of socialist states, which is led by the Soviet Union, possessing gigantic economic, political and scientific-technical potential,

¹⁸ Boris Ponomarev, "The World Situation and the Revolutionary Process," *World Marxist Review*, June 1974, pp. 10-11.

¹⁹ O. Tikhonov, "Nekotorye aspekti opyta kubinskoi revoliutsii," *Kommunist*, January 1974.

²⁰ Jerry F. Hough, "The Evolving Soviet Debate on Latin America," *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1981, pp. 131-32.

²¹ Dario Souza, "Revolutsiya i kontrarevolutsiya v Latinskoi Amerike," *Kommunist*, January 1975, pp. 86, 88.

appears as a decisive factor in the progressive development of mankind."²² In and of itself, this doesn't mean much, but in the context of a discussion of political trends in Latin America, it may be taken to indicate that certain radicals, such as Souza, hoped to get more assistance from the Soviet Union.

In point of fact, this is an old refrain, as leftist guerrillas have repeatedly sought assistance from either the Soviets or the Cubans over the years. Even the anti-Soviet Tupamaros of Uruguay at one time approached the Cubans for assistance;²³ and as Cuban influence expanded, guerrillas all over the continent came to think of Cuba as a potential source of support, even in the Southern Cone.

Within the context of the Kremlin's debate over its Latin American policy, the case for armed struggle was buttressed by the failure of destabilization efforts against semi-liberal regimes in the Southern Cone to produce results. It appeared that destabilization had brought about rightist regimes more violent and more hostile to communism than their predecessors. The Uruguayan case is illustrative. Here, the well-organized Uruguayan CP had hoped that endemic labor unrest and widespread governmental corruption would provide a fertile nest in which disruptive political action could produce polarization and the collapse of the government. Instead, the military intervened and the Uruguayan CP was forcibly suppressed.

Demoralized by these setbacks in Chile, Uruguay, and elsewhere, Latin American leftists came to agree with Castro that socialism could be achieved only through revolutionary war and the adoption of a policy of immediate economic and social transformation. This became the consensus of all guerrilla groups and of almost all non-armed revolutionary movements in the region. In these circumstances, the Kremlin may well have concluded that the endorsement of guerrilla warfare in Latin America could not be avoided and that guerrilla insurgency, especially if penetrated by Soviet advisers, could redound to Soviet benefit. The Soviets joined the Cubans in providing arms to the Sandinista guerrillas in Nicaragua,²⁴ while other Soviet proxies and associates became involved in the new strategy. North Korea funneled money to leftist guerrillas in Venezuela, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Uruguay; helped to set up an Argentine guerrilla base at Satta in December 1973; trained guerrillas from Argentina, Guatemala, and Peru; and supplied the Leftist Revolutionary

²² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

²³ Interview conducted by Fernando Lopez-Alves, Mexico City, June 1983. The attempt, however, was not successful in terms of material aid, and the sparse logistical assistance and training the Cubans provided was too sporadic to result in any substantial gain for the MLN.

²⁴ *Pravda*, June 25, 1979, summarized in *World Affairs Report*, September 1979, p. 277.

Chile movement with small arms and other equipment.²⁵ East Germany's Solidarity Committee, officially described as a "non-party body," has been funneling assistance to guerrilla movements in the Third World for a number of years. Under committee president Kurt Seibt, it had, by the end of 1980, enabled 750 cadres of various guerrilla movements to receive training in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Among this number were guerrillas from Chile and Uruguay.²⁶ Cuba—presumably with tacit Soviet consent—also sharply increased weapons aid to guerrillas in El Salvador and Guatemala in the late 1970s.²⁷

The ensuing shift in Soviet policies, it should be pointed out, did not mean an abandonment of caution, and while Soviet fear of a frontal confrontation with the United States may have diminished since the 1960s, the Kremlin remains concerned to avoid crisis escalation. Thus, for instance, a recent CIA report²⁸ maintains that Moscow and even Havana have been urging Salvadoran guerrillas to negotiate with the United States in order to decrease the likelihood of a substantial U.S. military build-up in the region.²⁹ This conclusion seems to be reinforced by the fact that El Salvador is geopolitically less important than Nicaragua, and that the Salvadoran operation could jeopardize what the Soviets have already achieved in Nicaragua. Moscow has recently increased its aid to the Sandinistas³⁰ because the strategic position now achieved in Nicaragua might be endangered by the Washington-backed "contras," but even given these new increases, Soviet assistance to Nicaragua remains well below Nicaragua's actual needs. Undoubtedly, part of the reason for Soviet frugality here has been the general stagnation of the Soviet economy. A recent NATO study concluded that "Soviet economic aid to client states—unlike arms, in which the Soviet economy is specialized—may be closer than ever to its limit, particularly in view of the growing, competing economic requirements of Eastern Europe."³¹ The 0.02 per cent of the estimated Soviet GNP accounted for by economic aid abroad is not negligible, according to Soviet watchers, and to that must be added

²⁵ Nack An and Rose An, "North Korean Military Assistance," in John F. Copper and Daniel S. Papp, eds., *Communist Nations' Military Assistance* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1983), p. 172.

²⁶ David Childs, *The GDR: Moscow's German Ally* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), p. 298.

²⁷ W. Raymond Duncan, "Cuban Military Assistance to the Third World," in Copper and Papp, eds., *Communist Nations' Military Assistance*, p. 139.

