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"We do not claim a monopoly on taking the initiative. At times we would even be glad if other democratic forces also were more active in taking initiatives aimed at safeguarding joint interests. We will always be ready to support and take up these initiatives," Herbert Mies stated in one of his speeches. Valuable initiatives, regardless of who makes them, provide a stimulus for joint struggle. The history of the liberation movement provides a considerable number of examples of Communists deliberately keeping out of the foreground to avoid putting an unnecessary trump card into the hands of the organizers of anticommunist campaigns.

The methods and forms of implementing a policy of democratic alliances are most varied: they are not just agreements on the unity of actions, officially consolidated by the leadership of some party or other or some organization or other, but also unity of actions established "from below," agreements on joint actions, both daily and episodic cooperation, contacts on various grounds, and much, much more. Every stage of achieved unity requires its own approach and the necessary flexibility and ability to make the transition from simple forms of accord to more complex ones. As practice shows, elementary forms of cooperation with different detachments of contemporary social movements can open up broader future prospects.

Communists regard their primary task as being that of introducing organization, awareness, and an understanding of historical perspective to the mass democratic movements. What can determine the position of the Communist Party in the democratic alliance? First of all, its own activeness, initiative, and consistency in defending those aims in the name of which the cooperation was formed. The vanguard role of the Communists can be acknowledged only under the condition that they are really in the front ranks and that they show far-sightedness and a principled attitude. For the ideas of scientific socialism to find a way to the masses, French Communists have noted, one must learn to react quickly to current problems and to put forward new ideas. We must "explain," it was said at the 24th Congress of the French Communist Party, "what aims we are striving for and by what means we intend to achieve them, and we must do this simply, but not in a simplified way, frankly, but not harshly, while being able to put forward our own arguments but also to hear out others..."

The heterogeneity of the composition of the contemporary social movements means that there is an unusual diversity of ideological views represented within them. Various ideological concepts, from anarchist, reformist, religious to pseudo-Marxist, are really oddly interwoven in them. Communists cannot keep silent where hostile views need to be rebuffed.

Consequently, it is particularly important to establish the correct correlation in the formula "alliance" and "ideological struggle." Under present-day conditions, the priority in the correlation "alliance" and "struggle" goes to striving for an "alliance." Regarding the new social movements one can say, for example: "A determined ideological struggle must be waged against their erroneous views, while making use of the opportunity for agreement or an alliance with them in this respect." Such views are encountered on pages of the Communist press. But is it not more correct to turn around the premises of this conclusion? Then it would be as follows: "It is necessary to utilize all opportunities for agreements and alliance while waging a tireless struggle in this connection against erroneous views." It appears that this is a case when, despite a certain rule, the final result is changed through a transposition of the parts.

Commentary

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How to Cope With the Soviet Threat

A Long-Term Strategy for the West

Richard Pipes

To win one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not the acme of skill. To subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill . . . what is of supreme importance in war is to attack the enemy's strategy.

—SUN TZU, 4th century B.C.E.

IN 1947, with the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine, the United States took over from Great Britain the responsibility for maintaining a global equilibrium. It was a task that Britain had first assumed in the 17th century, when it began to use a combination of diplomacy, subsidies, and naval force to contain any power—first France, then Russia, and finally Germany—that threatened to gain hegemony over the European continent and the approaches to it. Its empire broken up and its economic resources depleted by two world wars, Britain could no longer afford to carry out this traditional policy. The mission was assumed by the United States, which, in the aftermath of World War II, committed itself to containing the Soviet Union in Europe and in any other part of the world on which it encroached.

America's global interests, however, were much less extensive than Britain's: it had no empire to defend, and its foreign trade accounted for a much smaller portion of the national economy. For this reason, U.S. global policy since World War II has tended to display an abstract and ideological quality: it has been less a defense of national interest than of a general international order. In dealing with the Soviet Union, U.S. policies strove above all to persuade it to join the international community by showing it that aggression did not pay, whereas restraint and cooperation did, inasmuch as the one brought rewards and the other punishments. In the words of

President Carter: "Our long-term objective must be to convince the Soviet Union of the advantages of cooperation and the costs of disruptive behavior."

This kind of didactic diplomacy has been the basic premise of U.S. policy toward the USSR in times of the cold war as well as those of détente. Under this approach, the Soviet Union is treated rather as if it were a wayward child, which has to be taught proper manners by the application of pain and pleasure. Why the Soviet Union misbehaves—that is, acts aggressively—is a question which hardly anyone bothers to address, if one leaves aside the opinion of dilettante "experts" who believe that Russia has suffered an extraordinary number of foreign invasions and developed, as a consequence, a collective paranoia that expresses itself in aggression.*

But this, surely, is the critical issue. Experience of the past sixty-seven years indicates that no attempt to influence Soviet behavior has succeeded: neither diplomatic ostracism, nor Yalta-like concessions, nor nuclear threats, nor economic bribery. This record of failure indicates that the cause of Soviet aggression lies deeper—that it is systemic. If this is the case, then it is vain to hope to modify Soviet behavior without modifications in the system which causes it.

The causes of Soviet aggressiveness are varied and many, some of them being rooted in Russian geography and history, others in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. But perhaps the single most important of these causes resides in the fact that the Soviet Union and its dependencies are run by self-appointed and self-perpetuating elites

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* It would take much more space than is here available to dispel this widespread myth. Suffice it to say that in 1898 a group of Russian military specialists completed a comprehensive history of Russian warfare and concluded, with pride, that in the thirty-eight wars which it had waged since 1700, Russia had fought only two defensive campaigns—the other thirty-six were offensive (*nastupatel'nye*). N. N. Sukhotin, *Voina v istorii russkogo mira* [*War in the History of the Russian World*] (St. Petersburg, 1898), pp. 13-14.

whose extraordinary power, privileges, and wealth cannot be justified in any other way than by the alleged threat of "imperialist aggression" to the countries they rule. Their status is thus directly related to the level of international tension. They can best keep their restless subjects under control by demonstrating to them that Communist power is invincible, that it will eventually spread around the globe, and that, therefore, all resistance to it is futile. It is through aggression abroad that the Communist elite best safeguards its position at home.

Unfortunately for the Communist elite, Soviet political and economic institutions are in serious trouble. As the bloodless Polish revolution of 1980-81 has demonstrated, a Communist party that grows thoroughly corrupt and self-seeking loses contact with the population and becomes irrelevant. Since the death of Stalin, the Soviet Communist party elite has managed to shed the heavy hand of dictatorial authority over itself and to turn into a parasitic class that picks ever weaker leaders who will not challenge its interests. The economy, overcentralized and lacking in proper incentives, shows ever slower growth and becomes less and less capable of sustaining the regime's military and imperial commitments. Unable to provide Soviet citizens with a standard of life remotely resembling that of the other industrial nations, the Communist elite has no choice but to tolerate the emergence of a free-enterprise "second economy" that threatens its hold on economic resources as well as the levers of power.

The Soviet leadership faces an agonizing choice between holding on to full power and privilege, thereby risking major internal turmoil such as has occurred in Poland, and forestalling it with costly and unpalatable concessions. It naturally prefers to have its cake and eat it. In this it is assisted by gratuitous friendly gestures from the West, whether these take the form of bowing to Soviet nuclear blackmail, acquiescing in double standards in international relations, or helping the Soviet economy out of its doldrums. All such actions help the Communist elite postpone the inevitable; all encourage it to keep intact the regime which pushes the country toward constant aggression.

Rather than seek to modify Soviet *behavior*, the West should assist those forces within the Communist bloc which are working for a change of the *system*. This is best accomplished by refusing to play the game of international relations in the manner which Moscow prefers, and by denying it the opportunities to exploit military, political, and economic relations with the West to its own advantage. The West cannot destabilize the Soviet Union, but neither should it help the Soviet elite to stabilize a system which is increasingly strained by the incompatibility of the means at its disposal and the objectives which it pursues.

The comments which follow will deal with the preferred Western response in the military, political, and economic fields.

1. *The Military Aspect*

THE mission of the military forces of NATO is and has always been a defensive one, namely, preventing Soviet military encroachments on the territories of Western Europe. There is nothing the countries of the Soviet bloc possess that could conceivably tempt the Western alliance to commit aggression against them: neither natural resources (these can be gotten cheaper elsewhere), nor industrial or other forms of man-made wealth (poor and primitive by Western standards), nor markets for their goods (insignificant for lack of hard currency). It would produce an economic disaster of the first magnitude were the West to conquer the Eastern bloc and assume responsibility for administering and feeding the area—the Marshall Plan would look like a grant-in-aid by comparison. The West would be well advised to decline the Communist bloc if offered it free of charge: it certainly cannot have the slightest interest in going to war to seize it by force. Nor do the Communist ideology and way of life exert such attractions as to threaten Western societies with internal subversion.

All these considerations explain why the contingency plans of NATO have always been defensive. Whatever they say in public—and totalitarian regimes have a habit of ascribing to others their own intentions in order to disguise their aggressive designs as defensive reactions—Soviet leaders are well aware of these facts. This is demonstrated by their willingness to maintain most of their military forces, nuclear ones included, on low levels of alert, something they would never dare to risk if they feared coming suddenly under attack.

Most succinctly defined, Western conventional forces have the task of containing the potential enemy, and Western nuclear forces that of deterring him. The relationship between the two types of forces, however, is not well thought out in Western strategic doctrine, which may create some uncertainty in the mind of the Soviet general staff, but is certain to cause chaos and confusion in Western ranks should hostilities ever break out.

Advocates of nuclear disarmament usually balance their calls for unilateral Western cutbacks or declarations of "no first use" with demands for improvements in conventional forces. Their argument rests on the twin assumptions that the shift from nuclear to conventional deterrence would diminish the risks of nuclear war and, at the same time, permit reductions in defense budgets.

The first of these propositions is doubtful because it assumes that the decision to employ nuclear weapons is one for the West to make and depends on the ability of its conventional forces to stop the advance of the Warsaw Pact. Given the central role assigned to nuclear weapons in Soviet strategy, such an assumption seems unrealistic. As will be pointed out below, it is far more likely that recourse to nuclear weapons will be initiated by Moscow.

The second proposition is demonstrably wrong. Nuclear weapons are relatively cheap: they absorb between 10 and 15 percent of the military budgets of the U.S. and the USSR. It is conventional forces that eat up defense allocations in both countries. Reductions of nuclear arsenals may bring all kinds of desirable results, but if they are accompanied by increases in conventional forces, such measures certainly will not reduce defense outlays—not, at any rate, in the West. Furthermore, in any competition restricted to conventional forces, the Soviet side has a marked advantage in that it pays its troops such low salaries that it can devote a much larger proportion of the defense budget to weapons and equipment—by some estimates, between two and three times as much as the United States.*

Setting aside the issue of the most efficient use of defense funds, the amount of money allocated for this purpose must clearly be measured against the military threat with which it is meant to cope and not against domestic needs, however urgent these may be. It is illogical to urge cuts in defense appropriations on the ground that there are higher "priorities" in education or medical services. One may legitimately question whether the United States needs the MX or Britain the Trident submarine, but the argument has to be decided on military, not on social, criteria. Since defense expenditures, both in general and in particular, are designed to meet concrete threats posed by foreign powers—that is, powers outside the reach of our will—they cannot be treated as if they were wholly discretionary.

Nor is it sensible to question defense appropriations on the specious grounds that America's strength lies in other than military fields—that "the biggest deterrent to the Russians is a healthy economy in America," as the head of the National Association of Manufacturers has recently put it. Quite apart from the fact that a healthy American economy is precisely what whets the appetite of the Russians, the statement is absurd: for, if it were correct, then a healthy body would be the best deterrent against rape or murder, which is not quite what experience teaches. Economies do not stop armies any more than do schools or hospitals—only armies stop armies. It has been correctly pointed out that since every country has an army on its soil, the only choice citizens can exercise in the matter is to decide whether this army will be their own or someone else's.

IT SHOULD be self-evident that the size and structure of military forces are determined by their mission, and that their mission, in turn, is, or at least ought to be, dictated by the size and structure of the forces at the disposal of the potential enemy. For a variety of reasons, however, this is not always the case. Military strategists are inclined to regard their discipline as something of a science, and hence of universal validity. They are disinclined to take seriously other strategic doctrines, especially if such doctrines deviate significantly from their own. This phenomenon almost always bodes disaster for the party that is on the defensive: one need only recall the tragic consequences of the Allied attempt in 1940 to wage a stationary war against an enemy who was making open preparations for a campaign of rapid movement.

Something similar seems to be recurring today. Western strategists have no difficulty confronting the threat posed by the conventional forces of the Warsaw Pact, since it is of a familiar kind, but they do not show the same receptivity to innovative Soviet nuclear strategies. To be sure, the concept of escalation from a conventional to a nuclear defense has formed the backbone of NATO's "flexible-response" doctrine since the 1960's. But the United States seems not to have thought through the uses to which nuclear weapons would be put, should circumstance require that the nuclear threshold be crossed.

It is altogether difficult to know how seriously to take this doctrine now that Robert S. McNamara, who served as Secretary of Defense when "flexible response" was adopted, has gone on record that in his time the first use of nuclear weapons was not even seriously contemplated: "In long private conversations with successive Presidents—Kennedy and Johnson," he has recently revealed in the Fall 1983 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, "I recommended, without qualification, that they never initiate, under any circumstances, the use of nuclear weapons. I believe they accepted my recommendation." This authoritative statement constitutes an admission that the centerpiece of NATO's whole strategy has been a bluff since its inception, and that the civilian leaders have been deceiving their citizens for over twenty years in a matter of the greatest national importance.

This underscores the confusion and emotionalism surrounding the entire issue of nuclear weapons in the minds of both military personnel and the public at large. Hardly anyone lacking in professional competence dares to intrude on the discussion of NATO's conventional forces and their

* A Soviet soldier is paid four rubles a month, which at the official exchange rate amounts to slightly over five dollars, but at black-market rates comes to less than one dollar. Since this is as much as no pay, the bulk of the Soviet army may be said to consist of temporarily bonded serfs. The U.S. private by comparison receives nearly \$600 a month.

strategy: this is a matter gladly left to the experts. But nuclear weapons have become everyone's business; indeed, any citizen who would claim incompetence on such issues as the MX or START would risk being accused of social irresponsibility. Certain circles interested in U.S. unilateral nuclear disarmament are not averse to bringing even children into the debate, apparently in the belief that the more important a subject is the less one needs to know about it. People who would not dream of advising a chef on preparing hollandaise sauce dispense advice freely when the topic is the immensely complicated one of nuclear weapons and strategy.

In the West, it is well-nigh axiomatic that nuclear weapons, "in the ultimate analysis," can perform only one function, and that is to deter or to serve as a kind of monstrous scarecrow, and that as long as this deterrent makes a sufficiently frightening impression, it will never have to be resorted to. Axioms being self-evident, the consequences of the deterrent's failure to deter have not been seriously considered. From what is known of Soviet doctrine, one must conclude that there exists by now an ominous discrepancy between Allied defensive and Soviet offensive plans—whereas one party (the West) draws a sharp distinction between conventional and nuclear weapons, the other treats the two as different wavelengths on a single and continuous spectrum of the instruments of war.* It is almost certain that should war ever break out, the Allies would find themselves thoroughly confused by the enemy's offensive moves and have to improvise their defenses in desperate haste—that is, if they will be given time to do so.

Considering the close correlation between Soviet theoretical writings and deployments, one might expect that Western opinion would come to acknowledge that Moscow does look at nuclear weapons differently and assigns them different missions. Yet this is not the case; indeed, any attempt to call attention to the discrepancy in the two views arouses public anger as if some taboo were being broken.

IN THE view of much of humanity, nuclear weapons are not weapons in the ordinary meaning of the word but instruments of cosmic destruction, the expectation of which forms part of what Carl Jung called mankind's "collective unconscious." It is an unsettling but by no means unusual experience in the 1980's to attend professional symposiums at which so-called conventional war, which from 1939 to 1945 claimed 50 million lives, is calmly discussed as an acceptable alternative to nuclear war. Such discussions serve to confirm that nuclear weapons are in a category of their own and not only because of their destructiveness.

As a rule, religions that posit the existence of God or gods believe that the world came into

being from a deliberate act of divine will. A corollary of this belief is the expectation that the world and life are transient, since whatever had a beginning must also have an end. In widely dispersed regions of the globe, long before the Christian era, legends circulated about the coming doomsday. Some religions envisaged it as taking the form of floods and earthquakes, others as inundations by molten metal flowing out of mountains. But the most prevalent doomsday vision was that of a cosmic holocaust—that is, the annihilation of the earth and life by an all-consuming fire. It is a theme that occurs in the epic of ancient Babylon, in the Indian Vedas, and in the Mithraic tales of Iran. It can be found also in the legends of classical Greece (e.g., the story of Phaeton whose theft of a chariot belonging to his father, Helios, nearly caused the universe to be destroyed by fire), in the epics of the Indo-Germanic peoples, and in Nordic tales.

The Jews seem to have come under the spell of these images as well: in the Bible, the vision of the Last Judgment is closely linked to that of a fiery holocaust:

Neither their silver nor their gold
shall be able to deliver them
on the day of the wrath of the Lord.
*In the fire of His jealous wrath,
all the earth shall be consumed;
for a full, yea, sudden end
He will make of all the inhabitants
of the earth. . . .*

—Zephaniah, 1:18

Blow the trumpet in Zion;
sound the alarm on My holy mountain!
Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble,
for the day of the Lord is coming, it is near,
*a day of darkness and gloom,
a day of clouds and thick darkness! . . .*

*Fire devours before them,
and behind them a flame burns. . . .*

—Joel, 2:1-3

The author of the two books of Peter in the Christian Bible wrote in this tradition when he prophesied that "the day of the Lord will come like a thief, and then the heavens will pass away with a loud noise, and the elements will be dissolved with fire, and the earth and the works that are upon it will be burned up" (II Peter 3:10).

Because it is so ancient and almost universal, so frequently reiterated in religious works that until recent times have been the main source of human knowledge and wisdom, the expectation of an inevitable final holocaust has embedded itself deeply in the human psyche; it is a classic archetype with which argument is powerless to contend. Once it had made its appearance, "the

* My views on this subject were stated in "Why the Soviet Union Thinks It Could Fight and Win a Nuclear War," COMMENTARY, July 1977.

bomb" filled a role that had awaited casting for thousands of years. One can find surprising anticipations of this weapon in literary works unrelated to religion and religious visions.

Thus, in Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*, published in 1721, in Letter 105 there occurs out of the blue the following passage: "I am always afraid that they will eventually succeed in discovering some secret which will provide a quicker way of making men die, and exterminate whole countries and nations." How did this thought cross Montesquieu's mind? Since in his time there were no scientific grounds for such a supposition, one must assume he was echoing fears whose sources lie in mythology. It is known that so-called Unidentified Flying Objects (UFO's) were reported at least as early as the 1550's, because there exist published accounts and illustrations to this effect dating from that time. Hence it is not fanciful to interpret the atomic mushroom cloud, which the "peace movement" likes to use for its logogram, as a modern version of the "flaming torch" of the Prophet Zechariah and the "high flame that reaches to the sky" of the Nordic epic.

The instantaneous pulverization of two Japanese cities by weapons that the public neither anticipated nor understood set off mass anxieties absent in the case of other calamities, of comparable if not greater destructiveness. Mankind apparently can tolerate the death, by starvation, in the man-made famine of the 1930's, of nine million Ukrainians and Russians, the annihilation by poison gas and bullet of six million Jews, the massacre by Communist forces of between one and two million Cambodians. These calamities, being man-made, are "natural." Nuclear weapons, however, though manufactured by man, are treated as supernatural: for they come from the sky, destroying by invisible rays. The dread of this magic power has even affected its peaceful uses. It touches on the rawest nerve in man's collective psyche.

The hundreds of thousands who march to protest nuclear war are not giving expression to their political convictions, since no one clamors in favor of such a war. Rather (when they are not being manipulated), they take part in pseudo-religious rituals meant to propitiate, by tokens of awe and fear, the evil spirits whose abode is neutrons and protons. Anyone who disparages such emotional displays and calls for a dispassionate analysis of the issues or, worse yet, for defenses against nuclear weapons, violates powerful taboos and is appropriately punished by the multitude. This helps to explain why so many proponents of the "freeze" and other forms of unilateral disarmament express no interest in the facts of the case, such as Soviet nuclear doctrine and Soviet nuclear deployments and their combined effect on Western security.

George F. Kennan, whose record shows him to

be an eminently well-informed and sober analyst of international relations, as soon as he approaches nuclear issues abandons his customary detachment and even scholarly curiosity. The facts, such as the numbers of missiles and warheads in the Soviet and U.S. arsenals, he dismisses as irrelevant—"I have no patience with 'worst-case' estimates of Soviet military strength"; "I have no confidence in sweeping quantitative figures"; "I have no confidence in statistics"; "I must totally reject. . . ."—none of such *obiter dicta*, drawn from just two pages of a recent exchange, is supported with any evidence. What Kennan does is castigate man for his wickedness and predict his imminent destruction, more in religious than in political or military terms.

The same applies to Jonathan Schell, whose *The Fate of the Earth* has been praised as a major contribution to the national debate. Actually, it is nothing of the kind. It is, instead, a long-winded jeremiad on the familiar horrors of nuclear war, which never even raises the questions that would really matter in a debate: do Soviet generals think in the same way? If so, why are they piling missile upon missile long after they have crossed the line of "overkill"? And if they do not, what should our response be?

The tragedy of people who approach nuclear matters in archetypal religious terms is that in the genuine Jewish and Christian religious vision (as contrasted with its secular travesty), the holocaust was followed by the Last Judgment, which set the just apart from the wicked and restored Eden; from their heavenly abode the virtuous were to observe the eternal torments of the condemned. But following the general decline of belief in God and the afterlife, man is left with the appalling prospect that his fate has passed into human hands; the unleashing of the holocaust, once the prerogative of God or gods, is now the prerogative of a few mortals with fingers on the "button." In a man-made holocaust, the virtuous will not be saved but will perish along with the sinners. Thus, agnosticism intensifies an anxiety that has its origins in religious beliefs, leaving the horror but robbing it of hope. It produces an overpowering sense of helplessness that the unscrupulous exploit for their own political ends.

THE emotionalism that surrounds the whole issue of these weapons transforms the process of nuclear-arms negotiation from what it ought to be—namely, matter-of-fact bargaining—into a quasi-religious ritual whose success is measured not by the results obtained but by the "sincerity" with which it is approached. In the 1970's Western planners could not even decide on deploying a modest force of intermediate-range missiles partly to offset Soviet SS-20's without coupling such deployment to arms negotiations with the Soviet Union: this double-track policy, hailed as the acme of polit-

ical sophistication, has had the effect of giving Moscow a seat in NATO's councils. Whenever the USSR commissions, tests, and deploys new missiles, which happens routinely, it never seems to occur to its leaders to make such actions dependent on Western approval. Feelings on this subject, however, run so high that democratic politicians have no choice but to yield to public clamor. President Reagan, who on assuming office had intended to proceed in this matter more deliberately than his predecessors, soon found himself swept up in the emotional tide and compelled first to initiate arms-control talks before he was ready for them, and, secondly, to shift them from the periphery of his foreign policy, where they properly belong, to its very center.

Soviet leaders, who are free of such domestic pressures, attach little importance to arms-control negotiations, except as they help to restrain *Western* advances in technology and to divide *Western* opinion. In internal Soviet literature on security issues, the subject is hardly ever mentioned. The USSR has not bothered even to establish a counterpart to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Soviet personnel involved in these negotiations are dominated by the military, who, insofar as can be determined, are accountable to the General Staff, an institution not normally associated with disarmament. Evidence from SALT I, SALT II, and START negotiations suggests that the Soviet side first determines what weapons it requires to meet its strategic objectives and then concentrates on constraining, through negotiations, America's ability to respond. In the words of the French General Pierre Gallois, "[The Soviets] do what they want and negotiate about what you're going to do."

The American experts who in 1972 concluded SALT I with the USSR did not believe in the military utility of nuclear weapons on either the strategic or the theater level. To them, an arms agreement was primarily a political device, the second pillar of *détente* (the other being credits and trade). As one European specialist put it at the time, "There's a lot of eyewash in these agreements, but their significance lies in the extent to which they reflect the mutual recognition of the need to cooperate in the nuclear-disarmament field." In other words, the terms did not matter as much as did the political atmospherics. From the beginning it was indeed the political process, cynically manipulated for its public-relations effect, rather than the deadly reality of the nuclear balance, that the U.S. and its allies regarded as the foremost priority. As a result of this attitude, the U.S. has allowed some very disadvantageous features to intrude into these accords, of which the public at large is quite ignorant.

The Soviet side has from the outset refused to furnish comprehensive data on its strategic systems—in itself a most extraordinary procedure. Since, however, negotiations on limiting numbers

could not very well proceed without agreement on what these numbers were, Moscow has consented (without prejudice) to accept the data for its side furnished by the United States. The United States could account for only those Soviet systems of which it had solid evidence from its intelligence-gathering sources, not those that were beyond their scope. Although the Soviet Union subsequently agreed to furnish random data on its nuclear forces, the information at the disposal of the United States is certain to reflect only the minimum dimension of the Soviet nuclear arsenal; the precise dimensions of this arsenal were not and are not known. It would certainly be difficult to find a businessman prepared to enter into relations with a company that refused to provide him with complete information on its assets and debts; in the field of national security, unfortunately, different standards prevail.

BECAUSE the United States has been compelled to rely on its "national means of verification" (mainly satellites and electronic intelligence) to verify Soviet compliance with the limits established by SALT, it had to choose a unit of measurement that lent itself to observation by these means. The choice, by mutual consent, fell on "launchers." In the case of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM's), a launcher is a hole in the ground called a silo. A silo can be seen from the air, whereas a missile can be concealed. In real life, however, it is not silos but missiles that fly and their warheads that inflict damage. Knowledge only of launchers (silos, submarine tubes, and bombers) furnishes an inadequate idea of the other side's destructive capacity. The United States, therefore, cannot be said to dispose of accurate information on the number of missiles and warheads in the Soviet arsenal; the figures used in SALT and START postulate that each launcher holds a corresponding number of missiles, and that no missiles are unaccounted for.

This is almost certainly an incorrect assumption. In the case of Soviet ICBM's, the number of stockpiled missiles must exceed that of known launchers (silos), because the USSR has been observed experimenting with "cold launch" techniques that allow the missile to fire its boosters after ascending from the silo so as to leave the latter intact for the insertion of a second missile. This practice presupposes a strategic-missile reserve the size of which is not known. The SS-20 intermediate-range mobile missile is believed to be equipped with two missiles per launcher, although in the publicly released balance-of-forces statistics only one is assumed and counted.

More disturbing still is the realization that the USSR need not emplace its ICBM's in silos at all; the more accurate American missiles become, the less reason Moscow has to place its main strategic force (ICBM's account for three-quarters of So-

viet launchers) in static silos where they are vulnerable. On these grounds, some American experts question whether the silos that satellites are busily observing and counting are not either decoys or expendable goods, while the bulk of Soviet ICBM's intended for use is concealed to be launched in wartime from soft pads, such as sheds and other places of storage, beyond the range of U.S. observation.

THE United States, in its insularity, consented in SALT and START to define a missile as "strategic" if it is capable of striking the continental United States from the Soviet Union and vice versa. Since the nearest distance between these two countries (across the Bering Strait) is a few miles, the range was arbitrarily set to be equal to the distance separating the northeastern U.S. from the northwestern USSR, that is, 5,500 kilometers. Only weapons capable of this or greater ranges come within the purview of SALT limits. Such a definition would perhaps make sense in a narrow "Fortress America" context, under which the United States would have neither forces overseas nor overseas allies whom it was committed to defend. It makes little sense in the context of global strategy. The rules to which the U.S. has agreed have given the Soviet Union, which controls the center of the Eurasian land mass, the license to deploy unlimited quantities of nuclear launchers with ranges just below the "intercontinental" threshold yet capable of striking targets in all the areas adjacent to its immense frontier in Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, and East Asia.

The Soviet Union accepted this definition of "strategic" only for the purpose of negotiating with the United States; in structuring its own nuclear forces, it has never adopted such a standard, since all its missiles with ranges exceeding 1,000 kilometers come under the command of the Strategic Rocket Forces—a procedure that inadvertently throws light on Soviet thinking about the uses of nuclear weapons. So it has happened that quite lawfully, within the terms of SALT I and SALT II, free of any numerical constraints, the USSR has been able to deploy since the 1970's a massive force of modern, mostly mobile, intermediate-range nuclear systems.

When NATO awoke to this reality and decided to counter it by deploying some intermediate-range, land-based missiles below the 5,500-kilometer range but capable of striking Soviet territory from Western Europe, the USSR charged that these missiles fell within the definition of "strategic." Thus, the West's lack of attention and foresight has already caused it no end of trouble. Even with the Pershing 2's and cruise missiles in place, the USSR will still enjoy an immense advantage in substrategic systems.

The United States assiduously collects data on Soviet compliance with the provisions of SALT

I and SALT II, the latter of which, although not ratified by Washington, is, by mutual consent, treated as though it were. Such investigations have revealed a consistent pattern of violations of the spirit and even the letter of these agreements. The information, however, has not been given much publicity, because committed advocates of arms control, afraid lest it undercut public support for the process, intimidate those who wish to bring it into the open. The fanaticism of some of these people goes to such lengths that instead of blaming the Soviet Union for violations of arms-control agreements, they accuse the United States of ill will for calling attention to them. When President Reagan, in one of his speeches, referred to the poor Soviet record of compliance, he came under certain attack from legislators and journalists for his alleged "insincerity" about arms negotiation. This is a dangerous variant of a theory popular in contemporary liberal circles that the victim of a crime is as guilty as, if not more than, its perpetrator.

Quite apart from its inequities and inconsistencies, the arms-control process has so far failed to achieve its principal stated objective, which is to stop the growth of nuclear arsenals. In 1970, when SALT I was being negotiated, the Soviet Union had approximately 1,400 strategic warheads; in 1977, as SALT II talks neared completion, its arsenal had grown to nearly 5,000 warheads; in 1983-84, during START talks, this arsenal had risen further to 8,700 warheads. This growth represented a six-fold increase. During this same time, the United States, mainly by MIRV'ing its missiles to match the Soviet buildup, had more than tripled the number of warheads in its arsenal (from 2,200 to 7,600). If this is arms control, it might be interesting to experiment for a while with an honest arms race.

IN DEALING with nuclear weapons nothing is more important than demystifying them, that is, severing the psychic bonds that connect them, in our conscious and subconscious, with ancient religious myths. These are man-made weapons. The Soviet nuclear arsenal is at the disposal neither of gods nor of evil spirits but of ordinary men, many of them overweight and overworked, scared of losing what they have, observed to suffer from dandruff and bad breath. Our main purpose should be to convince these men that they cannot intimidate us. Fear of nuclear weapons, especially in its overt and hysterical forms, does not contribute to peace; on the contrary, it serves to encourage those in the Soviet Union who want to use them to terrorize and blackmail foreign powers and their citizens. It should also be made eminently clear to these people that if they ever should dare to carry out their strategic plans and fire nuclear missiles in anger, they and their families will perish.

It is only when the magic and the taboos that surround it are removed that one can deal with this real danger realistically. The analogy with cancer comes to mind. Not so long ago the very name of this dread disease could not be pronounced for fear of inviting it. Today, cancer is openly discussed, even by its victims, and it is this honest acknowledgment that has made it possible to deal with it more effectively. Nuclear weapons, which are a kind of cancer of the international body politic, should be looked upon with the same dispassion. The beginning of morality, as Pascal has taught, is clear thinking.

It is essential for anyone concerned with nuclear weapons, whether in a professional capacity or as a layman, to familiarize himself with Soviet nuclear doctrine and programs. They are the reality against which U.S. strategies and programs must be matched. In all deliberations on the matter at the public level, the issue should not be settling scores between American liberals and conservatives, nor the undisputed horrors of nuclear war, nor America's social and other domestic needs, but solely the nature and extent of the Soviet threat. Any statements on the subject of nuclear weapons and strategy that fail to address themselves to this central subject ought to be dismissed as irrelevant.

The strategic forces of the United States should be designed not simply to deter aggression and to punish it after it has been committed, but to prevent threats of subsequent damage. This means, among other things, that it would be good for the United States formally to renounce the policy—as barbaric as it is futile—of retaliatory strikes aimed at the civilian population. The target should be the true culprits of such aggression, the Soviet elite and its armed forces.

Specialists estimate that there are in the Soviet Union between 10,000 and 20,000 objectives of political and military significance. If that assessment is correct, then the United States needs that many accurate warheads left *after absorbing a Soviet first strike*; this capability alone will provide a deterrent credible to Moscow. It makes little sense to measure existing U.S. strategic forces against those available to the Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces command (even assuming that it is known precisely what these are) because the U.S. has no first-strike doctrine or capability whereas the Soviet side has both. The only force that counts, therefore, is the one left following a Soviet first strike. While the present survivable force could inflict grueling punishment on the USSR's civilian population, it could not destroy its political and military organizations and the nuclear forces at their disposal.

IMPROVING NATO's conventional forces is indisputably desirable, but it is unlikely in itself to prevent a war from turning nuclear. The assumption that underlies Western

strategy—that the decision whether or not to resort to nuclear weapons will be for the West to make—may have made sense when first devised, but it seems unrealistic today in the light of what is known of Soviet plans and capabilities in this regard. A military command that has built its armed forces around a nuclear core is unlikely to defer use of it until the enemy has given it an excuse to do so. The USSR is not in a position, either politically or economically, to engage in a military war of attrition. Such a war would exacerbate all its latent problems and unleash an internal crisis under the worst possible circumstances. Should it decide that war has become unavoidable, therefore, it will almost certainly have prompt recourse to nuclear weapons since they alone offer it a chance of gaining a rapid and decisive victory. Tactical nuclear weapons are fully integrated into Soviet land forces, down to the divisional level, each commander disposing of rocket systems of a range appropriate to his mission, which suggests that they are meant to be fired in the first hours of combat. To cite the conclusions of a recent study of the European nuclear "balance":

Soviet theater nuclear weapons are not simply "there," as a "reaction" to NATO nuclear capabilities or even in some vague back-up role for Soviet conventional operations. Rather, they were developed, produced, and deployed in response to *specific requirements within a concept of offensive operations*; they are assigned specific missions within that concept; and they thus form an integral part of the Soviet/Warsaw Pact posture in Europe.

The scenario for the use of these forces has been depicted by General Gallois, as quoted in the Fall 1981 issue of *Orbis*, as follows:

It is a fact that the Kremlin leaders know that they may only engage their armed forces in a victorious war. Therefore they would have recourse to the strategy, tactics, and weapons of success. With their ballistic arsenal, utilizable with the advantage of total surprise, they now have possession of such weapons in quantity.... [T]he way it today deploys its conventional contingents, NATO obligingly offers up for destruction some 400 to 500 crucial targets that, when neutralized, will leave all resistance completely paralyzed. And these targets are planes in their air fields, the antennae of fixed radars, munition and tank depots, military headquarters, among others. Precision ballistic weapons carrying nuclear warheads, all the more powerful the greater their precision, could destroy the majority of these targets without considerable collateral damage. Thus, and only after having launched this initial salvo, the Warsaw Pact tanks and airborne units would occupy the previously disarmed and practically intact territories.

These considerations suggest that it is as naive to envision a potential East-West conflict being

waged on the model of World War II—that is, with tanks and bombers—as it was to expect in the 1930's to fight another war with Germany in the trenches. Should World War III ever break out, the Soviet Union is likely swiftly to take the initiative with all the weapons at its disposal, including nuclear ones. It makes little sense, therefore, to concentrate one's attention on preventing nuclear war as such, as if conventional war were a viable alternative; one must strive to avoid war altogether, because any general war with the USSR probably will not remain in a conventional mode for any length of time, if at all.

The West would do well to emulate Soviet planners and pay greater attention to defensive measures. The Reagan administration has taken steps to improve the protection of U.S. command, control, and communications networks, which is welcome news since they are a declared prime target of Soviet strategic forces. Because an effective program of civil defense does not seem practical in a democracy as large and diverse as the United States, there is reason to devote greater effort to antiballistic-missile-defense programs.

Those who dismiss the idea as science fiction might change their minds by taking a close look at Soviet efforts in this direction. The deployment of an elaborate ABM system around Moscow suggests that the Soviets take defenses against missiles seriously. There are so many other indicators of intense Soviet work on missile defenses that some American military analysts fear a technical breakthrough followed by Soviet renunciation of the treaty limiting ABM deployments. Once its arsenals are overflowing with offensive weapons, it would make sense for Moscow to shift its attention in this field to defensive measures which, in any event, have always played a major role in its strategic thinking. Should such a development take place, it would pose a serious threat to U.S. security. Opposition to nuclear defenses on the grounds that they are "destabilizing" should go the way of the advocacy of mutual assured destruction (MAD), whose ill-begotten child it is.

Should political conditions make meaningful arms-control agreements possible, at least three cardinal requirements ought to be met. The most important of those is on-site verification, because the existing "national means," marvels of technological ingenuity though they are, do not provide the requisite certainty. The second is agreement on a sensible unit of measurement which, once verification on the ground has been agreed upon, will assuredly be something other than launchers. The third calls for the adoption by the United States of a definition of "strategic weapons" that corresponds to the Soviet one; this measure will eliminate the possibility of the USSR being free to construct a panoply of nuclear weapons that, though unable to reach the

continental United States, can very well reach and destroy its allies. Arms-control agreements concluded under different circumstances and on other terms are either pointless or deceptive or both.

The rearmament program inaugurated by President Reagan, when completed, should allow the United States to match Soviet military capabilities. This effort is commendable but it is not sufficient. The true military balance lies not in equality of military forces alone but in the combination of force and strategy. The history of warfare knows many examples of superior strategic skill defeating larger armies. Napoleon routinely beat armies that on paper were stronger than his own, only to be crushed, in turn, by the Russian army which, too weak to give him battle, retreated, and in retreating chanced upon a strategy that rendered him helpless. In 1940, the Allied force in France was larger and in many respects better equipped than the Germans, but it was burdened with a strategy that looked backward. Arming oneself, therefore, is not enough; an even greater threat than being outgunned is being outsmarted.

2. *The Political Aspect*

THE chief instrument of Soviet global strategy is political attrition, which, in practice, means exploiting the open character of democratic societies for the purpose of inciting internal divisions among different social groups and between their citizens and their elected governments, as well as sowing discord among the allies. This strategy cannot be completely neutralized if only because democracies will not remain democracies once they disallow conflicts of interest and differences of opinion. But its pernicious effect can be significantly reduced when it is realized what it is and how it functions.

Ideally, political parties in democratic countries should seek to pursue a strictly bipartisan policy in regard to the Soviet Union. That such a policy is possible was demonstrated in the late 1940's and early 1950's in both the United States and West Germany. The breakdown of bipartisanship that has occurred subsequently as a result of the Soviet shift to "peaceful coexistence" provides Moscow with excellent opportunities to play on internal political rivalries in democratic countries by encouraging parties that are not in the least degree pro-Soviet or pro-Communist to assume, for narrow partisan interests, the positions it favors.

It was a sorry spectacle to see the candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination in the United States trying to outbid one another with pledges of being the first to fly to Moscow to "settle" U.S.-Soviet differences with its leader. In several countries (e.g., Great Britain and Germany) socialist parties, in the quest for support from the neutralist segment of the electorate,

have taken positions that come dangerously close to unilateral disarmament—positions they would inevitably abandon if elected to office, but which they can irresponsibly exploit as long as responsibility for defense rests on the other party, the party in office. Such pressures from the opposition, in turn, compel heads of state to seek a rapprochement with Moscow at any price, for they cannot afford to find themselves in the exposed and dangerous position of being the “party of war.” If the democracies persist in allowing intraparty rivalries to overshadow the fundamental interest all their citizens have in maintaining their way of life, the day may come when they will lose the right to engage in party politics altogether.