²⁸ See *New York Times*, August 7, 1983.

²⁹ *The Economist*, London, July 23, 1983, p. 28; *Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 1983; and *The Guardian*, August 21, 1983.

³⁰ *The Economist* (July 30, 1983), p. 11.

³¹ Quoted in *Christian Science Monitor*, January 4, 1983. See, also, U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *Soviet Economic Problems and Prospects* (Washington: GPO, 1977); Philip Hanson, "Economic Constraints on Soviet Policies in the 1980s," *International Affairs* (London), Winter 1980-81; Abram Bergson, "Soviet Economic Slowdown and the 1981-85 Plan," *Problems of Communism*, May-June 1981; Seweryn Bialer, "The Andropov Succession," *New York Review of Books*, February 3, 1983, pp. 26-30; and *The Guardian*, August 14, 1983.

the cost of Soviet military and economic entanglement in other parts, especially Cuba, which costs the Soviets \$8 to \$10 million per day, and Afghanistan, which tallies up a bill of \$3 to \$4 million per day, with no end to the war in sight (an Indian source estimated that military occupation would last at least ten years).³²

Sandinistas and New Opportunities

Nicaragua's Sandinistas received scarcely any direct support from the Soviets during the revolutionary struggle. The Socialist Party of Nicaragua (PSN) followed the prevailing conciliatory line that characterized pro-Soviet Latin American CPs at that time, repudiating the "Castroite" embrace of armed struggle. Unlike the Uruguayan and Chilean CPs, the PSN (founded in 1937) never acquired political importance—its membership has never exceeded 250—and its relations with other Nicaraguan leftist organizations were always scant. Indeed, its policy toward the Sandinista guerrillas, the leading revolutionary force in Nicaragua, was one of lukewarm self-restraint and general cautiousness; the party's abstention from the guerrilla struggle evoked distrust on the part of the Sandinistas, and by the time the party finally joined the struggle in late 1977, the rift between the PSN and the Sandinistas was already well established.

To be sure, Soviet involvement in Nicaragua's revolution sharply contrasts with that of the Cubans, who supported the Sandinistas from the very outset. The importance of Cuba for Nicaragua was not limited, however, to military advice and training during the Sandinista struggle against Somoza. On the contrary, Castro also served as a broker for the Sandinistas within the Socialist bloc.

Yet, however modest Soviet aid to the Sandinista guerrillas may have been, the Soviets were quick to establish state-to-state and party-to-party relations with the new Sandinista regime, and quick to draw conclusions from the guerrilla victory. The March 1980 issue of *Latinskaya Amerika* was devoted to taking stock of the new situation produced by the Sandinista triumph. Boris Koval wrote here, in a stunning passage, that "the Nicaraguan experience [has] demolished the previous simplistic interpretation of guerrilla actions, confirmed the justice of many of Che Guevara's strategic principles, and crystallized his idea of creating a

³² W. Raymond Duncan, "Moscow, the Caribbean and Central America," in Robert Wesson, ed., *Communism in Central America and the Caribbean* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1982), p. 6; Jiri Valenta, "Soviet Policy in Central America," *Survey*, Autumn-Winter 1983, p. 298; *Christian Science Monitor*, December 22, 1982; and *Vjesnik* (Zagreb), September 1, 1982.

powerful popular guerrilla movement."³³ S. A. Mikoyan, editor of *Latinskaya Amerika*, likewise offered a posthumous rehabilitation of Che Guevara and pointed out that "up to now only the armed path has led to revolutionary victory in Latin America."³⁴ And, in the same issue, N. Leonov underlined the conclusion that "the armed road . . . is the most promising in the specific conditions of most of the Latin American countries."³⁵ Later that year, the authoritative CPSU journal, *Kommunist*, published a speech by Salvadoran CP leader Shafik Handal in which he declared that proletarian revolution could succeed in El Salvador only by means of guerrilla warfare.³⁶ By 1982, Moscow had concluded that not only El Salvador and Guatemala, but also Chile, Uruguay, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Bolivia were ripe for revolution. The Kremlin appears to entertain hopes of seeing revolution erupt also in Honduras within the near future, while in Paraguay, the CP has declared that the time is ripe to set up an "anti-dictatorship front."³⁷

The ravages of the guerrilla struggle, which set back the Nicaraguan economy several years and left 200,000 families homeless,³⁸ encouraged the Sandinistas to be receptive to aid from any quarter, East or West. But even aside from the fact that President Reagan has been doing his best to quash leftist insurgency in El Salvador (which the Nicaraguans have wanted to stimulate) and to destabilize the Sandinista regime itself—both of which cannot help but push the Sandinistas closer to the Soviets—there is the fact that the anti-Americanism immanent in the Sandinista revolt from the very beginning was only reinforced by Washington's efforts to save Somoza.³⁹ Insofar as the struggle against Somoza was at the same time a struggle against the "Colossus of the North," present U.S.-Nicaraguan rancor is scarcely a cause for wonder.

To be sure, anti-Americanism facilitates closer contacts with the Soviets, and constitutes an incalculable barrier to any tangible im-

³³ Quoted in Robert S. Leiken, *Soviet Strategy in Latin America*, Washington Paper no. 93 (New York: Praeger, 1982), p. 34.

³⁴ S. A. Mikoyan, "Ob osobennostyah revoliutsii v Nikaragua i ee urokh s tochki zreniya teorii i praktiki osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya," *Latinskaya Amerika*, March 1980, p. 35.

³⁵ Quoted in Leiken, *Soviet Strategy in Latin America*, p. 34.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁷ Eduardo Viera, "The Political Climate Is Changing," *World Marxist Review*, January 1982, p. 67; Raul Vidal, "For the Chilean People's Freedom and Happiness," *World Marxist Review*, February 1982, p. 40; "Latin America: Decade with a Hard Beginning," *World Marxist Review*, March 1982, pp. 21-22, 24; "Dramatic Stage in the History of a Continent," *World Marxist Review*, May 1982, p. 17; and *Neues Deutschland*, September 27, 1983.

³⁸ Regarding Nicaragua's economic straits, see Jean M. Cariot and Veronique Soule, *Nicaragua: Le Modele Sandiniste* (Paris: Sycomore, 1981), p. 13 and passim; Gabriel Alegria and D. J. Flakoll, *Nicaragua: La Revolucion Sandinista* (Mexico City: Era, 1982), p. 5 and passim; Tirado, *La Revolucion Sandinista*, pp. 99-104; and Arturo Cruz, "Nicaragua's Imperiled Revolution," *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1983, pp. 1035-36.

³⁹ For a recent account of anti-Americanism in Nicaragua, see Stephen Kinzer, "Nicaragua: The Beleaguered Revolution," *New York Times Magazine*, August 28, 1983, pp. 22-31.

provement in relations between the United States and the Sandinistas. The Soviet Union appears, thus, as a "natural" backer for the new regime, though it must be emphasized that the political clout of the Soviets in Nicaragua today is more a result of the legacy of U.S.-Nicaraguan relations and underlying distrust than of any real mutual commitment between the Soviet Union and Nicaragua.

All the same, the Sandinistas have been eager to develop their Eastern connections and their new ties with the Socialist bloc have, after all, a dynamic of their own. The Sandinistas have found receptive ears in certain quarters, too. Thus, while some U.S. observers⁴⁰ continue to argue that the Sandinistas are not necessarily moving in the direction of communism and stress the degree of pluralism that still exists in Nicaragua, the Sandinistas have sent a very different message to Moscow. As early as September 1980, for example, Tomas Borge, a member of the Sandinista leadership, declared:

We propose to create an organized revolutionary party, leading on the basis of scientific principles, realizing its leadership role, the guardian of high morals, a party with a clear political strategy, which does not limit itself to the struggle for partial reforms.⁴¹

In recognition of the validity of this claim, a Soviet source described the Sandinista Front, in 1981, as the "vanguard" (*avanguardia*) of the Nicaraguan people.⁴²

The Soviets could also only be encouraged by the headlong radicalism shown in the "72-Hour Document." As Max Singer notes, this document, a record of a special three-day presentation by the Sandinista Directorate to FSLN cadres September 21-23, 1979, shows the Sandinistas speaking of their intention to eject their non-Marxist allies at a suitable opportunity and to build a Marxist-Leninist system under the protection of the Soviet Union.⁴³ Similarly, the Sandinistas' impatient visit to Cuba, within days of their victory, spoke eloquently of their anti-Americanism and admiration for the Cuban revolution.⁴⁴

In spite of this, the Soviets were slow to extend concrete material aid. In March 1980, the Soviets rebuffed a Sandinista request for economic aid, but agreed to provide technical, scientific, and cultural assistance; in addition, Moscow offered customary technical assistance in fishing, hydroelectric power and the textile industry. Nicaragua's low

⁴⁰ E.g., Robert S. Leiken, "Eastern Winds in Latin America," *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1981; and Richard E. Feinberg, "Central America: No Easy Answers," *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1981.

⁴¹ *Barricada*, September 16, 1980, quoted in I. M. Bulychev, "Uspehi i problemy sandinistskoi revoliutsii," *Latinskaya Amerika*, July 1981, p. 29.

⁴² Bulychev, "Uspehi i problemy," p. 26.

⁴³ Max Singer, "The Record in Latin America," *Commentary*, December 1982, p. 44.

⁴⁴ "Cuba: Compañeros," *Latin America Political Report*, August 3, 1979, p. 236.

priority in Soviet eyes even in 1981 was suggested by the tangible difficulty of Central Committee spokesman Leonid Zamyatin, at the CPSU Congress in February of that year, in remembering whether Nicaraguans spoke Spanish or Portuguese. In his principal address to the Congress, moreover, Brezhnev made no mention of Central America, and while meeting with the leaders of Ethiopia and Angola, Brezhnev denied an audience to Carlos Nuñez Tellez, president of the governing council in Nicaragua.⁴⁵

Uncertainty about the political maturity of the Sandinistas and about the U.S. response to the Nicaraguan revolution may be to blame for Moscow's initial reluctance to commit itself to Nicaragua's support. Moscow's inability speedily to fill the vacuum created by U.S. economic sanctions against Nicaragua may also have been a factor, and, even in 1982, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe accounted for only 6.2 per cent of Nicaraguan exports and 11.5 per cent of Nicaraguan imports.⁴⁶