It is essential for the West not to allow Moscow to insinuate itself into its domestic politics and not to give it any opportunity for exploiting the “rifts” in the enemy camp which Lenin regarded as the prime objective of his political strategy. Not that there must be no disagreements in the Western camp, but rather that the West should instantly close ranks whenever the Soviet Union attempts to take part in them. Instead of giving Moscow such an opening, the West would do well to strike back and challenge the Soviet effort to seal off its domain from any outside interference. Through radio broadcasts (and, in the future, possibly television transmissions as well), through speeches of its statesmen, and through symbolic acts, it should be possible to raise in the minds of citizens of Communist countries doubts about the omnipotence of their regimes. To allow the Soviet Union to meddle in Western affairs but to desist from meddling in its affairs is to play into the hands of Soviet strategists.

THE Soviet Union is even more successful in exploiting divisions in the Western alliance, whose cohesion, were it realizable, would constitute a most formidable obstacle to Soviet global ambitions.

It requires no elaborate proof to demonstrate that the alliance binding the United States to the countries of NATO, and, once removed, Japan, is of immense value to its members. The industrial democracies linked by this alliance enjoy vast technological and industrial superiority over the Communist bloc. Their combined gross national product is at the lowest reckoning three to four times that of the Soviet bloc and probably considerably in excess of that; the GNP of Western Europe alone is nearly double that of the USSR and its colonies. Were the Soviet Union to succeed in establishing hegemony over Western Europe and Japan, its industrial capacity would in a short time double or treble, enabling it in one fell swoop to overcome all the economic difficulties that now constrain its imperial ambitions. Should this occur, the United States would be left alone to confront the Soviet threat: under these

conditions, the survival of free institutions in the United States would become most problematic. This is why the United States stands prepared to defend Western Europe as if it were its own territory, and why the Soviet Union, on its part, regards Western Europe as a prime objective of its grand strategy.

The defensive ties binding the United States to Europe were, from the outset, territorially restricted to Europe, North America, and the Atlantic Ocean north of the Tropic of Cancer. This arrangement created serious problems because Soviet strategy is not regional but global in scope. The result was that all the areas outside the North Atlantic community came within the purview of other regional alliances tied to the United States but not to NATO: among them, the Baghdad Pact, SEATO, and the Rio Treaty. Inasmuch, however, as all regional defensive treaties except for NATO proved to be paper compacts, the United States has had to assume principal responsibility on its own behalf, as well as that of its European allies, for the security of the entire non-Western world outside the North Atlantic region.

Such an arrangement made sense in 1949, when NATO came into being, because at that time Europe was still incapable of insuring its own protection, let alone the defense of distant regions. Today it is difficult to justify either on grounds of equity or military expediency, for it imposes on the United States excessive burdens of protecting the approaches to Europe as well as coping with Soviet expansionism in the Third World. The defense of the Middle East, without whose oil Europe could hardly carry on, is entrusted to the United States, as is that of the mineral resources of Africa, not to speak of the strategic areas in East Asia and Central America. Whenever Communist forces commit acts of aggression in these outlying areas, Europe assumes the stance of a neutral observer. The detachment with which its leaders react to such events sometimes conveys the impression that they are not unhappy to have Russia dissipate its aggressive energies far away from the European continent.* There seems little awareness in European thinking (a few honorable exceptions apart) that the Soviet Union pursues a global and not a continental strategy, that the invasion of Afghanistan has some bearing on the security of Europe's oil supplies, that a series of successful Communist revolutions in Central America may have the consequence of diverting American attention away from NATO.

* This is nothing new: Napoleon and Hitler encouraged Russia to expand in the direction of India, while Kaiser Wilhelm II incited it to move against China and Japan. In all three cases the motive was to keep Russia so busy elsewhere that it could not meddle in the affairs of Europe. As early as 1638, the French statesman, Maximilien de Bethune Sully, in his “Great Design,” urged the European powers to expel Russia from Europe and leave it alone to fight the Turks and Persians and, presumably, other Asians.

These matters, which do not happen to impinge on Europe's territorial interests but affect its security in every other respect, are left to the care of the United States and such smaller non-European countries as Washington can persuade, bribe, or cajole into rendering it assistance.

An alliance, so inequitable in its principles and kept in place long after the circumstances that had shaped it have disappeared, is a monument to the short-sightedness of American diplomacy. It really is not so much an alliance as an insurance policy, extended by the United States to Western Europe at no expense to the insured but at an immense cost and risk to the insurer. As such, it offers Moscow superb opportunities for driving wedges between the U.S. and Western Europe. Moscow can, and does, deliberately exacerbate its differences with the United States, while offering "security" to Western Europe, so as to reduce artificially the East-West conflict to one that involves only the two "superpowers," which allegedly does not affect Europe's interests and from which it had best keep out. It heightens this effect by maintaining a stable East-West border in Europe and committing acts of aggression exclusively in regions outside the confines of NATO, where it runs into American but not European resistance. In this manner, Moscow succeeds in implementing the *divide et impera* principle which lies at the heart of its political strategy.

The unwillingness of a fully reconstructed and prosperous Europe to join the United States in a policy of global defense and its political and military parochialism have been the principal causes of the discords troubling the alliance during the past twenty years. True, the United States is also annoyed that its allies, although equally affluent, contribute proportionately less to the common defense, but it is not defense budgets that American participants in a 1982 NBC poll had on their mind when four out of five of them responded negatively to the question whether the allies were "providing the right amount of support for American foreign policies." They meant that the United States was too often left in the lurch to confront Soviet and Soviet-sponsored aggression while the allies looked the other way, as had happened in Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, El Salvador, and throughout the Middle East.

The American public takes a very sober, even cynical, view of domestic politics. Its attitude toward foreign policy, however, is a different matter. Essentially insular, Americans see no reason to involve themselves in foreign ventures unless it is to promote some ethical ideal, to make the world better, safer, or more democratic. *Realpolitik* in foreign policy makes no sense to them, since realism tells them to stay home and mind their own business.

Given this attitude, it should cause no surprise

that the American public takes a very dim view of allied behavior. In the late 1940's, it had let itself be persuaded to abandon strongly held, traditional objections to "entangling alliances," and committed the country to the defense of the "Free World," understanding this to mean literally the *Free World* and not a military "forward base" for the protection of the continental United States. Rightly or wrongly, the American public sees no connection between the security of Western Europe and that of the United States. It believes that it is acting selflessly in placing troops in Europe and subjecting the continental United States to the risk of a Soviet nuclear attack. Consequently, it is bewildered and angered by Europe's lack of cooperation in other regions of the world, by its unconcealed contempt for the moral element that Americans always inject into their foreign policy and lacking which they cannot be drawn out of their insularity, and by Europe's reluctance to accept nuclear weapons mutually agreed upon to be essential for the Continent's defense.

This mood carries the risk that some day public support in the United States for NATO will erode to the point where its chief executive will no longer be able to call for the sacrifices that the alliance demands. Some European politicians, in private conversation, profess to be untroubled by this prospect on the grounds that the United States needs Europe more than Europe needs the United States, and hence has no choice but to accommodate itself to Europe's actions and inactions. This argument is wholly irresponsible. For one thing, "need" is a subjective concept; the objective reality is that the average American simply is not aware that he needs Europe to defend his country. Nor is the military premise of such thinking sound; for, as Walter Hahn has written, while Europe indeed serves as America's first line of defense, it happens to be Europe's last.

OF ALL the allied powers, it is the Federal Republic of Germany that makes the greatest contribution to NATO and causes the greatest problems within it. Germany occupies a location of unique importance, in that any military conflict on the Continent is certain to begin on its territory and there to find its decision. Germany has the largest economy in Europe and provides NATO with the largest contingent of troops. The Soviet leadership, aware of these facts, concentrates its political offensive in Europe on West Germany. It knows that should it succeed in neutralizing Germany, NATO would fall apart and the Continent would become indefensible.

To all appearances, the West German population is fully committed to the alliance. Public-opinion polls indicate that most Germans approve of NATO—78 percent desire to remain in NATO, and 63 percent regard it as essential to

their security. Although anti-Americanism is not uncommon in Germany (it has become for some Europeans a psychological surrogate for anti-Semitism), its sporadic manifestations do not reflect the feelings of the population at large. The personal popularity of Americans is relatively high and if anything it is increasing: in 1957, only 37 percent of Germans responded affirmatively to the question, "Do you like Americans?," whereas in 1981 the proportion of such respondents rose to 56 percent. Fifty-three percent of Germans consider "good relations with the United States" essential for the security of the West, which happens to be a higher proportion than in any other nation of NATO. (By comparison, only one-quarter of British citizens hold this opinion). The Germans, who are among the most heavily polled people in the world, give such answers consistently no matter how the questions are phrased, which indicates a solid majority in favor of the alliance and collaboration with the United States.

But this holds true only as long as the Soviet Union is excluded from the equation and the choice reduces itself to a simple alternative: with NATO and the United States or without them? The instant the USSR is introduced as a factor, the picture turns murky. A good part of the German public wants close association with the NATO allies, but only on condition that this relationship not irritate or appear to menace the Soviet Union. It is as if many Germans wanted the alliance to confine itself to political formalities, largely devoid of military or economic substance; such an alliance would serve Germany as a guarantee that it will not be left alone to face the giant who borders it in the east, that it will have friends to fall back on in the event of trouble, all without having to commit itself to anything faintly anti-Soviet, even if only in a defensive sense.

Thus, 40 percent of West Germans unconditionally oppose the stationing of U.S. nuclear missiles on their soil, regardless of how many such missiles the Soviet Union deploys and targets on Germany. Nearly the same proportion rejects resort to nuclear weapons, even in retaliation for Soviet nuclear strikes. These results indicate that fully two-fifths of German citizens are prepared to surrender once it becomes certain that the alliance cannot defend itself conventionally against either a conventional or a nuclear Soviet assault. Asked whether Germany should cooperate more closely with the United States or the Soviet Union, 56 percent express a preference for the first option, and only 1 percent for the second, but an important bloc (32 percent) want "an even-handed" policy toward both Washington and Moscow.

These results indicate that there exists in Germany a sizable body of committed neutralists—between one-third and two-fifths of the popula-

tion—who have psychologically opted out of the alliance and regard it either as altogether undesirable or at best as a symbolic bond that imposes no serious obligations on their country. Sociological inquiries indicate that a high proportion of these neutralists consists of mass-educated young people—teachers, students, and functionaries—products of the ambitious higher-education programs of postwar Germany, who live in a cultural no-man's-land and whose prospects for securing jobs commensurate with what they consider their skills and abilities are so low as to breed in them a permanent state of discontent.

The mood of its electorate obliges every German administration, regardless of its own preferences, to conduct an ambivalent foreign policy in which professions of undying loyalty to the Western alliance are coupled with assurances to the Soviet Union that it can count on Germany being a reliable "partner," and an "intermediary" between East and West. ("Our national interest does not allow us to stand between East and West," Chancellor Brandt pronounced cryptically in 1970. "Our country needs cooperation and harmony with the West and agreement with the East.") German governments are indubitably committed to the defense of the central front, which, after all, cuts across their own territory. They are also willing discreetly to provide money and political support to nations threatened by the Communists: this they have done with excellent results in Portugal and Turkey. But they are emphatically not prepared either to withhold economic and technical aid from the Soviet bloc or to participate in any effort to cope with Soviet military expansion outside the confines of NATO.

In some measure this ambivalence can be explained by geography and history. Germany—Communist and democratic alike—is the focal point of East-West confrontations and the battlefield in any potential war between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This location makes Germans particularly sensitive to any worsening of relations between the two blocs. Another factor is the memory of Nazism, which has the effect of discrediting both militarism and anti-Communism; for many Germans, the notion of an anti-Communist alliance evokes sordid associations with the Axis. But probably the most important consideration influencing German attitudes toward the East-West conflict is the division of Germany: Germany is the only politically bifurcated country in Europe, one-fifth of whose population and nearly one-third of whose territory are under foreign occupation.

GERMANS have never reconciled themselves to the status of a truncated nation, and the desire for reunification is a powerful force in their politics. Theoretically, there are two ways by which reunification can be accom-

plished: by force or by conciliation. Force is not a realistic option under any conceivable circumstances; even if Germany decided to resort to war to recover its eastern marches, it could not do so alone, and not a single ally would support it. It is the alternative, conciliation, that appears feasible and attractive. Since the 1960's German policies toward the USSR have been strongly affected by the hope that *Ostpolitik*, the German variant of détente, will increase contacts between the two Germans to the point where somehow, in the end, reunification will occur. The expectation is almost certainly misplaced: there is not the remotest chance that the Soviet Union will ever allow East Germany—its military and political springboard against Western Europe—to join with West Germany except on terms that would amount to the Federal Republic being detached from its allies and transformed into a Soviet client state. Nevertheless, the hope persists and affects policy in many ways.

Extensive commercial relations with Moscow are one price that Bonn must pay and is not averse to paying for access to East Germany. In the 1960's, West Germany tried to make direct contact with its Communist half but that endeavor was thwarted. It discovered eventually that the road to East Berlin required a detour through Moscow. Moscow closely monitors relations between the two halves of Germany and exacts a price for its friendly services—when Bonn is accommodating, it facilitates contacts; when not, it blocks them. Should West Germany ever dare to join the United States in a program of embargoes and boycotts, it would promptly find its lines of communication with East Germany—a very important matter to the millions of Germans who have relatives there—reduced or even cut. West Germany is for the Soviet Union the most important trading partner in NATO, and since East-West trade generally calls for Western credits and subsidies, it is also the recipient of generous German economic aid.

THIS economic aid is extended to the Soviet Union and its East European colonies not only directly, but also indirectly, by way of East Germany. The founders of the European Economic Community (EEC), which came into being in 1957, in a special protocol attached to the Treaty of Rome, decided to treat Germany as a single political entity. This little-known provision has made Communist East Germany a de-facto member of the EEC, able to enjoy its bounties but exempt from its obligations. The critical factor is that trade between the two halves of Germany is regarded as internal trade, which means that West German firms can import goods from East Germany without having to pay the duties imposed on the other members of the EEC whenever they import from non-members. Through this loophole, East Germany can

unload its merchandise in the EEC duty-free. The protocol is so strictly enforced that the exact dimensions of the intra-German trade cannot be determined because Bonn treats it as an internal matter and refuses to share the information with its allies. The arrangement brings no mean profits to the West German economy as well. It is common practice, for instance, for West German firms, eager to profit from lower labor costs there, to subcontract to East Germany; as long as the contractor is West German, the manufactured goods (they are said to include uniforms for the West German army!) are admitted duty-free.

Nor does Bonn's assistance to Communist Germany stop at trade. It has generously lent it vast sums of money (at latest reckoning, East Germany's debts amount to \$13 billion, most of it owed to West Germany). When, in 1983, East Germany could not meet its interest payments and teetered on the brink of insolvency, Franz-Joseph Strauss, Germany's leading right-wing politician, came to its rescue by arranging a one-billion-deutschmark (\$400 million) loan to East Germany, without political strings attached and without the usual stipulation that the money be used to purchase West German products.

West German subsidies to the East German economy also assume some highly exotic forms. It is estimated, for example, that in the past twenty years, Bonn has ransomed from East German jails 20,000 political prisoners at an average price of 50,000 DM (\$20,000) per head, which amounts to the transfer of nearly half-a-billion dollars. In 1983, West Germany completed the construction of a superhighway connecting Berlin with Hamburg. Its ostensible purpose is to ease the economic isolation of West Berlin, but it might just conceivably someday also help solve the transportation problems of Soviet armored units stationed in East Berlin in their race to the North Sea.

When confronted with the evidence and criticized for it, Germans are prone to respond that geographic proximity and age-old contacts have made them uniquely qualified to understand the Russians and to deal with them. One would feel more encouraged by this self-confidence were it not for the historical record. After all, it was the Germans who in World War I had made it possible for the Bolsheviks to come to power in Russia and to hold on to it when in 1918 they were near collapse. In World War II, it was they who brought Russia into the eastern half of Europe. Many of them pride themselves today on conducting a highly sophisticated policy toward the Soviet Union, a policy that someday will pay rich dividends. But one wonders whether they are not once again deceiving themselves, and instead of doing the manipulating are not themselves the victims of manipulation, who will end up fatally weakening the Western alliance without obtaining anything from Moscow in return.

THESE various strains and inequities call for a reassessment of an alliance that no longer meets the needs of the time. However the matter is worked out in practice, if NATO is to remain viable, changes seem unavoidable. One alternative is for NATO to expand its responsibilities beyond its present confines, to include at least some areas contiguous to Europe, particularly the Middle East. But since it is the unanimous opinion of knowledgeable persons that European parliaments would never approve such a revision of the terms of the alliance, one may have to look for another solution, namely, creating a separate alliance with selected members of NATO to assume this responsibility.

An alternative arrangement would be for the allies to take upon themselves a greater share of the burden of self-defense while the United States withdrew the bulk of its forces from Europe to be able to fulfill its global responsibilities better. It is difficult to see how the United States can continue to meet the global Soviet threat when the overwhelming bulk of its forces is allocated to the defense of Europe and the forces of its European allies are exclusively committed to this end.

Whatever the best solution, clearly something must be done about a treaty that is more than a third of a century old, that was conceived before the USSR had missiles and an oceangoing navy and Western Europe had a GNP greater than that of the United States.

In objection to such proposals, it is said that, should the United States withdraw its troop contingents, Europe would turn neutral and arrive at an accommodation with the Soviet Union. To this argument there are two rejoinders. First, if, indeed, all that prevents Western Europe from Finlandizing itself is the presence of U.S. troops, then it becomes questionable whether it can or should be defended; the function of NATO, after all, is to safeguard Europe from the Soviet Union, not from itself.

Secondly, the threat need not be taken very seriously. Western Europe desperately does not want to become dependent on the Soviet Union, let alone share the fate of Europe's eastern half. Under the present arrangement, it can avoid either fate because it has U.S. guarantees, purchased at almost no cost. Having persuaded themselves and the United States that NATO primarily serves the interests of U.S. security, not their own, America's allies are in the comfortable position of being able to eat their cake (conduct a militarily limited and politically semi-neutralist policy) and have it too (enjoy U.S. military protection if this policy fails). One cannot blame them for taking advantage of such an opportunity: NATO probably represents a singular instance in history of an alliance in which the senior partner asks too little rather than too much of his allies.

For these reasons one need not worry that a gradual shift of responsibility for the defense of Western Europe to the Europeans would lead to a disintegration of the alliance and the loss of the continent. Michel Tatu, a prominent French journalist, argued this point very convincingly in the July 1975 *Foreign Affairs*:

Every government and every society seeks security not in order to become part of one or another system and thus as an end in itself, but because security will permit the government or the society to maintain its identity and its values. Just as a shipwrecked person who has lost one plank will not let himself drown but will look for another plank, so there is no reason to suppose that the European governments, not abandoned by America but simply invited to take charge progressively of their own defense, will immediately give up the values in whose name they [have] so long attached themselves to America. . . .

Must one believe that the European attachment to liberalism and democracy is valid only so long as the United States is willing to guarantee these values? Or is it rather the contrary, that the alliance with America springs from the Europeans' own attachment to these values? The argument that Europe would turn herself into another Finland lacks dignity as well as cogency.

Should Western Europe confront the prospect of Finlandization or still worse, it is certain to galvanize its resources; but this can happen only if and when the United States extricates itself from the psychological dependence on the alliance, which allows many Europeans to pretend they are doing the United States a favor in allowing themselves to be defended.

3. *The Economic Aspect*

IN THE West it is widely believed that the Soviet economy is self-sufficient and that commercial relations with the West are an option that Moscow is at liberty to exercise or to reject. This assumption makes it possible to argue that there is no point in resorting to sanctions and embargoes to withhold equipment and technology from Communist states: the only effect such measures have is to push the Soviet Union toward autarky, to deprive Western firms of business, and to worsen the climate of international relations.

For all its popularity, this argument rests on a fallacious premise. Solid evidence that no one so far has been able to refute shows that the Soviet economy has never been self-sufficient and today is less so than ever. From 1921 on, almost without interruption, the USSR has been importing from the West significant quantities of materiel and know-how to modernize existing industries and to introduce new technology. In the words of Anthony Sutton, the author of the most compre-

hensive survey of the subject, "From 1930 to 1945 Soviet technology was in effect Western technology converted to the metric system."* The debt of the Soviet Union to Western assistance is not widely known because neither of the parties involved wishes to advertise it—the Soviet Union wants to avoid the embarrassment of conceding that it is more or less permanently dependent on the "capitalist camp," while Western firms are coy about doing business with a power that most Westerners view as hostile and spend great sums to arm themselves against. (To this day, the U.S. Department of Commerce will not release lists of industrial corporations granted export licenses to the Soviet Union, although such business is perfectly legitimate.)

Western assistance to the Soviet economy began as early as 1921, with the inauguration of Lenin's New Economic Policy. At that time the not inconsiderable industrial plant that the Bolsheviks had inherited from the czarist regime lay in shambles; Russian industry, for all practical purposes, had ceased to function. The first foreigners invited to help with industrial reconstruction came from Germany, with which Moscow had signed a trade agreement in 1921. Their assistance helped Soviet industry attain prewar production levels by 1927. In the late 1920's, the USSR switched most of its business to the United States, whose corporations became a major factor in the implementation of the first Five-Year Plan. At that time, Ford Motors constructed in Soviet Russia a huge integrated plant at Gorkii to build Model A cars, trucks, and buses. General Electric helped with the development of the Soviet electrical industry, while DuPont contributed to the chemical and RCA to the communications industry. Sutton estimates that during this critical phase of Soviet industrial development, at least 95 percent of Soviet industries benefited from Western assistance.

This cooperation continued during the 1930's. The McKee Corporation of Cleveland designed the famous Magnitogorsk steel mill, a copy of the U.S. Steel plant at Gary, Indiana, then the largest integrated iron and steel plant in the world. All the refineries in Russia's principal oil-producing area at Baku were constructed by U.S. firms, which also furnished them with the bulk of their drilling and pumping equipment. Most of the plants built during the third Five-Year Plan (1936-40), with the exception of those working exclusively for the military, were planned and in many cases constructed by Western companies, including (for a while) even those from Nazi Germany. Later on, during the war, U.S. Lend-Lease provided the USSR not only with expendable military materiel but also with advanced equipment, which is estimated to have increased Soviet industrial potential by one-third.

The point is that Western involvement was at no time marginal and therefore a matter of

choice; it was all along essential to the entire Soviet industrialization drive. "During the period from 1930 to 1945, Soviet technology was almost completely a transfer from Western countries. . . ." Sutton concludes, "No major technology or major plant under construction between 1930 and 1945 has been identified as a purely Soviet effort."

SO MUCH for the vaunted Soviet-self-sufficiency under Stalin. In the decade immediately following World War II, the USSR imported little from the West because it needed time to absorb its Lend-Lease equipment and the immense quantities of war booty that it had seized in Germany and Eastern Europe. The purchase of Western equipment and know-how resumed in the late 1950's, this time on a grander scale than ever before.

The critical factor which made such an expansion of individual imports possible was a change in the attitude of Western governments: whereas before they had been rather neutral toward trade with Moscow, they now began actively to encourage it. It is difficult to tell whether in this case economic interest was the driving force and the expectation of political benefits a rationalization, or the other way around; the consequences were the same. Since the late 1950's, Western governments have cooperated with their banks and business corporations to promote exports of industrial equipment and technology to the USSR and Eastern Europe, as well as to enhance the latter's ability to earn hard currency with which to pay for these goods. Since the USSR is relatively poor in cash and usually suffers an unfavorable balance of trade with the industrial countries, no significant expansion of East-West trade could take place without Western credits, and no credits could flow without government participation.

The latter assumes two forms: Western governments lend directly to Communist countries to enable them to pay for purchases from their business firms, or they guarantee repayment of the loans extended to the exporting firms by private banks. By availing themselves of this credit, Warsaw Pact countries have run up a debt of over \$80 billion, most of it in the decade of the 1970's. The USSR normally insists on paying interest rates on its loans that are substantially below (as much as 5 percent) those prevailing on international markets. The purpose of this practice, with which Western governments and banks connive, is to help the Soviet Union maintain the reputation for unique credit-worthiness

* *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development, 1930 to 1945* (Hoover Institution, 1971), p. 329. In his three-volume detailed account of Soviet purchases of Western equipment and technology, of which this is the second volume, Sutton comes to conclusions that are uncomfortable for many businessmen and economists. For this reason his work tends to be either dismissed out of hand as "extreme" or, more often, simply ignored.

and, in this manner, to enhance its international prestige. As a rule, the USSR discreetly compensates its creditors for their losses on interest by paying premiums for the goods and services purchased with the borrowed money.

An interesting variant in East-West trade practices are the so-called "compensation" deals under which the USSR repays its loans not in cash but in the product that the loans had made possible. This method has been employed in financing the Siberian pipeline, the costs of which are to be recovered in future deliveries of natural gas.* For a while the Soviet leadership believed that it had found in "compensation" arrangements a kind of financial perpetual-motion machine: Western firms would develop Soviet industrial capacities and natural resources at little or no cost to Moscow, receive payment in the product, reinvest the proceeds, and so on, in perpetuity. Unfortunately, it soon dawned on the Soviet Union's European partners that by so doing they were competing against themselves and as a result compensation deals became much less popular than expected.

WESTERN economic involvement in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since the 1960's has been deep and consequential. Once again, as had happened in the 1890's and 1930's, Russia has secured in the West help essential to modernizing those industries that advances in technology had rendered obsolete and learning about technologies that it has not been able to master on its own.

A survey of the technology acquired by the USSR from the West in the past quarter-century shows the following:

Motor vehicles: Italy has built for the Soviet Union at Togliatti a giant automobile plant (equipped mainly, it is to be noted, with U.S. machinery) to turn out copies of Fiat passenger cars, while Pullman-Swindell of Pittsburgh, a subsidiary of the M. W. Kellogg Company, has constructed for Moscow on the Kama River the world's largest truck plant. The two establishments account for the production of one-half of Soviet passenger cars and heavy trucks, respectively.

Oil industry: the equipment purchased by the USSR from the West has enabled it to raise its oil production substantially, by some estimates as much as two million barrels a day, which at 1984 prices brings in (or saves) \$21 billion a year; in effect, this imported technology subsidizes Soviet energy exports to Eastern Europe.

Chemical industry: the USSR has carried out an ambitious program of importing chemical plants from the West. These have largely freed it from the necessity of buying chemicals abroad.

Electronic industry: the Soviet Union has made abroad significant purchases of integrated-circuit technology.

Steel: Moscow has purchased abroad the equipment to produce high-grade specialized steel; currently, the French company Creusot-Loire is constructing in the USSR a mill capable of turning out seven million tons of such steel annually.

Ammonia: Western equipment has enabled the USSR to become the world's leading exporter of industrial ammonia.

Natural gas: the story of the Yamal pipeline, built with the assistance of critical Western technology (large-diameter pipes and compressors) and capital is well known. At present, negotiations are quietly under way to continue such development beyond the existing line. In addition, the German company Mannesmann, AG, is negotiating for contracts to build in the Soviet Union synthetic liquid fuel plants estimated to be worth as much as \$16.5 billion.

Shipping: The bulk of the Soviet merchant navy—the largest in the world—consists of vessels built by foreign shipyards.

Unusual reticence accompanies these and other industrial endeavors, as if the parties had a gentleman's agreement to keep the information privileged.

THE industrial assistance given to the Soviet Union helps its military effort directly and indirectly—directly, by providing so-called "dual-use" technology which can be applied to the production of both military and non-war-time equipment; and indirectly, by strengthening the Soviet military-mobilization base. The development of Soviet energy resources has the effect of providing the USSR with hard currency which its own economy cannot generate; normally most of it is spent on acquiring abroad equipment of some military application.

The "dual-use" technology, lavishly sold to the USSR in the 1960's and especially the 1970's, has had a most impressive effect in enhancing Soviet military power. While basic Soviet military equipment is of native manufacture, the West and Japan have supplied the Soviet war industry with specialized and advanced technology which Soviet engineers integrate into their output—it makes all the difference between equipment of passable and of superior quality. A plant built by a U.S. corporation to manufacture rock-drill bits to explore for oil can be and very likely is used to turn out anti-tank ammunition. Specialized steel, sold to the USSR, has a variety of applications in tank armor and submarine hulls. Integrated circuits,

* After these costs have been repaid, the income generated by gas sales is expected to be used by Moscow to buy imports from Germany and the other countries in Western Europe. It was the desire to place cash in Soviet hands for such purchases rather than the alleged need to diversify energy supplies that motivated the German government, financial institutions, and corporations to promote the Siberian pipeline with such single-minded determination, even at the risk of conflict with the United States.

knowledge of which was acquired in the West, make critical contributions to electronic warfare. And it takes no great imagination to realize that the heavy trucks that the Kama River truck plant turns out are either shipped to the Red Army or earmarked for it in the event of hostilities. The same applies to the merchant marine, which in peacetime fishes and transports cargoes, but forms an integral part of the Soviet Navy and operates under its command.

The most shocking instance of the contribution that Western technology has made to Soviet military capabilities was the sale by the U.S. in the early 1970's of equipment to manufacture miniature ball bearings. In 1959-60, the Soviet leadership decided to proceed with the mass-production of nuclear weapons. German technology, acquired after World War II, combined with native science and industry, provided nearly all the components required.

Among the equipment that could not be produced domestically, however, was machinery to manufacture large quantities of miniature ball bearings for missile-guidance systems. At the time, Soviet representatives approached the only firm that made such machinery, the Bryant Chucking Grinder Company, of Springfield, Vermont. In 1961, with Soviet orders pending, Bryant applied for a license to sell this equipment to the Soviet Union, but Defense Department objections caused President Kennedy to deny the application. In 1972, in the more favorable climate of détente, Bryant applied once again for a license to ship its Centalign grinders to the USSR. This time, permission came through. The ball bearings produced by this U.S. equipment are almost certainly integrated into the guidance system of Soviet missiles. In the opinion of some experts, they have materially contributed to the enhancement of the accuracy of Soviet missiles, to the extent of putting at risk the U.S. force of Minuteman ICBM's and requiring the development of the MX.

NATO long ago recognized the need to withhold from the USSR, and from countries likely to pass on to the USSR, equipment with obvious and direct military applications. In practice, enforcement of this principle has been hopelessly lax, especially since the inauguration of détente.

The agency charged with monitoring technology transfer to the East is known by the acronym COCOM. Formed by NATO countries in 1949 with headquarters in Paris, and joined a few years later by Japan, COCOM maintains lists of embargoed technology, agreed upon by the allies. Alas, COCOM is virtually powerless to carry out its mandate. It is assigned an absurdly small budget (under \$500,000 a year) with a correspondingly minuscule staff and can only recommend but not enforce its recommendations. In prac-

tice, it routinely processes and approves requests for the sale of equipment and technology to the Soviet bloc; and on the infrequent occasions when it turns down a request, it has no means of insuring that its decisions are implemented, because it has neither the necessary authority nor the personnel. After President Nixon assumed office, the U.S. relaxed its more stringent national rules on exports to Communist countries, which in turn caused a further dilution of COCOM.

If one adds that the neutral countries of Europe—Switzerland, Sweden, and Austria—do not receive COCOM recommendations and both sell embargoed material and provide transit for it, it becomes evident that few effective restrictions exist on the transfer to the Communist bloc of advanced technology with direct military application. The West, notably the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Japan, which together account for nearly two-thirds of the technology sold to the USSR (1979), constitutes a giant supermarket of military know-how where the USSR shops (often with borrowed money) for goods to integrate into its arsenal of destruction.

The United States seems most aware of the danger of such sales and makes an earnest effort to control them. But Washington has difficulty maintaining its resolve in the face of unremitting pressure from both the allies and domestic commercial interests, usually backed by the Departments of State and Commerce, which argue that such restrictions serve only to divert Soviet business elsewhere. In his first eighteen months in office, President Reagan tried to enforce industrial controls, but his resolve weakened as the allies refused to cooperate and U.S. business firms loudly complained. By the end of 1983, he seemed to have given up trying.

The sad reality is that while there are powerful vested interests lobbying for exports, no one has a vested interest in restricting the flow of technology to the potential enemy. Private enterprise does not seem especially concerned with who buys its product, as if oblivious of any connection between technology and military power; and governments lack the will to impose considerations higher than immediate profit on business. So it happens that while the West busily arms itself, it also helps arm its opponent.

THE transfer of military technology, however, is not the only problem; another major Western contribution to the Soviet military effort lies in assistance extended to its mobilization base. In the Soviet Union the line separating the military and civilian economies is so indistinct as to be almost meaningless, inasmuch as the leadership views the entire national economy as either actually or potentially destined for military ends: we are dealing here with a war economy operating on an intermediate level of mobilization. Soviet military person-

nel participate closely in economic planning and carry a strong, probably critical, voice in decisions on allocations for the civilian sector of the economy. The central planning agency, Gosplan, makes no major investments unless the generals on its staff are satisfied that they meet the needs of wartime mobilization. Furthermore, each major industrial establishment has a military office that supervises those departments working for the armed forces. On the eve of World War II, the German high command compiled a list of Soviet war industries: it turned out to have been virtually identical with a list of Soviet industrial establishments of that time.

Nothing indicates that matters have changed in this respect. Since the Soviet leadership views all industries in the light of their contribution to the war effort, it must view industrial imports in the same manner; from which it follows that *any* contribution to Soviet industrial potential is at the same time a contribution to its war-making potential. Help extended to the Soviet Union to construct plants for the manufacture of goods which ostensibly serve peaceful purposes, such as automobiles and trucks, tractors, or specialized steel, in fact serve a double purpose, partly civilian, partly military, with the military one always paramount.

The other objection to technology and equipment transfer has to do with its effect on the Stalinist system. Foreign technology and foreign credits help prop up an economic regime which shows every sign of having lost its vitality; they also enable Moscow to allocate its capital and re-

sources in a manner that continues to favor the military sector. It is in the interest of the West that the USSR reform its labor policies, raising productivity by greater incentives and decentralized decision-making. This would represent a step toward weakening the economic and political power of the Soviet elite. To the extent that it helps to make the system more efficient, Western technology makes it easier to avoid such reforms. If one can imagine a Soviet economy that would be 100-percent automated and able to dispense with human labor altogether, such an economy would be entirely freed from the need to take the human factor into account. Of course, such an economy is not possible; but everything that contributes to the automation of Soviet production, that supplies it with that which the Stalinist system cannot provide, serves to solidify the despotic arrangement.

IT is difficult to tell whether the democracies, constrained as they are by vested interests, public opinion, and political rivalries, are capable of sustaining an indirect, long-range policy, which requires the courage of quiet firmness and patience. Unquestionably, it is much easier to evoke a response from a democratic electorate with either calls to arms or promises of eternal peace. What can be said with confidence is that as long as the present, essentially Stalinist, system prevails in the Soviet Union, war will remain an ever-present danger which neither rearmament nor accommodation can entirely avert.



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

August 1984

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

"[BRAZIL] EXPORTS METAL PRODUCTS TO THE USSR
AND KEEPS ITS GOAL FOR 1984"

"SAO PAULO -- "We are not going to abandon the American market. Our goal to export one billion dollars in metallurgic products is still valid," said yesterday Henrique Brandao Cavalcanti, president of Sidebrás [the State-owned steel company]. He also said 'the American market is being replaced by those of other countries.' The Soviet Union is one of the new markets for Brazilian steel, said Plinio Assmann, former vice-president of Cosipa.

"Cosipa's new board of directors informed that it is exporting a special steel for pipelines to the USSR. Although exports are still in the experimental stage, Cosipa's directors say the Russians have shown interest in buying large quantities of that special steel, the same now being used in gas pipelines in the United States.

"Cavalcanti admitted that exports of several types of steel to the United States will be reduced. 'A reduction of exports to the U.S. will be offset by opening new markets. We have signed a contract with China to send them 500,000 tons [of steel]. This figure may be increased'" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 5/1/84).

"ENGESA SELLS US\$2 MILLION IN DRILLING MASTS TO THE USSR"

"SAO PAULO -- The Soviet Union is buying from Engesa (a privately owned Brazilian arms company) US \$2 million in drilling masts for immediate use in its fields. The sale represents a change in the company's foreign sales, which so far only sold arms in the international market.

"While Engesa's directors made no comment on the sale to the USSR, company technicians said they represent 'an opening toward future negotiations, as yet in the non-military area.' They claim that the USSR, which shares with Engesa the leadership of the international market of armored cars, would not be interested in acquiring such equipment from Brazil" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 5/11/84).

"ALPARGATAS WILL EXPORT 40,000 JEANS TO THE USSR FOR US\$300,000"

"SAO PAULO -- The first contract to export jeans to the Soviet Union was signed yesterday by the São Paulo company Alpargatas. It will sell 40,000 pairs of jeans for a total of \$300,000.

"Negotiations with the Soviet Union began three years ago with a visit [to Moscow] of a Brazilian delegation led by Delfin Neto, Minister of Planning.

"This first order of 40,000 jeans is considered experimental; [the company's director of foreign trade, Frey Johnson] believes larger orders will be coming" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 5/25/84).

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

Siderúrgica exporta para a URSS e mantém a meta de 84

São Paulo — “Não vamos abandonar o mercado norte-americano. Nossa meta de exportação de 1 bilhão de dólares em produtos siderúrgicos ainda é válida”, afirmou, ontem, o presidente da Siderbrás, Henrique Brandão Cavalcanti, observando que “o mercado norte-americano está sendo substituído por outros países”. Um dos novos mercados para o aço brasileiro é a União Soviética, segundo informou o ex-presidente da Cosipa, Plínio Assmann.

A nova diretoria da Cosipa confirmou que a empresa está exportando para a URSS um aço especial, com especificações para gasodutos. A exportação ainda está em fase experimental, mas segundo diretores da Cosipa, os russos já mostraram interesse em analisar uma compra maior deste tipo de aço especial, o mesmo que está sendo utilizado em gasodutos nos Estados Unidos.

NEGOCIAÇÕES/EUA

Cavalcanti admitiu que haverá uma redução nas exportações de vários tipos de aço

para os Estados Unidos, destacando que a estratégia é reduzir as exportações deste ano para ampliá-las no futuro. “Vamos exportar, este ano, menos do que em 1983 e quantia semelhante a 1982”.

— Uma diminuição nas vendas para os Estados Unidos será compensada com a entrada em novos mercados. Fizemos um contrato de exportação para a China, de 500 mil toneladas, que pode ser ampliados. Os chineses estão interessados em nosso aço. O recuo que fazemos, hoje, em relação aos Estados Unidos, é mais para preservar o mercado. Não vamos sair de lá — garantiu o presidente da Siderbrás.

O novo presidente da Cosipa, Paulo Enge, revelou que, apesar de a empresa ter paralisado as vendas para os Estados Unidos, há uma diversificação nas exportações. “pois o Brasil está atingindo outros países, como a Malásia, China e Tailândia”.

— Nossa meta de exportações de 270 milhões de dólares para este ano está mantida — destacou Paulo Enge.

JB 1.5.84

11.5.84 JORNAL DO BRASIL

Engesa vende para URSS US\$ 2 milhões em hastes de bombeio de petróleo

São Paulo — A União Soviética está adquirindo da Engesa (Engenheiros Especializados S.A) 2 milhões de dólares em hastes de bombeio de petróleo, para utilização imediata em seus campos produtores. A exportação desses produtos representa uma diversificação nas vendas externas da Engesa que, até agora, só comercializava armamentos no mercado internacional.

A negociação foi realizada com auxílio da área responsável pelo comércio com o Leste Europeu do Itamarati. Os dirigentes da Engesa não comentam a exportação para a URSS, que foi confirmada por técnicos da empresa, observando que essa é “uma abertura para negociações futuras, ainda na área civil”. Segundo esses técnicos, a União Soviética divide com a Engesa a liderança no mercado mundial de blindados sobre rodas. Por isso, a URSS não teria interesse em adquirir esse tipo de armamento brasileiro.

Diversificação

De acordo com dirigentes da Engesa, o objetivo da empresa atualmente é a diversificação de atividades, com a fabricação de produtos para a linha civil. A produção de equipamentos para a área petróleo/petroquímica foi um dos primeiros resultados dessa política.

As hastes de bombeio de petróleo foram produzidas na Engex, uma subsidiária da Engesa, na Bahia, que faz canhões comercializados com a própria Engesa, para equipar os blindados leves Urutu, Cascavel e Jararaca. Esses canhões deverão equipar também o tanque pesado Osório, cujo primeiro protótipo será testado no início do segundo semestre.

A diversificação da Engesa, informou um dirigente da empresa, se deve ao fato de que o mercado externo de armamentos é sazonal: “Com produtos na linha civil, teremos condições de prosseguir no desenvolvimento de pesquisas tecnológicas e obter maior estabilidade no faturamento”. Outro produto que a Engesa deve estar produzindo, até o final do ano, é um jipe, que serve tanto para uso civil como para militar.

O relatório de diretoria, que acompanha o seu último

Alpargatas exportará 40 mil calças para a URSS por US\$ 300 mil

São Paulo — O primeiro contrato de exportação de jeans para a União Soviética foi assinado ontem pela São Paulo Alpargatas, através de sua divisão de exportação: serão vendidas 40 mil calças por 300 mil dólares. Ao mesmo tempo em que assinava o contrato com a URSS, o diretor de Comércio Exterior da empresa, Frey Johnson, anunciou que fechou um contrato de venda de jeans para os Estados Unidos, no valor de 25 milhões de dólares.

Com isto, a cota do Brasil de exportação de 3 milhões de jeans para os Estados Unidos estourou e chegou a 5 milhões de calças — Frey Johnson salientou que esse contrato será cumprido através de uma operação triangular: a São Paulo Alpargatas vai exportar o tecido para um país fora do sistema de cotas que fabricará as calças e as exportará para os Estados Unidos. “É a fórmula que encontramos e dará certo, pois o país que fabricará as calças não está dentro do sistema de cotas fixado pelo Departamento de Comércio americano”, afirmou.

A história

Johnson, um especialista em comércio exterior, revelou que as negociações com a União Soviética tiveram início há 3 anos, quando uma missão brasileira, chefiada pelo Ministro do Planejamento, Delfim Neto, esteve em Moscou.

— Foi uma das negociações mais demoradas que já enfrentamos, mas o objetivo foi atingido. Quando fomos à União Soviética, levei a calça US Top, que é nossa marca, e preparei uma com a sigla UCCP Top (que significa União Soviética em russo). Os soviéticos exigiram uma série de condições para a compra do nosso jeans, inclusive o ajustamento de modelos às medidas dos seus manequins.

O primeiro pedido de 40 mil calças é considerado experimental e Johnson está certo de que haverá novas compras em maiores quantidades.

Os primeiros jeans para a União Soviética serão embarcados em julho e o restante em agosto.

— Na exportação, o que vale é a paciência. Só com ela se consegue chegar a mercados aparentemente inacessíveis — afirmou. — O soviético gosta muito de jeans. Um brasileiro foi abordado na Praça Vermelha por um ucraniano que desejava comprar o jeans que tinha, por sinal, da nossa marca. Logo esse contrato significará a abertura de um mercado de 260 milhões de pessoas — explicou Frey Johnson.

"THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL EVALUATES THE ELECTIONS"

"Irritated Disappointment Over
The Triumph of Febres Cordero in Ecuador"

"The results of the [presidential] elections in Ecuador were evaluated during today's meeting of the Latin American and Caribbean Committee of the Socialist International, held in Lima [Peru].

"There was an irritated disappointment among the participants over the victory of the rightist Ecuadorian candidate, Leon Febres Cordero.

"In reference to the elections in Ecuador, former Venezuelan president Carlos Andres Perez pointed out that 'the victory of Leon Febres Cordero is in contrast with the democratic forces of Latin America.'" (Hoy, Guayaquil, Ecuador, 5/7/84).

"WILL ASK 15 YEARS TO PAY FOREIGN DEBT"

"Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Mexico, the region's largest debtors, are proposing to ask for a fifteen years deadline to pay their foreign debt to U.S. banks, according to a document to be discussed in the meeting of ministers of economy and foreign relations from these and other countries of Latin America.

"Cuba 'vigorously supported' the initiative, taken because of the 'dramatic situation of the foreign debt of the region,' said Hector Rodriguez, minister president of [Cuba's] State Committee of Economic Cooperation" (El Comercio, Quito, Ecuador, 5/23/84).

"ALFONSIN GAINS SUPPORT OF ARGENTINE COMMUNISTS"

"Argentine communists, who voted for Peronists in last October's elections, are now willing to support the government of president Raul Alfonsin in its effort to guarantee economic stability in order to face the socio-economic crisis. This statement was made by Athos Fava, secretary general of the Argentine Communist Party, during a visit to East Berlin.

"[Fava] also manifested his party's 'total support' of Alfonsin's foreign policy, especially his position favoring the conduct of the Contadora Group toward Central America" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/24/84).

Internacional Socialista evalúa las elecciones ^{7/5/84}

Irritado desencanto por el triunfo de Febres Cordero en Ecuador

LIMA, 8.- Los resultados de las elecciones del domingo pasado en Ecuador, Panamá y El Salvador fueron evaluados en la reunión de hoy del Comité Latinoamericano y del Caribe de la Internacional Socialista, que se realiza en Lima.

Escepticismo sobre la futura política internacional del próximo presidente salvadoreño, José Napoleón Duarte, e irritado desencanto por el triunfo de derechista candidato ecuatoriano, León Febres Cordero, prudente optimismo por las posibilidades de que el escrutinio final consagre la victoria de Nicolás Ardidito Barletta en Panamá, fueron las impresiones captadas por IPS entre los asistentes a la reunión.

Los asistentes a la reunión no ocultaron su satisfacción por la derrota del ultra derechista Roberto D'Aubuisson.

El chileno Anselmo Sule, del partido Radical y vicepresidente del Comité Latinoamericano de la Internacional Socialista, declaró que no adjudicaba representatividad a las elecciones salvadoreñas, por sus grandes y notorias ausencias.

Reiteró que, en su opinión personal, debió haberse dialogado previamente con la organización insurgente para que las elecciones tuvieran trascendencia y significado realista.

El ex presidente venezolano Carlos Andrés Pérez al referirse a las elecciones de Ecuador señaló que "la victoria de León Febres Cordero es un contraste para las fuerzas democráticas latinoamericanas. Deploro lo que ocurrió el domingo en Ecuador, pero tenemos que respetar ese resultado". (IPS)

WARM UP
relations with Latin America.
The Soviets are.

Pedirán 15 años de plazo para pagar deuda externa

Argentina, Brasil, Colombia y México, los mayores deudores de la región, se proponen solicitar un plazo de 15 años para pagar su deuda externa con la banca de Estados Unidos, según un documento que será discutido en la reunión de cancilleres y ministros de Economía de esos países y otros de Latinoamérica.

La agencia AFP señala que un borrador del documento, divulgado en Bogotá, expresa que las amortizaciones de la deuda comenzarán en el séptimo año y los pagos de intereses serán diferentes para cada país, de acuerdo con sus posibilidades de recuperación.

Entre tanto, el panorama económico de los países del área empieza a ensombrecerse aún más con los resultados de una encuesta realizada por la Asociación Nacional de Economistas de Empresas norteamericanas, que indican que la tasa "prime" de interés preferencial pasará del 12,5 al 13 por ciento anual en diciembre próximo, y que estos niveles terminarán por bloquear completamente la expansión de la economía de los Estados Unidos antes del fin de 1985.

La agencia ANSA señala que el 69 por ciento de los entrevistados se mostró convencido de que el ciclo económico alcanzará su culminación antes de fines del año próximo. El 12 por ciento, en cambio opinó que el fenómeno se producirá a fines de este año. El 83 por ciento de los entrevistados considera que la causa principal de las altas tasas de interés es el grueso déficit del presupuesto federal norteamericano.

Por otra parte, siguen los apoyos a la iniciativa de lograr un criterio común latinoamericano

Argentina, Brasil, Colombia y México, los mayores deudores de la región presentaron a consideración de los países latinoamericanos un borrador de documento que apunta a una posición común para enfrentar el pago de la deuda externa.

para enfrentar alzas en las tasas de interés y trazar una estrategia sobre las deudas externas de los países de la región.

Cuba dio "un vigoroso respaldo" a esa iniciativa, motivada por "la dramática situación de la deuda externa de la región", según dijo Héctor Rodríguez, ministro presidente del Comité Estatal de Colaboración Económica.

El Secretario Ejecutivo de la CEPAL, Enrique Iglesias, ofreció todo el apoyo de la organización que dirige para la realización de una conferencia económica de alto nivel. "Me parece legítimo que los gobiernos de América Latina adopten criterios comunes para hacer frente a las nuevas consecuencias negativas derivadas de las alzas de tasas de interés", dijo Iglesias en Santiago de Chile.

La agencia UPI señala que Iglesias manifestó además que "la prolongación de esta situación re-

cesiva, sin duda compromete la paz social y la estabilidad política de muchos países de la región".

Llamó la atención la novedosa posición del presidente de Chile, Augusto Pinochet, que al mostrarse "totalmente de acuerdo" con la formación del frente varió en un ciento por ciento lo que había sustentado su gobierno. Incluso en la conferencia realizada en Quito, en enero pasado, Chile planteó que cada país constituya una realidad diferente y que, por lo tanto, cada uno de ellos debía enfocar el asunto de sus deudas externas de una manera particular e individual, descartando una negociación colectiva.

Pinochet respalda ahora la convocatoria e inclusive, según la agencia ANSA, señaló que tal anuencia "ya la he comunicado a Argentina".

En Venezuela, observadores afirmaron que el gobierno de ese país no firmó la declaración de los otros países, para tener las manos libres en su búsqueda de una posible negociación rápida y directa con sus acreedores. La decisión de abstenerse de firmar fue calificada de acertada por los diarios de Caracas que coinciden en señalar que la situación venezolana en la problemática de la deuda externa difiere sustancialmente a las difíciles condiciones en que se encuentran los demás países.

Entre tanto, el ex-embajador de México ante la Casa Blanca, José Juan Olloqui, afirmó que al auge de México lo compartieron varios países, "pero la crisis la pagamos sólo los mexicanos". Olloqui puntualizó que para la crisis de su país contribuyó grandemente la crisis internacional. "Y en ésto tuvimos poco que ver", dijo.

Alfonsín obtém o apoio dos comunistas argentinos

Os comunistas argentinos, que votaram nos peronistas nas eleições de outubro último, estão dispostos a apoiar o governo do presidente Raúl Alfonsín em seu esforço de garantir a estabilidade política para enfrentara crise econômico-social. A afirmação, feita pelo secretário-geral do PC argentino, Athos Fava, em sua visita a Berlim Oriental, coincide com a divulgação, em Buenos Aires, de uma pesquisa de opinião pública em que o governo Alfonsín obteve a aprovação de dois terços dos entrevistados.

Em entrevista à agência oficial da Alemanha Oriental, o máximo dirigente comunista da Argentina justificou sua mudança de posição sob o argumento de que a "tarefa principal" de seu partido consiste em "pôr fim ao ciclo de 53 anos de golpes de Estado e estabilizar o processo de democratização". Expressou, além disso, o "total apoio" do PC à política externa de Alfonsín, em especial à sua posição favorável às gestões do grupo de Contadora na América Central.

Dois terços dos argentinos (66 por

cento) acham que o presidente Raúl Alfonsín está conduzindo bem ou muito bem os destinos do país em seus primeiros seis meses de governo, de acordo com a pesquisa divulgada ontem por uma empresa privada, a mesma que previu a vitória da União Cívica Radical nas eleições do ano passado.

A mesma consulta, no entanto, revela que apenas 33 por cento da população apóia a maneira como está sendo negociada a dívida externa.

O ponto mais negativo do governo Alfonsín, na opinião dos entrevistados, é a equipe econômica encabeçada pelo ministro Bernardo Grispún, que só obteve 16 por cento de aprovações.

O metrô de Buenos Aires ficou ontem completamente paralisado, em consequência de uma greve de 24 horas por melhores salários. A greve é dirigida por sindicalistas de esquerda, que questionam a representatividade do sindicato do setor, controlado pela ala direita do peronismo.

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

MAY FIRST -- LABOR DAY -- IN SAO PAULO DRAWS ONLY 20,000 "

"Instead of the 100,000 expected participants, the party at Ceret (Worker's Recreational and Sports Center) drew only about 20,000 (the organizers claim 40,000 people came; according to the Federal Police 10,000 people participated).

"In addition to CUT (Workers Central Union) and Conclat (National Conference of the Working Classes), supported both by conservative unions and those favorable to the Brazilian Communist Party, authorities representing the State government were also present at the Labor Day party. A show of popular music singers preceded the political speeches.

"In São Bernardo, Labor Day began with a mass at the local church celebrated at 9:00 a.m. by Claudio Hummes, Bishop of Santo Andre, who stated: 'We demand democracy in order for the structural reforms to be carried out as requested by the CNBB [National Conference of Brazilian Bishops]."

"After mass, one thousand people gathered outside the church to hear political speeches delivered from the bed of a pickup truck" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 5/2//84).

NOTE: São Bernardo, near São Paulo, is part of Latin America's largest industrial park.

MASS SURPASSES RALLY IN FEAST AT SAO BERNARDO"

"[There were] no more than one thousand people in the square. The ambience did not reflect much enthusiasm, and the successive orators only contributed to the general discouragement.

"The fact is that the mass in the church of Sao Bernardo drew more enthusiasm than the rally. In the church, filled to capacity, the faithful sang Bach's Ode to Joy with words adapted to the current situation of the country, six other songs telling of the difficulties of a worker's life composed especially for the occasion, and heard two readings of the Bible and two lectures by union leaders. They also prayed, received communion and listened to the sermon of Claudio Hummes, Bishop of Santo André, which contained harsh criticisms of the regime.

"Inside the church, banners and signs were raised whenever the TV crews turned on their spotlights. They read: "Negotiation is treason, [we want] direct elections now;" "We demand work, bread, land and liberty with direct [presidential] elections now;" "Freedom is not conquered by imploring, freedom is conquered by fighting"" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/2/84).

"IN RIO, MORE LEISURE THAN POLITICS"

"On a journey with more leisure than politics, thousands of people went yesterday to the Quinta da Boa Vista to participate in the Labor Day celebrations. The organizers had hoped that more than 100,000 people would flock to see the show and attend the political rally, but there were more people there in the morning, when no entertainment was offered, than in the afternoon: at 4:00 p.m. there were only 25,000 people waiting for the arrival of the politicians and musicians.

"As has been happening in all political rallies, the clandestine parties were the first ones to arrive; large banners announced the presence of the PCB [Brazilian Communist Party], PC do B [Communist Party of Brazil], MR-8, Communist Revolutionary Party, Movement for the Emancipation of the Proletariat, and Alicerce [these last four are Trotskyite groups]" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 5/2/84).

o 1º de Maio

Dia do Trabalho só atrai 20 mil em São Paulo

85291

Missa supera o comício na festa de S. Bernardo

CARLOS BRICKMANN
Da nossa equipe de reportagem

Na praça, não mais de mil pessoas, com bandeiras do PT, PDT, PC do B e uma, antiga e descorada, do MDB (aparentemente, é de antes da re-
forma partidária). O ambiente não revelava grande entusiasmo e os oradores que se sucederam na tribuna só contribuíram para o desânimo geral. "Faltou tempo para a organização do comício", dizia Jair Meneghelli, presidente da Central União dos Trabalhadores. "Estávamos trabalhando na mobilização para a emenda Dante de Oliveira e deixamos de lado o 1º de Maio".

O fato é que a missa, na igreja matriz de São Bernardo, causou muito mais entusiasmo que o comício. Na igreja lotada, os fiéis cantaram a Ode à Alegria, de Bach, com letra adaptada à atual situação do País, no início e no fim das orações; cantaram seis outras músicas especialmente compostas, a respeito das dificuldades da vida do operário; ouviram duas leituras da Bíblia, duas palestras de dirigentes sindicais; rezaram, receberam comunhão e ouviram o sermão, com duras críticas ao regime, do bispo de Santo André, dom Cláudio Hummes.

"Este 1º de Maio está no contexto da mobilização popular pelas diretas já", disse o bispo. "A Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil mandou telegrama às lideranças do Congresso dizendo que os parlamentares não poderiam passar por cima das aspirações da Nação. Mas passou-se por cima das aspirações do povo brasileiro. Foi assim que o governo tratou o Brasil. Hoje, os trabalhadores protestam contra a rejeição da emenda Dante de Oliveira. Acreditamos que ninguém vai se esquecer dos que trairam o povo. O povo não deve ter memória curta. Deve cultivá-la".

Dom Cláudio disse também que, embora não suba aos palanques, a Igreja apoia a continuidade da mobilização pelas diretas-já. "Exigimos que as coisas mudem, e já. O novo salário mínimo é um salário de fome. Segundo o Dieese, deveria ser de 357 mil cruzeiros. A Igreja não pode deixar de condenar a política salarial brasileira. A Igreja luta para que o salário e os trabalhadores sejam mais importantes que o capital; para que o salário não seja calculado em função apenas do que o trabalhador produz, mas pelo que ele é — um chefe de família que ganha a vida com seu trabalho".

Na igreja, faixas e cartazes se levantavam sempre que a TV acendia os refletores. "Ninguém quer traição, diretas já", "Liberdade no trabalho, pão, terra e liberdade com eleições diretas já", "Liberdade não se conquista implorando, liberdade se conquista lutando", "A paróquia São Geraldo está comprometida com a libertação do povo". Entre os fiéis, muitas crianças, muitos bebês de colo; e uma freira fazia sucesso, acalmando as que choravam. Foi uma longa missa, duas horas de duração numa igreja lotada, com a maioria das pessoas de pé; e os fiéis ficaram firmes, só saindo depois da comunhão.

O mesmo discurso Na praça, o entusiasmo esfriou. Muita gente foi embora e os poucos que ficaram não tinham como reagir com entusiasmo aos 28 oradores que, sem exceção, repetiram o mesmo discurso: nada de negociação, diretas já, fim do governo militar, salários mais altos, nada de enten-

Num dia mais de lazer do que de política, milhares de pessoas foram ontem à Quinta da Boa Vista para participarem das comemorações do Dia do Trabalho. Os organizadores esperavam que mais de 100 mil pessoas fossem assistir ao show e ao comício, mas havia mais gente na Quinta de manhã, quando não houve qualquer atração, do que à tarde: às 16h, apenas cerca de 25 mil pessoas esperavam a chegada dos artistas e políticos.

Como vem ocorrendo em todas as manifestações políticas, os partidos clandestinos foram os primeiros a chegar, e grandes faixas anunciavam a presença do PCB, PC do B, MR-8, Partido Revolucionário Comunista, Movimento pela Emancipação do Proletariado e o Alcebre. Cedo também chegaram as crianças, que ocuparam o Zoológico e o Parque de Diversões e brincaram com grupos de teatro amador.

dimento de cúpula. Falou um professor, um representante do Partido Comunista do Brasil (facção PT — há outra facção, abrigada no PMDB), uma empregada doméstica, uma dona de casa, um desempregado, um representante da Central Única dos Trabalhadores, sucursal do ABC, uma mãe. Houve oradores exóticos: Cavalheiro, do PMDB (afinal de contas, era um 1º de Maio unitário) foi vaiado o tempo inteiro, até mesmo quando defendeu o rompimento com o FMI, a suspensão do pagamento da dívida externa e a legalização dos partidos clandestinos; Carlinhos, da Juventude Socialista do PDT (que obedece ao comando de Ademar de Barros Filho), aplaudido sem entusiasmo; Nelson da Convergência Socialista (facção trotsquista do PT), que ofereceu apoio aos trabalhadores da Nicarágua. A propósito, os oradores só se identificaram por primeiros nomes (excetuando-se os mais conhecidos), negando-se a dar o nome inteiro.

Os principais discursos foram os de Devanir Ribeiro, presidente do PT paulista, Jair Meneghelli, companheiro da Cut, e Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, supremo chefe do PT nacional. Devanir afirmou que o País está num impasse criado pelo regime; e, se o regime o criou, ele que o resolve. Aceita negociar na hora certa, com força, pela base, com o povo na rua. "O regime tem medo do povo. É o povo, unido e organizado, que acabou com o regime". Jair Meneghelli disse que o entendimento que os trabalhadores querem inclui reforma agrária, direito de greve, fim do desemprego, fim do arrocho salarial, liberdade sindical. "Vamos ter de decretar greve geral pela redemocratização do País e obter as eleições diretas já por esse meio".

Lula criticou a duração do comício e prometeu que os próximos serão mais curtos. Brandindo a bengala (está de perna engessada), afirmou que a campanha pelas diretas é uma mudança de qualidade na luta dos trabalhadores: agora, perceberem que a mudança econômica passa por uma mudança política. "Diretas quer dizer tirar Delfim e colocar militares no lugar onde eles não dem alguma coisa, que é a caserna fazer com que o povo cuide riqueza nacional".

São Paulo — Em vez das 100 mil pessoas esperadas, a festa do Dia do Trabalho, no Ceret — Centro Recreativo Esportivo do Trabalhador — na Zona Leste de São Paulo, atraiu cerca de 20 mil pessoas (40 mil, segundo os organizadores, ou 10 mil, de acordo com a Polícia Federal). A manifestação — organizada pela CUT e Conclat, que pela primeira vez se uniram para um ato público — foi marcada por gritos de "diretas já" e aplausos ao presidente nacional do PMDB, Deputado Federal Ulisses Guimarães.

Além da CUT (Central Única dos Trabalhadores, apoiada pelo PT) e Conclat (Conferência Nacional das Classes Trabalhadoras, apoiada por Sindicatos conservadores ou simpáticos ao PCB), o Dia do Trabalho no Ceret contou com a presença de autoridades do Governo Estadual. O Governador Franco Montoro mandou representante: o Secretário do Trabalho, Almir Pazzianoto. Um show de cantores populares, entre eles Fafá de Belém, precedeu os discursos políticos.

Bandeiras pelas diretas

Partidos e grupos clandestinos, como PCB, PC do B, MR-8 e PRC (Partido Revolucionário Comunista), estiveram presentes, com grandes faixas e bandeiras dominando o cenário próximo ao palanque, em meio a faixas dos sindicatos de trabalhadores. Em pronunciamentos, seus representantes defenderam a greve geral, pelas eleições diretas já.

As bandeiras vermelhas chamaram a atenção do superintendente da Polícia Federal, delegado Romeu Tuma: "o amarelo, que significa atenção, foi substituído pelo vermelho, que sugere perigo, nas comemorações de primeiro de maio, hoje (ontem), no Ceret". Disse Tuma, depois de ser informado que havia mais de "20 bandeiras do MR-8 e "N" bandeiras do PC do B". Segundo Romeu Tuma, "o primeiro de maio foi bastante tranquilo em São Paulo, graças a Deus".

As poucas vaias do público foram dirigidas principalmente para um dos organizadores do ato, o presidente do Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos de São Paulo, Joaquim dos Santos Andrade, o Joaquinzão. A maior parte das vaias vieram de militantes do PT, que agitavam suas bandeiras vermelhas. Seus simpatizantes lamentaram a ausência de Luís Inácio da Silva, o Lula, que, segundo os organizadores, não pôde comparecer por estar com o pé quebrado.

No show com repentistas e intérpretes de música sertaneja, os aplausos mais demorados foram reservados a Fafá de Belém, que novamente cantou Menestrel das Alagoas.

O presidente cassado do Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos de São Bernardo, Jair Meneghelli, reclamou, em entrevista, da organização do ato pelo Dia do Trabalho em São Paulo, ao qual, segundo ele, "poderia ter comparecido muito mais gente, se fosse realizado na Praça da Sé ou no Pacaembu".

São Bernardo

Em São Bernardo, depois de um comício com 1 mil pessoas organizado pelas sedes regionais da CUT, Conclat e de entidades sindicais do ABC, um grupo de 200 manifestantes contrariou a orientação dos organizadores e promoveu uma passeata pelo centro de São Bernardo, que terminou com um enterro simbólico dos parlamentares que votaram contra a Emenda Dante de Oliveira. Um caixão de madeira foi incendiado no Paço Municipal a mil metros do local do comício.

O Dia do Trabalho, em São Bernardo, começou com uma missa na Igreja Matriz, celebrada às 9h pelo Bispo de Santo André, Dom Cláudio Hummes, que disse: "Exigimos a democracia para que haja mudanças estruturais como pediu a CNBB". Ele lembrou que dois terços da população brasileira ganham de um a três salários mínimos e que nunca houve tantas concordatas e falências de pequenas e médias empresas.

Comício

Após a missa, no Largo da Matriz, um comício atraiu mil pessoas diante de um palanque improvisado no teto de uma camioneta. O último dos 17 oradores foi o presidente nacional do PT e ex-presidente do Sindicato de Metalúrgicos de São Bernardo, Luiz Inácio (Lula) da Silva.

São Paulo — Cerca de 20 mil pessoas assistiram ontem à festa do Dia do Trabalho, em Ermelino Matarazzo, bairro da periferia da Zona Leste de São Paulo, que há 25 anos comemora a data. Ao longo de três quilômetros da Avenida Paranaguá desfilarão 6 mil representantes de escolas, sindicatos, clubes, empresas, tropas da Polícia Militar e até membros de uma tenda de umbanda.

IN LATIN AMERICA, REACTIONS AGAINST COMMUNISM

TFP CARRIES OUT DECISIVE ACTION IN ECUADOR'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

In the first round of this year's presidential elections in Ecuador, the eight candidates of the left and center-left gained approximately 70% of the vote. Conservative candidate Leon Febres Cordero, who took the second place, received roughly the remaining 30%. Political analysts considered it certain that socialist Rodrigo Borja, the winner of the first round, would also win the second one, since the seven candidates eliminated in the first round supported him.

What happened then? The Ecuadorian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) published in the country's largest newspapers a three-page manifesto titled, "In View of the Coming Presidential Elections, the TFP Addresses the Nation Regarding the Family, Private Property, Religious Teaching and the Preservation of Morals." Based on documentation published by the socialist candidate, the manifesto warned that if Borja won the country would be plunged into a socialist abyss.

From this point on, the electoral campaign took on growing doctrinal character. It was clear that the choice was between the country's traditional values, the institution of the family, the right of property and free enterprise on the one hand, and anti-Christian Marxist egalitarianism on the other. And the Ecuadorian people chose. In the second bout, held in the beginning of May, the conservative candidate was elected with 52% of the vote (see special report on the elections in the TFP Newsletter, Vol. IV, No. 5, 1984).



ANTE LAS PROXIMAS ELECCIONES PRESIDENCIALES EN RELACION A LA FAMILIA, A LA PROPIEDAD PRIVADA, A LA ENSEÑANZA RELIGIOSA Y A LA PRESERVACION DE LAS COSTUMBRES

MANIFIESTO DE LA TFP A LA NACION

El TFP se complace en haber publicado este Manifiesto en el momento de las elecciones presidenciales, ya que es una oportunidad para expresar a la opinión pública las preocupaciones de la familia ecuatoriana ante las elecciones presidenciales que se celebrarán el día 15 de mayo de 1984.

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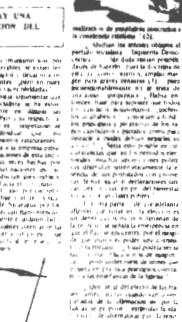
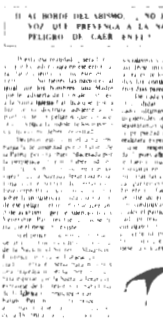
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IN LATIN AMERICA, REACTIONS AGAINST COMMUNISM

IN COLOMBIA, A MANIFESTO OF THE TFP CAUSES PROFOUND IMPACT

In the end of May, Colombia's largest dailies published a long manifesto by the Colombian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) titled, "Expressing the Thinking of Countless, Perplexed and Non-conformist Colombians, the TFP Addresses the President Asking for a Dialogue." In this open letter to president Belisario Betancur, the Colombian TFP manifested its concern over recent measures of the government in pursuing its so-called peace policy. Indeed, after granting amnesty to the communist guerrillas (from five different organizations) last year, the Betancur Administration signed a truce with FARC, the most powerful guerrilla group, officially linked with the pro-Moscow Colombian Communist Party. These concessions are undermining the anticommunist resistance of the Colombian nation. In its introduction, the TFP states:

"Having attentively considered the situation that has been taking shape in our country with the events of recent months, the TFP finds itself obliged to address Your Excellency to manifest its thinking, which is also the thinking of countless of our fellow countrymen, about this situation which is a consequence of the government's policy toward the problem of guerrilla warfare and subversion.

It is well known that the TFP is a non-partisan and non-political organization which, inspired in the twenty centuries-old doctrine of Holy Church, works to ensure that Catholic social principles are applied in the temporal life of the Nation. We are certain that, by attaining this goal, glory will be given to God on this earth, now and always; that the country will thus fulfill the mission to which it has been called, will achieve real progress and well-being, and all Colombians will receive, individually, the benefits that the State is supposed to provide them.

Now, the attainment of these high goals to which the government's policy must be oriented has been affected for over a year by the so-called peace policy which, rather than achieving its proposed end, is gradually making even more acute the problems it seeks to resolve. As this situation developed, the TFP published several manifestos (El Tiempo and three other dailies, 9/11/82; El Tiempo and four other dailies, 4/29/83; El Tiempo and two other papers, 6/25/83) predicting and then pointing out the lamentable fruits of the government's policy. Nevertheless, this policy was maintained as if its results were considered a stage in the process toward peace.

Now that the Nation has reached a situation in which subversion has doubled its impetus and has been met with unheard of complacency, we must make an impartial, precise and meticulous analysis of the principles involved and the events they have produced in order to open the eyes of public opinion once and for all and to courteously make the government aware of the consequences of its action.

Wishing to point out with absolute objectivity and unstained clarity the numerous aspects under which the government's policy toward violence is profoundly erroneous, the TFP thus decided to give this analysis the sketchy and simple form of a balance sheet, letting its final result express, with curt eloquence, the conclusion.

The TFP profoundly regrets that this lamentably negative conclusion reveals a most profound disagreement with Your Excellency's policies and a grave apprehension regarding your future action. Moved by a zealous respect for authority and by a desire to collaborate with it to achieve social peace, the TFP wanted this manifesto to be completely devoid of any involvement with political controversies so that its impact would come only from its doctrinal character, the strength of its logic and the reality of its observations.

(over)

IN COLOMBIA, A MANIFESTO OF THE TFP . . .

Therefore, the TFP asks Your Excellency, with due respect and the loyalty, regard and esteem owed to your high station, to take heed of this analysis. We hope that you will know how to obtain, for your administration, the glory which is within your reach: leading our country away from the abyss to which it is being pushed by the plot and the propaganda of the socialists and communists, which would turn the bloody prepotence of the guerrillas into the supreme power of the State. With this, we proceed to point out the most harmful results that the "peace policy" is producing to the detriment of the Christian grandeur of our Nation.

[The manifesto analyzes the situation in detail, addressing 18 main points. In the end, the TFP states:]

We have just listed, Your Excellency, the allegations circulating in our country in favor of your government's policy toward the guerrillas. And thus, beginning a respectful and elevated dialogue, we present to you the objections not only of the TFP but also of countless Colombians, to this policy.

Here we have laid the foundations for an exchange of opinions and arguments between our government and those who want the latter to adopt toward the guerrillas a policy markedly opposed to the current one. We trust that Your Excellency, a Chief of State who takes pride in being democratic, will receive this manifestation of many of your fellow countrymen not only with impartiality but with friendship. We await with interest any answers Your Excellency may be willing to give us, directly or indirectly, to continue this dialogue.

As we wait for these replies, we turn our eyes to the Most Holy Virgin, Mediatrix of all graces, who in Chiquinquirá will show the marvellous restorations She does when people invoke her in a filial manner. Beseeching her to restore Christian Civilization in our country, we are, respectfully yours

THE COLOMBIAN SOCIETY FOR THE DEFENSE OF
TRADITION, FAMILY AND PROPERTY (TFP)

Members and volunteers of the Colombian TFP are distributing hundreds of thousands of this manifesto in the streets all over the country. The document is having a profound impact on people from all walks of life.

CREATE
*conditions for smooth relations
with Latin America.*

THWART
*Soviet attempts to aggravate
our differences.*

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

"[CARDINAL] SUPPORTS LIBERATION THEOLOGY"

"Aloisio Lorscheider, Cardinal-Archbishop of Fortaleza, yesterday defended Liberation Theology saying, 'of itself it is not a danger, it is even something very good.'

"The cardinal called to mind that 'Liberation Theology was practically born in Latin America, looking at the world of domination and injustice in which we live, and seeking a Christian practice stemming from the faith of the Gospel.' He emphasized that 'in order to overcome domination and injustice, there's nothing wrong with using this theology; on the contrary, we should favor it and support it.' According to Cardinal Aloisio, Liberation Theology plays a great role in Brazil 'and has been applied correctly'" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/3/84).

"TO DOM ANGELICO, OPPRESSION MAY PROVOKE REVOLT"

"Bishop Angélico Sândalo Bernardino, regional president of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops (CNBB) in São Paulo, yesterday said he does not believe 'that the Brazilian people will make a revolution because of an electoral system, but they are capable of making a revolution, as other peoples have, against the disgusting socio-economic oppression to which they have been subjected.'

"The comments of the bishop, who is in charge of the Worker Pastoral in São Paulo, were made following statements by Avelar Brandão Vilela, Cardinal-Primate of Brazil and Archbishop of Salvador, that keeping the system of indirect elections to the presidency could aggravate tensions that might even cause a civil war. According to Dom Avelar, who made his warning last Saturday, 'if we are not careful, the accumulation and fomenting of tensions can lead us to a confrontation.'

"Dom Angélico believes that 'in themselves, direct elections will not solve the problems of the people, but they will mark the dawn of profound changes and of the basic reforms we need'" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/8/84).

"BISHOP FREDERICO CRITICIZES CORRUPTION"

"Frederico Didonet, Bishop of Rio Grande, alerted to 'the threat of a social convulsion that hovers above a horizon laden with signs of growing dissatisfaction and disbelief.' In his weekly allocution in the Voz do Pastor [radio program], the bishop made severe criticisms of administrative corruption. This corruption is 'reaching a point of saturation in a suicidal challenge to the patience and resistance of a people ever more marginalized, who participate little in the fruit of their work [sic] and who may tire of such a long and painful wait.'

"In one of his most severe statements in the last few years, Bishop Didonet pointed out: 'Led by administrators attached to power and therefore little sensitive to the real problems and clamors of the people, Brazil kneels before international bankers in a sad and shameful gesture of progressive renunciation of its independence proclaimed in 1822. With vast possibilities and almost inexhaustible riches, as a people, we are in fact swiftly reaching a situation of greater dependence, malnutrition and hunger, candidates to a thousand types of illnesses and chronic weakness bordering on imbecility. Perhaps this is the goal of international groups, which will thus have paved the way for an increasingly arbitrary and manipulating domination of this country, making it a kind of backyard of usury of the international banks'" (Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro, 5/6/84).

Apoio à Teologia da Libertação

Da sucursal de
CAMPINAS

O cardeal arcebispo de Fortaleza, d. Aloísio Lorscheider defendeu a Teologia da Libertação ontem, em Itaici, afirmando que "em si não é um perigo, é até algo muito bom", mas advertiu para o fato de que ela pode se tornar "ruim se cair numa teologia radicalizada". Por outro lado, o bispo auxiliar de Salvador, d. Boaventura Kloppenburg, da ala conservadora da Igreja, condenou a Teologia da Libertação "quando ela assume uma análise marxista", afirmando que "isso seria a politização da Igreja e da pastoral". Para d. Boaventura, essa politização acontece na Teologia da Libertação no Brasil, "em muitos livros e até em aulas de professores".

D. Aloísio deveria apresentar ontem, na 22ª Assembléia Geral da Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil (CNBB), um documento sobre "a situação atual da teologia". O tema constava da pauta do dia, mas teve sua exposição transferida para hoje, por falta de tempo. A secretaria da CNBB não permitiu a liberação do texto ontem à imprensa.

O cardeal, em entrevista, lembrou que "a Teologia da Libertação praticamente nasceu na América Latina, olhando o mundo de dominação e de injustiça que nós estamos vivendo, tendo por finalidade procurar uma prática cristã, a partir da fé do Evangelho". Acentuou que "para superarmos a dominação é a injustiça, o uso dessa teologia não tem nada de ruim, ao contrário, ela deve ser favorecida e apoiada por nós". Para d. Aloísio, a Teologia da Libertação se tornaria radicalizada "se quiséssemos realmente libertar esse nosso momento através da violência, da luta de classe violenta, de dominações novas, da conquista do poder, o que não entra no campo da fé, e portanto é contrário ao Evangelho".

Afirmando que "procurar a paz não significa que possa reivindicar direitos", d. Aloísio frisou que "devemos reivindicá-los e até muitas vezes exercer pressão. Nem tudo o que a gente faz nessa linha está errado. Se fco na Teologia da Libertação, à luz da fé, para superar a dominação, estou fazendo uma coisa muito útil e até necessária". Segundo d. Aloísio, a Teologia da Libertação ocupa um espaço grande na Igreja no Brasil, "e em sido aplicada corretamente".

Todavia, d. Boaventura Kloppenburg vê "riscos e um grande mal na Teologia da Libertação quando ela assume a análise marxista", acrescentando que tem verificado isso "em muitos livros, nos quais se percebe uma politização da teologia e da Igreja". Para ele, os riscos disso são "perder o espírito principal do Evangelho que é a união com Deus e a dimensão espiritual da visão cristã" o que não significa "negar que esta vida tenha também a dimensão econômico-sócio-cultural".



D. Kloppenburg critica a análise marxista enquanto d. Aloísio defende a Teologia da L

D Frederico critica a corrupção

Porto Alegre — O Bispo de Rio Grande, D Frederico Didonet, alertou sobre "a ameaça de uma convulsão social que paira no horizonte carregado de sinais de crescentes insatisfação e descrença" e defendeu a necessidade da "união de todos na afirmação e reivindicação dos justos direitos, através de um processo de conscientização pacífica, ordeira, patriótica e responsável".

Na sua alocução semanal A Voz do Pastor, o Bispo de Rio Grande fez severas críticas à corrupção administrativa, "quase sempre impune, quando não premiada, desgastando paulatinamente o patrimônio nacional e corroendo o cerne da nacionalidade". Essa corrupção vai "chegando a um ponto de saturação, num desafio suicida à paciência e resistência de um povo sempre mais marginalizado, que pouco participa do fruto de seu trabalho e que pode cansar de uma espera tão longa e sofrida".

QUINTAL DA USURA

Num dos seus mais severos pronunciamentos dos últimos anos, D Didonet salienta: "Conduzido por administradores apegados ao poder e, por isso, não muito sensíveis aos verdadeiros problemas e clamores do povo, como normalmente acontece quando não há alternância, o Brasil vai de joelhos aos banqueiros internacionais, num triste e vergonhoso gesto de progressiva renúncia à independência proclamada em 1822."

"Com imensas possibilidades e riquezas quase inesgotáveis, vamos de fato caminhando sempre mais aceleradamente para uma situação de povo cada vez mais dependente, desnutrido e faminto, candidato a mil espécies de enfermidades e a uma fraqueza congênita, próxima à idiotice e ao nanismo. Talvez seja, isto mesmo, a meta dos grupos internacionais, que assim terão facilitado o caminho para um domínio sempre mais arbitrário e manipulador, transformando este país numa espécie de quintal da usura bancária internacional."