The Kremlin seems to have decided sometime in the course of 1981 to commit itself more explicitly to Nicaragua, and, in December 1981, Moscow's ambassador to Nicaragua was quoted as saying that the Soviet Union stood "ready to defend Nicaragua in the event of an American attack."⁴⁷ The Soviets made their first tangible contribution to the Nicaraguan revolution in 1981, with a shipment of 20,000 tons of wheat. Another 7,000 tons of scarce Soviet wheat arrived in Nicaragua in November 1983.⁴⁸ In January 1982, the Soviets provided some \$220 million in credits, and in March 1983, Nicaragua signed a trade agreement with Poland and a three-year, \$170 million aid and trade agreement with Bulgaria. Nicaragua signed additional economic agreements with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany in the course of 1983, and, in February 1984, Daniel Ortega, head of the Nicaraguan junta, paid a visit to East Germany's Erich Honecker.⁴⁹

As early as March 1980, a high-level Sandinista delegation, including interior Minister Tomas Borge and Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, traveled to Moscow and signed a series of agreements. Soon after, the Soviet embassy in Managua was expanded appreciably.⁵⁰ About the same time, East Berlin received a delegation of high-ranking Nica-

raguan military officers; the East Germans and Nicaraguans were said to have reached "unanimity on all matters discussed."⁵¹ A subsequent meeting between Soviet Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov with Army Chief of Staff Marshal Nikolai Orgakov and Minister Humberto Ortega on November 20, 1981 may be further evidence of a Soviet upgrading of Nicaragua's status in 1981.⁵² Daniel Ortega visited Moscow in May 1982, November 1982, and March 1983, and at one point Brezhnev evidently had planned to pay an official visit to Nicaragua.⁵³ Nicaraguan military delegations visited Moscow in autumn 1982 and spring 1984, and, between 1982 and 1983, a number of high-ranking Nicaraguan delegations visited Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR.⁵⁴

The Sandinistas had enjoyed support from a variety of sources during their struggle for power, including Costa Rica, Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, Cuba, and the Soviet Union. The former four states quickly lost any real influence in Nicaragua, however. On the other hand, the Sandinistas have established party-to-party relations with the CPSU, the East German Socialist Unity Party (SED), the Bulgarian Communist Party, and the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Other Sandinista political bodies have established links with their counterparts in the GDR, Bulgaria, and Hungary. And in May 1982, Nicaragua joined the Intersputnik Telecommunications Consortium in its first accession to a multilateral Communist organization.⁵⁵ East German and Cuban advisers arrived to help the Sandinistas build up a Nicaraguan secret police modeled on the KGB, to consolidate political control in the army, and to develop the citizens' militia committees.⁵⁶ Some seventy Soviet military advisers were reported to be in Nicaragua already in March 1982, and, by early 1983, it was reported that there were some 6,000 Cubans in Nicaragua (2,000 of them military and security personnel), 100 East German advisers, and some 100 Bulgarians, and in June 1983, Cuba dispatched its veteran of African wars, General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, to Nicaragua to help the Managua regime.⁵⁷ The Sandinistas' eagerness for tighter affiliation with the Soviet

⁴⁵ Childs, *The GDR*, pp. 291, 312.

⁴⁶ *Neues Deutschland*, November 21-22, 1981.

⁴⁷ *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, May 6, 1982; *Pravda*, March 26, 1983, trans. in *CDSR*, April 20, 1983, p. 20; and AFP (Paris), May 10, 1982, in *FBIS, Daily Report (Soviet Union)*, May 11, 1982.

⁴⁸ *Krasnaya zvezda*, October 19, 1982, trans. in *FBIS, Daily Report (Soviet Union)*, October 29, 1982; *World Affairs Report*, June 1982; *Barricada*, November 25, 1981; *New York Times*, August 7, 1983; *Neues Deutschland*, October 20, 1983; *Radio Prague*, November 29, 1982, trans. in *FBIS, Daily Report (Eastern Europe)*, December 7, 1982; and Robert Rand, "Nicaraguan Defense Chief May Seek Increase in Soviet Aid," *Radio Liberty Research*, March 30, 1984, p. 1.

⁴⁹ Morris Rothenberg, "Latin America in Soviet Eyes," *Problems of Communism*, September-October 1983, p. 9.

⁵⁰ Constantine Menges, "Central America and Its Enemies," *Commentary*, August 1981, p. 34; Singer, "The Record in Latin America," p. 43; and Black, "Government and Politics," pp. 213-14.

⁵¹ *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, March 11, 1982; *Los Angeles Times*, January 24, 1983; *Time*, February 14, 1983; *Christian Science Monitor*, June 20, 1983; and Kinzer, "Nicaragua: the Beleaguered Revolution," p. 73.

⁴⁵ Jonathan Steele, *Soviet Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), pp. 220-21.

⁴⁶ *Christian Science Monitor*, December 6, 1983.

⁴⁷ Quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, December 9, 1981.

⁴⁸ *Neues Deutschland*, November 18, 1983.

⁴⁹ *Wall Street Journal*, May 11, 1982; *PAP (Warsaw)*, March 30, 1983, trans. in *FBIS, Daily Report (Eastern Europe)*, April 1, 1983; *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 1983; *Barricada*, March 13, 1983; *Managua Sistema Sandinista TV*, March 18, 1983, trans. in *Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) 83262, Latin America Report*, April 14, 1983, p. 132; *Prace (Prague)*, April 9, 1983; trans. in *JPRS 83316, East Europe Report*, April 22, 1983, p. 15; *Rude Pravo*, August 27, 1983, trans. in *JPRS 84391, East Europe Report*, September 22, 1983, p. 18; *Neues Deutschland*, December 5, 1983, and February 15, 1984.