Para dom Angélico, a opressão poderá provocar revolta

O presidente regional da Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil (CNBB) em São Paulo, d. Angélico Sândalo Bernardino, disse ontem não acreditar "que o povo brasileiro faça uma revolução por causa de um sistema eleitoral; mas é capaz de fazer uma revolução, como outros povos já fizeram, contra a nojenta opressão sócio-econômica a que está submetido".

O comentário do bispo, que é responsável pela Pastoral Operária em São Paulo, foi feito a propósito de declarações do cardeal-primaz do Brasil e arcebispo de Salvador, d. Avelar Brandão Vilela, para quem a manutenção do sistema indireto de escolha do presidente da República poderia alimentar tensões que levariam, até mesmo, a uma guerra civil.

D. Avelar lançou seu alerta no último sábado, durante cerimônia de posse do novo arcebispo de Brasília, d. José Freire Falcão. Segundo ele, "se não tivermos cuidado, o acúmulo e o cultivo das tensões poderão nos levar a um confronto."

Na opinião de d. Angélico, "as eleições diretas, por si só, não resolverão os problemas do povo, mas serão uma aurora para mudanças profundas e para as reformas de base de que necessitamos". De acordo com o bispo, "o povo brasileiro, sobretudo o trabalhador, quer da cidade quer da roça, não pode ser tratado como escravo ou como máquina. Nesse sentido, creio que as eleições diretas para presidente são a esperança e encaminhamento para a mudança desse movimento militar agonizante e que, infelizmente, não morreu".

O alerta de d. Avelar foi endossado pelo deputado federal Airton Soares (PR-SP).

"BISHOPS DEFEND A NEW ORDER"

"'We want to fight for the establishment of a new social order.' This statement was made in Santo Angelo, [State of] Rio Grande do Sul, by bishops and men and women religious from four cities of that State. Among them was Bishop Ivo Lorscheider, president of the CNBB [National Conference of Brazilian Bishops]" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/20/84).

"D. HELDER PROPOSES THAT THE COUNTRY PAY ITS DEBTS, BUT WITHOUT USURY"

"'Payment, yes, but without usury,' is the slogan of a campaign being proposed by Archbishop Helder Camara to bring about a revision of Brazil's schedules to pay its foreign debt. 'A reformulation of the schedule for paying our debts is unpostponable,' he said.

"The Archbishop of Olinda and Recife spent his morning at OAB [Brazilian Bar Association], whose Federal Council, in ordinary session, paid him homage for all that he means to the struggle for human rights in the country. Speaking on his proposal regarding the foreign debt, he went so far as to predict: 'When the people begin attacking the IMF (International Monetary Fund), some will say that it is the Red Church once again poisoning the people, who understand nothing about the foreign debt.'

"'I want to take this opportunity,' he said, 'to call on the OAB to participate in this campaign with neither hatred nor violence, but with resoluteness and courage. And also to participate in another campaign for an authentic land reform in the country. Incidentally, these two reforms -- land reform and the manner of paying our foreign debt -- are the two clocks whose time the government must set in consonance with the people, and urgently'" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/8/84).

"THE CNBB CONCLUDES THAT THE SITUATION IN THE NORTHEAST
HAS BECOME DRAMATICALLY WORSE"

"The situation in the northeast of Brazil is more than dramatic, it is tragic. The misery in which most of its people live is due to the concentration of land and riches, fruit of a savage capitalist system [which creates] dependence and generates marginalization. Out of this capitalism is born a government policy that encourages the existence of large land holdings, leads to unemployment and strengthens political oppression, economic slavery, violence and corruption.

"These are the main conclusions of the basic document which the 272 bishops, gathered for the 22nd General Assembly of the CNBB [National Conference of Brazilian Bishops] in Itaici, used to debate the topic, 'Northeast, a Challenge to the Evangelizing Mission of the Church in Brazil.' The text, which has a strong social and political significance, contains an in depth analysis of the problems of the Northeast. It denies affirmations that drought is the greatest cause of misery in the region and proposes, as the only solution, carrying out an extensive land reform.

"The document emphasizes that 'the causes of northeastern reality must be sought above all in the socio-economic and political history of Brazil, within the context of world economy. These causes are not a result of fate, of destiny, of nature, but rather of the political actions of men and the ways they appropriate natural resources and establish relations among themselves. In this sense, the Northeast and the drought are products of politics.'

"According to the basic text, this 'produced Northeast' is due, among other causes, to the 'policy of the government, which led to the strengthening of the structure of use and possession of the land, favoring great landowners and increasing even more the concentration of lands [in the hands of a few] and, as a consequence, the economic power of a privileged minority.' The bishops believe 'this growing concentration in the hands of a few is sinful and anti-evangelical, along with the whole system that provokes it'" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/2/84).

Bispos defendem nova ordem

Da sucursal de
PORTO ALEGRE

"Queremos lutar pela instauração de uma nova ordem social, onde todos tenham voz e vez". A afirmação foi feita em Santo Angelo, no Rio Grande do Sul, por bispos e religiosos de quatro municípios gaúchos, entre os quais o presidente da CNBB, D. Ivo Lorscheiter. Em documento divulgado ao final do encontro, na sexta-feira à noite, disseram esperar do governo, "da República Federativa do Brasil, um grande respeito à Nação brasileira e às suas justas reivindicações" e, do Congresso Nacional, "sabedoria e coragem".

OESP 20.5.84

Com o título de "Situação Nacional. Apelo", o documento transmite as conclusões a que chegaram os participantes do Encontro Interdiocesano da Regional Sul/3 da CNBB. Segundo o documento, os bispos, sacerdotes e religiosos constataram "sinais de uma progressiva consciência e união de esforços entre os agricultores da região para engajamento sempre maior na busca de soluções efetivas e profundas". Mas, também, que continuam "numerosos os obstáculos na construção de uma sociedade justa e fraterna, reclamo profundo do ser humano e projeto de Deus".

CNBB conclui que situação do NE se agrava dramaticamente

FSP 2.6.84

CARLOS DE OLIVEIRA

Enviado especial a Itaiç

A situação do Nordeste brasileiro é mais do que dramática, é trágica. A condição de miséria da grande maioria de seu povo deve-se à concentração da terra e da riqueza, fruto de um sistema capitalista selvagem, dependente, gerador de marginalização. Desse capitalismo nasce uma política de governo que incentiva o latifúndio e a monocultura, leva ao desemprego, reforça a opressão política, a escravidão econômica, a violência e a corrupção.

Essas são as principais conclusões da segunda versão do documento base que os 272 bispos reunidos na 22ª Assembleia-Geral da CNBB, em Itaiç, se utilizam para debater o tema "Nordeste, Desafio à Missão Evangelizadora da Igreja no Brasil", colocado ontem pela manhã na pauta oficial do encontro. O texto, de forte conteúdo social e político, faz uma análise extensa dos principais problemas nordestinos, refuta afirmações de que a seca é a grande responsável pela miséria na região e defende, como única solução, a execução de uma ampla reforma agrária, com a participação efetiva do trabalhador.

"Grito de milhões"

Logo na sua introdução, o documento — que será amplamente debatido em plenário, nos próximos dias — afirma que "o povo nordestino, como todo o povo brasileiro empobrecido, está gritando, através dos milhares de abaixo-assinados das comunidades, das centenas de manifestações de rua, das pautas de reivindicações dos sindicatos dos trabalhadores, por trabalho e salário justo, para ganhar o seu pão com o suor do rosto, por água, sementes para o plantio, saúde e tratamento humano".

Lembra que, "no seu grito de milhões, o povo quer um modelo sócio-econômico que possibilite pão em todas as mesas, liberdade, justiça, participação no seu processo de auto-promoção". Depois de relatar os vários tipos de pressões a que estão submetidos os nordestinos, entre eles a subnutrição, o êxodo para as grandes cidades, a poluição dos rios e as elevadas taxas de mortalidade infantil (107,2 mortos por 1.000 nascidos vivos), o documento-base passa a

analisar as causas políticas dos problemas do Nordeste.

Fassalta que "as causas da realidade nordestina devem ser procuradas, antes de mais nada, na história sócio econômica e política do Brasil, no contexto da economia mundial. Essas causas não são resultado da fatalidade, do destino, da natureza, mas o resultado da ação política dos homens e das formas através das quais se apropriam e usam dos recursos naturais e estabelecem relações entre si. Neste sentido, o Nordeste e a seca são uma produção política".

"Sistema pecaminoso"

Esse "Nordeste produzido", de acordo com o texto-base, deve-se, entre outras razões, à "política do governo, que conduziu ao fortalecimento da estrutura de uso e posse da terra, favorecendo o grande proprietário — latifundiário ou empresa rural — e aumentando mais ainda a concentração da propriedade fundiária e, consequentemente, o poder econômico de uma privilegiada minoria". Para os bispos, "essa crescente concentração nas mãos de poucos é pecaminosa e anti-evangélica, como todo o sistema que a provoca".

O texto faz ainda críticas contundentes à "indústria da seca" e à "utilização indevida das verbas dos programas de emergência para o favorecimento de grupos e indivíduos". Afirma que "para os milhões de trabalhadores sem terra, os verdadeiros flagelados, distribuiu-se apenas esmola, que mata de vergonha ou vicia o cidadão". O documento proclama, então, "a falência dos programas de emergência e de todos os outros programas do governo".

Na sua parte final, o texto afirma que toda essa análise "mostra em cores vivas que a sociedade nordestina, apesar de se encontrar num país e num continente católicos, é cercada por um escandaloso contraste entre ricos e pobres, uma característica de todo o Brasil, que se acentua de forma gritante no Nordeste".

Adverte também que o nordestino "é um povo fadado a sofrer uma terrível involução pessoal, um povo na sua totalidade sub-alimentado, cronicamente faminto", que não poderá "ter o necessário desenvolvimento físico e psíquico para assumir, na história, seu papel de sujeito ativo e consciente".

485238
D. Hélder propõe que
País pague a dívida,
mas sem agiotagem

Da Sucursal do Rio

Pagamento, sim, mas sem agiotagem: este é o slogan proposto por d. Hélder Câmara para uma campanha popular capaz de levar a uma revisão dos compromissos brasileiros no pagamento da dívida externa. "É inadmissível a reformulação do esquema de pagamento de nossas dívidas", disse ele. "E quando o nosso povo se meter a dizer que está havendo agiotagem na cobrança das dívidas do Brasil, podemos ter certeza de que quem se meter a defendê-la não estará só mexendo em casa de marimbondos, mas também em tocas de tubarões".

O arcebispo de Olinda e Recife passou a manhã na OAB, cujo Conselho Federal, em sessão ordinária, prestou-lhe homenagem pelo muito que significa na luta em favor dos direitos humanos no País. Na proposta sobre a dívida externa, d. Hélder fez até uma previsão: "Quando o povo começar a atacar o FMI (Fundo Monetário Internacional) não faltará quem diga que é a Igreja vermelha mais uma vez envenenando o povo, o qual nada entende de dívida externa".

"De dívida externa — acrescentou nosso povo pode não entender. Mas de agiotagem entende muito. Em agiotagem, nosso povo é doutor. Eu quero aproveitar essa ocasião para convocar a OAB a participar dessa campanha, sem ódio nem violência, mas com decisão e destemor. Dessa e de uma outra campanha, em favor de uma autêntica reforma agrária no País. Estas duas reformas — a agrária e a do esquema de pagamento da dívida externa — são, por sinal, os dois relógios que o governo precisa acertar com o povo. E com urgência."

"YOKOTA CRITICIZES CNBB'S POSITION ON LANDS"

"Paulo Yokota, president of Incra [Land Reform Institute] yesterday criticized the document approved by the Brazilian bishops in Itaici which asked for a massive land reform to solve the problems of the Northeast. 'They are again making irrational speeches and asking for land reform as though the government were not committed to solving the problems of the land. We are promoting land reform as proposed by the Statute of the Land, which does not provide for the expropriation of private lands for redistribution. We live in a capitalist regime, and in order to do that we would have to modify Brazil's socio-political system'" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/10/84).

"BISHOP TRAVELS TO SHOW SUPPORT FOR INVADERS"

"Teodardo Leitz, Bishop of Dourados (State of Mato Grosso do Sul) left the meeting of CNBB [National Conference of Brazilian Bishops] in Itaici for Ivinhema, where he arrived yesterday to personally orient the action of the Church in support of hundreds of men and some women and children who invaded the 50,000 acre Santa Idalina property, owned by the Melhoramento e Colonização Society.

"In his first meeting with representatives of the Pastoral of the Land, Bishop Teodardo said he knew about the invasion fifteen days before it took place.

"At the offices of the Melhoramento e Colonização Society (Someco) in Ivinhema, a director of the company said the invasion terrified him: 'I have been here for 22 years and had never seen such an organized act of violence against a private property'" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/3/84).

"UNIONS DO NOT SUPPORT INVASION"

"None of the labor unions of the metropolitan region of Dourados participated in the invasion of the 50,000 acre property owned by the Melhoramento e Colonização Society (Someco). 'Only the Church participated,' said yesterday Cicero A. Silva, president of the Rural Labor Union of Ivinhema.

"The district judge ordered that the owners of the property be kept in possession of it and that the invaders be evicted, but the execution of his order was postponed until the 13th at the request of the state governor, who asked for time to negotiate in Brasilia.

"Oswaldo Casaroti, a director of Someco, said the farmers are in despair. 'I am receiving calls from landowners all over the State of Mato Grosso do Sul.' He says the farmers believe the outcome of this invasion will change the security status of their own farms. 'Some farmers are destroying access bridges or building fences in previously undelimited areas.

"One of the greatest concerns of Someco directors is the support that the Church has been giving to the invaders" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/6/84).

Yokota critica a posição da CNBB sobre terras

Da sucursal de BRASÍLIA

O presidente do Inera, Paulo Yokota, criticou ontem o documento em Itaipá, pedindo uma reforma agrária maciça para resolver os problemas fundiários do Nordeste. "Estão voltando a fazer discursos irracionais, pedindo a reforma agrária como se o governo não estivesse empenhado em resolver os problemas da terra. Nós estamos promovendo a reforma preconizada pelo Estatuto da Terra, que não prevê a expropriação de terras particulares para a sua redistribuição. Vivemos num regime capitalista, e para agir dessa forma teríamos que modificar o sistema do Brasil".

apontando alternativas de solução". "O que não dá mais" — continuou — "são estas pessoas que vivem apontando soluções, com Santo pudesse baixar para resolver todas as pendências. Discutir muita coisa".

As terras

Yokota, proprietário norte do quilômetro que invade

Bispo viaja para dar apoio aos invasores

Do enviado especial

O bispo da diocese de Dourados (MS), d. Teodoro Leitz, abandonou a reunião da CNBB, em Itaipá, e chegou ontem a Ivinhema para orientar pessoalmente toda a atividade da Igreja em apoio a centenas de homens e algumas mulheres e crianças que invadiram a gleba da Idalina, de propriedade da Sociedade de Melhoramentos da Serrão, com 20 mil hectares.

40 policiais militares — destacados pela SSP de Mato Grosso do Sul — estão impedindo a entrada até de caminhões com alimentos na área invadida. Um grupo de freiras assistencializadas em assistência social tentou entrar, mas não conseguiu. Nos escuros, me...

Sindicatos não apóiam a invasão

ANTÔNIO JOSÉ DO CARMO
Enviado especial

Nenhum dos sindicatos representativos da classe trabalhadora da região da Grande Dourados participou da invasão da gleba de 20 mil alqueires, de propriedade da Sociedade de Melhoramentos e Colonização S/A — Someco —, no município de Ivinhema, no Mato Grosso do Sul. "A participação foi exclusiva da Igreja", afirmou ontem o presidente

Cícero Aparecido da Silva condenou o método da invasão como forma de ocupação da terra em seu município e disse "Nós já havíamos iniciado um movimento em favor da reforma agrária. Até uma concentração na cidade reuniu mais de mil pessoas, que assinaram um documento encaminhado ao governo. Como ficam essas pessoas?", concluiu o sindicalista.

Bispo mediador

Entregar a área aos invasores mediante pagamento parcelado da terra com alguns anos de carência e a liberação de financiamentos para pequenos projetos como o de cerciicultura, viáveis para pequenas propriedades. Essa foi uma das propostas apresentadas pelo bispo de Dourados, d. Teodoro Leitz, ao governador do Mato Grosso do Sul, Wilson Barbosa, como forma de garantir a permanência das aproximadamente 1.300 pessoas que invadiram a gleba.

O juiz da comarca concedeu liminar de manutenção de posse à proprietária da gleba, mas a execução do despejo foi protelada até o dia 13, atendendo pedido do governador, que pediu prazo para negociar em Brasília.

Wilson Barbosa deverá encontrar-se esta semana com o ministro Danilo Venturi, dos Assuntos Fundiários, para examinar uma solução para o problema. Mas dentro da própria Assembleia Legislativa do Estado, deputadas pedessistas combinam a posição do governo e consideram que a tentativa de negociação será um precedente perigoso dentro de um Estado marcado pelos conflitos de terra. O deputado Ari Rigo, do PDS, disse que a invasão de Ivinhema está sendo provocada pela negligência do governador do Estado, em não garantir o direito de propriedade particular. Segundo Ari Rigo, não é o governo federal quem deve resolver a situação, mas o estadual, "que está

te do Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais de Ivinhema, Cícero Aparecido da Silva, que disse estar enfrentando a pressão de 1.052 pessoas, cadastradas no município, através do seu sindicato e que não serão beneficiadas caso o governo consiga acomodar a situação dos invasores. São mais de 1.300 acampados, mas nenhum reside em Ivinhema. Todos vieram de outras cidades e até do Paraguai.

deixando de dar garantias aos donos de terra"

Essas pressões foram responsáveis pelo reforço policial na área invadida. A Secretaria da Segurança Pública implantou um verdadeiro cerco aos invasores, onde aproximadamente 140 soldados permanecem acampados sob o comando especial do coronel Joffeli Paes de Carvalho, que afirma só sair do "terreno" quando as negociações estiverem concluídas.

Oswaldo Casaroti, um dos diretores da Someco, disse que os fazendeiros estão desesperados. "Eu recebo telefonemas de proprietários de terras em todo o Estado do Mato Grosso do Sul, diz Oswaldo, pois eles acreditam que o desfecho desta invasão irá alterar a sistemática de segurança de suas fazendas." E essa mudança poderá significar violência, porque a própria Someco já cuida de colocar equipes próprias de fiscalização em todas as entradas de suas glebas exploradas ou não. Alguns fazendeiros estão destruindo pontas de cercas ou construindo cercas em áreas não delimitadas.

Uma das maiores preocupações dos diretores da Someco é o apelo que a Igreja vem dando aos invasores. Por isso mesmo, indiretamente, a empresa acaba controlando a entrada dos visitantes à gleba invadida, apesar de a Polícia Militar manter o controle das fronteiras. É a Someco quem está garantindo o combustível usado no patrulhamento pelas frotas da PM e, além do rádio, que mantém a sede da empresa bem informada sobre a situação, o diretor Oswaldo Casaroti recebe mensagens até por escrito do capitão Lacerda, comandante do policiamento de Ivinhema.

Os agentes da Comissão Pastoral da Terra da Diocese de Dourados e de outras regiões, que dão apoio aos invasores, reclamam das dificuldades de acesso ao acampamento

dos camponeses. Mas para a Someco, que até emprestou seus veículos para a polícia, os agentes da Igreja não devem ter acesso à área.

De qualquer maneira, d. Teodoro Leite garantiu aos acampados que estará lá no dia 13 de maio para celebrar uma missa, a pedido deles.

Segunda invasão

Esta não é a primeira vez que um grupo de trabalhadores sem terra invade propriedade particular na região de Dourados. Em abril de 1981, cerca de 400 famílias entraram numa das fazendas de Cemi Rodrigues da Silva, diretor do Agrôbanco do Estado de Goiás, no município de Itaquiraí. O ex-deputado federal Orenay Rodrigues da Silva, irmão do banqueiro, disse que entre os invasores havia agentes da Igreja, e até estudantes universitários, que estimulavam os camponeses. O governador da época, Pedro Pedrossian, iniciou a negociação com o grupo de famílias, e conseguiu retirá-las da propriedade com a promessa de localizar uma outra área para todos.

O prazo de negociação era de 15 dias, mas o ex-governador levou um ano e um mês para localizar uma nova terra e, quando voltou ao acampamento que se formou à beira da estrada de Navierá, só 64 famílias estavam aguardando. De 7 caminhões fretados pela Casa Civil do governador levaram os acampados para o Município de Cassilândia, e durante a viagem de 500 quilômetros crianças morreram de fome. A terra entregue às famílias pertencia ao Inera e faz parte de uma extensa gleba de cerrado, conhecido como "Cimparão dos Gaúchos". Ali, apesar do arenito, centenas de agricultores vindos do Rio Grande do Sul formaram produtivas fazendas de soja. Mas para outros, a situação só piorou porque não dispunham de financiamentos e maquinários.

Em novembro de 83, 55 famílias deixaram a terra de Cassilândia e foram para o município de Colider, no Estado do Mato Grosso, onde o Inera ofereceu novas terras. Lá o problema foi, entre outros, a malária, que já matou três pessoas do grupo. E as famílias já não querem mais ficar lá.

Experiências como essa fizeram com que os membros do Movimento dos Trabalhadores sem Terra, que reúne cerca de 10 mil pessoas na região da Grande Dourados, não sem a recusar as propostas do Inera de doar terras no Norte. Agora eles querem terra perto da civilização e de boa qualidade, como a que está sendo reivindicada agora.

"WITHDRAWAL FROM IVINHEMA BEGINS"

"In a climate of tension, much politics and little resistance, the 1300 farm workers who invaded on April 29 the Santa Idalina property in Ivinhema, owned by Someco, yesterday began to abandon the place in furtherance of a judicial order of eviction.

"According to a police radio report, the presence of the clergy was very significant. A few days earlier, the bishop of Dourados had participated in several demonstrations for land reform held at the church of Ivinhema; priests, nuns and agents of the Pastoral Commission on the Land from the dioceses of Lins (State of São Paulo), Três Lagoas (State of Minas Gerais) and Dourados (State of Mato Grosso do Sul) went to the invaded property to accompany the withdrawal. The invaders refused to leave the land before the arrival of the bishop" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/16/84).

"INVADERS TO STAY IN CHURCH LANDS"

"Most of the 1300 farm workers evicted during the last two days from the Santa Idalina property in Ivinhema, spent the day yesterday at the town's parish hall. They accepted a suggestion of Bishop Teodorado Leitz to set up camp in an 8-acre property of the Church until a solution to their problem can be found. The pastoral agents also continued to orient all actions of the farm workers and prevented them from giving their names and addresses to the police, who were trying to register the invaders" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/16/84).

"REVOLT OF 'COLD CHOWERS'* BRINGS PANIC TO THE INTERIOR"

"It was a morning of panic and violence in Guariba, a town of 20,000 inhabitants near Ribeirão Preto. Five thousand 'cold chowers,' revolted with their system of work cutting sugarcane and a raise in water company prices, invaded a supermarket and vandalized the headquarters of the water company, overturning and burning vehicles. The revolt lasted five hours. One person died and 19 were wounded. No one expected the attack on the city. The workers had been gathering for one year at the headquarters of their union, with the support of Father Domingos Bragheto of the Pastoral Commission on the Land [officially linked to the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops], and had been asking for better working conditions" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/16/84).

"REVOLT SPREADS"

"The revolt of the 'cold chowers' is spreading through the State. Union leaders in the region of Ribeirão Preto decided to paralyze 100,000 workers in orange and sugarcane farms. Workers' pickets managed to prevent the harvest in the areas of Bebedouro, Barretos and Guariba, cities in which the situation is more tense, and where with police intensively patrol the streets.

"The government is following the events with undisguisable nervousness" (Folha de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/17/84).

"PRIEST WANTED TO CONTINUE TO THE END"

"The 'cold chowers' of Guariba, who were on strike two days ago, participated yesterday in two meetings with Father José Domingos Bragheto, state coordinator of the Pastoral Commission on the Land. Even though the priest incited them to continue with the protest ('strike is the only language the boss understands'), the sugarcane workers decided to return to work yesterday" (O Estado de S. Paulo, São Paulo, 5/18/84).

* 'Cold chowers' (Bóias frias, literally "those who eat their lunch cold"): Farm workers who live in town and commute to work every day, taking their lunch (bóia, that is, chow) in food carriers, which allows their 'chow' to get cold (fria).

Começa a retirada dos ocupantes de Ivinhema

OESP 16.5.84

ANTONIO JOSÉ DO CARMO
Enviado especial

Num clima de tensão, muita política e pouca resistência, os 1.300 agricultores que invadiram no dia 29 de abril a gleba Santa Idalina, no Município de Ivinhema, Mato Grosso do Sul, de propriedade da Sociedade Melhoramentos e Colonização S.A. — Somco — começaram a deixar ontem o local, cumprindo determinação judicial que manteve a posse da empresa. Em toda a área, mais de 300 policiais participaram do despejo, armados com mosquetes, cartucheiros, revólveres, carabinas e metralhadoras, numa operação que não será concluída hoje. O secretário de Segurança do Mato Grosso do Sul, Aleixo Paraguassu, pediu a máxima cautela para os agricultores e agentes da polícia.

agrária na Igreja Matriz de Ivinhema; e padres, freiras e agentes da Comissão Pastoral da Terra das dioceses de Lins (SP), Três Lagoas (MG) e Dourados (MS) acompanharam a retirada dos agricultores. Depois de percorrer 60 quilômetros de estrada não pavimentada que liga Ivinhema a Naviraí, a caravana de religiosos teve seu primeiro confronto com a polícia. Depois de alguns minutos por rádio, ficou decidido que a polícia permitiria a saída dos ocupantes para o acesso à terra daqueles que nela trabalham e querem ficar".

Esquema de segurança

Mas o secretário de Segurança não quer o tom do bispo, o deputado de seu lado ficou tenso, provocou uma dos acampamentos de Se- para que o despejo e os a des- esta-

Invasores ficam em terra da Igreja A revolta de bóias-frias leva pânico ao Interior

ANTONIO JOSÉ DO CARMO
Enviado especial

A maioria dos 1.300 despejados antepôs a Gleba Santa Idalina, Mato Grosso do Sul, no dia 29 de abril. O despejo foi concluído ontem. O secretário de Segurança do Mato Grosso do Sul, Aleixo Paraguassu, pediu a máxima cautela para os agricultores e agentes da polícia.

O padre Volmir dos Santos, vigário de Ivinhema, agrediu o cinegrafista Gilson Moura, da TV Morena, de Guaporé, e da Coordenadoria de Comunicação do Estado, gritando "saia daqui". Uma freira, que acabou sendo presa, exigiu a saída de uma multidão de agricultores. Também o coronel O Glebe, Nacional, não deram coragem para a ameaça.

Segundo disse um religioso que chegou a ser ameaçado por um policial da PM do Mato Grosso do Sul, porque seu nome não havia sido incluído entre os invasores, o que a polícia fez com a nossa gente", recomendou a militância do PT. Embora os agricultores tivessem passado a maior parte do dia jogando futebol, a Secretaria de Segurança manteve 30 policiais próximos à Igreja de Carvalho, informando que a operação de despejo terminada, mas ninguém ficou na área invadida. A sua missão não estava terminada, o policiamento foi transferido para a cidade e os ex-acampados continuaram sendo vigiados até que deixem o município. Em todas as paróquias da Diocese de Dourados e em vários comitês pro-acampados de Ivinhema, foram formados com apoio de prefeituras e sindicatos, continuará a campanha de alimentos aos despejados. O governo do Estado mandou ao local, mas os trabalhadores não conversaram com eles.

Muitos não se dão conta de que a revolta dos bóias-frias espalhou-se pelo interior do Estado. As lutas sindicais da região de Ribeirão Preto decidiram paralisar 10 mil trabalhadores das lavouras de cana e laranja. A utilização de piquete não impediu a colheita em Bebedouro, Barretos e municípios em que a situação é mais tensa, com polí-

Foi uma manhã de pânico e violência em Guariba, cidade de 20 mil habitantes perto de Ribeirão Preto, onde cinco mil bóias-frias voltados com o sistema de trabalho no corte de cana e elevação das taxas da Sabesp, invadiram um supermercado e depredaram os escritórios da empresa de água, virando e incendiando veículos e cinco horas de pessoa morreu e 19 ficaram feridas.

esperava o assalto à cidade. Os trabalhadores vinham-se reunindo no sindicato e apoiando a greve. O secretário de Segurança não quer o tom do bispo, o deputado de seu lado ficou tenso, provocou uma dos acampamentos de Se- para que o despejo e os a des- esta-

Padre queria continuar, até o fim

Durante o dia de ontem, os bóias-frias de Guariba, que antontem estiveram em greve para acabar com o sistema de sete ruas no corte da cana-de-açúcar, participaram de duas reuniões no Estádio Municipal com o coordenador estadual da Comissão Pastoral da Terra, padre José Domingos Bragheto. E embora o padre incitasse os trabalhadores a continuarem com a greve — "o patrão só conhece a linguagem da greve" —, os cortadores de cana resolveram ontem mesmo voltar ao trabalho.

"Vamos repetir comigo", dizia, do alto do palanque armado, o padre Bragheto, "a greve continua. Vocês conseguiram trazer o secretário do Trabalho aqui. Isso é uma grande vitória".

"Meus companheiros, vocês sabem o que a greve fez? É a fome e o desespero. É por isso que vocês não estão mais agüentando", justificava.

O padre Bragheto, em seguida, lembrou que o próprio secretário possui plantação de cana de açúcar na região. **PAGS.20 e 21**

pediu muita calma para os trabalhadores: "Nada de bagunça. Isto dá pretexto para a polícia cair como cão raivoso em cima da gente. O sangue de nossos companheiros não pode ser derramado em vão. A bagunça nada tem a ver com a greve".

Já o advogado da Federação dos Trabalhadores na Agricultura do Estado de São Paulo, o vereador do PMDB por Ribeirão Preto, Carlos Leopoldo Teixeira Paulino, foi um dos últimos a falar ontem na assembleia dos bóias-frias e explicou que eles teriam de cumprir o acordo: "Se um patrão desrespeitar uma vírgula, paramos novamente Guariba". Defendendo a reforma agrária, Carlos Paulino ainda disse: "Vocês é que têm de ser donos da terra". O vereador ainda não hesitou em chamar o comandante da área Interior III, da Polícia Militar, cel. Lincoln Porfírio da Silva, de "coroneizinho" por ter afirmado que ele e o padre Bragheto eram estranhos na região. "Estranho é quem veio aqui para bater em

trabalhador e matar chefe de família", argumentava. Ele foi muito aplaudido na reunião quando, afirmando que "a luta continua", se colocou à disposição dos trabalhadores como político, afirmação esta que já tinha sido reiterada pelo deputado estadual, José Cicoti, na véspera: "Eu e outro deputado nos colocamos à disposição do movimento de vocês. Não que sejamos melhores que vocês, mas o deputado tem certa imunidade e pode ajudar bastante".

Na verdade, o vereador Paulino foi o político que mais se destacou durante a greve: outros políticos participaram da reunião do comando da greve, formado por turmas de cortadores de cana. Em nome do comando de greve, o deputado Cicoti pediu ao coronel Lincoln que interrompesse o policiamento ostensivo em Guariba. E o deputado estadual do PMDB, Wadir Trigo, apareceu ontem pela primeira vez na cidade desde o começo da greve. E presenciou justamente a decisão de voltar ao trabalho.

Leia a opinião do "Folha" no editorial "Bóias-frias, lutas profundas", na pág. 7

Survivors Say Soviets Massacred Civilians in Afghan Villages

By Jonathan Broder
Chicago Tribune

QUETTA. Pakistan—Soviet troops killed at least 360 civilians in three villages near the southern Afghan city of Qandahar last fall, then doused the bodies with a chemical that promotes rapid decomposition, according to witnesses and survivors.

The massacre in the villages of Bala Karz, Mushkizi and Kulchabad, clustered on the outskirts of Qandahar, occurred Oct. 12 after two days of fierce fighting between Soviet troops and Moslem *mujaheddin* fighters.

The killings appeared to have been committed in revenge for heavy Soviet casualties, said survivors who have become refugees in this dusty Pakistani border city 140 miles south of Qandahar. There have been repeated claims of massacres by Soviet troops since Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, but the stories have been difficult to confirm because of secrecy and poor communications.

Last fall western diplomats in New Delhi gave sketchy reports of large numbers of civilians killed near Qandahar. But the first details from witnesses emerged only last week after survivors crossed Afghanistan's southern border into Pakistan.

More than a dozen survivors and witnesses were interviewed through independent Pathan-speaking interpreters in hospitals and refugee camps in Pakistan.

All spoke of heavy Soviet reliance on helicopter gunships and artillery in the preliminary battles against the Afghan guerrillas. The effectiveness of such tactics and the retreat of the *mujaheddin* into the surrounding fields left the civilians defenseless when Soviet armored columns rumbled into the three hamlets on the morning of Oct. 12.

Survivors described in detail how the Soviets entered in tanks, armored personnel carriers and on foot, cutting down old people, women and small children where they stood. They said some villagers were lined up against walls and shot; others were gunned down in their homes.

Survivors said the Soviets doused the corpses with a chemical that accelerates decomposition to a matter of hours. They said the Soviets were aware of the widely held Afghan superstition that the bodies of *mujaheddin* fighters decompose more slowly than those of the enemy, thereby proving the superiority of their religious struggle.

Survivors said the three villages are deserted. Before the reported massacre, the population in each had swollen to 3,000 because of the influx of squatters from the countryside.

In reconstructing the events, Abdul Wassi, 25, an Afghan guerrilla commander, said that two days before the massacre he led 200 fighters of the Jamiat-i-Islami guerrilla

group, one of six major rebel organizations in Afghanistan, in a successful ambush against a Soviet armored column about four miles northeast of the three villages.

The next afternoon, on Oct. 11, Wassi said, he learned that about 500 Soviet soldiers had regrouped and were moving with about 50 tanks and 50 armored personnel carriers toward the Khalki bridge intersection, which commands the western approach to the hamlets.

"We fought them at the bridge for several hours," Wassi said. "Then . . . we retreated to the orchards and fields around the villages after sundown and from there staged hit-and-run attacks against the Soviets during the night."

Survivors said the people of Bala Karz, Mushkizi and Kulchabad could hear the fighting in the orchards that dot the slopes about two miles from the villages. But they said it was not until dawn on Oct. 12, when a few guerrillas managed to slip back into the hamlets, that some people learned that Soviet and Afghan Army troops were about to enter the villages. Some villagers fled to the surrounding fields, survivors said, but many awoke that morning not knowing of the danger.

In Bala Karz, Gul Bebe, a widow in her 40s with four children, said she awoke early that day to lend a hand at a village wedding. She said she was visiting the groom's house when she heard shooting and explosions in Mushkizi, 300 yards down the road.

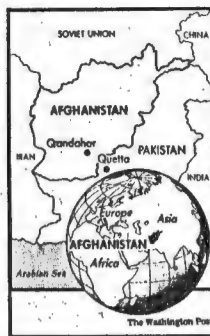
"I started to run home to fetch my children," she said. "A dozen women came running toward me and said the Russians had entered Mushkizi and killed many people. We began to run the other way, toward Kulchabad, when another group of women came running from that direction, warning us to turn back because the Russians had entered Kulchabad from that side. So we ran into the nearest house."

Gul Bebe said the 25 women watched from the windows as 50 Soviet soldiers appeared suddenly on the street, firing wildly and then fanning out to conduct house-to-house searches. One of the soldiers kicked open their door, and 10 Soviets entered the house, she said.

"The first thing the Russians did was start looking for food," Gul Bebe said. "They found some bread and began stuffing it into their mouths. They were very hungry. . . . Then they ordered us outside to another house."

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COMPUTERS, From A1
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Survivors Say Soviets Massacred Civilians in Afghan Villages

By Jonathan Broder
CAMPBELL TOWN

QUETTA, Pakistan—Soviet troops killed at least 360 civilians in three villages near the southern Afghan city of Qandahar last fall, then doused the bodies with a chemical that promotes rapid decomposition, according to witnesses and survivors.

The massacre in the villages of Bala Karz, Mushkizi and Kulchabad, clustered on the outskirts of Qandahar, occurred Oct. 12 after two days of fierce fighting between Soviet troops and Moslem mujaheddin fighters.

The killings appeared to have been committed in revenge for heavy Soviet casualties, said survivors who have become refugees in this dusty Pakistani border city 140 miles south of Qandahar.

There have been repeated claims of massacres by Soviet troops since Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, but the stories have been difficult to confirm because of secrecy and poor communications.

Last fall western diplomats in New Delhi gave sketchy reports of large numbers of civilians killed near Qandahar. But the first details from witnesses emerged only last week after survivors crossed Afghanistan's southern border into Pakistan.

More than a dozen survivors and witnesses were interviewed through independent Pathan-speaking interpreters in hospitals and refugee camps in Pakistan.

All spoke of heavy Soviet reliance on helicopter gunships and artillery in the preliminary battles against the Afghan guerrillas. The effectiveness of such tactics and the retreat of the mujaheddin into the surrounding fields left the civilians defenseless when Soviet armored columns rumbled into the three hamlets on the morning of Oct. 12.

Survivors described in detail how the Soviets entered in tanks, armored personnel carriers and on foot, cutting down old people, women and small children where they stood. They said some villagers were lined up against walls and shot; others were gunned down in their homes.

Survivors said the Soviets doused the corpses with a chemical that accelerates decomposition to a matter of hours. They said the Soviets were aware of the widely held Afghan superstition that the bodies of mujaheddin fighters decompose more slowly than those of the enemy, thereby proving the superiority of their religious struggle.

Survivors said the three villages are deserted. Before the reported massacre, the population in each had swollen to 3,000 because of the influx of squatters from the countryside.

In reconstructing the events, Abdul Wassi, 25, an Afghan guerrilla commander, said that two days before the massacre he led 200 fighters of the Jamiat-islami guerrilla

group, one of six major rebel organizations in Afghanistan, in a successful ambush against a Soviet armored column about three miles northeast of the three villages.

The next afternoon, on Oct. 11, Wassi said, he learned that about 500 Soviet soldiers had regrouped and were moving with about 50 tanks and 50 armored personnel carriers toward the Khalki bridge intersection, which commands the western approach to the hamlets.

"We fought them at the bridge for several hours," Wassi said. "Then . . . we retreated to the orchards and fields around the villages after sundown and from there staged hit-and-run attacks against the Soviets during the night."

Survivors said the people of Bala Karz, Mushkizi and Kulchabad could hear the fighting in the orchards that dot the slopes about two miles from the villages. But they said it was not until dawn on Oct. 12, when a few guerrillas managed to slip back into the hamlets, that some people learned that Soviet and Afghan Army troops were about to enter the villages. Some villagers fled to the surrounding fields, survivors said, but many awoke that morning not knowing of the danger.

In Bala Karz, Gul Bebe, a widow in her 40s with four children, said she awoke early that day to lend a hand at a village wedding. She said she was visiting the groom's house when she heard shooting and explosions in Mushkizi, 300 yards down the road.

"I started to run home to fetch my children," she said. "A dozen women came running toward me and said the Russians had entered Mushkizi and killed many people. We began to run the other way, toward Kulchabad, when another group of women came running from that direction, warning us to turn back because the Russians had entered Kulchabad from that side. So we ran into the nearest house."