⁵⁰ Jan Knippers Black, "Government and Politics," *Nicaragua: A Country Study* (Washington: American University Press, 1982), p. 214.

bloc has been signaled by repeated avowals that Sandinism and Marxism-Leninism are the same.⁵⁸ Within this context it is understandable that the Sandinistas felt it necessary to drive the once vigorous independent newspaper, *La Prensa*, into a corner and to proscribe publication of any articles critical of the Soviet Union or any of its bloc allies.⁵⁹ Obviously, the Sandinistas had nothing critical to say about the Soviet role in Afghanistan—"a faraway country of which we know nothing."

As political and economic ties between Nicaragua and the bloc have developed, the Soviet Union has also been forthcoming with modest amounts of military equipment. The first anniversary victory parade on July 19, 1980 showed off some ninety-six East German W-50 trucks, eighteen Soviet ZPU light antiaircraft guns, and six Soviet SA-7 surface-to-air missile launchers, in addition to other weaponry.⁶⁰ Other bloc weapons known to have been in the Sandinista arsenal by the end of 1980 include more than fifty Soviet T-54 / 55 tanks, at least eight 122-mm and twelve 155-mm howitzers, more than 800 military supply trucks, twelve mobile missile launchers, and, since the end of 1982, also electronic radar equipment.⁶¹ In April 1980, Borge made a secret visit to Pyongyang to solicit North Korean military aid. Several North Korean military advisers appeared in Nicaragua in March of the following year to help train the Sandinista army.⁶² In 1981 the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe shipped some 66,000 tons of military hardware to Cuba—an amount more than in any other year since the missile crisis of 1962. Much of this was transshipped to Nicaragua. In addition, the Nicaraguans received some eighty MiG fighters, five helicopters, patrol boats, armored personnel carriers, transport aircraft, spare parts for AN-26 transport aircraft, and other equipment directly from the Soviets between 1981 and 1983.⁶³ Between 1979 and 1982, Nicaragua had received an estimated \$125 million in military equipment and supplies from the Soviet Union alone, and during 1983 another 15,000 tons of Soviet bloc arms and equipment reached the Sandinista army.⁶⁴

Soviet officials now openly declare themselves prepared to support the Sandinistas and other Caribbean Leninists "politically in every

⁵⁸ Cruz, "Nicaragua's Imperiled Revolution," pp. 1033, 1036-38, 1040, 1045; Rothenberg, "Latin America in Soviet Eyes," p. 7; and Richard H. Ullman, "At War with Nicaragua," *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1983, p. 47.

⁵⁹ *Christian Science Monitor*, July 20, 1983.

⁶⁰ Black, "Government and Politics," p. 213.

⁶¹ Christoph Mühlemann, "Die herausgeforderte Grossmacht," *Schweizer Monatshefte*, November 1983, p. 884.

⁶² An and An, "North Korean Military Assistance," p. 172.

⁶³ *Los Angeles Times*, June 2, 1981; *Foreign Report*, June 4, 1981; *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, March 11, 1982; *La Prensa*, April 28, 1982; *El Nuevo Diario*, June 20, 1982; *Los Angeles Times*, June 20, 1983, and August 6, 1983; and Rand, "Nicaraguan Defense Chief," p. 1.

⁶⁴ Thomas E. Enders, "Nicaragua: Threat to Peace in Central America," *Department of State Bulletin*, June 1983, p. 76.

way."⁶⁵ As early as 1981, Nicaraguan pilots were going to Cuba and Bulgaria for training in the use of Soviet-built MiGs, and as of late 1983, some seventy additional MiGs were said to be waiting in Cuba for transshipment to Nicaragua as soon as Nicaraguan pilots completed the Bulgarian flight instruction course.⁶⁶ There have also been military contacts between the Sandinistas and both Libyans and the PLO.⁶⁷

Soviet Support for Guerrillas

The Soviet Union, through its caution and initial hesitation to become directly entangled with Latin American guerrillas, showed itself guilty of the "unLeninist" sin of "tailism," that is, the proclivity of opportunistically following trends already set by others rather than of leading the working class to proletarian revolution.⁶⁸ Thus, it was the Sandinista revolution which proved pivotal in changing Soviet thinking about the Western Hemisphere, and the Soviets now admitted that the Sandinista revolution constituted a vindication of the old Castroism of Che Guevara.⁶⁹

Yet as early as 1974, the KGB had helped to set up a coordination agency (the so-called Junta de Coordinacion Revolucionaria), and by 1980, according to a CIA study, the Soviets were spending some \$200 million per year in support of guerrilla movements around the world.⁷⁰ The Soviet Union started sending military supplies to the Salvadoran guerrillas as early as late 1979, shortly after the Sandinista triumph in Nicaragua, and Reagan administration spokesmen claimed that some 800 tons of Soviet weaponry had reached the Salvadoran guerrillas by September 1980.⁷¹ According to Jiri Valenta, the recent Soviet rehabilitation of Che Guevara is no less than a token of the fact that "the Soviets and Cubans now have a unified Third World strategy which reflects the overall coordination of their foreign policies. The Soviets' continued eco-

⁶⁵ Quoted in Valenta, "Soviet Policy in Central America," p. 299.

⁶⁶ James Nelson Goodsell, "Nicaragua," in Richard F. Staar, ed., *Yearbook on International Communist Affairs 1982* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1982), p. 128; Paul E. Sigmund, "Latin America: Change or Continuity?" *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 60, no. 3, 1981 ("America and the World 1981"), p. 641; and Valenta, "Soviet Policy in Central America," p. 295.