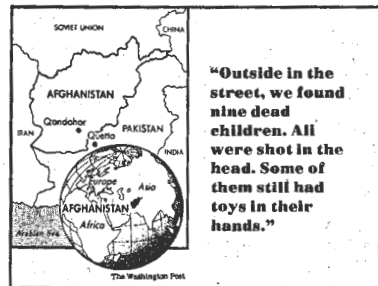
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A BREACH OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY THE CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION



THE BIAS sometimes shown in statements by organizations claiming to be guardians of human rights is deplored by people in a number of countries. The regret they express is heightened by the fact that this bias especially favors leftist personalities, currents of opinion, and governments.

The most recent Annual Report of the Chilean Human Rights Commission is a typical example. In response to it, the Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) published the following communiqué. It will certainly interest all those in Washington who are close observers of the considerable activity of the Chilean Human Rights Commission.

The American Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property

THE Chilean Human Rights Commission (CHRC) is an organization founded in 1978 to publicly denounce violations of the fundamental guarantees established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the international agreements that complement that declaration.

This organization is affiliated with the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva; the International League of Human Rights, New York; the International Federation of the Rights of Man, Paris; and the International Movement of Catholic Jurists (Pax Romana), Paris.

Its leading members include university professors, former diplomats, former cabinet members, writers, lawyers, doctors, etc.

A group of about thirty members of this commission issues reports on the human rights situation in Chile, using as their main source of information the Solidarity Commission of the Archdiocese of Santiago.

These reports are circulated by a broad and well financed network of related organizations spread throughout the world.

In its last report for the year 1983, the Chilean Human Rights Commission, notwithstanding all of its titles and credentials, denounces some human rights "violations" that will make Chileans laugh, even many of those who do not agree with the TFP.

In the subheading "3 20 - Church" the following violation is pointed out: "demonstrations against the bishops with the participation of Fiducia members" (page 60).

This is absolutely false. Everyone knows that these are not the methods of the TFP. Neither the TFP nor its members have ever taken part in any such demonstrations.

Furthermore, the accusation itself is unsubstantiated.

What weight and serious consideration can be given to a charge so vague and generic that it fails even to specify what type of demonstrations it refers to, how

many there were, when and where they occurred, and against what bishops they were directed? (Not to mention that the allegation contains no proof whatsoever that the accused is indeed guilty.)

Furthermore, does this commission regard any and every demonstration against a bishop, however much it may be in accordance with human and divine laws, as in itself a breach of religious liberty and a violation of human rights? What kind of nonsense is this?

If the CHRC was referring to the declarations published by the TFP, this only adds to the nonsense because the Commission said "... with the participation of members of Fiducia," when in fact the declarations were published solely by the TFP.

Even our opponents acknowledge that the observations the TFP makes are always serious, proper, respectful, and in accordance with human rights. Or does the Commission consider it illicit to warn against the penetration of socialist and communist ideas into the Church — a penetration that Archbishop Piñera, President of the Chilean Bishops Conference, acknowledged and considered good (cf. *La Tercera*, 2-14-83). Does the Commission consider it illicit to warn against the subversive activities of priests and religious, against porno-revolutionary publications sponsored by organizations of the Archdiocese of Santiago, and so on? (cf. *Reverent and Filial Message to Archbishop Juan Francisco Fresno* (of Santiago) in *El Mercurio*, 12-8-83).

If this were the case, the Commission ought to change its name from the Chilean Human Rights Commission to the Commission to Abolish the Right to Oppose Socialism, Communism and Immorality.

Further on, the report points out what it sees as another "violation" of human rights: "A public declaration by 300 Catholic mothers from poor neighborhoods who complained about the teachings of priests from Pudahuel (A large suburb of Santiago where the inter-

national airport is located). The Vicar of the Western Zone of the Archdiocese (Msgr. D'Argouzes) said that this was a campaign organized by the Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (Fiducia) in a maneuver to divide Christians, and by means of intimidating the poor people of the area with the fear of 'losing their jobs in the PMS — Minimum Employment Program' " (page 60).

Another unfounded accusation. The alleged intimidation is purely and simply a calumny. The poor people of the area were indeed afraid of reprisals — reprisals for signing the declaration in question. If there was intimidation, it was precisely the other way around. (The leftist clergy pressured them *not* to sign).

Who can believe that "complaining" in an elevated and respectful way is a breach of human rights? Furthermore, the declaration of the mothers of Pudahuel was simply a filial request to their bishop. Concerned about the subversive connotation of the religion classes and the changes they noted in the minds of their innocent children that were causing divisions in their families, these mothers approached their Archbishop to ask him to take measures that would remedy the evil, or, if they were in error, for "an explanation that would enable them to understand." Isn't such a request a sacred human right of every mother? Who would dare deny mothers the right to make sure that their children are being properly educated and to manifest their concerns to their pastors?

The whole Chilean public was moved by the cry of affliction of these mothers: it understood the nobility of their motivation and the Christian grandeur with which it was expressed.

To say the least, the sorrow of a group of mothers demands greater circumspection and respect from the Human Rights Commission.

If the Commission believes that the Mothers of Pudahuel committed a crime, and that the crime was aggravated by the assistance that the TFP is proud to have given them, then the Commission considers that there are organizations and currents of thought that ought to be completely silenced, wiped out, and forbidden any participation in national affairs. For communism, however, the same commission demands all kinds of guarantees and complete liberty. Who, then, does the Chilean Human Rights Commission want to proscribe, and who does it want to free?

These unproven accusations made by the Chilean Human Rights Commission constitute in fact violations of the human

rights of the Mothers of Pudahuel and of the TFP.

Indeed, if there is any fundamental human right, it is that of being treated with justice. Now, justice demands that no one be condemned without a prior hearing. We ask, therefore: what member of the TFP and which of the Mothers of Pudahuel was heard by the Chilean Human Rights Commission before it published these accusations?

The TFP limits this statement to the above-mentioned points because they are the ones directly related to it.

These points are sufficient to raise grave doubts about the impartiality of the Chilean Human Rights Commission.

Above all, the Commission has no right to interfere in religious matters as though it were some sort of a lay "Vatican" whose judgment is final. It should be noted that in the cases mentioned here, religious freedom was not at stake. Quite the contrary, the very existence of this request by the Mothers of Pudahuel and the fact that the TFP was able to write its Reverent and Filial Message to Archbishop Fresno are evidences of religious freedom. It is totalitarian organizations, whether they be Nazi or communist, and not the Catholic Church, that prevent their subjects from making any statements.

In the final analysis, what the Chilean Human Rights Commission is judging is the orthodoxy of the above-mentioned declarations. And it decrees that those who combat progressivism, socialism and communism in the realm of ideas, as well as those who want to protect their children from the atheistic and anti-Christian doctrine of Marxism, are guilty.

For now, their punishment is to be put on the list of violators of human rights, which is also distributed abroad.

While in Chile itself these calumnious accusations are either ineffectual or even counter-productive, they can be harmful abroad. In other countries, people will be misled by the expression, "violations of

human rights" and imagine actions that deserve such a label.

If the ideological current represented by the Chilean Human Rights Commission should come to power some day, what sanctions will it impose on those who disagree with it or do not fit the mold of its peculiar orthodoxy?

Consequently, the Chilean TFP denounces at home and abroad this setting up of the Chilean Human Rights Commission as a kind of "Holy See" pontificating about doctrine and morals, a grotesque, lay and biased "Vatican" prone to impassioned verdicts, which turns traditional Catholic doctrine upside down by exonerating Marxism and condemning anti-communism.

Anyone wishing to form an objective judgment about all that is stated here concerning the Chilean Human Rights Commission can request the publications referred to in this communiqué from the address below. These include: "300 Mothers from Pudahuel Express Their Concern to Archbishop Fresno About the Activities of Priests and Nuns in Working Class Neighborhoods" and the TFP's "Reverent and Filial Message to Archbishop Fresno — There Are Those Who, In the Name of the Faith, Seek to Lead Us to an Atheistic, Bloody and Despotic Regime, a Puppet Regime of Moscow."

Once more we emphasize: The question raised by the Annual Report of the Chilean Human Rights Commission is neither the case of the Mothers of Pudahuel nor the positions of the TFP. What is in question is the authenticity of the struggle waged by the Chilean Human Rights Commission. Is it really working for human rights? This question could also be asked about other human rights organizations. Let the reader judge.

Santiago, October 7, 1984.

The Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP)

Please send me, free of charge:

- A Breach of Human Rights by the Chilean Human Rights Commission
- 300 Mothers from Pudahuel Express Their Concern to Msgr. Fresno About the Activities of Priests and Nuns in Working Class Neighborhoods
- Reverent and Filial Message to Archbishop Fresno — There Are Those Who, In the Name of the Faith, Seek to Lead Us to an Atheistic, Bloody and Despotic Regime, a Puppet Regime of Moscow
- More information about the TFP

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

— TFP —

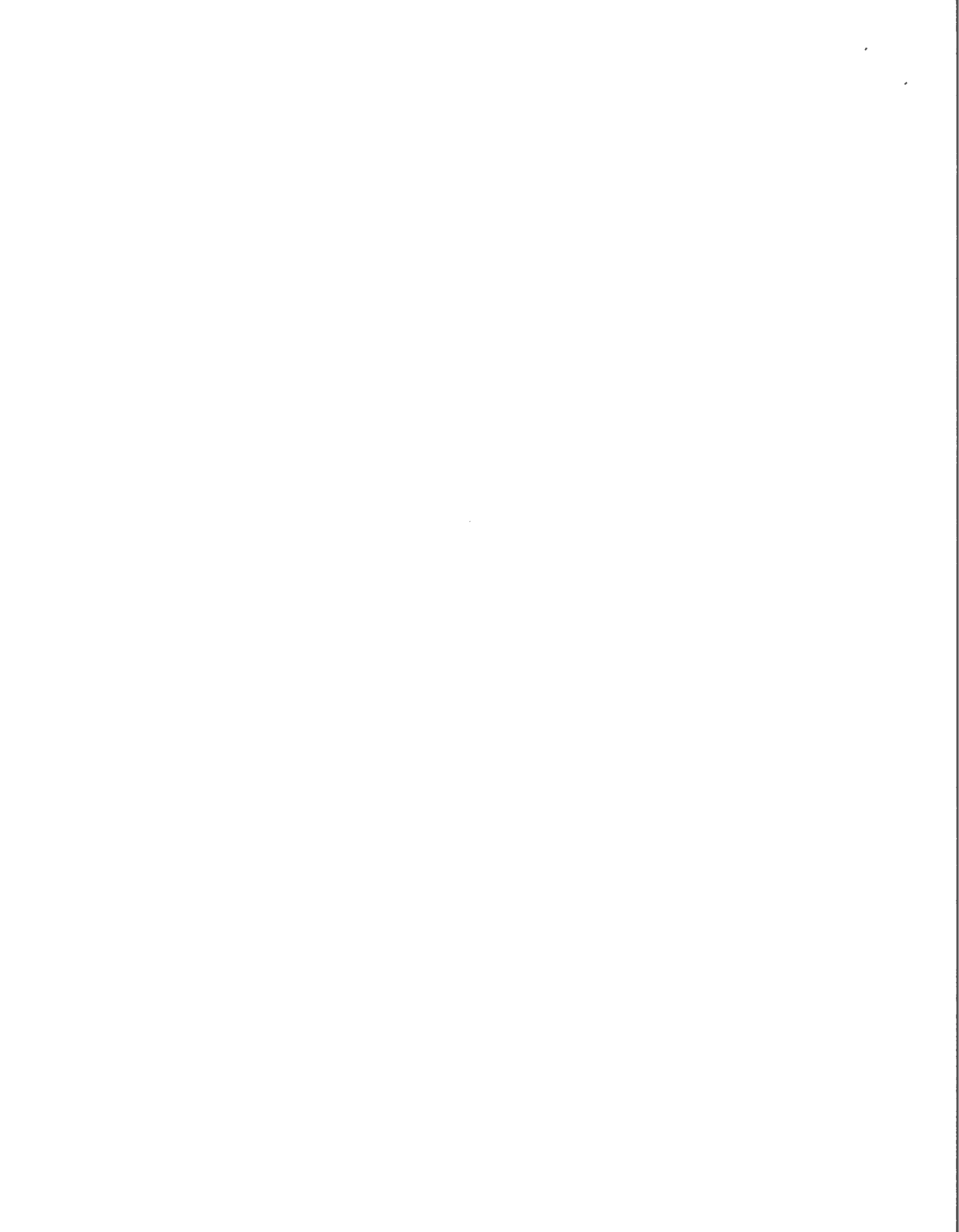
November 1984

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

"8,912,298 TONS OF GRAIN EXPORTED IN FOUR MONTHS"

"The Soviet Union has continued to be Argentina's largest grain customer. Between January and April of this year, it purchased 42.48% of total exports, totaling 8,912,298 tons.

"Brazil, with 9.55% (850,903 tons), is in second place, and Iran, with 7.15% (637,102 tons) in third" (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, 6/16/84).

"USSR DELEGATION TO VISIT"

"From today to the 8th, a delegation of the Soviet Union's Committee for the Defense of Peace will be visiting the country in addition to Mr. Zitmanis A. Carlovich, deputy of the Supreme Soviet and president of the Lithuanian unions, and Mr. Galoyan Anushavonovich, president of the Armenian Peace Committee and secretary of the [Academy of] Sciences of Armenia.

"The visit is part of the exchange of delegations between the Soviet Union and Argentina. During their stay they will meet legislators, leaders of political parties, rectors of universities and representatives from the fields of science, art and culture" (La Prensa, 7/2/84).

"JOINT SOVIET-ARGENTINE FISHING GROUPS"

"Bernardo Grinspun, Minister of the Economy, met with Nicolai Lisenso, Deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Union's fishing industry, with whom he analyzed the possibilities of creating joint fishing groups for exploitation and research in the country.

"At the closing of the meeting, Lisenso pointed out that he had offered all Soviet support for the formation of personnel specialized in scientific research in the field.

"He also made it known that Grinspun had shown himself totally ready to form commissions to analyze, opportunely, the completion of both projects" (La Prensa, 6/17/84).

"MANY POINTS OF AGREEMENT WITH THE CZECH GOVERNMENT"

"Yesterday the foreign ministers of our country and Czechoslovakia signed a communiqué closing the five-day visit of Mr. Bohuslav Chnoupek, confirming the interests of the two countries in maintaining world peace, and stating that 'there is no regional or worldwide problem which cannot be solved by peaceful means.'

"In the document signed a few hours before his departure yesterday, Chnoupek expresses his desire of intensifying bilateral relationships in all fields, 'and particularly in commerce, where the increase has been considerable and still holds much potential'.

"In an interview with 'La Nación', Chnoupek mentioned Czechoslovakia's contribution in hydroelectric technology and declared that 'we are ready to begin the construction of a central hydroelectric plant for Güemes in Salta, instead of one for Luján de Cuyo, as had been originally planned" (La Nación, Buenos Aires, 6-26-84).

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

Exportáronse 8.912.298 ton. de cereales en cuatro meses

Lunes 2 de Julio de 1984

La Unión Soviética continúa como el mayor importador de granos argentinos, con una participación del 42,48 por ciento en el período enero-abril de este año, en el que se colocaron 8.912.298 toneladas, mientras que en ese último mes, las adquisiciones llegaron al 33,3 por ciento sobre un total de 2.587.322 toneladas.

Según datos proporcionados por la Junta Nacional de Granos, de aquel volumen, el 65,22 por ciento correspondió al trigo pan, con 5.813.231 toneladas; el 19,95 por ciento al maíz, con 1.778.292 toneladas y el 12,02 por ciento al sorgo, con 1.071.528 toneladas.

En el primer cuatrimestre, el puerto más activo fue el de Bahía Blanca, por donde salió el 26,35 por ciento, unos 2.348.654 toneladas, de los granos vendidos en ese período.

En esos cuatro meses, la URSS compró 3.785.528 toneladas, de las cuales 2.674.974 toneladas, correspondieron al trigo; 748.423 al maíz; 336.286 toneladas al sorgo y 25.485 toneladas a la avena.

En segundo lugar se ubicó Brasil, con 850.903 toneladas, un 9,55 por ciento, y en tercero Irán con 637.102 toneladas, un 7,15 por ciento. (...) LA NACION 16-6-84

Vendrá una delegación de la U.R.S.S.

Entre hoy y el 8 visitará el país una delegación del Comité de Defensa de la Paz, de la Unión Soviética, integrada por el diputado del Soviet Supremo y presidente de los sindicatos de Lituania, señor Zitmanis A. Carlovich y el presidente del Comité de la Paz de Armenia, y secretario de la Armenia de Ciencias de Armenia, señor Galoyan Anushayonovich.

La visita forma parte del intercambio de delegaciones efectuada entre la Unión Soviética y la Argentina integrada por la diputada Dolores Díaz de Agüero, el licenciado Carlos Imbaud, el concejal Juan C. Villalba y el doctor Benito Joblanka. Los visitantes serán recibidos por las autoridades del Consejo Argentino de la Paz. Durante su estada se entrevistarán con legisladores, dirigentes de partidos políticos, rectores de universidades y representantes de la ciencia, el arte y la cultura.

LA PRENSA 17.6.84

Sociedades pesqueras mixtas con la URSS

El ministro de economía, Bernardo Grinspun, mantuvo una reunión con el vicepresidente de la industria pesquera de la Unión Soviética, Nicolai Lisenso, con quien analizó la posibilidad de crear sociedades mixtas para la explotación e investigación pesquera en el país.

Al término de la reunión Lisenso señaló que había ofrecido todo el apoyo de la Unión Soviética para la formación de personal especializado en la investigación científica de la actividad ictícola.

También manifestó que Grinspun había demostrado plena predisposición para la creación de comisiones que analicen, oportunamente, la complementación de ambos países en el tema de la pesca.

Amplias coincidencias con el gobierno de Checoslovaquia

LA NACION
26.6.84

Los cancilleres de nuestro país y Checoslovaquia suscribieron ayer un comunicado conjunto con el que se puso fin a la visita de cinco días del señor Bohuslav Chnoupek, en el que ratifican el interés de los dos países en el mantenimiento de la paz mundial y en el que expresan que "no existe ningún problema regional o mundial que no pueda ser resuelto por medios pacíficos".

El visitante, quien fue recibido por el presidente de la Nación, invitó al canciller Dante Caputo a visitar Praga, en fecha por determinar el invitado, y suscribió un acuerdo sobre colaboración en medicina veterinaria.

Durante su permanencia viajó, además, a Misiones y al Chaco, y mantuvo reuniones tendientes a profundizar las relaciones económicas entre ambos Estados.

El intercambio comercial

Precisamente, el documento suscripto ayer, pocas horas antes de su partida, expresa el deseo de intensificar las relaciones bilaterales en todos los campos, "y muy especialmente en el comercio, donde el incremento ha sido notable y encierra aún amplias posibilidades potenciales".

El mencionado documento señala que se ha convenido establecer un sistema de consultas e información entre ambos cancilleres que se concretará a través de sus funcionarios y que éstos compartieron "la voluntad de hacer lo necesario para que sea suscripto, de ser posible el corriente año", un convenio cultural.

Se recordó que en octubre se realizará en Praga la VIII Reunión de la Comisión Mixta Comercial y que sería conve-



Caputo y Chnoupek firman un convenio

niente un encuentro de la Comisión Mixta Argentina Tecnológica.

Como se recordará, en una entrevista con LA NACION, el canciller visitante expresó que habían interesado a las autoridades argentinas en sistemas de coproducción en fábricas de cemento, máquinas herramientas, ramas de la siderurgia y locomotoras.

En Ezeiza

Antes de partir, Chnoupek afirmó que la relación de su país con la Argentina

marcha hacia "posibilidades muy concretas de diálogo político y mejoramiento del intercambio en todas las esferas".

También mencionó la provisión de tecnología hidroenergética por parte de su país y afirmó que "estamos preparados para comenzar a construir la central hidroenergética de Güemes, en Salta, en lugar de la de Luján de Cuyo, que se había planificado en primer término".

"URUGUAY WILL BUY 5,000 BARRELS OF SOVIET OIL A DAY"

"As confirmed yesterday by the Secretary of Planning and Coordination, Lieutenant-General Pedro J. Aranco, Uruguay is negotiating the purchase of 5,000 barrels of oil a day from the Soviet Union.

"In addition to oil, Uruguay will buy Soviet-made dump trucks with a capacity of 30-40 tons to transport cement and machines for excavation.

"The crude oil from the Soviet Union would cover less than one-third of Uruguay's needs, but the initial quantity of 5,000 barrels per day could be increased in the future. The price Uruguay would pay for the Russian crude would be substantially less than that paid to its habitual sources.

"Uruguay regularly exports agricultural products, livestock and wool to the USSR, and, in the last few years, large amounts of butter" (El Dia Montevideo, Uruguay, 7-21-84).

"MEMBERS OF THE PERUVIAN ARMY VISIT THE USSR"

"LIMA — A delegation of the Peruvian army and its Commander-in-Chief, Julián Julia Freyre, travelled to the USSR - the first stop on a tour which will include Yugoslavia and East Germany.

"The goal of the trip is to 'evaluate the extent of technological and scientific progress in those countries,' said Freyre.

"At the end of their visit to the USSR, one of Peru's main suppliers of arms, they will continue on to Yugoslavia and East-Germany" (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, 5-14-84).

"EXCHANGE BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE USSR"

"MEXICO -- The Mexican and Soviet governments signed an agreement regarding the steel industry by which the former will receive Soviet technology in return for steel products.

"Guennadi E. Globa, Soviet economic adviser in Mexico, said that the agreement was signed three months ago by the privately-run, state-owned Mexican Steel Industry and the National Bank of Foreign Commerce, and that the Soviet Union will offer its experience and knowledge on the subject, which has made it the world's largest steel producer" (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, 6-1-84).

WARM UP
relations with Latin America.
The Soviets are.

Militares peruanos a la URSS

Lima (UP) — Una delegación del Ejército peruano, encabezada por su comandante general, Julián Julia Freyre viajó a la Unión Soviética, primera etapa de una gira que incluye a Yugoslavia y Alemania oriental.

La finalidad del viaje es "la de apreciar el alcance tecnológico y los adelantos científicos de estos países", declaró Julia Freyre a los periodistas.

El jefe militar dio a conocer que en la Unión Soviética la delegación permanecerá una semana, lapso en el cual se reunirá con altos jefes del Ejército soviético. Mencionó entre ellos al jefe de las fuerzas terrestres, S. Petrov.

Al término de su visita a la Unión Soviética, país que es uno de los principales proveedores de armamentos al Ejército peruano, la delegación seguirá viaje a Yugoslavia y Alemania oriental.

Uruguay Comprará Petróleo a la Unión Soviética

Cinco Mil Barriles Diarios

Uruguay está negociando la compra de 5.000 barriles diarios de petróleo (unos 795.000 litros) a la Unión Soviética, según confirmó ayer el secretario de Planeamiento, Coordinación y Difusión, Tte. Gral. Pedro J. Aranco.

Las tratativas, que concluirían en los próximos días con la firma de un convenio, las viene llevando a cabo el presidente de ANCAP, Brig. Gral. (Av.) Hebert Painpillón, quien se encuentra actualmente en Moscú.

La operación sería pagada en divisas y de acuerdo con lo informado por Aranco, la razón por la cual se encaró este tipo de negociación es porque la misma resulta "indudablemente conveniente" para ANCAP, descartándose cualquier tipo de connotación política.

Además de petróleo Uruguay compraría a la URSS camiones con volcadores de 30 y 40 toneladas para el transporte de cemento y máquinas excavadoras.

El crudo a adquirirse a la Unión Soviética cubriría menos de una cuarta parte de las necesidades de Uruguay, pero la cantidad inicial de 5.000 barriles diarios podría ser incrementada en el futuro, si así lo aconsejaron las circunstancias. Cabe señalar que el precio al que Uruguay compraría el crudo soviético sería sensiblemente inferior al que paga a sus proveedores habituales.

Por otra parte, Uruguay exporta regularmente a la URSS productos agropecuarios, especialmente lana, y en los últimos años se han colocado en el mercado soviético importantes volúmenes de manteca.

El Día (Montevideo-Uruguay), 21.7.84

LA PRENSA 1º 6 84

Página 2 Segunda sección

Panorama económico

México-U.R.S.S.: trueque

México (ANSA) — Los gobiernos de la Unión Soviética y México suscribieron un convenio de trueque en la industria del acero, por medio del cual este país recibirá tecnología soviética a cambio de los productos siderúrgicos que en ella se elaboren.

El consejero económico soviético en este país, Guennadi E. Globa, dijo que el convenio fue firmado hace tres meses con la paraestatal Siderúrgica Mexicana y el Banco Nacional de Comercio Exterior. Indicó que en el intercambio la Unión Soviética brindará sus experiencias y conocimientos que la han llevado a ser el primer país productor de acero en el mundo con una producción anual de 150 millones de toneladas.

Por su parte, el embajador soviético en México, Rostislav Sergueev, manifestó que para conmemorar el 64º aniversario del establecimiento de relaciones diplomáticas entre ambas naciones, se presentará en esta capital en noviembre la primera exposición tecnológica, industrial y científica colectiva de los países miembros del Consejo d Ayuda Mutua Económica "Camexpo 84".

"BOLIVIA WILL RESORT TO RUSSIAN CREDIT IN THE MINING INDUSTRY"

"LA PAZ -- Today the private mining sector of Bolivia proposed that the country resort to Soviet credits to save state-owned mining companies which, with a total loss of US\$ 190 million and a dwindling production, confronts its worst crisis in the thirty-two years since the country's large mining companies were nationalized.

"According to the private mining industry, the Mining Corporation of Bolivia (COMIBOL), setup to replace the Patiño, Hoschild and Aramayo companies which had formerly dominated the mining sector, would require a US\$500 million investment for rehabilitation.

"People in the industry expressed deep concern with the implications that the crisis may have on Bolivian economy.

"The only way to rehabilitate COMIBOL would be to borrow \$500 million, a sum almost impossible to obtain from Western financial sources.

"In its weekly bulletin, the private mining sector proposed that this amount be requested of the Soviet Union. The document suggests that 'the amount which, according to the Minister of Mining, the Soviet Union has offered, ought to be destined for the said state-owned companies, instead of Russian volatilization plants for which there is no raw material'" (La Prensa, Buenos Aires, 7-24-84).

"COMMERCE WITH SOCIALISTS"

NASSAU, Bahamas - "The government of Guyana signed trade agreements worth up to US\$250 million with North Korea, China and Bulgaria, which shows the substantial increase of the economic presence of these three countries in the Caribbean. Official sources in Washington say that such agreements do not represent a threat to American interests in the area, but admit that the U.S. will follow their development closely.

"According to an interview in Nassau during a conference for the leaders of English-speaking countries in the Caribbean, Guyana's president, Forbes Burnham, disclosed that he had signed the three agreements during a trip last month. Guyana, a former British colony with 850,000 inhabitants, has a leftist-oriented regime that controls 85% of the country's economy. It also has a foreign debt of \$800 million and has not received economic aid from the U.S. for two years. The International Monetary Fund considers it impossible to renegotiate the country's foreign debt until internal changes have been implemented. Burnham announced that Bulgarian, Chinese and North Korean advisors will soon be arriving at Guyana, but insisted that this did not include military instructors" (Estado de São Paulo 7-7-84).

"RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR PRAISES FIGUEIREDO"

Brasilia - "In at least one of his speeches in China, President João Figueiredo fully pleased the Soviet Union's embassy in Brazil. 'President Figueiredo said that political and socio-economic differences between the various the countries of the world need not be regarded as obstacles,' ambassador Vladimir Chernichev reminded the Jornal do Brasil two days ago. 'And,' he added, 'Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State, enunciated exactly the same principle'" (Jornal do Brasil 6-3-84).

Bolivia: proponen recurrir a créditos rusos para la minería

La Paz, 23 (UP) — El sector de minería privada en Bolivia propuso hoy utilizar créditos de la Unión Soviética para salvar a la minería estatal que, con una pérdida acumulada de 190 millones de dólares y una producción declinante, enfrenta su peor crisis desde hace 32 años cuando fueron nacionalizados los grandes consorcios que operaban en el país.

La Corporación Minera de Bolivia (COMIBOL) que sustituyó a las empresas Patiño, Hirsch y Aramayo, que dominaban el sector minero, requeriría de una inversión de 500 millones de dólares para su rehabilitación, según informes de la minería privada.

Este sector exteriorizó hoy su honda preocupación por lo que sucede con el "segmento cuantitativamente más importante de la industria", por las derivaciones que puede tener para el conjunto de la economía boliviana.

La fórmula para encarar la rehabilitación de COMIBOL sería un financiamiento de 500 millones de dólares, casi imposible de obtener en fuentes financieras del

mundo occidental.

En tanto la minería privada propuso en su boletín semanal que esos recursos sean logrados de la Unión Soviética, en vez de ser invertidos en proyectos que se comprometió este país a cooperar.

El documento expresa que "cabría sugerir que los créditos de 500 millones que, según el Ministerio de Minería ha ofrecido la Unión Soviética, en vez de destinarse a las plantas de volatilización rusas para las que no existe materia prima, se deriven en favor de dichas empresas estatales".

Otra que requeriría tal financiamiento es la Empresa Nacional de Fundiciones, igualmente con una pérdida acumulada de 25 millones de dólares y deudas que debe pagar de inmediato a sus proveedores nacionales por 15 millones de dólares, sin que, empero, se sepa dónde los podría conseguir.

Recientemente COMIBOL informó que en el primer semestre bajó su producción del 25 al 30 por ciento, respecto a los estimados que se tenía para el presente año.

LA PRENSA 24, 7, 84

ORSP 7.7.84

Comércio com os socialistas

NASSAU, Bahamas — O governo da Guiana concluiu acordos comerciais, no valor de 250 milhões de dólares, com a Coreia do Norte, China e Bulgária, o que representa um aumento substancial da presença econômica destes três países no Caribe. Fontes oficiais em Washington comentaram que esses acordos não representam uma ameaça aos interesses norte-americanos na área, mas admitiram que os Estados Unidos "vão acompanhar de perto o assunto".

Em entrevista concedida em Nassau, onde participa da conferência de líderes dos países de língua inglesa do Caribe, o presidente da Guiana, Forbes Burnham, revelou

ter assinado os três acordos durante uma viagem feita no mês passado. A Guiana, ex-colônia britânica, de 850 mil habitantes, tem um regime de orientação esquerdista, que controla cerca de 80% da economia do país. O país tem uma dívida externa de 800 milhões de dólares e não vem recebendo ajuda econômica dos Estados Unidos há dois anos. Além disso, o Fundo Monetário Internacional considerou que não há condições de renegociar a dívida externa deste país, enquanto não forem adotadas algumas mudanças internas. Burnham anunciou que em breve chegarão à Guiana assessores búlgaros, chineses e norte-coreanos, mas insistiu que não se trata de instrutores militares.

Embaixador russo elogia Figueiredo

Brasília — Em pelo menos um de seus discursos na China, o Presidente João Figueiredo agradou em cheio a Embaixada da União Soviética no Brasil. "O Presidente Figueiredo disse que as diferenças políticas e sócio-econômicas entre os vários países do mundo não têm que servir como obstáculo", lembrou, anteontem, ao JORNAL DO BRASIL, o Embaixador Vladimir Chernichev. "E Lenin, o fundador do Estado soviético, enunciou exatamente este princípio" — acrescentou.

"BRAZIL AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA SUPPORT THE SAME POSITIONS"

"Social, economic and political differences between Brazil and Czechoslovakia ought not prevent them from uniting their efforts 'in the defense of common positions that contribute to reduce tensions and create an international atmosphere of confidence and respect based upon the principles and goals of the United Nations.'

"This declaration was made Wednesday by [Foreign] Minister Saraiva Guerreiro during a lunch offered at Itamaraty to Czech Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

"In his speech, Chnoupek thus assessed the value of this first visit by a Czech foreign minister: 'I am convinced that this first visit of the Minister of Foreign Relations to Brazil, in the history of 63 years of mutual relations, will undoubtedly become a great contribution to a new multilateral development of these relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems'" (O Estado de São Paulo, 6-22-84).

"BULGARIA IS INTERESTED IN TECHNOLOGY"

"Bulgaria may use Brazilian equipment and technology to build an alcohol distillery and use alcohol as an alternate fuel. Initial negotiations were held yesterday between João Camilo Penna, Minister of Industry and Commerce, and Kristo Kristov, the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Trade.

"A curious detail, however, is that the distillery would be built in Cuba, from where the alcohol would be transported to Bulgaria. The explanation for this is that Cuba and Bulgaria have solid relations of friendship and trade (the two belong to the communist block), and the former has an abundance of sugarcane, the raw material used in the production of alcohol, not available in Bulgaria.

"The two ministers also discussed setting up programs for technological cooperation in pharmaceutical manufacturing, chemicals, biogenetics and genetic-engineering, sectors in which Bulgaria already has an advanced development. The also discussed a joint venture by Brazilian and Bulgarian companies to manufacture products for export to Eastern Europe and especially the Soviet Union" (O Estado de São Paulo, 8-1-84).

Brasil e Checoslováquia apóiam posições comuns

BRASÍLIA
AGÊNCIA ESTADO

As diferenças de sistemas políticos, sociais e econômicos entre Brasil e Checoslováquia não devem impedir que os dois países unam esforços "na defesa de posições comuns, que contribuam para reduzir tensões e criar uma atmosfera internacional de confiança e respeito entre as nações, com base nos princípios e objetivos das Nações Unidas".

Essa manifestação foi feita pelo ministro Saraiva Guerreiro ao saudar, quarta-feira, em almoço no Itamaraty, o ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros checo, Bohuslav Chnoupek. Guerreiro acha que a conjuntura mundial vive "um momento penoso" e a procura do diálogo, "através dos contatos diretos entre autoridades", tem sido uma das metas da atuação da política externa brasileira.

O chanceler brasileiro justificou a decisão brasileira de restringir importações: "Num cenário mundial em que se torna cada vez mais difícil para os países em desenvolvimento expandir suas vendas e aliviar seu balanço de pagamentos, o Brasil viu-se obrigado a adotar, como forma de enfrentar grave crise econômico-financeira, uma política de maior controle e reorientação de importações. Essa orientação, contudo, não tem impedido, registro com satisfação, que, no caso específico das relações econômicas brasileiro-checas, projetos úteis para as economias dos dois países estejam sendo estudados e postos em execução".

O visitante, em seu discurso, valorizou muito essa primeira visita de um chanceler checo: "Estou convencido de que esta primeira visita do ministro das Relações Exteriores da Checoslováquia ao Brasil, na história de 63 anos das relações entre

tornar-se-á sem dúvida uma contribuição valiosa para um novo desenvolvimento multilateral destas relações sobre os princípios da coexistência pacífica dos países com sistema social diferente".

NO CHILE

Informa-se em Santiago que o chanceler Saraiva Guerreiro visitará o Chile em julho, para participar das reuniões mistas dos dois países, na capital chilena. O presidente paraguaio, general Alfredo Stroessner, também irá ao Chile, antes de São Paulo, neste ano. Guerreiro esteve em Santiago de 24 a 27 de junho.

OESP 22.6.84

0 Esp
1-3-84

Bulgária interessada em tecnologia

BRASÍLIA
AGÊNCIA ESTADO

A Bulgária poderá utilizar equipamentos e tecnologia brasileiros para montar uma destilaria de álcool, a ser consumido como combustível alternativo à gasolina. Os entendimentos iniciais foram mantidos ontem entre o ministro da Indústria e do Comércio, João Camilo Penna, e o ministro do Comércio Exterior da Bulgária, Kristo Kristov.

Um detalhe curioso, porém: a destilaria seria montada em Cuba, de onde o álcool seguiria para a Bulgária. A explicação é a de que Cuba e Bulgária têm sólidas relações de amizade e de comércio (os dois pertencem ao bloco comunista), e a nação do Caribe conta, em abundância, com a matéria-prima para a produção de álcool, a cana-de-açúcar, não disponível no território búlgaro.

Kristo Kristov, durante o encontro com Camilo Penna, mostrou-se bastante interessado no programa brasileiro de produção de álcool, uma vez que a Bulgária depende em grande parte de petróleo importado e acha interessante encontrar combustíveis alternativos.

Camilo Penna disse a Kristov que, além de equipamentos e tecnologia, o Brasil pode exportar álcool para a Bulgária utilizar em experiências, inclusive na mistura à gasolina.

Os dois ministros discutiram, também, o estabelecimento de programas de cooperação tecnológica nas áreas de indústria farmacêutica, química fina, biogenética e bioengenharia, setores onde a Bulgária já tem um desenvolvimento avançado. Discutiu-se, ainda, em caráter preliminar, a possibilidade de associação de empresas brasileiras e búlgaras para a fabricação de produtos destinados ao Leste europeu e, especialmente, ao mercado da União Soviética.

Kristo Kristov disse que seu país tem interesse em utilizar portos brasileiros como base de apoio para a colocação de seus produtos na África do Sul e ofereceu os portos búlgaros para auxiliar as exportações do Brasil para o Leste europeu e Oriente Médio.

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

"AGRARIAN REFORM WILL BE IMPLEMENTED MORE RIGOROUSLY TO FAVOR PEASANTS"

"MATAGALPA -- The peasants' need for land and the existence of excessively large properties which are, considering their size, practically unused, are the factors by which the Revolution sets priorities to implement its land reform plans.

"This is how Jaime Wheelock, commander of the Revolution, explained to Barricada the urgency of giving a new impulse to the process of agrarian reform in our country.

"We are forming two movements: one to make the land which had already been expropriated from Somoza partisans available to the peasants and help the cooperatives, and another to identify the large properties that are insufficiently exploited,' he added.

"The Minister of Land Reform pointed out that the first cases to be chosen are those of large landowners who are traditional enemies of the peasants and those who do not even live in the region where their land is located.

"We also take into account the cases of landowners with anti-capitalist tendencies and those who 'are the first to attack the Revolution'.

"We are applying the land reform laws and will guarantee possession of their lands to patriotic entrepreneurs and consistent producers,' he assured" (Barricada, Managua, Nicaragua, 1-24-84).

"AGRARIAN REFORM IN PERU"

"LIMA -- The land reform began by the government of Juan Velasco Alvarado, continues to provoke controversy.

"Critics affirm that agricultural production has drastically declined in the last fifteen years and now the country imports foodstuffs it had once exported" (La Prensa 6-21-84).

"NAMUCAR IN COMMUNIST HANDS"

"According to La Republica, the multinational shipping company NAMUCAR, which belongs to the governments of Mexico, Jamaica, Cuba, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, has practically fallen into communist hands, with the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments using it basically it for political and subversive ends.

"NAMUCAR, which was originally created to strengthen the Common Central-American Market by transporting raw materials and goods produced in the area for the regional industry, is now suspected of being used for the transportation of arms from Cuba to Nicaragua, part of which is taken to the guerrillas of El Salvador.

"The newspapers Dally Gleener of Jamaica and El Universal of Caracas, Venezuela, published several details on this the subject, which we are investigating" (La Republica, San José, Costa Rica, 5-10-84).

BARRICADA 24/7/84
Comandante Wheelock

Reforma Agraria se aplicará con más rigor en favor de campesinos

MATAGALPA. (Enviados Especiales). — La necesidad de tierra del campesinado y la existencia de propiedades excesivamente grandes que por su magnitud están intrínsecamente inexploradas, son los elementos que determinan a la Revolución prioridades para el actual desarrollo de los planes de reforma agraria.

De esta forma expuso a BARRICADA, el Comandante de

la Revolución Jaime Wheelock, la urgencia de impulsar con mayor fuerza el proceso ordinario de reforma agraria en nuestro país, donde en diferentes regiones existen planes de desarrollo cooperativo y de asentamientos campesinos, con entrega de títulos a nivel individual.

"Estamos realizando dos movimientos: uno dirigido a que tierras anteriormente expro-

piadas al somocismo se dispongan para entregarse a los campesinos y atender las cooperativas, y el otro destinado a identificar los latifundios deficientemente aprovechados", subrayó.