⁶⁷ Menges, "Central America and its Enemies," pp. 33-35; TASS, April 23, 1983, trans. in FBIS, *Daily Report* (Soviet Union), April 26, 1983; and JANA (Tripoli), May 19, 1983, in FBIS, *Daily Report* (North Africa), May 20, 1983.

⁶⁸ "Khvostizm [tailism], from the expression 'to trail behind,' is an opportunist ideology and set of tactics consisting of [the] diminution of revolutionary tasks and the role of the working class, reduction of its political and economic demands to the level of consciousness of the backward masses, repudiation of revolutionary struggle and denial of the leading role of the Party and the importance of Marxist theory." *Encyclopedic Dictionary* (Moscow, 1963), as translated in CDSF, July 10, 1968, p. 4n.

⁶⁹ Robert Lindner, "Castros zweite Offensive," *Osteuropa*, March 1982, p. 226.

⁷⁰ *Rheinischer Merkur*, April 24, 1981.

⁷¹ *New York Times*, February 24, 1981.

conomic and security support of the island is contingent upon this understanding."⁷²

Castro served as a conduit of military aid to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador, too; and, in a precedent-breaking move, the Communist Party of El Salvador declared in January 1980 that armed struggle was the only path to power—the first absolute endorsement of guerrilla struggle by a Latin American CP⁷³—and, shortly thereafter, adopted a ten-point program calling for the forcible overthrow of the government and the subsequent introduction of "profound social transformations" on the Leninist model.⁷⁴ But, as we have seen, Soviet thinking about Central America changed in two stages: in late 1979, as a result of the Sandinista revolution, Soviet observers of the Latin American scene came to view violent revolutionary change as imminent; and in mid 1981, the Soviet political apparatus decided to lend its full backing to the Sandinista revolution. The two Moscow visits by Shafik Handal, general secretary of the Salvadoran CP, in 1980 came too soon, thus, for him to benefit from Soviet reassessment, and Handal returned to El Salvador frustrated with the low level of his reception and disappointed at evident Soviet reluctance to step up military aid to the insurgents.⁷⁵

It is worth noting, however, that in early 1981, quantities of rifles, pistols, light machine guns, and mortars sent by Vietnam turned up in El Salvador. The GDR has also provided military assistance to the Salvadoran guerrillas. And by early 1982, Moscow had expressly endorsed the guerrilla movement in El Salvador and called for the unification of guerrilla-revolutionary forces in Guatemala.⁷⁶ By 1983, moreover, Soviet and Cuban military advisers in Nicaragua were running advanced guerrilla training courses for Salvadoran guerrillas and leftist guerrillas from other countries in the region.⁷⁷

Nicaragua became involved in stimulating guerrilla activity in other ways, too, transshipping Soviet and Cuban arms to El Salvador (with at least fifty helicopters reaching Salvadoran guerrillas each month from Managua),⁷⁸ allowing the Basque terrorist organization ETA to open offices in Nicaragua (to coordinate terrorist activities in Mexico, Venezuela, and

Costa Rica),⁷⁹ playing host to Mario Firmenich of the Argentine Montoneros groups in 1979,⁸⁰ and collaborating with a Cuban plan to stimulate guerrilla war in Honduras.⁸¹ By early 1982, if not before, Nicaragua was also supplying arms to leftist guerrillas in Guatemala and Costa Rica, while Cuba has recently undertaken to train Colombian and Bolivian guerrillas.⁸² The Bogota newspaper, *El Siglo*, claimed that Cuba has also been training members of the Venezuelan Red Flag guerrilla movement and implied some coordination between Cubans and the Uruguayan Tupamaros, now said to be operating on the Colombian-Venezuelan border.⁸³ A new leftist insurgency in Haiti has been fueled by Libyan training and supplies; and in Peru, where there are still more than 100 Soviet advisers, a leftist guerrilla band has lately ruffled the government's equanimity.⁸⁴ Both represent possible future opportunities for Soviet activity.

Recently, in the wake of the U.S. invasion of Grenada, Cuba has been urging Salvadoran guerrillas to be flexible and has shown a new restraint vis-à-vis Central America. According to Rodolfo Cerdas, a former member of the Costa Rican CP, this has resulted in a newly revived division between Cuba and the Soviet Union: more specifically, the Cuban-backed general secretary of the Costa Rican CP, Manuel Mora, who held that armed revolution was not possible in Costa Rica, has recently been replaced by Humberto Vargas, a Soviet protégé described as more militant.⁸⁵

The Soviet-guerrilla symbiosis is pragmatic, unstable, and contingent on variations in Soviet diplomacy. Hence, as Soviet-Argentine relations have warmed up in the past few years, terrorism in Argentina has withered away as Libya, Cuba, and other pro-Soviet actors have cut off aid to the Montoneros and other similar groups in Argentina.⁸⁶

Conclusion

The Soviets have always seen guerrilla warfare as a "possible" tactic,⁸⁷ never as "necessary" a priori, and have constantly argued that

⁷² Valenta, "Soviet Policy in Central America," p. 288.

⁷³ Lindner, "Castros zweite Offensive," p. 235.

⁷⁴ "Revolutions Are Never the Same," *World Marxist Review*, April 1982, p. 45.

⁷⁵ Steele, *Soviet Power*, p. 221.