El Ministro de Reforma Agraria indicó que en las prioridades para la selección de estos latifundios incide además la existencia de grandes propietarios que tradicionalmente

han sido enemigos del campesinado, y aquellos que no viven siquiera en la región donde se encuentran sus tierras.

También se toma en cuenta, agregó, aquellos casos de dueños de tierras con tendencias descapitalizadoras, o de quienes aunque se aprovechan de los créditos otorgados por la Revolución y de los precios ventajosos que brinda el sistema financiero para saldar sus deudas y resolver sus problemas de mora, "son los primeros en atacar a la Revolución".

"Nosotros no podemos coexistir con ese tipo de economía, porque su objetivo es lograr todo para ellos, nada para el pueblo y todo contra el Gobierno revolucionario", enfatizó.

Aclaró Wheelock que con este plan "no estamos afectando a las pequeñas y medianas propiedades", sino que por el contrario, "estamos actuando sobre los propietarios con un pasado ligado al somocismo y una actividad actual que es dañina al país y a la Revolución".

"Estamos aplicando las leyes de la Reforma Agraria, y a los empresarios patrióticos y productores consecuentes vamos a garantizarles sus tierras", aseguró el ministro.

En este sentido, informó que MIDINRA está cubriendo ya el proyecto que dará cabida a los certificados de inexplorabilidad, los cuales comenzarán a ser próximamente distribuidos.

La reforma agraria en Perú

Lima (UP) — La reforma agraria peruana, iniciada por el gobierno de Juan Velasco Alvarado, continúa provocando controversias al cumplir su decimoquinto aniversario.

En la ciudad norteña de Lambayeque, desconocidos rociaron con kerosene e incendiaron un edificio del ministerio de Agricultura, destruyendo muchos archivos sobre la reforma agraria.

Las autoridades no informaron de inmediato si el atentado estaba relacionado con la celebración del aniversario de la reforma agraria.

Los críticos, como algunos funcionarios del actual gobierno civil del presidente Fernando Belaúnde Terry, cuyo primer período presidencial fue interrumpido por los militares reformistas, afirman que la producción agrícola ha decaído drásticamente en los últimos 15 años y ahora el país importa alimentos que antes exportaba.

Los defensores de la reforma, por su parte, sostienen que la misma puso fin a siglos de explotación de millones de campesinos y que la baja en la producción se debe en gran parte a la falta de apoyo financiero y técnico de las autoridades gubernamentales.

14—LA REPUBLICA. Jueves 10 de mayo de 1984

NAMUCAR en manos comunistas

La compañía naviera multinacional NAMUCAR, propiedad de los gobiernos de México, Jamaica, Cuba, Nicaragua y Costa Rica cayó recientemente en manos comunistas; y los gobiernos de Cuba y Nicaragua la usan básicamente para sus fines políticos y subversivos, según se reveló a LA REPUBLICA.

NAMUCAR que fue creada para robustecer el Mercado Común Centroamericano mediante el transporte de la mercadería producida en el área y de materias primas para la industria regional, ha venido usando sus embarcaciones supuestamente para el transporte de armas de Cuba a Nicaragua desde donde una porción de ellas es trasladada a la guerrilla salvadoreña.

Este uso que se le da a las tres embarcaciones de la empresa Los Caribes, Los Toques y Sibruay, posiblemente hagan que Jamaica se retire de la compañía en una reunión del Consejo de NAMUCAR que se celebrará hoy en San José.

LA REPUBLICA investiga informes de que algunos de los barcos de NAMUCAR tienen doble fondo y que se han usado para el tráfico de mercaderías que aún no han podido determinar.

El barco Los Caribes, de 7000 toneladas y que ha sido el más usado para el tráfico de armas chocó hace pocas semanas contra una mina en el puerto de Corinto y está siendo reparado en un dique panameño. Su estado es deplorable y, aparentemente, el Lloyd de Londres pagará el seguro ya que el navío fue averiado en una zona de guerra, "corriendo sus propios riesgos", situación que no cubre el seguro. El hecho ha sido prácticamente ocultado hasta ahora.

El ex-gerente de NAMUCAR, Lic. don

Alvaro Fernández Escalante, que fue llevado a retirarse "por la persecución a que fue sometido por parte de los personeros nicaragüenses y cubanos que controlan la empresa", tuvo en una oportunidad informes de que "si seguía controlando como debía los manejos de NAMUCAR y los viajes misteriosos que realizaban sus barcos, iba a ser eliminado físicamente". De acuerdo con informes confidenciales en poder de LA REPUBLICA, la propuesta para eliminar físicamente a Fernández fue hecha por un personaje en la Embajada de Nicaragua.

LA REPUBLICA buscó para pedirle informes al ex-gerente de NAMUCAR, Lic. Alvaro Fernández quien reconoció que "Costa Rica se puede ver en problemas serios con el tráfico de armas que aparentemente están efectuando los barcos de la empresa, además de no obtener beneficio alguno de la inversión hecha en la compañía ya que las rutas de los barcos no son las que deben ser, sino aquellas que sirven a los intereses de los cubanos y los nicaragüenses que controlan totalmente la empresa naviera".

El señor Fernández Escalante se vio precisado a retirarse de NAMUCAR donde representaba a Costa Rica y velaba por sus intereses, porque "aún desde antes de que los nicas pidieran la cabeza de don Fernando Vollo ya exigían la mía porque comencé a hacer preguntas y a investigar acerca de una serie de viajes misteriosos y cargas sospechosas que llevaban los barcos en sus bodegas".

Los viajes que investigó el entonces gerente de NAMUCAR, don Alvaro Fernández, se originaban en Cuba y tenían como destino puertos nicaragüenses.

Don Alvaro se retiró de NAMUCAR en julio de 1983, poco antes de ello, tuvo sospechas muy bien fundadas que el barco Los Caribes venía de Cuba "hasta el tope" de armas con destino a Nicaragua. El barco hizo una parada de varios días en Parícutenas.

El señor Fernández investigó en las guías de embarque y vio con extrañeza que la carga, de cientos de toneladas consignada a Nicaragua, era "aceros" y "azulejos".

Aparentemente el gobierno de la República se enteró de este hecho, pero, pese a ello, no se hizo ninguna gestión para efectuar un registro o una investigación de la carga del barco que siguió a su destino sin ningún contratiempo.

El gobierno salvadoreño supo del asunto y de otros muchos embarques similares y prohibió tajante y definitivamente el atraque de barcos de NAMUCAR en puertos salvadoreños. El señor Fernández Escalante, por entonces gerente de la empresa, viajó a El Salvador a gestionar una rectificación para que los buques de su representada pudieran tocar en puertos de esa nación pero todo esfuerzo fue en vano.

El señor Fernández fue objeto desde entonces de una "tremenda persecución por parte de los representantes cubanos y nicaragüenses en la empresa". Las autoridades costarricenses, según pudimos entender, le dieron su apoyo en el Consejo de NAMUCAR pero no fue suficiente para darle la fortaleza necesaria para seguir al frente velando por la buena marcha de la compañía y se sintió solo, peleando contra los intereses cubanos y nicaragüenses que dominan la empresa a nivel ejecutivo: el gerente general es el mexicano Luis

Fernando Chavez que ejecuta y sigue la conocida política mexicana en el área centroamericana; el gerente de operaciones es el cubano Armando Menéndez Amado y el gerente comercial es el nicaragüense Regi Delgado Machado. Ellos hacen y deshacen en la empresa.

"Desde entonces", aseguró el señor Fernández, "los nicas y los cubanos han usado la empresa para su propio beneficio y sin ningún beneficio para Costa Rica o Jamaica".

Los cubanos, han usado NAMUCAR no solo para fines políticos de penetración en el área, sino para "otros" fines según se desprende de algunos datos que se están investigando.

Desde que nació NAMUCAR, las operaciones y el mantenimiento de las naves ha estado en manos cubanas.

Pese a los millones de dólares que cuesta mantener un barco, se dejó que la nave Los Caribes se deteriorara totalmente. Un informe pedido por el entonces gerente Fernández Escalante a un capitán mexicano bajo el mando del cubano Luis Rodríguez que detalló el pésimo estado de la embarcación, fue suficiente para su inmediato despido por parte de la gerencia de operaciones. El barco estuvo año y medio en un astillero cubano.

Al estroñarse con una mina, hace pocas semanas en Corinto, está siendo tratado de salvar en un astillero panameño, después de que estuvo algún tiempo en Cuba.

Los periódicos "Daily Gleaner" de Jamaica y El Universal de Caracas, Venezuela, han publicado una serie de detalles de este asunto, que estamos investigando.

"LUIS IGNACIO VISITS HAVANA"

"A delegation of directors of the PT [Workers' Party, linked with leftist sectors of the Brazilian clergy], lead by Luíś Ignácio (Lula) da Silva, is in Cuba, where it will meet with president Fidel Castro. From there the group will continue on to Nicaragua to participate, on the 19th, in the celebrations of the anniversary of the Sandinista Revolution" (Q Estado de São Paulo 7-14-84).

"LULA SAYS CUBA IS AN EXAMPLE FOR BRAZIL"

HAVANA - "During an official visit of a delegation of the Workers' Party to Cuba, led by its president Luíś Ignácio (Lula) da Silva, he stated, 'Cuba's experience, with all its social advances, in spite of being a poor country without resources and riches, could be repeated in Brazil if it were a well-governed country.'

"According to Lula, what most impressed him in his four days in Havana was that '[here] all the basic problems of the human being have practically been resolved'. He added: 'Here the worker does not need to worry about the education and health of his son or family because it is guaranteed and he doesn't waste a cent. I saw no beggars in the streets nor lines for Social Security. The country is poor but there is no misery and all are well dressed and shod. There is also something else which is very important: democracy truly exists because the people have ample participation'" (Folha de São Paulo 7-18-84).

"Masses of Duped Peasants"

"AGRARIAN REFORM MUST BE TECHNICAL, NOT DEMAGOGIC"

"Ecuador must completely restructure its agrarian reform program to eliminate political distortions which have gravely hampered its food production and deteriorated the living standards of thousands of peasants.

"For the last two decades, agrarian reform has not served as an instrument for social promotion and increase in productivity. It has simply been an infamous dividing of the land which has contributed to raise food prices, ruined the lives of masses of peasants and reduced a great part of the nation's population to living in slums.

"Why has the agrarian reform policy which has been implemented in Ecuador for more than twenty years failed? Because, beneath political dogmas, the real goal of technocratic agrarian reform was a large-scale destruction, under the pretext of giving the land to those who tilled it" (El Universo, Guayaquil, Ecuador, 6-4-84).

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Luis Ignácio visita Havana

ABC
AGÊNCIA ESTADO

Uma comitiva de dirigentes do PT, chefiada por Luis Ignácio Lula da Silva, está em Cuba, onde terá audiência com o presidente Fidel Castro. De lá, o grupo segue para a Nicarágua, devendo participar, no dia 19, das comemorações do aniversário da Revolução Sandinista.

Fazem parte da comitiva o deputado federal Djalma de Souza Bom; o secretário do partido em São Paulo, José Dirceu, e o advogado Luiz Eduardo Greenhaig. Os dirigentes petistas pretendiam passar um mês no Exterior, mas, segundo assessores, a viagem foi encurtada para dez dias, diante do quadro político interno.

OTSP 14.7.84

Para Lula, Cuba é um exemplo ao Brasil

LUZIA RODRIGUES

Redatora do "Folha"

HAVANA — "A experiência de Cuba, com todos os avanços no campo social, apesar de ser um país pobre, sem recursos e riquezas, poderia se repetir no Brasil se este fosse um país bem governado."

A afirmação é do presidente do Partido dos Trabalhadores, Luis Ignácio Lula da Silva, que cumpre um programa de visita oficial a Cuba à frente de uma delegação do PT, composta pelo deputado federal Djalma Bom, pelo secretário de Relações Internacionais, Luis Eduardo Greenhaig, pelo secretário-geral do partido em São Paulo, José Dirceu de Oliveira e pelo secretário em São Paulo da Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT), Jorge Luiz Coelho.

Segundo Lula, o que mais o impressionou nos quatro dias em Havana "é que todos os problemas básicos do ser humano praticamente foram resolvidos". E acrescentou: "Aqui o trabalhador não precisa se preocupar com a escola nem com a saúde do filho e da família, porque tudo isso está garantido e ele não gasta um tostão. Não vi ninguém pedindo esmola nas ruas, nem fila de INPS. O país é pobre, mas não tem miséria, todos andam bem vestidos e calçados. E tem uma coisa que é muito importante: a democracia existe de verdade porque o povo tem ampla participação."

Ontem, a delegação esteve reunida com o vice-presidente da Assembleia Nacional do Poder Popular, Jorge Lescano Perez, e com o deputado Ramiro Rio Perez Teran, que fizeram um relato de como e em que níveis funciona este organismo, correspondente ao Congresso Nacional brasileiro.

Sistema eleitoral

O que mais impressionou Lula e o deputado Djalma Bom foi o processo de escolha e eleição dos candidatos ao Poder Popular. De acordo com o relato de Lescano Perez, nenhum candidato pode candidatar-se sozinho e nem ser indicado por nenhuma instituição, nem mesmo pelo Partido Comunista Cubano. Os nomes são apresentados pelo coletivo, como denominam os cubanos. Numa fábrica, por exemplo, os trabalhadores decidem que alguns colegas devem ser candidatos e seus nomes são

apresentados na circunscrição eleitoral correspondente. Não existe propaganda eleitoral como a conhecemos, e não se usa foto do candidato e uma pequena biografia. O voto não é obrigatório e os cargos correspondentes a vereador e a deputado estadual são exercidos por um período de dois anos e meio, e sem vencimentos. O eleito continua exercendo a sua profissão junto com o mandato. Ao que corresponde ao Legislativo Federal, as eleições são realizadas a cada cinco anos. O Parlamento, em todos os seus níveis (municipal, estadual e nacional) reúne-se duas vezes por ano.

Em abril passado foram realizadas eleições municipais e estaduais, quando concorreram 23.000 candidatos, dos quais 10.963 foram eleitos, entre eles uma porcentagem de 12,5 por cento de mulheres, 22,5 por cento de operários diretamente vinculados à produção e os demais pertencentes a outros setores, como comércio, magistério, funcionalismo etc. Dos 6.404.488 eleitores inscritos em todo o país de quase dez milhões de habitantes (aquí em Cuba a maioria é a partir dos 16 anos), 98 por cento compareceram às urnas.

Com o irmão de Fidel

Em seu terceiro dia de visita, iniciada na sexta-feira passada, a delegação do PT passou o domingo no vale da Piedra, uma imensa fazenda situada entre as províncias de Havana e Matanzas, onde há 15 anos Ramon Castro, irmão mais velho de Fidel, dirige um complexo de pecuária genética. O próprio Ramon, vestido um uniforme de miliciano, acompanhou a delegação brasileira às casas dos camponeses que integram as cooperativas da localidade — onde também há agricultores que não integram este sistema e exploram suas terras como proprietários individuais. Entretanto, segundo Ramon Castro, esses do campo são uma minoria e a passagem para o sistema de cooperativa vem se dando de forma espontânea.

Ao contrário do formalismo que vem caracterizando as visitas, em Havana, como as já realizadas ao Museu da Marcha do Povo Combatente, a direção nacional dos Comitês de Defesa da Revolução, a Central dos Trabalhadores de Cuba, a delegação do PT viveu este último domingo um dia bastante descontra-

do no campo, com o irmão de Fidel confessando a Lula ser ele, Ramon, um cristão comunista; mais tarde ele apresentou o presidente do PT com um diploma de trabalhador voluntário, por ter passado seu dia de descanso em Cuba fazendo trabalho político.

Entre os temas das conversas dos dirigentes petistas com o irmão de Fidel esteve presente a crise econômica mundial, com todos concordando que os países da América Latina já não têm como pagar as suas dívidas externas, que no seu conjunto duplicou no curto espaço de cinco anos. Ramon Castro informou que mesmo enfrentando as consequências da crise econômica mundial, do bloqueio econômico por parte dos Estados Unidos e outros países, e apesar de ser um país subdesenvolvido industrialmente e com vários problemas, Cuba obteve no ano passado um crescimento de 6 por cento, quando todos os países latino-americanos enfrentaram recessão em suas economias.

Relações com o Brasil

Os cubanos têm-se mostrado muito discretos em relação ao fato de não haver relações com o Brasil, não fazendo comentários quando abordados a respeito. Nota-se, entretanto, que o desejo de normalização das relações é grande, sobretudo quando se lembra a semelhança cultural entre os dois povos.

Os dirigentes petistas têm informado que o partido está realizando esforços para desenvolver uma campanha pelo restabelecimento de relações rompidas pelo governo brasileiro em 1964.

Anteontem pela manhã, a delegação do PT foi recebida no Ministério da Educação, setor que junto com a saúde forma a prioridade número um do governo cubano no campo social. À tarde, depois das conversas com dirigentes do Poder Popular, os brasileiros assistiram a alguns documentários cinematográficos cubanos. A delegação parte hoje de manhã para Nicarágua, onde participa dos festejos do quinto aniversário da revolução sandinista. Antes, porém, os dirigentes do PT deverão ter uma entrevista com o presidente de Cuba, Fidel Castro.

A jornalista Luzia Rodrigues visita Havana a convite do governo cubano.

Masas de camponeses enganadas

Reforma Agraria deve ser técnica e no demagógica

Por MANUEL MALDONADO

El Ecuador requiere reestructurar totalmente su reforma agraria para cortar las distorsiones políticas que han desplomado gravemente nuestra producción alimentaria y han deteriorado las condiciones de vida de millones de campesinos.

La reforma agraria no ha sido en estas dos décadas un instrumento de promoción social o de incremento productivo. Ha sido simplemente, un torpe retaceo de la tierra que ha contribuido a elevar los precios de los alimentos del pueblo ecuatoriano; ha causado un descenso de las condiciones de vida de las masas campesinas y ha generado los terribles tugurios urbanos en los que vive gran parte de la población nacional.

Si se aspira a convertir en una positiva realidad la primera parte del lema "pan, techo y trabajo", la reforma agraria politiquizada, mentalizada por tecnocratas dogmáticos, tendrá que ser transformada en un auténtico instrumento técnico de mejoramiento económico y social del pueblo ecuatoriano.

Con razón, el Vicepresidente Leon Roldós reconoció esta semana que la aplicación de la reforma agraria se

ha convertido en un proceso de retaceo de la tierra, "en varios casos no justificado".

El fracaso

¿Por qué ha fracasado la reforma agraria política que se ejecuta en el Ecuador desde hace más de veinte años? Porque bajo dogmas políticos, lo que en realidad perseguía la reforma agraria tecnocrática era una destrucción en gran escala, bajo el argumento de que la tierra iba a ser entregada al hombre que la trabaja.

El desbarajuste provino del excesivo fraccionamiento de tierras directamente vinculadas a la producción agropecuaria. Los políticos que dirigieron el proceso afectaron a muchísimas tierras que estaban siendo trabajadas, o estimularon invasiones a propiedades en plena producción, en vez de desviar al fraccionamiento a terrenos baldíos.

La demagogia agraria

Millares de campesinos fueron colocados sobre minúsculas parcelas, sin ningún ingreso fijo, sin preparación técnica, sin crédito y sin recursos para hacer frente a las inclemencias del tiempo.

Relativamente pocos campesinos han recibido asistencia crediticia del Banco de Fomento. En otros casos, el dinero del Banco ha sido mal invertido en artículos de consumo o en prebendas personales. En cambio, la inmensa mayoría del campesino quedó abandonada a su suerte. El Gobierno no podía auxiliarios porque ni todo el Presupuesto General del Estado le habría bastado para hacerlo. La cartera vencida del Banco de Fomento asciende en la actualidad a cifras astronómicas.

Por su parte, la banca privada no podía ni puede operar con los campesinos minifundistas porque son absolutamente insolventes, supuesto que ni siquiera tienen segura la posesión de la tierra.

Sin nada para trabajar

Las grandes masas de campesinos engañadas por la tecnocracia politiquizada no poseían capital, ni agua, ni aperos, ni semilla seleccionada, ni fertilizantes, ni insecticida, ni técnica. Nada de esto se repartía, porque el objetivo de la reforma agraria política no era mejorar la producción y la calidad de la vida del campesino, sino agravar las contradicciones sociales.

En millares de minifundios se trabajaba a ritmo lento, apenas para obtener ingresos de subsistencia.

EL UNIVERSO — Lunes 4 de Junio de 1984 — 7

La producción agrícola

Al consumarse el fraccionamiento de millares de hectáreas, la producción agrícola se desplomó. Pese a los adelantos logrados por la ciencia, en fertilizantes, en exterminación de plagas, en riego y en medios mecánicos de explotación agrícola, el rendimiento de la tierra descendió.

La demanda de víveres subía y la producción disminuía. Comenzó a ocurrir entonces una reacción en cadena que habría de causar incalculables daños económicos y sociales durante más de 20 años en toda la Nación, pues el Ecuador se convirtió en importador neto de alimentos y las ciudades se transformaron en tugurios donde se refugiaban los campesinos desengañados. Cientos de miles de campesinos tuvieron que emigrar a las ciudades en busca de sustento, en tanto que los que se quedaron viven miserablemente.

El Vicepresidente reconoce que el Estado jamás cumplió sus promesas de crear formas organizadoras de producción y mercados. Pero a ello hay que añadir que, por su propia naturaleza, el Estado no es eficiente para hacerlo. Sin embargo, en el fondo, no es una torpeza dogmática lo que ha impuesto en el Ecuador fines políticos a la reforma agraria — en vez de fines económicos y sociales —, sino un cálculo matemático y frío para destruir la producción agropecuaria, sumir en la miseria al campesino y convertirlo en una fuente de explotación social.

En síntesis, no eran resultados sociales ni económicos los que se buscaban, sino políticos.

¿Qué hacer?

El país no debe seguir transitando bajo este vendaval de demagogia. La reforma agraria es positiva siempre y cuando persiga objetivos productivos y sociales. Es imposible mejorar el nivel de vida de las masas campesinas si al mismo tiempo se propicia la destrucción de la producción agropecuaria.

La reforma agraria tiene que ser sometida a un profundo proceso de reforma (perdossando el pleonasmo).

El propio Vicepresidente de la República lo dice: "Lo que tenía que hacerse, paralelamente a la distribución, es la conformación de unidades de explotación suficientemente grandes, adoptando formas organizadoras en la comunidad para la explotación y comercialización, con lo que se hubiera facilitado la recepción de crédito y asistencia técnica, tantas veces ofrecida y nunca cumplida por el Estado".

Pero, vale recordar que el Estado es incapaz de hacerlo, así lo quiera, primero porque no tiene los recursos suficientes y, segundo, porque la tecnocracia es retórica pero no práctica, mitepe y dogmática.

La auténtica reforma tiene que orientarse a formar un marco legal apropiado para que la gente que quiere trabajar e invertir en el campo, formando unidades productivas lo suficientemente grandes y rentables, pueda hacerlo sin temor a que un funcionario de escritorio le despoje de su esfuerzo.

En todas las naciones donde se ha aplicado la reforma agraria política, sin excepción alguna, la

"LUIS IGNACIO PARTICIPATES IN SANDINISTA CELEBRATIONS"

"MANAGUA - Luíś Ignácio [Lula] da Silva, president of the Workers' Party, yesterday stayed in Managua nearly incognito after arriving as one of the principal guests for the celebration of the Nicaraguan revolution's fifth anniversary. During his visit in 1980, when he was invited for the celebration of the revolution's first anniversary, Luíś Ignácio was a great attraction and gave many interviews to the local newspapers.

"Independent Nicaraguan journalists are interested to speak to him in order to find out if he has kept the same political line he had four years ago. In 1980, Lula openly favored social warfare for the immediate economic benefit of the workers. He explained he believed that class struggle should be based on the improvement of the worker's living conditions, which translates into personal gains by each worker.

"In a way, these declarations conflicted with the attitude that the Sandinista government had been taking toward the workers. When Nicaraguan workers ask for higher wages in order to make up for the country's annual inflation of 40%, they are accused of 'economicism. In other words, after five years of revolution the Nicaraguan worker may only hope for a fixed salary, a ration card which guarantees him, at times, the basic nourishment for life at a low price, and the obligation of taking up arms as a soldier of the army as part of his work.

"No one knows what the Brazilian union leader will say of this policy, which has been adopted by Nicaragua the same way as in Cuba. Journalists and workers have shown a great desire to know whether Lula, having firmly established himself as leader of the mass of Brazilian workers and risen to politically influential posts, could have become enthusiastic about the 'Nicaraguan model' or the 'Cuban model'" (O Estado de São Paulo 7-15-84).

"PT PRAISES NICARAGUA"

"Luíś Ignácio [Lula] da Silva, president of the Workers' Party, said yesterday that 'the Nicaraguan revolution is a hope for the peoples of the Third World.' Lula and four other leaders of the party were received by the president of the State Council of Nicaragua, Commander Carlos Nuñez, one of the nine leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. A picture of the reception was published in a very prominent place in the Sandinista daily Barricada, headlined 'World Solidarity on the Revolution's Fifth Anniversary'" (O Estado de São Paulo 7-22-84).

"BOOK SALE IS A SUCCESS, CUBAN BOOTH IS THE MOST SOUGHT"

"Yesterday, Cuba's booth was one of the most sought by the public attending the 8th International Book Fair, held in the Ibirapuera Park in São Paulo. According to the sale organizers, the retention of twelve boxes of Cuban books in the Federal Revenue Station at the Congonhas airport 'was nothing but a mistake'. Yesterday they were put up for display and sale in the fair" (Jornal do Brasil 8-20-84).

Luís Ignácio participa das festas sandinistas

HORACIO RUIZ
Nosso correspondente

MANÁGUA — O presidente nacional do PT, Luís Ignácio da Silva permaneceu ontem em Manágua quase incógnito, depois de ter chegado como um dos primeiros convidados para as celebrações do quinto aniversário da revolução nicaragüense. Luís Ignácio foi uma grande atração há quatro anos, em 1980, quando também chegou como convidado para a comemoração do primeiro aniversário da revolução, e deu muitas entrevistas aos jornalistas locais.

No entanto, na atual visita tem sido muito difícil vê-lo. Comenta-se, entre as pessoas, que tiveram a oportunidade de avistá-lo no Hotel Intercontinental, onde se hospeda, que ele poderá fazer uma visita a Cuba, antes ou depois do dia 19, data das comemorações na Nicarágua.

Os jornalistas independentes da Nicarágua têm interesse em conversar com ele, para saber se ainda mantém a mesma linha política de há quatro anos. Em 1980, Luís Ignácio manifestou-se abertamente a favor de uma luta social de benefício econômico imediato e direto aos trabalhadores. Explicou que, para ele, a luta operária se deve basear na melhoria de condições de vida dos trabalhadores e que essa melhoria se obtém através das aquisições pessoais de cada um.

Estas declarações, de certo modo, conflitavam com a atitude que havia começado a desenvolver o governo sandinista, com relação aos operários. Atualmente, os trabalhadores nicaragüenses são acusados de "economicismo", se pleiteiam aumento de salários para fazer frente à inflação anual de 40% ao ano que

vive o país. A expressão "economicismo" é atribuída agora aos operários que se empenham em ganhar mais para cair no "vício do consumismo". Em outras palavras, o operário nicaragüense, a cinco anos da revolução, só pode aspirar a um salário fixo, a um cartão de racionamento que lhe garanta — às vezes — os alimentos básicos a preço baixo e a obrigação de pegar em armas como miliciano nas fileiras do Exército, como parte de seu trabalho.

Não se sabe como o líder sindical brasileiro comentará este tipo de política implantado na Nicarágua, de maneira semelhante à de Cuba. Nos meios jornalísticos e operários há muito interesse em saber se Lula, tendo firmado sua liderança sobre a grande massa operária brasileira e conseguido ascender politicamente a postos de grande influência, poderia ter-se entusiasmado pelo "modelo nicaragüense" ou pelo "modelo cubano".

A visita de Lula a Cuba também se reveste de especial interesse, já que se supõe que ele tenha desenvolvido algum interesse em observar de perto o modelo cubano. Os jornalistas independentes da Nicarágua não foram receber Luis Ignácio da Silva no hotel. Apenas conseguiram a promessa de uma entrevista com ele, dentro de 48 horas.

As vésperas do aniversário da revolução da Nicarágua, ou em qual quer outra ocasião em que chegam a Manágua muitos visitantes estrangeiros, torna-se norma que o Hotel Intercontinental, onde eles se hospedam, se transforme em fortaleza vigiada por dezenas de soldados e onde só podem entrar os hóspedes. De fato, nesses dias, o hotel passa a ser território estrangeiro.

Bienal do Livro é sucesso de venda e "stand" cubano vem sendo o mais procurado

São Paulo — Em três dias de vendas, a 8ª Bienal Internacional do Livro vendeu mais de Cr\$ 170 milhões. Na agência do Banco Noroeste, instalada no Pavilhão de Exposições, foram depositados Cr\$ 134 milhões. O Credicard-Visa, até a noite de sábado, registrou Cr\$ 5 milhões e 200 mil em faturas com valor médio superior a Cr\$ 18 mil.

O gerente da Agência do Banco Noroeste, Paulo Minoru Shasegawa, lembrou que estes valores não representam o total de vendas. Afinal, os expositores podem reter a renda consigo ou depositá-la em outros bancos.

As vendas na Bienal podem ser estimadas pelo valor dos Checklivros Noroeste comercializados. Todos os expositores são obrigados a presentear o consumidor com um checklivro para que ele tenha um desconto de 10% na próxima compra. Até sexta-feira à noite, o número de Checklivros distribuídos atingiu Cr\$ 16 milhões e 300 mil, o que significa que as vendas possivelmente ultrapassaram Cr\$ 163 milhões. "Estamos superando todas as expectativas", disse Hasegawa.

Sucesso cubano

O estande de Cuba foi ontem um dos mais procurados pelo público que compareceu à 8ª Bienal Internacional do Livro, no Parque do Ibirapuera. A retenção por algumas horas de 12 caixas de livros cubanos, na Delegacia da Receita Federal, no Aeroporto de Congonhas, segundo a organização da Bienal "não passou de um equívoco". Ontem mesmo esses livros foram colocados em exposição e venda na Bienal.

Logo que soube da apreensão dos exemplares cubanos, o Superintendente da Polícia Federal, Delegado Romeu Tuma, determinou a imediata liberação das 12 caixas de livros, e em seguida entrou em contato com a organização da Bienal para esclarecer o incidente. No entanto, o presidente da Comissão de Organização da Bienal, Mario Fittipaldi, já havia enviado um telex de protesto contra a retenção dos livros ao Ministro da Justiça. Resolvido o incidente, o Coordenador-Geral da Bienal, José Gorayeb, fez questão de agradecer a intervenção do Delegado Romeu Tuma. Para Gorayeb, "tudo não passou de um equívoco".

PT elogia a Nicarágua

HORACIO RUIZ
Nosso correspondente

MANÁGUA — O presidente do partido dos Trabalhadores, Luís Ignácio Lula da Silva, afirmou ontem que "a revolução nicaragüense é uma esperança para os povos do Terceiro Mundo". Com mais quatro dirigentes do PT, Luís Ignácio foi recebido pelo presidente do Conselho de Estado da Nicarágua, comandante Carlos Nuñez, um dos nove membros da Direção da Frente Sandinista de Libertação Nacional. E a foto da recepção teve grande destaque no diário sandinista *Barricada*, sob o título "Solidariedade do mundo no quinto aniversário da revolução".

Além da delegação do PT, Luís Ignácio está acompanhado em sua visita a Manágua por sua mulher Marisa e pelo filho, todos hospedados no Hotel Intercontinental, onde estão os delegados às celebrações do quinto aniversário da revolução ni-

caragüense, em sua grande maioria pertencentes a grupos de esquerda em seus países. Ele visitou a casa de protocolo, onde se fazia a recepção oficial dos convidados — personagens da esquerda como Teodoro Petkoff, dirigente do "Movimento ao Socialismo" da Venezuela; Athos Faba, secretário-geral do Partido Comunista da Argentina; Termbek Koshoev, vice-presidente do Soviet Supremo da URSS, e outros.

Apesar da ocasião festiva, o acesso a esses dirigentes esquerdistas no Hotel Intercontinental está dificultado, mesmo para a imprensa, por causa das medidas de segurança impostas pela polícia sandinista para proteger os convidados estrangeiros.

Ainda assim, em conversa telefônica com repórteres locais, Luís Ignácio informou que fica em Manágua até amanhã, quando segue em sua viagem até Cuba. Não esclareceu, porém, se visitará Havana por conta própria ou foi convidado pelo presidente Fidel Castro.

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

"VENEZUELA AND CUBA ARE ON THE VERGE OF REESTABLISHING RELATIONS"

"CARACAS -- According to Foreign Minister Isidro Morales in an interview to the newspaper El Nacional, diplomatic relations between Venezuela and Cuba may soon be normalized if the Cuban government permits the last refugees in the Venezuelan embassy in Havana to leave" (O Estado de São Paulo 6-15-84).

"VENEZUELA OPENED A CREDIT LINE TO FIDEL CASTRO"

"Venezuela has opened a credit line of fifteen million dollars to Cuba in order to promote the export of non-traditional products to that country, according to well-informed sources.

"It is the first time that bilateral trade relations of this kind are established, they continued" (El Diario de Caracas 4-23-84).

"CHILE ACCUSES CUBANS OF HELPING TERRORISM"

"SANTIAGO - Sérgio Onofre Jarpa, Minister of the Interior, denounced the secret entrance of trained Cuban guerrillas into the country and blamed them for the terrorist attempts which have been taking place during the past few months. 'There are numerous Cuban-trained guerrillas in the country. They are the ones responsible for the terrorist action in Santiago and in the Interior,' he said.

"Since the beginning of the year, 240 bombs have exploded in electrical centers, banks, subways and churches throughout Chile, causing great damage. Jarpa said that 'there are proofs of the operation, in Cuba, of guerrilla schools which teach terrorist activities'" (O Estado de São Paulo 5-31-84).

"URUGUAY WILL FREE 600 TUPAMAROS"

"MONTEVIDEO -- About six-hundred Uruguayan political prisoners, (nearly all of them Tupamaro ex-guerrillas in prison since 1972) will be freed this week, government officials announced. This measure is the result of negotiations between three opposing parties and the military regime to prepare for the transition of the country into a democracy and make the November elections viable" (Folha de S. Paulo, 8-2-84).

"THE CP SUPPORTS ALFONSIN'S POSITION"

"The Communist Party deemed 'president Alfonsín's firm decision to exercise his legitimate authority as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces in face of the conflict' which recently took place in the Army to be 'positive.' The Party also informed about a meeting of twelve communist groups from different American countries which ended yesterday in the capital.

"Concerning this meeting, the CP said that it was held to 'coordinate regional action and confront the aggressive and bellicose policy of the Reagan administration.'

"Communist leaders from Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, Guyana, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Paraguay and Uruguay participated in the meeting" (La Nación, Buenos Aires, 7-8-84).

Venezuela e Cuba perto da reaproximação

CARACAS — As relações diplomáticas entre a Venezuela e Cuba poderão ser normalizadas em breve, se o governo cubano permitir a saída dos últimos refugiados que se encontram na embaixada venezuelana em Havana, segundo admitiu o chanceler Isidro Morales, em entrevista ao jornal *El Nacional*. Das 16 pessoas que invadiram a embaixada há cinco anos, cinco ainda se encontram no prédio da missão, aguardando permissão para deixar o país.

O governo cubano recusa-se a conceder salvo-condutos e a considerar os refugiados como asilados políticos. A Venezuela exige que Cuba facilite a saída dos refugiados, mas o governo de Fidel Castro insiste em conceder apenas um documento precário, que os obriga a esperar o embarque para o Exterior numa longa fila de interessados, além do risco de serem detidos. Enquanto a situação não se resolve, a embaixada venezuelana permanece sob forte cerco policial, o que também irrita as autoridades de Caracas. Um encarregado de negócios venezuelano permanece em Havana, enquanto a Embaixada de Cuba em Caracas está totalmente vazia desde 1980, quando todos os funcionários retornaram ao seu país.

Chile acusa cubanos de ajudar terror

DESP 31.5.84

SANTIAGO — O ministro do Interior, Sérgio Onofre Jarpa, denunciou ontem a entrada clandestina no país de guerrilheiros treinados em Cuba, responsabilizando-os pelos atentados que estão ocorrendo no país nos últimos meses. "Existe um grande número de guerrilheiros no país que foram treinados em Cuba. São eles que realizam ações terroristas em Santiago e no Interior", disse Jarpa. Ele informou que mais de 200 chilenos, impedidos de entrar no país por problemas políticos, voltaram recentemente e estão vivendo ilegalmente.

Desde o início do ano, 240 bombas explodiram no Chile em centrais elétricas, bancos, metrô, igrejas, causando um prejuízo incalculável para o país. Jarpa disse que "tem provas sobre o funcionamento de escolas de guerrilha para o ensino de atividades terroristas em Cuba".

Apoyó el PC una actitud de Alfonsín

LA NACION 6.7.84

El Partido Comunista juzgó "positiva" la "firme decisión del presidente Alfonsín de ejercer su legítima autoridad de comandante en jefe de las Fuerzas Armadas ante el conflicto suscitado" recientemente en el Ejército.

Lo hizo al informar sobre una reunión de doce agrupaciones comunistas de distintos países de América que finalizó ayer en esta capital. Opinó que lo ocurrido en el Ejército "demuestra la urgente necesidad de democratizar a las Fuerzas Armadas, conforme a las disposiciones de la Constitución Nacional".

En cuanto a las deliberaciones que finalizaron ayer, se informó que se efectuaron para "coordinar la acción regional y enfrentar la política agresiva y belicista de la administración Reagan".

Participaron del cónclave dirigentes comunistas de la Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Perú, Ecuador, Venezuela, Guyana, Brasil, Chile, Cuba, Paraguay y Uruguay.

El Diario de Caracas 23/4/84 Política

EL DIARIO DE CARACAS

Cuba podrá importar productos venezolanos hasta por 15 millones de dólares

Venezuela abrió una línea de crédito a Fidel Castro

Venezuela abrió una línea de crédito a Cuba por 15 millones de dólares a fin de promocionar las exportaciones de productos venezolanos no tradicionales hacia ese país, se supo de fuentes bien informadas.

En el mes de marzo, Cuba y Venezuela firmaron un contrato por medio del cual el Banco Central de Venezuela puso a la disposición de importadores cubanos 15 millones de dólares para financiar cierto tipo de importación de productos venezolanos. Por la Habana, firmó el Banco Central de Cuba.

Es la primera vez que bilateralmente se establece este tipo de relaciones comerciales, subrayaron las fuentes.

Desde hace un tiempo esa nación presidida por Fidel Castro, ha venido importando productos químicos venezolanos a través de la firma "Industrias Venoco". Ya existe una lista de aspirantes a beneficiarse de esta línea de crédito que hasta el momento no ha sido utilizada, según apuntaron las fuentes.

Es la última que en este género aprobó el Banco Central de Venezuela que ha venido practicando esta política con una serie de países de la región a través de su departamento especializado, Finexpo. Con

Cuba, esta decisión toma especial relevancia:

- Demuestra que, a pesar de las divergencias políticas, existen posibilidades de intercambios comerciales. También subrayó la voluntad de las partes de "encauzar las relaciones por la senda de la distensión" y que Venezuela no se suma al bloqueo decretado en el mundo occidental contra esa nación.

- Abre, sin duda, la alternativa de vincular de alguna manera la política exterior de Venezuela con la política comercial externa.