⁷⁶ Douglas Pike, "Vietnam's Military Assistance," in Copper and Papp, eds., *Communist Nations' Military Assistance*, p. 164; Trond Gilberg, "Eastern European Assistance to the Third World," in Copper and Papp, eds., *ibid.*, p. 84; and Radio Moscow, February 12, 1982, as cited in Mark N. Katz, "The Soviet-Cuban Connection," *International Security*, Summer 1983, p. 97.

⁷⁷ Valenta, "Soviet Policy in Central America," p. 295; and Singer, "The Record in Latin America," p. 32.

⁷⁸ Duncan, "Moscow, the Caribbean, and Central America," p. 12; James Nelson Goodsell, "Nicaragua," in Wesson, ed., *Communism in Central America and the Caribbean*, p. 55; Colonel John D. Waghelstein, recently in charge of American training of Salvadoran troops, in lecture at UCLA, January 12, 1984; and Enders, "Nicaragua: Threat," p. 79.

⁷⁹ *Christian Science Monitor*, January 17, 1984.

⁸⁰ *Latin America Political Report*, August 10, 1979, p. 248.

⁸¹ *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, October 11, 1983. See, also, *Central America Report*, September 2, 1983, p. 268.

⁸² Alex Alexiev, *Soviet Strategy in the Third World and Nicaragua*, Rand Corporation Report no. P-6752 (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand, March 1982), p. 8; Sigmund, "Latin America," p. 645; and *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, October 1, 1983.

⁸³ *El Siglo* (Bogota), October 22, 1983, trans. in JPRS 84851, *Latin America Report*, November 30, 1983, p. 16.

⁸⁴ *Business Week*, April 18, 1983, p. 54; *Christian Science Monitor*, June 3, 1983, and June 27, 1983; and *Los Angeles Times*, July 8, 1983.

⁸⁵ *The Times* (London), March 26, 1984.

⁸⁶ Somos (Buenos Aires), June 10, 1983, trans. in JPRS 83879, *Latin America Report*, July 14, 1983, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁷ For an early endorsement of armed struggle as a possible tactic in Latin America, see A. Sivolobov, "Krestianskoe dvizhenie v Latinskoi Amerike," *Kommunist*, August 1964, pp. 105-6.

conditions in the specific country must be ripe for revolution for it to succeed. This is in stark contrast to the ultra-hard image⁸⁸ of Soviet behavior which is fond of citing early Comintern declarations from the 1920s and interpreting current events in the light of them.⁸⁹ That the Soviet Union remains eager to spread collectivism seems quite obvious, but this does not mean that the Soviets are blind to the realities of world politics. Indeed, some may be surprised at how little the Soviet emphasis on each of the terms in this equation (guerrillas, electoral coalitions, CP support of "progressive" regimes) has changed since the early 1960s, where Latin America is concerned. The image one gets is of precocious self-willed Marxist parties straining to do battle, but being restrained by a tolerant and more mature Mother Russia. Mother Russia is of course anxious for her (adopted) children to "do well" and to take after her, but considers herself wiser, by virtue of her greater experience. The only qualification that might be added is that some of her children are now "coming of age."

There are numerous examples which illustrate this point. In early 1974, for instance, at a time when Soviet observers were still concentrating on expanding good state-to-state relations on the continent and on reinforcing anti-Americanism generally, a conference of Latin American Communist Party representatives, organized by *World Marxist Review*, concluded that the revolutionary process in Latin America was expanding—which probably means that they felt it ought to be expanded.⁹⁰ Later, in the wake of the Sandinistas' first insurrection against Somoza in September 1978, Castro "remained cautious, and advised the Sandinistas against an early attempt at another insurrection."⁹¹ More recently, the Salvadoran Left has, at times, been dissatisfied with the level of Sandinista support and a captured guerrilla document charged the Sandinistas with being "very conservative" when it came to support of revolution in neighboring countries.⁹² At the same time, both Moscow and Havana have been urging the Salvadoran guerrillas to negotiate.

One common fallacy that one encounters in the writings of the more enthusiastic American advocates of détente is that since Cuban-backed groups, once in power, are not likely to be subservient to Cuba, the spread of collectivism in the hemisphere is, relatively speaking, innocent and something to which the United States can adjust itself. Fur-

⁸⁸ See William Welch, *American Images of Soviet Foreign Policy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1970).

⁸⁹ For an example of this approach, see Herbert Romerstein, *Soviet Support for International Terrorism* (Washington: The Foundation for Democratic Education, 1981).

⁹⁰ "Latin America: Experience and Lessons of Revolutionary Struggle," *World Marxist Review*, May 1974, p. 99.

⁹¹ Feinberg, "Central America: No Easy Answers," p. 1125.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 1130.

thermore, since Soviet-backed groups, once in power, are not likely to be subservient to Moscow, and since, in any case, Moscow cannot afford another Cuba, leftist regimes may continue to remain integrated in the Western economic system and may be no more inimical to Western interests than military rulers of the "banana republic" mold.⁹³ In line with this proposition, proponents of détente sometimes write as if the Sandinistas turned to Cuba only because of their "uncertainty about ultimate American intentions."⁹⁴ This latter proposition is historically false, since President Carter deliberately endeavored to continue business as usual by dispersing some \$60 million already allocated for Nicaragua while Somoza was in power and by seeking an additional \$75 million in aid, in September 1979, to strengthen the Nicaraguan economy.⁹⁵ This proposition also founders because it ignores the profound anti-American sentiment and the whole history of U.S. domination of Latin America, which lie at the very heart of the Sandinista revolution and which are important factors in probably every country in Latin America today. The former proposition (that the United States need not fear totalitarianism since totalitarian regimes will also do business) is curious and, in a sense, reprehensible, because it amounts to an argument that the United States has no interest whatsoever in democracy abroad or in the self-determination of peoples as long as countries will do business with us. This total disregard for the interests of foreign peoples is one of the principal reasons for the anti-Americanism in Latin America today.