- La disminución de los ingresos petroleros ha impuesto la necesidad de buscar mercados distintos y, tener una política más agresiva en materia de exportaciones. Los países de la región constituyen, sin duda, el primer objetivo para promocionar este tipo de actividades: "Cuba comunista es una realidad muy cercana a Venezuela, y no hay más alternativa que optar por una convivencia lo menos controvertida posible y mutuamente respetuosa", recordaron fuentes diplomáticas venezolanas.

- La operación entre los dos bancos centrales constituye una novedad en los intercambios bilaterales: desde el gobierno del ex presidente Carlos Andrés Pérez se ha mantenido el

En el mes de marzo, los Bancos Centrales de Venezuela y Cuba firmaron un convenio por medio del cual se promocionará la exportación de productos venezolanos no tradicionales hacia esa nación caribeña, se supo de fuentes altamente responsables. Todavía no se ha hecho efectiva, pero trascendió que hay varios aspirantes.



Lusinchí y Castro abrieron nuevas alternativas en las relaciones bilaterales.

llamado "acuerdo trilateral de suministro petrolero", por medio del cual la Unión Soviética provee en petróleo a clientes venezolanos en Europa y, Venezuela suministra a Cuba ahora y desde hace ya 10 meses, treinta mil barriles diarios de crudo Ceuta 32 grados Api. Cuba es también un cliente directo de Meneven que le ha vendido hasta 7 millones de dólares en lubricantes.

Los altibajos políticos

A pesar de estas nuevas señales en las relaciones bilaterales, las tensiones políticas se mantienen desde que ocurrió la vola-

dura del avión cubano y los incidentes, aún sin resolver, de los asilados cubanos en la Embajada de Venezuela en La Habana.

Más recientemente El Diario de Caracas publicó la negativa del gobierno de Castro de explicar al Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Venezuela, la muerte, el 10 de abril pasado, de un joven cubano en las cercanías de la misión diplomática venezolana en Cuba. Consideró que una solicitud parecida constituye "una intromisión en sus asuntos internos". Sin embargo, la Cancillería cubana dejó abierta la posibilidad de explicar los hechos "informalmente" en caso de que "el presidente de la República, Jaime Lusinchí, así lo desee".

Entretanto, en Washington el canciller Isidro Morales Paul informó desde el micrófono pasado del contenido de la respuesta cubana, declaró el sábado a Venpres que "el incidente (del 10 de abril) puede compararse con el ocurrido años atrás en Uruguay y que originó la ruptura de las relaciones diplomáticas con el Gobierno de esa nación". Aclaró posteriormente, que actualmente no está planteada la ruptura de relaciones con La Habana.

Si bien desde el 30 de enero de 1980 no hay re-

presentación diplomática cubana en Caracas, las relaciones se mantienen. Hay un encargado de negocios en La Habana. No ha funcionado la reciprocidad, porque es necesario mantener funcionarios del Servicio Exterior venezolano en ese país, debido a los 16 asilados que están en la misión desde 1979.

El Gobierno cubano se niega a darle el salvoconduto por considerar que son "antisociales" y no perseguidos políticos.

Representante oficioso

Sin embargo, La Habana tiene un representante oficioso en esta capital, Eduardo Fuentes, quien se encuentra en Venezuela desde marzo de 1982. Llegó en aquel momento para realizar "contactos partidistas", con el fin de promover un acercamiento después de las coincidencias en las Malvinas y la actitud mediadora en la controversia venezolanoguyanense en los No Alineados. La Cancillería del ex ministro José Alberto Zambrano Velasco frustró la posibilidad de distensión entre los dos países oponerse a estas "acciones extras" según trascierros moner

Uruguai libertará 600 tupamaros

MONTEVIDÉU — Cerca de 600 presos políticos uruguayos — quase todos ex-guerrilheiros tupamaros presos desde 1972 — serão libertados a partir desta semana, anunciaram ontem funcionários do governo citados pela agência Efe. A medida, que beneficia todos os prisioneiros condenados por delitos políticos que já tenham cumprido metade de suas penas, é resultado das negociações entre três partidos de oposição e o regime militar para estabelecer os termos da transição do país para a democracia e viabilizar as eleições de novembro.

Fsp 2.8.84

A partir de hoje, a Justiça Militar uruguaiá começará a analisar, caso por caso, a situação legal dos presos,

para definir quais serão postos em liberdade, o que ocorrerá à medida em que seus processos sejam revisados. Mesmo assim, ainda permanecerão na prisão aproximadamente cem detentos (de um total de 694), quase todos antigos dirigentes dos Tupamaros, condenados a penas superiores a 30 anos de reclusão.

Além da libertação antecipada dos presos políticos, a reunião de ontem entre militares e representantes partidários teve como saldo um acordo sobre as relações entre os militares e o futuro poder civil e a convocação de uma Assembléia Constituinte.

Recuando de sua posição anterior, as Forças Armadas aceitaram que as nomeações dos comandantes milita-

res fiquem a cargo do Executivo, o que implica na subordinação do poder militar ao civil. Os chefes das Forças Armadas aceitaram, também, que o Conselho de Segurança Nacional (Cosena) seja um órgão assessor e não decisorio do governo. As duas partes concordaram ainda em marcar para 1º de julho de 1985 o início dos trabalhos de uma Assembléia Constituinte.

Participam das negociações representantes do Partido Colorado, da coligação de esquerda Frente Ampla e da União Cívica. O Partido Nacional (Blanco) se recusou a dialogar com os militares enquanto não for libertado seu líder Wilson Saravia. Além disso, preso a 16 de junho, voltou ao exílio.

"NICARAGUA WANTS PROALCOOL TECHNOLOGY"

"Yesterday, the Nicaraguan Minister of Agrarian Reform, Jaime Wheelock told the Folha that Nicaragua wants to use the ten million dollar credit line given it by Brazil to import Proálcool's technology and acquire sugar refining plants.

"We gave great importance to the visit, since it is the first time Nicaragua has received an official invitation from the Brazilian government; this enables us to make economic agreements and solve trade problems, in addition to improving our cooperative relations,' he said" (Folha de S. Paulo, 8-17-84).

"NICARAGUA IS SATISFIED WITH BRAZIL"

"The Nicaraguan Sandinista government is pleased with Brazil's position on the Central American conflict, the Nicaraguan Minister of Agriculture, Jaime Wheelock, said yesterday to Foreign Minister Saraiva Guerreiro.

"Wheelock also requested Brazilian participation, through technical assistance and counselling for projects, in setting up cocoa planting in the east of Nicaragua" (O Estado de São Paulo, 8-17-84).

Nicarágua quer a tecnologia do Proálcool

Da Sucursal do Rio

A Nicarágua pretende utilizar a linha de crédito de US\$ 10 milhões concedida pelo Brasil para importar a tecnologia do Proálcool e adquirir plantas de usinas de açúcar. Foi o que revelou à "Folha" ontem o Ministro de Reforma Agrária e Agricultura daquele país, Jaime Wheelock, que fez escala técnica pela manhã, no Rio, com destino à Brasília, onde passou a tarde. Wheelock

lock estará no Rio, hoje, para encontrar-se, no BNDES, com o ministro Nestor Jost.

"Demos grande importância à visita, uma vez que a Nicarágua, pela primeira vez, recebe um convite oficial do Governo brasileiro, e, dessa forma, poderemos materializar acordos econômicos e resolver problemas de caráter comercial, além de termos a oportunidade de melhorarmos nossa relações de cooperação — disse.

O ministro afirmou que seu país investe 20% de seu produto interno no setor agro-pecuário mas se preocupa em instalar sua indústria, podendo adquirir bens de capital fabricados no Brasil. Demonstrou interesse também no setor de transportes e disse que é necessário elevar as relações de comércio entre os países da América Latina. No seu entender, cabe ao Brasil papel importante nesta estratégia devido ao seu estágio de desenvolvimento industrial.

DES, 17. 8. 84

A Nicarágua está satisfeita com o Brasil

BRASÍLIA
AGÊNCIA ESTADO

O governo sandinista da Nicarágua está satisfeito com a atitude que o Brasil adota perante o conflito da América Central. Este ponto de vista foi transmitido ontem ao chanceler Saraiva Guerreiro pelo ministro da Agricultura nicaraguense, Jaime Wheelock, que passou por Brasília procedente de Buenos Aires, onde participou de uma reunião de FAO.

O visitante classificou a conversa com Guerreiro de "positiva" e disse que ela "refletiu uma posição do Itamaraty bastante construtiva diante dos nossos esforços". O ministro apresentou ao chanceler brasileiro um relato a respeito do processo de democratização da Nicarágua, que culminará com eleições gerais na primeira semana de novembro.

O ministro Wheelock pediu ainda a participação brasileira, por meio de assistência técnica e consultoria de projetos, para a implantação de uma zona cacaueteira no este da Nicarágua. Também está previsto um projeto florestal na região. A parte financeira ficará por conta do país anfitrião, com financiamento de bancos internacionais.

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

N O T E

In Brazil, there are two presidential candidates: Paulo Maluf, of the Democratic Social Party (PDS), the center-right party of the government, and Tancredo Neves, of the Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (PMDB), the center-left party supported by the leftist opposition.

PCB -- Brazilian Communist Party (follows Moscow's line)

PC do B -- Communist Party of Brazil (to the left of the PCB)

MR-8 -- October 8 Revolutionary Movement (a communist wing of the PMDB)

PRC -- Revolutionary Communist Party (more radically leftist than all the others.)

"MARCILIO WANTS TO RESUME RELATIONS WITH CUBA"

"Yesterday, Deputy Flavio Marcílio, president of the Chamber of Deputies and candidate for vice-president from the party of Paulo Maluf, advocated resuming Brazil's relations with Cuba. Marcílio was one of the first politicians to ask for the establishment of relations with China and promote the coming of the first Soviet parliamentary mission.

"...I am among the most conservative in the Congress, but I have always advocated Brazil's relationship with all nations,' he emphasized" (O Estado de São Paulo, 8-21-84).

"COMMUNIST SUPPORT"

"Through interviews and a manifesto, Brazilian communists officially announced yesterday in São Paulo their support of Governor Tancredo Neves' candidacy to the presidency. Party leaders said that communists will participate in rallies and demonstrations for the Tancredo Neves for President campaign in a very ostensive manner, carrying banners and placards.

"In its manifesto, the PCB affirms that it is an integral part of the democratic front which promotes Tancredo Neves' candidacy and that it is convinced that, as on the basis of its program and national campaign, it can overcome the obstacles the regime will place in its way. 'The nation's very salvation is at stake and Tancredo Neves' candidacy is identified with the highest patriotic values, which are threatened by the disastrous economic policy of the government'" (O Estado de São Paulo, 7-28-84).

Marcílio quer reatar relações com Cuba

O presidente da Câmara e candidato a vice-presidente na chapa de Paulo Maluf, deputado Flávio Marcílio, voltou a defender ontem o reatamento de relações do Brasil com Cuba. Marcílio lembrou que foi um dos primeiros políticos a defender o estabelecimento de relações do Brasil com a China e a promover a vinda ao País da primeira missão parlamentar soviética. E mostrou-se surpreso com a declaração do candidato a presidente da Aliança Democrática, Tancredo Neves, de que Cuba "é uma fonte de terrorismo", observando que ele tem o apoio de parlamentares opositores pró-Fidel Castro.

Para Marcílio, há necessidade de o Brasil dar prioridade, em seu relacionamento político-comercial, a todas as nações do continente americano: "O ponto essencial do relacionamento entre Estados é o respeito mútuo. Cada nação tem o direito de se auto-institucionalizar". E acentuou: "Sou dos mais conservadores do Congresso, mas sempre defendi o relacionamento do Brasil com todas as nações".

"Um absurdo"

Por sua vez, o deputado Arthur Virgílio Neto (PMDB-AM) voltou on-

tem a pedir o afastamento de Flávio Marcílio da presidência da Câmara, considerando "um absurdo" sua intenção de consultar Paulo Maluf para decidir se se licencia ou não do cargo.

"A questão — declarou — não é política nem legal, é moral. A um homem honrado, só existem duas opções: ou deixar de ser candidato na chapa do sr. Paulo Maluf, ou renunciar à presidência da Câmara. O que não pode é continuar candidato e, ao mesmo tempo, presidir os seus eleitores."

Arthur Virgílio Neto acrescentou ter lido a notícia de que o deputado Flávio Marcílio, na última reunião da Mesa da Câmara, havia até "vertido lágrimas", por estar sendo pedida a sua renúncia. "Não há nada de pessoal — assinalou o representante peemedebista. Não sou pessoa de ter ódio a ninguém. A questão, insisto, é de ordem moral. Esta Casa a que pertença e na qual deposito tantas esperanças não pode servir de trampolim para a Presidência da República. Este poder, de que faço parte, não pode ser levado ao ridículo e ao deboche. As lágrimas do sr. Flávio Marcílio não me tocam. Tocam-me, sim, as lágrimas das mães que vêem seus filhos passando fome, das mães que vêem seus filhos sem emprego."

Comunistas dizem que até apoiariam Geisel

Os comunistas brasileiros anunciaram ontem, oficialmente, em São Paulo, por meio de um manifesto à Nação e de entrevistas de dirigentes, seu apoio à candidatura do governador Tancredo Neves à Presidência da República. O manifesto foi lançado pelo comitê central do Partido Comunista Brasileiro, que se autodenomina "Comissão do Diretivo Nacional Provisório do PCB". Os dirigentes do partido disseram, em entrevistas, que os comunistas vão participar de comícios e demais manifestações da campanha de Tancredo Neves para a Presidência, de forma ostensiva exibindo faixas, bandeiras e cartazes.

Os comunistas brasileiros afirmaram que não têm nenhuma restrição ao nome do senador José Sarney para vice de Tancredo Neves. O dirigente Hércules Corrêa, membro do comitê central, adiantou que aceitaria até se o candidato fosse o ex-presidente Ernesto Geisel. Sobre

Sarney, comentou que "quem mudou foi ele" e que a questão é saber se o País vai mudar ou não. "Isso é o que está na ordem do dia, e não ficar discutindo se a chapa é Tancredo e Sarney. Se o candidato fosse Ulysses, o Lula, o Geisel ou o Prestes, eu também estaria de acordo. Essa discussão de nomes é inadequada para o momento."

No manifesto lançado, o PCB afirma que é parte integrante da frente democrática que apóia a candidatura de Tancredo Neves e diz estar convencido de que, à base de um programa único e de uma campanha nacional, ela pode superar os obstáculos que lhes serão erguidos pelo regime. "Está em jogo a própria salvação nacional e na candidatura de Tancredo Neves a dimensão democrática se une aos mais altos valores patrióticos, ameaçados pela política econômica de desastre nacional, levado a cabo pelo regime."

"LEFTISTS AVOID CAUSING PROBLEMS"

"SAO PAULO -- Contrary to what sectors of the government and the regime expected, the majority of the leftist parties and groups do not plan to ostensibly participate in the presidential campaign of Tancredo Neves. Some of their leaders publicly promised to take part in the rallies and demonstrations only to keep their 'internal public.'

"The Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) and the remnants of the October 8 Revolutionary Movement (MR-8) will participate discreetly as they support Tancredo and do not wish to embarrass him; the 'Prestistas,' followers of the former secretary-general of the PCB, Luís Carlos Prestes, and the latest dissidents of this party in São Paulo -- who are behind the newspaper A Esquerda [The Left] -- are against Tancredo and will not take part in the campaign; and the Communist Party of Brazil (PC do B), which is closed to Tancredo, is still discussing the best way to attend the rallies.

"Roberto Gusmão, secretary of the governor of São Paulo and one of the principal promoters of Tancredo, does not see how the use of banners and placards in the demonstrations can be forbidden. He does not believe there is any intention of imposing such 'restrictions,' nor does he expect any 'excesses' to occur, since most leftist factions are united in the so-called Democratic Alliance, which is for Tancredo.

"The PCB, which has distributed the first stickers and buttons with the slogan 'For change, Tancredo now,' is being accused by several communist dissidents of having made an agreement with Tancredo promoters not to use its banners in the rallies.

"'We will take part in the campaign as usual as a political power acting in the PMDB. Our policy is the same as that of the democratic powers and not one of confrontation. Hence we negotiated and were the first to support Tancredo Neves,' said Régis Frati, the 12th in rank among the 66 members of the Central Committee of the PCB.

"Régis foresees that all the sectors of the PCB's 'influence', such as branches of the party, communist newspapers, publishing houses, offices of militants, those of state assemblymen and of the 17 federal deputies who are sympathetic to or elected with communist support, will be transformed into pro-Tancredo committees.

"'Our method of action will be different from that of the PC do B and the MR-8, which try to show power which they really don't have,' Régis observed, adding: 'We will not try to attack the public at the rallies nor the partisan forces who come to the platform and seek to monopolize the attention of the public. We do not need shop-windows to display our work.'

"Another party which is still discussing the best approach to the campaign is the PC do B. According to militants, the tendency is for it to participate in an ostensive manner. It may be the only communist power to go to pro-Tancredo rallies with the traditional red banners bearing the hammer and sickle.

"Remaining MR-8 partisans are not concerned 'with how to appear at the rallies nor with using banners to show that it is the predominant power in the demonstration,' said Eduardo Fernandes, of the party's Central Committee.

"'We think it's important to emphasize our presence in the basic platform for national union, in which we defend: 1 - Breaking with the IMF so that we may become independent and restore national sovereignty; 2 - bringing national growth back on its feet, thus solving the problems of unemployment, inflation and want; 3 - Carrying out land reform, which will solve the problem of the land,' Eduardo Fernandes added.

"The MR-8, as its director Eduardo Fernandes admits, abandoned the 'noisy' tactic it had employed until three years ago, and considers that 'candidate Tancredo Neves is for national union'" (Jornal do Brazil, 8-19-84).

Esquerdas evitam criar problemas

30.19.8.84

São Paulo — Ao contrário do que é esperado por setores do Governo e do regime, que já manifestaram preocupações a respeito, a maioria dos partidos e grupos de esquerda não cogita participar ostensivamente da campanha do ex-Governador Tancredo Neves à Presidência da República. Alguns de seus dirigentes prometem, publicamente, tomar parte nos comícios e manifestações, apenas como tática para segurar seu público interno.

O Partido Comunista Brasileiro (PCB) e os remanescentes do Movimento Revolucionário 8 de outubro (MR-8) terão uma participação discreta, porque apóiam Tancredo e não querem criar-lhe embaraços; os **prestistas**, seguidores do ex-secretário-geral do PCB, Luís Carlos Prestes, e os integrantes da última dissidência que se abriu nesse partido, em São Paulo — agrupada no jornal **A Esquerda** — são contra a candidatura Tancredo e por isso não participam da campanha; e o Partido Comunista do Brasil (PC do B), **fechado** com Tancredo, ainda discute a forma de comparecer aos comícios e manifestações.

Gusmão

O Secretário de Governo de São Paulo, Roberto Gusmão, um dos principais articuladores da candidatura Tancredo Neves, não vê como possa ser proibida a presença de bandeiras, faixas e cartazes dos comunistas nos comícios e manifestações. Antecipa mesmo que não há intenção de opor “restrições” a isso, mas não espera “excessos”, justamente porque a maioria das facções de esquerda está integrada à chamada Aliança Democrática, que sustenta a candidatura do ex-Governador mineiro.

Gusmão critica, inclusive, a preocupação de alguns setores, com a possível presença de bandeiras de partidos proscritos ou na ilegalidade, nos comícios pró-Tancredo. “O que está em jogo é a Presidência da República e esse é o fato mais importante para o povo, porque representa a mudança, a transição para o regime democrático”, acentua.

— O que está em jogo — lembra ainda — são as mudanças que a transição traz em seu bojo e que, no caso da eleição do Dr Tancredo, significam um novo tratamento à negociação da dívida externa, à inflação, à recessão e ao desemprego. Agora, o comportamento nos comícios, se eles serão com ou sem bandeira, são detalhes.

PCB

Responsável pela distribuição dos primeiros adesivos e botões com o slogan “Para mudar, Tancredo já” — confeccionados ainda antes do lançamento da candidatura — o PCB está sendo acusado pelas várias dissidências comunistas de ter feito um acordo com os articuladores da candidatura Tancredo Neves, para não levar suas bandeiras aos comícios.

— Vamos participar normalmente, como força política que atua no PMDB. Nossa política é a das forças democráticas e não a do confronto. Por isso entramos na negociação e fomos a primeira força a apoiar a candidatura Tancredo Neves — afirma Régis Frati, 12º homem na hierarquia de 66 membros do Comitê Central do PCB.

Régis antecipa que todos os locais de “influência” do PCB — sedes do partido, de jornais comunistas, editoras, escritórios de militantes, dos deputados estaduais e dos 17 deputados federais simpatizantes ou eleitos com o apoio dos comunistas — serão transformados em comitês pró-Tancredo.

“Nossa atuação será diferente da do PC do B e do MR-8, que procuram dar uma demonstração de força que efetivamente não têm”, observa Régis, acrescentando: “Nós não vamos tentar agredir a massa presente aos comícios e as forças partidárias que subirem aos palanques, tentando monopolizar as atenções. Não precisamos de vitrine para mostrar o nosso trabalho”.

Mas a posição oficial do PCB em relação à campanha, adianta Régis, só será tomada após as discussões que se iniciam nos próximos dias, quando volta ao país o secretário-geral do partido, Giocondo Dias, em visita à Alemanha Ocidental.

MR-8

Outro partido que ainda discute o comportamento a seguir na campanha é o PC do B. Sua tendência, segundo militantes, é participar ostensivamente da campanha. Pode ser a única força comunista a levar as tradicionais bandeiras vermelhas, com a foice e o martelo, aos comícios pró-Tancredo Neves.

Já os remanescentes do MR-8, informa Eduardo Fernandes, de seu Comitê Central, não têm a preocupação “com determinado tipo de presença nos comícios ou de, através de bandeiras, querer mostrar que é a força predominante na manifestação”.

— Achamos importante marcar nossa presença na elaboração do programa mínimo do governo de união nacional, para o qual defendemos: 1 — A ruptura com o FMI, para acabar com a nossa dependência e restaurar a soberania nacional, 2 — A retomada do crescimento, que vai resolver o problema do desemprego, a inflação e a carestia, 3 — E a realização de uma reforma agrária, resolvendo-se o problema fundiário — acentua Eduardo Fernandes.

O MR-8, como seu próprio dirigente, Eduardo Fernandes, admite, abandonou a tática “barulhenta” com que atuava até há três anos e considera que “o candidato Tancredo Neves é de união nacional”.

Prestistas

Inexistentes como força organizada, embora a maioria ainda não tenha se desligado dos quadros do PCB — do qual não acatam as diretrizes — os prestistas sequer se manifestam a respeito da campanha de Tancredo, acatando palavra de ordem de seu líder, Luís Carlos Prestes, enviada de Moscou.

Os dissidentes paulistas do PCB, que seguem a liderança do médico David Capistrano Filho, esclarecem que nada têm contra Tancredo Neves, mas não o apóiam porque não concordam com a forma como ele será eleito.

— Não vamos nos engajar na campanha de Tancredo Neves porque estaríamos enganando as massas. Da forma como está sendo unido ele não terá condições de resolver os problemas do país. Não acreditamos que um governo eleito por via indireta tenha força e representatividade política para implementar as mudanças na política econômica que levem a um mínimo de desafogo na situação social — acentua Sérgio Gomes, ex-integrante do Comitê Estadual de São Paulo e um dos seis expulsos dos quadros do PCB mês passado.

ARISTEU MOREIRA

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

"COMMUNISTS ORGANIZE A NEW PARTY WHICH DOES NOT EXCLUDE
RADICAL ACTION"

"The Revolutionary Communist Party (PRC), founded on the 21st of last month in homage to the 60th anniversary of Lenin's death, has as its main goal, according to its program, 'the revolutionary overthrow of the military dictatorship, leading to the ruin of the bourgeois state and to the implantation of a workers' and peoples' democracy.'

"In spite of an internal structure analogous to that of other communist parties, through committees and cells, the PRC, unlike its kindred parties (PCB, PC do B and MR-8) rejects any type of alliance with the bourgeoisie and 'has no doubt that violence will be necessary' for the workers to seize power, according to Ozeas Duarte, the self-entitled 'representative' of the party's Central Committee" (Jornal do Brasil, 7-8-84).

"COMMUNIST PARTIES OF LATIN AMERICA MEET TO DISCUSS STRATEGY"

"Little is known about the meeting of the Communist Parties of Latin America which was held in Buenos Aires. Its small repercussion serves to show the real weight of its protagonists, who seek to reorganize themselves in view of turbulent international relations, cold war pressures by Reagan, and the installment in Moscow, for the first time since Stalin, of an equally pro-cold war leader.

"From the little that is known about the meeting, the CPs' objective was to define a strategy for a 'vigorous democratic mobilization' in Latin America and especially in the Southern Cone. Even the Chilean CP, with its old Stalinist rancidity, still eyeing options for armed struggle, in its last document maintains that now the question is one of democracy and anti-democracy. The Uruguayan CP followed suit, while the Argentine CP is assessing the gains and losses of its first experience in an electoral race. According to its leaders, the CP is satisfied at having contributed to strengthening the redemocratization process in Argentina. This satisfaction reveals the immediate goal consolidated in the meeting: to overthrow anticommunist dictatorships through a united front of democratic forces in order to make room for the CPs' — if possible, legal — action.

"The bitter experience of armed warfare, such as that of Venezuela, in which Cuba was completely involved, has not been forgotten. Nor has the tragedy of Allende's 'peaceful transition to socialism.' In view of these shocking examples it was decided that the Latin-american CPs ought to give priority to national independence. In 1975, Fidel Castro wrote that 'it is a fundamental [fact] that conditions for socialist development are not established as long as our countries are not liberated from imperialism.' The CPs were advised to unite themselves 'with all revolutionary forces, communist or not.' 'Revolutionary fronts' characterize armed warfare in Central America. Jorge Handal, Secretary-General of El Salvador's CP, who participated in electoral races from 1966 to 1977 (three presidential and six parliamentary elections) before taking up arms, says: 'National and international circumstances' determine the type of fight.' Perhaps this was the motto of the meeting in Buenos Aires" (Folha de S. Paulo, 7-21-84).

Comunistas organizam novo partido que não exclui ação radical

Tendo como objetivo principal, conforme reza o seu programa, "a derrubada revolucionária da ditadura militar, levando de roldão o Estado burguês, para implantação sobre seus escombros de uma democracia operária e popular", foi fundado, no último dia 21 — em homenagem ao 60º aniversário de morte de Lênin — o Partido Revolucionário Comunista (PRC).

Apesar de se estruturar internamente da mesma forma de outros partidos comunistas, através de comitês e células, o PRC, ao contrário de seus afins (PCB, PC do B e MR-8) repudia qualquer aliança com a burguesia e "não tem dúvidas de que a violência será necessária" para que a classe operária chegue ao poder, segundo informou o "representante" — é assim que se apresenta — do seu Comitê Central, Ozeas Duarte.

Energias

Por orientação do seu I Congresso, realizado em janeiro deste ano, no "Sul do país", o PRC, "combatendo as propostas conciliadoras", rechaça a eleição indireta para a sucessão presidencial e, por extensão, a candidatura do Governador Tancredo Neves, "que só pode interessar ao Governo e ao oposicionismo conservador".

Para evitar a "armadilha" da candidatura de Tancredo Neves, o PRC apreço, segundo Ozeas Duarte, "a imobilização do Colégio Eleitoral, através da negação de quorum por parte das oposições, e retomada das mobilizações populares pelas diretas já, para impedir um pronunciamento militar".

De acordo com sua última resolução, o PRC "estimula, organiza e prioriza a adoção de formas de luta que permitam a liberação das energias revolucionárias que impulsionam a afronta aos inimigos do povo, o ataque à ordem vigente, como as ações contra os **presidenciáveis** do PDS, a exemplo das manifestações contra Maluf em Fortaleza, os protestos políticos de rua, os choques com a polícia e, destacadamente, a greve geral".

Segundo os estatutos do PRC, "a social-democracia é uma concepção globalmente antioperária que trafica no interior do movimento operário a política burguesa". O PRC abomina, ainda, o trotskismo, acusado de implicar a "afirmação de uma visão fracionista de partido e na materialização de um desvio voluntarista".

O Partido Comunista Brasileiro (PCB) é considerado "um partido tipicamente reformista", e o Partido Comunista do Brasil (PC do B) segue "um reformismo dissimulado", alimentado por um stalinismo que assume "uma postura frente ao mundo que deve ser superada constantemente, pois caracteriza-se por uma ótica naturalista que pressupõe a vida regulada por leis de bronze, cuja lógica é anterior ao próprio homem".

Ozeas Duarte faz questão de frisar que o PRC não tem vinculações internacionais, nem com partidos nem com países, e que não luta pela sua legalização, pois, nas atuais circunstâncias, "implicaria em entregar o Partido aos fichários do SNI".

HUDSON CARVALHO

Reunião dos PCs latino-americanos discute estratégia

NEWTON CARLOS

Da equipe de analistas da "Folha"

Os PCs da América Latina se reuniram em Buenos Aires e pouco se sabe a respeito. A escassa repercussão do encontro traduz o reduzido peso atual de seus protagonistas. Os dirigentes comunistas latino-americanos procuram rearticular-se em meio a relações internacionais tumultuadas, de pressões de guerra fria por parte de Reagan e a instalação em Moscou pela primeira vez desde Stalin de uma liderança igualmente voltada para a guerra fria.

Há dias os teóricos do PC soviético advertiram contra desvios exigindo que os demais PCs se enquadrem no marxismo-leninismo. Mãos duras apertam ainda mais a Polônia e o Afeganistão, agravando situações com as quais os PCs da América Latina lidam com dificuldade. O do Chile foi o único do continente a apoiar de imediato e "sem vacilações" a invasão do Afeganistão, condenada na ONU pela totalidade do Terceiro Mundo. Mesmo Cuba vacilou, só se definindo na votação na ONU e com o argumento de que diante de um "dilema histórico" não podia ficar ao lado "da reação e do imperialismo", os Estados Unidos.

Mobilização

Os soviéticos, diante da cruzada de Reagan, querem mais disciplina em seu campo. Há informações por enquanto vagas de tremores entre soviéticos e cubanos, que estiveram em Buenos Aires como observadores juntamente com os sandinistas. Os soviéticos estariam interessados num aumento das pressões sobre os Estados Unidos na América Central. Talvez com isso fossem aliviadas as pressões contra eles. Os cubanos querem negociar, como se vê. Fidel não compareceu à reunião de cúpula dos países do Comecon. Limitou-se a mandar mensagem a Tchernenko na qual condena a política de áreas de influências, o que tanto vale para os Estados Unidos como para a União Soviética.

Pelo pouco que se pôde saber em Buenos Aires o objetivo da reunião dos PCs foi definir uma estratégia para a "vigorosa mobilização democrática" que se verifica na América Latina, sobretudo no Cone Sul. Mesmo o PC chileno, de velho ranço stalinista, ainda hoje rondando opções de luta armada, sustenta que a questão que agora se coloca é de democracia e antidemocracia. É o que diz o seu último documento. O uruguaio percorre a mesma trajetória, enquanto o argentino contabiliza os lucros e perdas de sua primeira experiência de frente eleitoral com um adversário histórico, o peronismo. Embora o triunfo tenha sido do alfonsinismo o PC está satisfeito por ter contribuído, segundo seus dirigentes, para o fortalecimento do processo de redemocratização da Argentina. Essa satisfação revela a meta imediata consolidada na reunião de Buenos Aires: derrubar ditaduras anticomunistas em frente comum com forças democráticas, abrindo para os PCs espaços de atuação se possível legal.

Frentes

A experiência amarga de luta armada, como a da Venezuela, na qual Cuba esteve envolvida de corpo e alma, não foi esquecida. Tampouco a tragédia de Allende, de "transição pacífica ao socialismo". A partir desses exemplos de choque foi estabelecido que os PCs latino-americanos devem dar prioridade à independência nacional. Em 75 Fidel escreveu que "o fundamental é que as condições de desenvolvimento socialistas não estarão dadas enquanto nossos países não se libertarem do imperialismo". Os partidos comunistas foram aconselhados a juntar-se "a todas as forças revolucionárias, comunistas ou não". As "frentes revolucionárias" são a característica da luta armada na América Central. Jorge Handal, secretário-geral do PC em El Salvador, que participou de lutas eleitorais de 66 a 77 (três eleições presidenciais e seis parlamentares) antes de pegar em armas, diz o seguinte: "As condições nacionais e internacionais" determinam a forma de luta. Talvez haja sido essa a máxima da reunião de Buenos Aires.

IN LATIN AMERICA, REACTIONS AGAINST COMMUNISM

"WHAT HAPPENED ON MAY 6TH?"

"The extreme right accused Borja of being a communist and orchestrated all imaginable nonsense. The fascist group 'Tradition, Family and Property' equated anticommunism with the Catholic Religion and used the religious sentiments of the people in the electoral campaign" (El Pueblo, newspaper of the Central Committee of the Ecuadorian Communist Party, 5/18-24/84).

"ELECTION RESULTS: A SOBERING EXPERIENCE

AND INTERESTING CONCLUSIONS FOR THE FUTURE"

"The right counted on the ideological weapon of imperialism, anticommunism, and religion used as a political weapon, ... and in this, the Catholic Church and its 'Crusade of the Pilgrim Christ', as well as the visit of a replica of a picture of Our Lady of Fatima to Guayaquil, and the anticommunist prayer that was given full-scale publicity, etc., all played a decisive role among the more backward masses" (El Pueblo, newspaper of the Central Committee of the Ecuadorian Communist Party, 5/18-24/84).

URUGUAY

Uruguay is drawing closer to its first free elections in many years and finds itself in a state of great agitation. As a consequence, there is a serious risk of a strong turn to the left in that country that was once known as the "Switzerland of South America."

In view of this, the Uruguayan TFP published, a few months ago, a "call to the nation" in which it states: "Uruguay will not overcome the present crisis by returning to the vices of the past as suggested by some political leaders, nor by clinging to a paralyzing status quo. History does not stop. Uruguay must and can awake and stand up to the challenge to which history, and above all, Divine Providence, calls her. The title and some subheadings of the document follow:

"The TFP in View of Uruguay's Ideologico-Political Panorama"

"THE MARXIST PARTIES: NECESSARY SCARECROWS

FOR THE VICTORY OF THE MODERATE LEFT"

1. A false alternative between remaining in the present stagnation or returning to the vices of the past is being presented.

2. The measures advocated by the president of the National Party's directory impose an oligarchy and relativize the popular vote.

3. Today, the oligarchies are leftist and the workers conservative.

4. The politicians have neither understood nor learned anything from the tragedy for which they were responsible.

5. Today's problem is not in having a greater participation of the parties, but rather in guaranteeing an authentic participation of the people.

6. The lack of true ideological alternatives may make a dead letter of the will of the majority of Uruguayans.

7. The system of electoral lists.

8. To define the defects is the first step toward correcting them.

emanario

Proletarios de todos los países, uníos!

El Pueblo

ORGANO DEL COMITE CENTRAL DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA DEL ECUADOR

Precio: \$/5

Año 18 No. 1474

Desde el 18 al 24 de Mayo de 1984

ARDIDES DE LA ULTRA DERECHA

¿Que pasó el 6 de Mayo?

Por: Manuel León

Múltiples factores produjeron los resultados electorales del 6 de Mayo, en los que como se sabe, el binomio de la extrema derecha, Fabres Cordero - Paredes, superó al binomio social demócrata Borja - Rigall, por un voto aproximadamente, según cómputos extrajudiciales.

Entre tales factores cabe mencionar: 1) La influencia de las fuerzas políticas en la segunda vuelta, y 2) Los efectos de la publicidad.

Los medios de comunicación como El Comercio y Canal 2, que se jugaron entero. En decir, además de la publicidad pagada, sus periodistas actuaron incondicionalmente a la extrema derecha. Periodistas como la Sr. de Cárpio, Espinoza de los Montes y Patricia Quevedo, realizaron muy eficaces en la tarea de confundir a la opinión pública.



Artil No.1. La extrema derecha perdió de un hecho objetivo y real: la miseria de las masas, el desprecio constante de la economía de los mercaderes laborales. El artil consistió en echar la culpa de todo al Gobierno del Dr. Hurtado y presentar a Borja como controlador de la miseria.

Artil No.2. La extrema derecha ganó a Borja de manera clara y arrojó toda la responsabilidad por haber "perdido" la elección. Familia y amigos "desempeñados" en el momento de la elección.

Artil No.3. La contraposición entre el subvencido larvado y la educación religiosa. El hábito ganado por Alfaro y sus Tenientes y convertido en uno de los mejores argumentos del equipo, fue fuertemente cuestionado, sin la suficiente y contundente respuesta.

Artil No.4. La ciudad de Guayaquil, fue el teatro del debate, se dedicó a maliciar al Dr. Borja, quien al sustraer de su candidatura a que le quedara la responsabilidad de la victoria.

Artil No.5. El debate. No obstante la contundencia de la primera pregunta del Dr. Borja y su espontáneo comentario a la respuesta del Ing. León Fabres Cordero, éste, en el resto del

debate, se dedicó a maliciar al Dr. Borja, quien al sustraer de su candidatura a que le quedara la responsabilidad de la victoria.

Artil No.6. El debate. No obstante la contundencia de la primera pregunta del Dr. Borja y su espontáneo comentario a la respuesta del Ing. León Fabres Cordero, éste, en el resto del

debate, se dedicó a maliciar al Dr. Borja, quien al sustraer de su candidatura a que le quedara la responsabilidad de la victoria.

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Del 18 al 24 de Mayo de 1984

LOS RESULTADOS ELECTORALES ALECCIONADORA EXPERIENCIA E INTERESANTES PROYECCIONES

Por M.H. JIJONS.

Las elecciones presidenciales y los resultados legislativos a los candidatos de la izquierda, con los resultados políticos, que de ellos se derivan, dan mucho que pensar y comentar.

de más de 2.600.000 votos en todo el país, poco suficiente para asegurar el régimen de la derecha al control de los parlamentos de mando del gobierno.

Esta es la primera y más grave consecuencia política, producto de los errores que se cometieron en la campaña electoral de la ID-PCD, que auspiciaba el binomio Borja-Rigall, para presidente y vicepresidente de la República.

Entre esos errores, hay que mencionar el millón de insatisfechos mil votos, el otro.

El crecimiento de votos del binomio Borja - Rigall, está dado obviamente, por los partidos y fuerzas que se adherieron a esa candidatura, PRE, PD, DP, FADU, movimiento sindical revolucionario, etc., en tanto que el crecimiento de votos del binomio Fabres Cordero - Paredes, riera del FRN está dado por los votos abiertos del CPP en el Guayas y otras provincias, los votos indecisos del FRA y los 53.000 papeletas en blanco que sirvió el escrutinio extrajudicial, supuestamente depositados por el MPP.

En este caso, resultó demagógico en boca del candidato de la derecha, pero es evidente que ella avivó a agudizar la lucha entre trabajo y capital, trabajadores y capitalistas, a tal punto que he hecho creer alariado a uno de los más altos representantes del sistema de explotación imperante, el ex-presidente Galo Plaza, diciendo al candidato triunfante que debe olvidarse de sus promesas, porque son un vano alarde.

Por su parte, el movimiento obrero y concretándose el UIU, ha resuelto tomar la palabra al Presidente electo y mostrar la lucha que se vuelve cada día más activa por tales reivindicaciones, que no le son extrañas, puesto a las otras de su plataforma, igualmente de contenido económico-social, hacienda coetánea a más de 2.600.000 ecuatorianos en demandar mejoras por, techo y empleo.