This brings us to another fallacy in certain Western writings⁹⁶—the implicit assumption that guerrilla warfare is the prime tool by which the Soviets seek to expand their influence. In fact, however, only Cuba and Nicaragua have established collectivist regimes in the Western Hemisphere in this fashion. The short-lived leftist regime of Michael Manley came to power in Jamaica through an electoral victory (as had Allende in Chile earlier) and lost power in the same fashion, Grenada became "socialist" through a mini-coup, and Surinam seemed for a while to be sliding toward Cuba in an incremental way.⁹⁷ Romerstein, Sterling, and other critics of the Right speak as if it were only because of the machinations of the Soviet Union and Cuba that the United States finds itself

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1126-27; Eldon Kenworthy, "Central America: Beyond the Credibility Trap," *World Policy*, Fall 1983, pp. 182-84, 187, 194; and Richard E. Feinberg and Kenneth A. Oye, "After the Fall: US Policy toward Radical Regimes," *World Policy*, Fall 1983, p. 201.

⁹⁴ Reinberg, "Central America: No Easy Answers," p. 1131.

⁹⁵ Rhoda Pearl Rabkin, "US-Soviet Rivalry in Central America and the Caribbean," *Journal of International Affairs*, Fall-Winter 1980-81, p. 341.

⁹⁶ See, for example, Romerstein, *Soviet Support for International Terrorism*; and Claire Sterling, *The Terror Network: The Secret War of International Terrorism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1981).

⁹⁷ Regarding Surinam, see *Foreign Report*, December 9, 1982, p. 7; and *Christian Science Monitor*, January 18, 1984.

in a Latin American mire. But this argument seriously underestimates the extent to which the United States has, by supporting exploitative dictators and petty thieves, created the conditions that now make an anti-American backlash not merely inevitable but in fact an organic component of progressive thought in Latin America. Thus, among both soft-liners and hard-liners, there are those who miss the pivotal importance of indigenous anti-Americanism in Latin America and whose policy recommendations, therefore, are unrelated to the principal force underpinning leftist politics in Latin America. The Kissinger Commission, likewise, for all its sensitivity to economic hardship, failed to take this factor into account and noted only that "perhaps the United States should have paid more attention to Central America sooner."⁹⁸ The Kissinger Commission then cited the Monroe Doctrine as an example of "US policies toward the nations of the Americas that have succeeded,"⁹⁹ evidently oblivious to the fact that Latin American nations view the Monroe Doctrine rather the way East Europeans view the Brezhnev Doctrine.

The underestimation of indigenous factors is often accomplished by the fallacious notion that revolution is an exportable commodity. This ignores the fact that the special circumstances that bring about the deep social, political, and economic transformations that characterize a revolutionary process cannot be created by the mere infusion of arms to a radical band. Neither the Soviet Union nor any other state can create revolutionary processes *ex nihilo*. Nevertheless, one can support guerrilla groups in a revolutionary situation—and it is clear that much of Central America is ripe for revolution—calculating that whether successful or not, the struggle will benefit oneself and weaken one's rival.

The Soviets have some natural advantages over the United States in the contest for influence in Latin America. These include: (1) sheer geographic distance, making the Soviets appear less threatening; (2) greater Soviet readiness to ride the winds of change; (3) the clear identification of the Soviet Union with specific groups and ideas, and specifically with calls for the redistribution of wealth and the establishment of economic equality; (4) the whole history of U.S. exploitation of the region, and resulting anti-American sentiment; and (5) a growing belief in the Third World that the Soviets understand Third World problems, while Americans do not.

Yet it is important to recognize that the United States also has some advantages in this arena, notably: (1) greater frequency of contacts with most of the countries in the region; (2) much longer acquaintance,

⁹⁸ *The Report of the President's National Bipartisan Commission on Central America* [Kissinger Commission Report], foreword by Henry A. Kissinger (New York: Macmillan, 1984), p. 2.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

in academic and research circles, with Latin American problems, and thus presumably greater depth in regional expertise; (3) the ability to funnel much more economic aid than the Soviets can provide (and it is economic aid, not military aid, which after all improves the lot of any society); and (4) the colossal advantage that pluralism ought to have over utopian collectivism, given that collectivism has always produced oppression, terror, economic inefficiency, and lies.

Guns can create facts, but it is important to recognize that a foreign policy that relies solely or chiefly on guns can win only if it wins totally. Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States has the power to win totally; neither, in other words, can impose its will in Latin America. Hence, any foreign policy premised on the self-sufficiency of military aid is foredoomed. The Soviet Union seems to have recognized somewhat better than the United States that a successful foreign policy must appeal not only to the governments and ruling cliques but also, and we would add primarily (even more so in a revolutionary context) to the people of the country, to those who may, in a pinch, overthrow the old regime and create a vacuum into which a new political force thrusts itself.