En este caso, resultó demagógico, resultó un arma de

La TFP ante el Panorama Ideológico-Político Uruguayo

LOS PARTIDOS MARXISTAS: Espantapájaros necesario para la victoria de la Izquierda Moderada



BOLETÍN TRADICIÓN FAMILIA Y PROPIEDAD NUMERO ESPECIAL

La Sociedad Uruguaya de Defensa de la Tradición, Familia y Propiedad (TFP) - entidad apolítica, que no persigue ningún interés personal para sus socios y cooperadores, a no ser la preservación y la revitalización de los restos aún vivos de la Civilización Cristiana en nuestra Patria, y que confía con la inquebrantable esperanza que nace de la Fe que, por detrás del caoacónico cruzar de las instituciones y costumbres, característicos de este fin de siglo, nacerá ya en medio del ocaso de estas civilizaciones, la aurea de otra aún más esplendorosa - pide a todos sus compatriotas sin excepción que, abondonando intereses mezquinos, nos acompañen con la grandeza de horizontes propia del cristiano, en la reflexión que sobre la actual coyuntura nacional les proponemos.

1. ENTRE EL ESTANCAMIENTO PRESENTE Y LA REGRESIÓN A LOS VICIOS DEL PASADO: UNA FALSA ALTERNATIVA PARA UN PROBLEMA MAL PLANTEADO.

Aunque no lleguen a confesarlo, guanantes y políticos uruguayos están preocupados por el estado de ánimo de la opinión pública nacional.

• Cansancio con un régimen que se prolonga... Efectivamente, en crecientes sectores de esta opinión se percibe un cansancio con el régimen de excepción, en su tiempo indispensable para erradicar la subversión marxista y que evitó que tuviésemos la triste suerte de Cuba o Nicaragua, pero que se prolonga y según la expresión norteamericana ya pasó su "big-moment". A los ojos de esos sectores la estrategia del equipo gubernamental parece limitarse al status-quo; un status-quo que a su vez parece reducirse a lo económico. Los gobernantes, tal vez por percibir ese estado de ánimo, prometen entregar el poder a corto plazo a los civiles elegidos democráticamente.

Uruguay no saldrá de la actual crisis retrotrayéndose a los vicios del pasado como quieren algunos dirigentes de la clase política, ni aferrándose a un status-quo paralizante como ilusamente esperan otros. La historia no se detiene. Uruguay necesita - y tiene recursos para ello - despertar y ponerse a la altura del desafío que la historia lo convoca y sobre todo, a donde la Providencia lo llama.

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

"BISHOP ASKS PROSTITUTES TO BLESS THE FAITHFUL
AFTER MEETING IN BAHIA"

SALVADOR - "At the end of a mass celebrated to mark the closing of the 6th National Encounter of Marginalized Women, held in the Leaders' Training Center on the island of Itaparica, Antonio Fragoso, Bishop of Crateús, [State of] Ceará, asked a delegation of prostitutes to bless the faithful instead of doing it himself. He explained that this was important 'to obtain pardon for those who work in the pastoral commissions for what they failed to do for the marginalized.'

"In the meeting, which ended yesterday, it was decided that Bishop Afonso Gregory, from the Bishops' Commission of Pastoral Coordination of the Nation Conference of Brazilian Bishops (CNBB), will propose to the organization that a seat be given to representative of the 'Marginalized Women' -- a prostitute or a volunteer from the Pastoral Commission -- in the coordination meetings.

"Signed by Pastoral Commission members and by the delegation of prostitutes, another document was released, this time in defense of the theologian Leonardo Boff, one of the best known theoreticians of Liberation Theology in Brazil" (Jornal do Brasil, 7-23-84).

"IN WOMEN'S CONGRESS, THE CHURCH SPLITS
ON DEBATING THE PROBLEM OF PROSTITUTION"

"SALVADOR - How should the Church view the problem of prostitution and, mainly of the woman who lives from this activity? [Should it] continue to consider the practice a 'personal sin,' work to drive them away from it, and maintain the prohibition for priests to give them sacraments such as communion until they gave it up? "Or, [should it behave] as does Antonio Fragoso, Bishop of Crateús, in Ceará, who sees prostitution as a 'social sin', and therefore defends a change in the teaching of the Church on the subject?

[Bishop Fragoso] even gave a surprising practical example by inviting a prostitute to give the blessing last Sunday, on the closing of the 6th National Encounter of the Marginalized Women, in the Leaders' Training Center on the island of Itaparica.

"Questions as controversial as this subject were debated during the five-day conference in Bahia, which gathered representatives from 40 dioceses in 14 states of the country; 101 women, the majority of whom live or have lived in different types of prostitution, faced bishops, theologians, priests, nuns and lay workers of the pastoral commission with a problem still delicate for the Church and capable of provoking, as was clear during the Congress, explosive reactions in the different sectors of the Brazilian clergy and among the marginalized women who motivated the conference.

"On the 2nd of June, in the University's auditorium in Salvador [capital of the State of Bahia, Brazil], sitting next to one another under the banner, 'The will of God in my life' were Elizabeth Barbosa, a 25-year-old prostitute who has been living in the red light district of Teofilo Otoni for 10 years and who, without giving up the profession, works in the local marginalized women's pastoral commission; the Pernambucan Pankararu indian, Quitéria Maria de Jesus; Valdecy Dias, from the united black group; José Rodrigues, Bishop of Juazeiro; Iolanda Toshie Ide, coordinator of the pastoral commission; Iolanda Leite, representing the prostitutes of Mangue [Rio's prostitution zone], and Fray Leonardo Boff, a theologian of the Church's progressivist line.

(over)

"When I was still a little boy, near my house in Niterói, there was a prostitution house which my parents, neighbors and teachers taught me to regard as the 'residence of evil.' On my way to school I had to pass in front of it, so I would close my eyes and run past, fearing that they would violate me," Bishop José Rodrigues tells to illustrate 'the prejudice with which the Church has viewed this problem'.

"Today, José Rodrigues is Bishop of the Diocese of Juazeiro on the Bahia side of the River São Francisco, where more than two-thousand women out of its population of 70,000 live as prostitutes, one of the highest rates in the country. There, living constantly with this reality, the Church affirms that it has 'learned to reconsider mistaken concepts about a problem that only now a few sectors of the Church have begun to take into consideration and listen humbly to the complaints of marginalized women which, for the most part, are just.

"One of the principal activities of the Church's Pastoral Commission in Juazeiro is dedicated to prostitutes, including schools, a center for arts and crafts and a day-care center. Recently, a group from the German TV came to Juazeiro to make a report on the Pastoral Commission's activities, and after a mass celebrated for the prostitutes one of its workers said that he was astonished at the fact that during the whole sermon the bishop did not once use the word 'sin,' calling the women 'my friends and my sisters,' something that, the camera-man said, 'was unimaginable in a German church'.

"After centuries of grave errors in treating this subject, the Church cannot present marginalized women, the great majority of whom are the poorest of the poor, with a moral position. It must work with them, let them have their say so that they may discover a way out themselves. When to have them give up prostitution is secondary. What is important is not to incriminate them with the label of personal sin, because the sin is society's," Bishop Rodrigues explains" (Jornal do Brasil, 7-29-84).

Bispo pede a prostitutas que abençoem fiéis no fim de encontro na Bahia

Salvador — No final da missa que celebrou para marcar o encerramento do 6º Encontro Nacional da Mulher Marginalizada, realizado no Centro de Treinamento de Líderes da Ilha de Itaparica, o Bispo de Cratéis (CE), D Antônio Fragoço, pediu que a delegação de prostitutas abençoasse os fiéis, ao invés de ele mesmo fazê-lo. Explicou que isso era importante "para serem perdoados os que atuam nas pastorais, pelo que deixaram de fazer em favor dos marginalizados".

No encontro, encerrado ontem à tarde, ficou decidido que o Bispo Afonso Gregory, da Coordenação Episcopal de Pastoral da CNBB, vai levar a esta organização uma proposta para que uma representante da mulher marginalizada — uma prostituta ou uma voluntária da Pastoral — tenha assento nas reuniões da coordenação. O Bispo assinalou que o assunto "merece um exame cuidadoso".

Hoje, às 14h30min, um documento com as conclusões do encontro será entregue à imprensa, na igreja de São Miguel, em Salvador. Firmado pelas pastorais e pela delegação de prostitutas, foi lançado outro documento, em defesa do teólogo Leonardo Boff, um dos mais conhecidos teóricos da Teologia da Libertação no Brasil.

Igreja se divide ao debater problema da prostituição em congresso feminino

Salvador — Como deve a Igreja encarar o problema da prostituição e, principalmente, a mulher que vive dessa atividade? Continuar considerando a prática um "pecado pessoal" e dirigir o trabalho pastoral para o fim de retirar as mulheres da profissão, mantendo até isso ocorrer a proibição aos sacerdotes de ministrar a elas sacramentos como a comunhão, a exemplo do que defende, entre outros, o bispo auxiliar de Salvador, D. Boaventura Kloppenburg, um dos mais respeitados teólogos da Igreja na América Latina?

Ou, como faz o bispo de Cratéis, no Ceará, D. Antônio Fragoço, que vê a prostituição sobretudo como um "pecado social" e, assim, defender uma mudança de conduta da Igreja diante da questão. Ele mesmo deu um exemplo prático surpreendente, ao convidar uma prostituta para dar a bênção, domingo passado, no Centro de Treinamento de Líderes da Ilha de Itaparica, no encerramento do 6º Congresso Nacional da Pastoral da Mulher Marginalizada?

Questões iguais ou tão polêmicas quanto estas foram debatidas durante cinco dias na Bahia, no encontro que reuniu representantes de 40 dioceses em 14 Estados do país. 101 mulheres, a maioria delas vivendo ou tendo vivido diferentes fases da prostituição, colocaram bispos, teólogos, padres, freiras e agentes leigos de pastoral, diante de um problema ainda muito delicado para a Igreja, capaz de provocar, como ficou claro nos dias do Congresso, reações explosivas tanto nos diferentes setores do clero brasileiro, como entre as próprias mulheres marginalizadas que motivaram o encontro.

"Residência do mal"

No auditório do Colégio 2 de Julho, em Salvador, sentados lado a lado, sob uma inscrição na parede — "A vontade de Deus em minha vida" — Elizabeth Barbosa, uma jovem prostituta de 25 anos, há dez vivendo na zona boêmia de Teófilo Otoni e que, sem largar a profissão, atua na pastoral local da mulher marginalizada; a índia Pankararu pernambucana Quitéria Maria de Jesus; Valdecy Dias, do grupo negro unificado; o bispo de Juazeiro, D José Rodrigues; a coordenadora de Pastoral Iolanda Teshie Ide; a representante das prostitutas do Mangue do Rio de Janeiro, Iolanda Leite e o Frei Leonardo Boff, teólogo da chamada linha progressista da Igreja.

— Quando eu era ainda um garoto pequenino, perto de minha casa, em Niterói, havia uma casa de prostitutas, que eu fui ensinado a ver como a residência do mal por meus pais, vizinhos e professores. Ali viviam as preguiçosas, as degeneradas, as pecadoras. Em meu caminho para a escola, era obrigado a passar em frente. Então, eu fechava os olhos e passava correndo, com medo de que elas me violentassem, conta D José Rodrigues, para ilustrar "a forma preconceituosa como a sociedade em geral, e a Igreja em particular, tem encarado esse problema".

Atualmente, D José é bispo da Diocese de Juazeiro, no lado baiano do médio São Francisco, em cuja sede de 70 mil habitantes mais de duas mil mulheres vivem da prostituição, um dos mais elevados índices do país. Lá, convivendo todos os dias com



O Congresso da Mulher Marginalizada reuniu representantes de 14 Estados do país, pertencentes às mais diversas classes sociais.

essa realidade, o religioso fluminense afirma ter "aprendido a rever conceitos equivocados sobre um problema para o qual somente agora alguns setores da igreja começam a olhar de frente e tendo de ouvir, com humildade, as críticas na maioria das vezes justas das mulheres marginalizadas".

Em Juazeiro, a igreja mantém hoje um de seus principais trabalhos de Pastoral voltado para as prostitutas, com escola, centro de artesanato e creche. Recentemente, uma equipe da televisão alemã esteve na cidade baiana para documentar o trabalho pastoral, e um de seus integrantes confessou, após uma missa celebrada para as meretrizes, ter ficado intrigado com o fato de o bispo não ter usado nenhuma vez em seu sermão a palavra pecado. Tendo chamado sempre as mulheres de "minhas amigas e minhas irmãs", o que, segundo o técnico de TV, "é inimaginável numa igreja da Alemanha".

— Depois de séculos de equívocos graves no tratamento dessa questão, a Igreja não pode chegar hoje diante de mulheres marginalizadas, a maioria delas as mais pobres dos pobres, com uma posição moralista. Deve, sim, trabalhar com elas, dar voz a essas mulheres para que elas próprias encontrem a saída. Quando vamos retirá-las da prostituição é um problema secundário. O importante é não incriminá-las com a pecha do pecado individual, quando o pecado é de sociedade — explica D. Rodrigues.

Pecado pessoal

O teólogo D Boaventura Kloppenburg não concorda com as posições do bispo de Juazeiro. Ao contrário, é um crítico veemente das teses doutrinárias dos que, como D Rodrigues e o frei Leonardo Boff, adotam as linhas da Teologia da Libertação em seu trabalho religioso. "Jogar a culpa de tudo na sociedade é bem ao gosto deles, pois assim não se resolve nada", comenta o bispo auxiliar de Salvador.

Para D Kloppenburg, que não participou do encontro em Itaparica, a prostituição é um problema sério de pastoral, e ainda mais das mulheres. Acha, entretanto, desaconselhável o trabalho pastoral que não vise basicamente retirá-las da profissão.

— É inadmissível também, e assim determina a doutrina da Igreja, que a mulher possa continuar nesse ofício e ao mesmo tempo receber a eucaristia, comungar. A prostituição voluntária é um pecado também da mulher que participa disso.

As mulheres que estiveram no congresso da Ilha de Itaparica não têm muitas certezas doutrinárias, e revelaram preocupação maior em relatar a situação que vivem e buscar saída para as dificuldades diárias que enfrentam: a violência policial, o preconceito racial, a situação dos filhos, a falta de oportunidades para as que querem, por opção própria, largar a profissão, a atitude da igreja diante delas, como resumiu Elizabeth Barbosa, de Teófilo Otoni.

Formada em Sociologia, mas vivendo da prostituição na zona do mangue do Rio de Janeiro, Iolanda Leite afirma que as mulheres das classes populares já resolveram parte do problema, aprendendo a conviver com Ele. "Não aceitamos mais a atitude paternalista que nos encara como vítimas, queremos o nosso espaço, porque vítimas de uma sociedade discriminatória como a nossa são as mulheres de uma maneira geral, prostitutas ou não: são as negras, as índias, as empregadas domésticas", diz.

Maria Luiza, do Movimento Negro Unificado, não admite também a tendência de se pretender dessexualizar o problema. Para ela, "a questão da moral e do sexo tem uma grande importância elas, pois foi a partir daí que a igreja, por exemplo, construiu a discriminação contra as prostitutas".

VITOR HUGO SOARES

"BISHOP LUCIANO DEFENDS LIBERATION THEOLOGY"

"In a world of flagrant injustice, Liberation Theology focuses on the right of the oppressed to human dignity and the evangelical duty to create conditions for them to be able to provide for themselves'.

"Thus did Bishop Luciano Mendes de Almeida, Secretary-General of the National Conference of the Brazilian Bishops (CNBB), defend Liberation Theology against the criticisms recently made by Agnelo Cardinal Rossi, President of the Administration of the Patrimony of the Holy See. 'We are not trying to say that Liberation Theology has no values. While it aims at the Latin-American conflict, which is injustice, it is irreversible. One cannot live fraternally in this situation without re-establishing justice'.

"Referring to the possibility of the Holy See's publishing a document on Liberation Theology, Bishop Luciano said that 'Such statement could give rise a misunderstanding on the part of radical forces, especially rightist ones, which would see it not only as an effort to define but as a criticism whose meaning would not be clear to them'" (Folha de S. Paulo, 7-24-84).

NOTE: The document in question was indeed published by the Vatican in the beginning of October.

"BISHOP ANGELICO REACTS AGAINST CARDINAL ROSSI
AND DEFENDS LIBERATION THEOLOGY"

"Liberation Theology is a child which is making serious steps toward a profound incarnation between revealed truth and our reality, that of dramatic misery -- a reality to be transformed by the power of the Gospel,' Bishop Angélico Sândalo Bernardino, President of the South-1 Region of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops (CNBB Sul-1) argued yesterday against new criticisms of Liberation Theology by Agnelo Cardinal Rossi, President of the Administration of the Patrimony of the Holy See, during a visit by Eugênio Sales, Cardenal-Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro, to Indaiatuba [State of São Paulo] on Saturday. Cardinal Rossi said that the Vatican's document on Liberation Theology, to be published within the next three months, will serve as an alert in order to prevent developments such as the one in Nicaragua, which, according to him, offend all the principles of Christian unity.

"Evidently, any document coming from the Holy See about Liberation Theology is important for the whole Church, especially the Church in Latin America. In its 2000 years of existence, the Church has known many theologies, but never one that was able to completely explain the mystery of revelation through scientific formulas. It is necessary to consider that Liberation Theology in Latin America is still in a process of development. Therefore, it is still not a complete and organized system that encompasses all the aspects of the Revelation".

Concerning the Vatican's reactions toward the developments in Nicaragua (where the majority of the priests adhere to Liberation Theology), Bishop Angélico stated: "I won't say anything about what goes on in that country, whose people, up until five years ago, were terribly exploited by the Somoza family, supported by American imperialism. I am also aware that the people of Nicaragua heroically managed to expel the exploiters from power. Evidently, I am not so ignorant as to not see Soviet ambitions in that country. My solidarity with the Nicaraguan people is for them to establish a local brand of socialism which would neither succumb to the Soviet Union nor allow the country to be degraded by American imperialism as happens with practically all of Latin America" (Folha de S. Paulo, 7-23-84).

D. Luciano defende Teologia da Libertação

"O que a Teologia da Libertação propõe é que, num mundo de flagrante injustiça, a própria Teologia focalize o direito à dignidade humana que possuem os oprimidos e o dever evangélico de criar condições para a sua autoprovação."

Nestes termos, o secretário-geral da Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil (CNBB), dom Luciano Mendes de Almeida, defendeu a Teologia da Libertação das críticas feitas recentemente pelo cardeal dom Agnelo Rossi, presidente da Adminis-

tração do Patrimônio da Santa Sé. "Não se trata de dizer que a Teologia da Libertação não tem valores. Enquanto ela aponta a chaga da América Latina, que é a injustiça institucional e estrutural, ela é irreversível. Porque você não poderá viver fraternidade sem refazer a justiça desta situação. Agora, o modo de como chegar a isto é que abre interpretação: uns radicalizam, achando que um dos caminhos seria a violência, exarcebando a luta de classes, mas não é essa a posição comum da Igreja. Insistir nisto é

uma demonstração de incompreensão porque há outro caminho que é mais eficaz, que é o caminho do reconhecimento dos direitos dos oprimidos, na insistência na dignidade que eles possuem e numa adequação urgente, mas sem violência, do estatuto da sociedade para atender este direito", afirmou o secretário.

Referindo-se à possibilidade de a Santa Sé vir a publicar um documento a respeito da Teologia da Libertação, d. Luciano disse que desconhecia sua autoria e conteúdo mas que "os pontos que preocupam não só a Roma

mas a qualquer pessoa que está interessada no assunto é que não se confunda a Teologia da Libertação com a teologia da luta de classes e, menos ainda, com a luta violenta de classes".

"O pronunciamento poderia ser ocasião de uma incompreensão por parte de forças radicais, particularmente de direita, que veriam nisso não só um esforço de pontualização mas uma crítica cujo conteúdo não saberiam discernir", concluiu o bispo.

D. Angélico reage a d. Agnelo e defende Teologia da Libertação

"A Teologia da Libertação é uma criança que está dando sérios passos no sentido de uma encarnação profunda entre a verdade revelada e a nossa realidade, de dramática miséria — uma realidade a ser transformada pelo vigor do Evangelho."

Assim, dom Angélico Sândalo Bernardino, presidente da CNBB Sul-1, reagiu ontem às novas críticas à Teologia da Libertação feitas pelo cardeal dom Agnelo Rossi, presidente da Administração do Patrimônio da Santa Sé, durante a visita que lhe fez sábado, em Indaiatuba (SP), o cardeal-arcebispo do Rio de Janeiro, dom Eugênio Sales. Dom Agnelo disse na ocasião que o documento do Vaticano sobre a Teologia da Libertação, a ser divulgado dentro dos próximos três meses, servirá de alerta para que sejam evitados desdobramentos como os ocorridos na Nicarágua, que, segundo ele, ferem todos os princípios da unidade cristã (Dom Eugênio concordou com esse ponto de vista).

Dom Angélio não viu na visita do cardeal-arcebispo do Rio a dom Agnelo nenhum sentido político: "Acho que foi apenas um encontro entre dois velhos amigos." E observou:

"Evidentemente, todo documento que venha da Santa Sé sobre a Teologia da Libertação é de grande valia para toda a Igreja, especialmente a da América Latina. Nos seus 2.000 anos de História, a Igreja sempre conheceu muitas teologias,

mas nenhuma capaz de esgotar em suas formulações científicas o mistério revelado. Cumpre considerar que a Teologia da Libertação na América Latina encontra-se em processo de elaboração. Portanto, ainda não é um sistema completo, ordenado, que abranja os vários aspectos da Revelação."

Sobre as reações do Vaticano aos acontecimentos na Nicarágua (onde a maioria dos padres segue a Teologia da Libertação e apóia o regime sandinista), dom Angélico afirmou:

"Não entro em considerações a respeito do que se passa naquele país. Sei que aquele povo, até cinco anos atrás, foi terrivelmente explorado pela família Somoza, com o apoio do imperialismo norte-americano. Sei também que aquele povo, de maneira heróica, conseguiu expulsar do poder os exploradores. Evidentemente não sou ingênuo para desconhecer as ambições soviéticas na Nicarágua. A minha solidariedade com aquele povo é no sentido de que consiga instaurar um socialismo caboclo que não sucumba à União Soviética e não permita que o imperialismo norte-americano continue aviltando aquela pátria, à exemplo do que faz em praticamente toda a América Latina."

Já o cardeal-arcebispo de São Paulo, d. Paulo Evaristo Arns, recusou comentar o encontro de Indaiatuba e suas repercussões. "Não falarei sobre esse assunto enquanto a Santa Sé não se pronunciar oficialmente."

THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH . . .

BISHOP CLAUDIO SAYS CHURCH MUST GET INVOLVED
IN CLASS STRUGGLE IN ORDER TO OVERCOME IT"

"Yesterday in Itaici, Cláudio Hummes, Bishop of Santo André and coordinator of the Workers' Pastoral Commission in the Secretariat of the South-1 Region of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, warned that the Church's mission with urban and rural workers can have neither unionized characteristics nor an intention of affecting the legitimate autonomy of the workers' organizations. He believes the Church must play the much more important role of 'recognizing the existence of class struggle and becoming engaged in it, not in order to encourage it, but to overcome it and guide it to the formation of a new society in which labor would have priority over capital'."

"Bishop Humes, whose job was to expound the situation of urban workers to the bishops of the State of São Paulo during their general assembly to discuss the topic 'The World of Work in the Country and the City,' emphasized that the Church can no longer "camouflage social problems resulting from conflicts between capital and labor, or it will run the risk of becoming a disincarnate church' in disagreement with the resolutions of the Second Vatican Council. 'The Church must know how to respond globally and shoulder this world of labor, celebrating it in the liturgy and in all types of evangelization.'

"We must know that we are buried up to our necks in the world of labor, and acting in this field with a Workers' Pastoral Commission alone will not suffice. The whole Church must to shoulder the world of labor and not make this responsibility incumbent upon a small group,' he said.

"In the bishop's opinion, 'The Church must promote class consciousness, for the class society will be overcome only then the unjustly treated acquire critical consciousness. And we will only have justice, equality and fraternity when the worker has priority over the profits of capital'.

"According to Bishop Humes, 'The whole situation of rural and urban workers is the result of the economic and political system and of a recession knowingly planned by the government clearly in the interest of multinational companies and large international banks.'

"...The Church does not preach violence, but realizes that, in the final analysis, the people have the right to defend themselves'" (Folha de S. Paulo, 6-7-84).

D. Cláudio propõe Igreja engajada na luta de classes para superá-la

CARLOS DE OLIVEIRA

Enviado especial a Itaiç

O bispo de Santo André e coordenador da Pastoral Operária do Secretariado Regional Sul-1 da CNBB, dom Cláudio Hummes, advertiu ontem, em Itaiç (município de Indaiatuba, SP), que a missão da Igreja junto aos trabalhadores rurais e urbanos não pode ter características sindicalistas nem a pretensão de passar por cima da legítima autonomia das organizações operárias. Para dom Cláudio, cabe à Igreja desempenhar um papel bem mais importante, que é "reconhecer a existência de uma luta de classes e engajar-se nessa luta, não para incentivá-la, mas para tentar superar os conflitos sociais e apontar na direção de uma nova sociedade, na qual o trabalho tenha prioridade sobre o capital".

Dom Cláudio, encarregado de expor a situação dos trabalhadores urbanos aos bispos do Estado de São Paulo — reunidos em assembléia-geral para discutir o tema "O Mundo do Trabalho na Roça e na Cidade" — destacou que a Igreja não pode mais "camuflar os problemas sociais decorrentes dos conflitos entre capital e trabalho, sob o risco de tornar-se uma igreja desencarnada" e em desacordo com as determinações do Concílio Vaticano 2º. Para ele, "a paz social é fruto da justiça e não da camuflagem da injustiça". De acordo com o bispo de Santo André, hoje, "o trabalho é algo global a ponto de sociedade humana ter-se tornado a sociedade do trabalho. Por isso, a Igreja tem que saber responder e assumir globalmente esse mundo do trabalho, celebrando-o

nas liturgias e em todas as formas de evangelização".

"Temos de saber que estamos enterrados até o pescoço no mundo do trabalho e não basta atuar nesse meio através apenas de uma Pastoral Operária. A Igreja toda deve assumir o mundo do trabalho e não empurrar essa responsabilidade a um pequeno grupo", afirmou. Segundo dom Cláudio, é difícil para a Igreja escapar da tentação de camuflar os problemas, "pois temos a tendência de harmonizar os conflitos, exatamente porque gostaríamos que houvesse paz entre todos".

Na realidade, disse, "é preciso ter presente que vivemos em uma sociedade em conflito, que o mundo do trabalho é também um mundo em conflito e não podemos ficar do lado de fora. Nosso papel, no meio desse conflito, que o Papa não tem medo de reconhecer, não é de sindicalistas nem de tentar substituir as assembléias de trabalhadores, influenciando no que deve ou não fazer. Nosso papel é entrar na luta de classes, evitar a luta armada e violenta e, a partir de dentro, ser uma força de superação do conflito".

Na opinião do bispo, "a Igreja tem de promover a consciência de classe, pois somente se houver consciência crítica entre os injustiçados é que a sociedade de classes será superada, em favor de uma organização social justa e fraterna. É preciso ter consciência da injustiça para podermos lutar contra ela. E só chegaremos à justiça, à igualdade e à fraternidade quando houver prioridade do homem trabalhador sobre os lucros do capital".

Dom Cláudio Hummes analisou ainda as causas da insegurança do trabalhador, motivada pelo desemprego. Segundo ele, "toda a situação atual do trabalhador rural e urbano é fruto do sistema econômico e político vigente e de uma recessão que foi programada conscientemente pelo governo, conforme os interesses muito claros das multinacionais e dos grandes bancos internacionais. Essa recessão faz com que tudo aquilo que o Brasil produz, quer para o mercado externo, quer para a sua sobrevivência, seja carreado para o Exterior. O Brasil, na verdade, está sendo vítima de uma agiotagem internacional e por trás disso estão as decisões políticas que levaram ao sistema atual. Está também a questão da representação, de um governo que se impôs à Nação, que não foi eleito e por isso, entra aí, também, a discussão pelas eleições diretas".

O bispo de Santo André abordou ainda o fenômeno da violência. Disse que ela não pode ser atribuída à ação de partidos políticos ou à ação da Igreja. "Afirmar isso é um farisaísmo muito grande, porque a violência tem origem na necessidade, na fome. É importante denunciar que quem incita o povo à violência é o sistema e suas consequências, entre eles os salários achatados e o desemprego. A Igreja não prega a violência, mas reconhece que, em última análise, o povo tem o direito de se defender". A Assembléia-Geral dos Bispos de São Paulo encerra-se hoje, com a apresentação de propostas para a ação pastoral da Igreja no mundo do trabalho rural e urbano.

FSP 7.6.84

THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH . . .

"BISHOPS PROPOSE AGRARIAN REFORM AND DENOUNCE ECONOMIC POLICY"

"Fighting for an 'authentic, just, efficient and ample agrarian reform' and 'denouncing unemployment and the economic policy of recession implemented in the country' are the principal pledges that the bishops, priests and agents of the Pastoral Commission of São Paulo made yesterday in Itaici at the closing of the general assembly which analyzed the situation of urban and rural workers in the state.

"In the state's rural areas, the Church intends to defend land reform by 'encouraging the workers to unite in such a way as to make them aware of the meaning and substance of this fight.' At the same time, the bishops considered it important to support the committees and organizations demanding land reform so that 'this fight be transformed into a banner of peaceful resistance and of hope, capable of organizing workers, employed and unemployed, from the countryside and the city, to transform the situation of injustice in which we live'.

"As a way of counteracting unemployment in the city, the Church is ready to support 'the just demands and initiatives which are already being made by the fighting committees, workers' movements, peoples' movements, Christian owner-managers and others...'" (Folha de S. Paulo, 6-8-84).

"BISHOP DENOUNCES GENOCIDE OF 10 MILLION BRAZILIANS"

"After five years of drought, ten million died in the Northeast of Brazil, said Manoel Edmilson da Cruz, Bishop of Fortaleza, to the daily Folha de S. Paulo.

"'Who is responsible?,' he asked, and went on to say that [the word] genocide means to kill deliberately.

"One cannot say that the government kills because they mean to do it, he said, but if the Federal Government wished to decrease this genocide, they would not pay ten dollars per month to workers in the Northeast, for they know that this is not a salary of hunger, but a salary of death.

"It is the first time that someone has mentioned the word genocide to describe the drama of the Brazilian Northeast.

"In Brazilian ecclesiastical circles it has been commented these days that the National Conference of Bishops, particularly those of the Northeast, are considering formally denouncing the Federal Government for genocide before judiciary authorities.

"The bishop qualified the situation of the inhabitants of Ceará not as one of beggars, but one of brutal cavemen, hunting rats and lizards in order to survive.

"The prelate said he had seen starving creatures sucking blood from the over-dry breasts of their mothers.

"I remember the city of Sobral, which has 80,000 inhabitants, and where 25 people die of starvation every day. If the government permits such a situation to exist, then I say, it is permitting genocide'" (Telégrafo, Guayaquil, 6/5/84).

NOTE: Although the situation in the Northeast of Brazil is grave -- a fact that no one denies -- the Bishop's statements are evidently exaggerated.

FSP 8.6.84

Bispos propõem reforma agrária e denunciam política econômica

CARLOS DE OLIVEIRA
Enviado especial a Itaiçi

A luta por uma "autêntica, justa, eficaz e ampla reforma agrária, a ser realizada a partir das disposições legais, especialmente as contidas no Estatuto da Terra" e a "denúncia do desemprego e da política econômica de recessão implantada no País" são os principais compromissos que os bispos, padres e agentes de pastoral de São Paulo assumiram ontem, em Itaiçi (município de Indaiatuba, SP), no encerramento da assembléia geral que analisou a situação dos trabalhadores rurais e urbanos do Estado.

Na área rural, a Igreja pretende, ao defender a reforma agrária, "incentivar a união dos trabalhadores, de modo que ele tome conhecimento do significado e conteúdo dessa luta". Ao mesmo tempo, os bispos consideraram importante apoiar os comitês e organizações que reivindicam a reforma agrária, para que "esta luta seja transformada em bandeira de resistência pacífica e de esperança, capaz de organizar trabalhadores,

empregados e desempregados do campo e da cidade, na transformação da situação de injustiça em que vivemos".

Na cidade, a Igreja dispõe-se, como forma de combate ao desemprego, a apoiar "as justas reivindicações e iniciativas que já estão sendo levadas pelos comitês de luta, movimento operário, movimento popular, dirigentes cristãos de empresas e outros, entre as quais se encontram o seguro desemprego, a abertura de frentes de trabalho, a garantia de água e luz, o passe desemprego, a cessão de terrenos desocupados para hortas comunitárias, a redução da jornada de trabalho sem redução do salário, a eliminação das horas extras e criação de novos empregos à adequação das prestações do BNH".

Ontem mesmo, pouco antes do encerramento dos trabalhos, os bispos aprovaram duas moções. A

Telegrafo 5/6/84

Genocidio de 10 millones de brasileños, acusa un Obispo

SAO PAULO (EFE). Diez millones de personas morirán da Cruz ilustra la situación de norte recoge la preocupación en el noreste brasileño al fi-injusticia norestina con los si militar sobre la existencia de

nal de cinco años de sequía, guientes datos: 35 millones de niños atrofiados indicó el Obispo de Fortaleza, En 70 años toda la ayuda por la desnutrición, conside-Manoel Edmilson da Cruz, al del gobierno federal al nores-rando el caso como un proble

diario Folha de Sao Paulo . te equivale al 10 por ciento de ma de seguridad nacional . ¿Quién es el responsable?, los recursos destinados a la Sectores pensantes de las se preguntó el Obispo, quien construcción de la hidroeléc-Fuerzas Armadas se preguntan

precisó que genocidio es ma-tricia de Itaipu . si, en caso de amenaza a la tar con intención deliberada. Los recursos públicos, inexis soberanía nacional, será posi-

. No puedo decir que el go- tentes habitualmente en el nor ble contar con estos desampa- bierno mate porque quiere, este, aparecen en vísperas de rados de la suerte .

puntualizó, pero sí el gobierno elecciones, como sucedió en Según Folha, dos tercios de federal quisiera impedir este 1982, tras cuatro años de se- la población brasileña vive co-

genocidio no pagaría diez dó- quía . mo en la India y muchos de lares mensuales a los noresti- El obispo calificó la condi- ellos como en la Biafra de la- nos en los frentes de trabajo, ción de los habitantes del Cea- guerra civil .

porque sabe que ese no es un ra no ya como mendigos, sino Los sectores militares refe- salario de hambre, sino un sa como trogloditas u hombres ridos creen que aquel tercio lario de muerte . de las cavernas, cazando ratas de la población que vive co-

Es la primera vez que al- y lagartos para sobrevivir . mo en Bélgica no puede sei- quien menciona la palabra ge- El prelado aseguró haber vis tirse seguro en caso de una nocidio para calificar el drama to a criaturas famélicas ma- amenaza exterior .

del noreste brasileño . mando sangre del pecho rese- Los militares consideran ma- En los medios eclesíasticos co de sus madres .

brasileños se comentó estos Recuerdo la ciudad de So- sa estratégica a los recursos días que la conferencia nacio bral, de 80 mil habitantes, don humanos válidos para una hi- nal de Obispos, especialmen- de mueren de hambre 25 per potética situación de conflic- te los obispos del noreste, es- sonas por día. Si el gobier- to armado, y el hambre y la

tarían pensando en denunciar no permite una situación ast, miseria crónica del noreste- formalmente ante la justicia dijo, está permitiendo el ge- duceñ el potencial brasileño de 120 millones de personas a 40 al gobierno federal por geni- nocidio . Otro informe de Folha de millones solamente .



2. Aún no han encontrado la forma de parar el hambre en la zona noreste del Brasil, un sistema índice de mortandad, los niños del vientro de sus esqueléticas madres.

"BISHOP CALLS TO MIND THE 'WRATH OF GOD'"

"José Mário Stroehler, Auxiliary Bishop of Porto Alegre, said yesterday on his radio program 'Voice of the Shepherd,' that Brazil expects from its politicians and leaders 'immediate and concrete answers for a people which is afflicted, starving, despairing and increasingly marginalized and full of wrath, which is, in the final analysis, the very wrath of God'" (O Estado de São Paulo, 7-10-84).

"INVADING LANDS, THE 'PROGRESSIVIST' TACTIC"

"Invasion of privately owned lands is the newest threat to Brazil's agricultural structure. Supporting the constant occupations of land is the whole power of a progressivist Church born out of the concepts expounded in Puebla and Medellin and hidden in organizations supported by priests, agents of pastoral commissions, unionists and farm workers.

The tentacles of this philosophy are not limited to farm lands alone. Preaching the formation of a new society, these tentacles reach out to the cities, inciting raids on and destruction of public and private buildings, provoking robbery and confrontations with police. They are also in homes, 'defending' the interests of domestic employees, and in factories taking part in discussions between employers and workers.

"Whether it be the Pastoral Commission on Land, the Workers' Pastoral Commission, the Pastoral Health Commission or the Pastoral Social Commission, the movement grows, fighting the traditional Church and inciting class mobilization through organizations whose juridical responsibilities are never properly explained.

"They are parallel organizations which put into practice the plans designed by the Basic Christian Communities in the community centers, always in light of the Liberation Theology of Gustavo Gutierrez" (O Estado de São Paulo, 6-1-84).

NOTE: On this question of land invasions in Brazil, promoted by the "Catholic left," see article in the TFP Newsletter (Vol. IV, no. 8).

Invadir terras, a tática "progressista"

Bispo lembra a "ira de Deus"

PORTO ALEGRE
AGÊNCIA ESTADO

O bispo auxiliar de Porto Alegre, dom José Mário Stroehler, afirmou ontem, no programa radiofônico "Voz do Pastor", que "ninguém mais aceita que a sucessão neste país se faça por inventário ou leilão", acrescentando que "os grupos dominantes não podem mais impor com tanta facilidade estruturas ditatoriais".

"Para governar esta sociedade sempre mais complexa — prosseguiu o bispo — foi desenvolvido um regime que se convencionou chamar de democracia. Mas, historicamente, se comprova que os governos autoritários têm dificuldades em fazer o jogo democrático. Sobretudo nos momentos de transição, os detentores do poder querem continuar patrocinando a passagem do poder, pois, em última análise, têm medo do povo. Afastaram-se dele, ou se acostumaram a viver sem ele."

LUIZ CARLOS LOPES e
ANTONIO JOSE DO CARMO

Invadir terras. Este é o mais novo meio pelo qual a estrutura fundiária está sendo ameaçada no Brasil. Apoiando as constantes ocupações de áreas rurais, existe, geralmente, todo o poderio de uma igreja progressista que nasceu dos conceitos de Puebla e Medellin e se oculta em organizações apoiadas por padres, agentes pastorais, sindicalistas e trabalhadores rurais.

Os tentáculos dessa filosofia não se limitam às terras rurais. Pregando o princípio da formação de uma nova sociedade, eles chegam às cidades, estimulando invasões e depredações de prédios públicos ou privados, gerando saques e confrontos com a polícia. Está também nos lares "defendendo" os interesses das empregadas domésticas e nas fábricas participando das discussões entre patrões e operários. Seja a Comissão Pastoral da Terra, a Comissão Pastoral Ope-

rária, a Comissão Pastoral da Saúde ou a Comissão Pastoral Social, o movimento cresce combatendo a Igreja tradicional e incentivando a mobilização das classes em entidades cujas responsabilidades jurídicas nunca são devidamente explicadas. São organizações paralelas que põem em prática os projetos concebidos nas Comunidades Eclesiais de Base e nos centros comunitários, sempre à luz da Teologia da Libertação de Gustavo Gutierrez.

O tema abordado no programa transmitido pela Rádio Difusora, da capital gaúcha, foi "a construção de uma sociedade justa e fraterna", onde dom José Mário enfatizou que o Brasil espera dos políticos e dos governantes "respostas concretas e imediatas para um povo aflito, faminto, desesperado e cada vez mais marginalizado e cheio de ira, que, em última análise, é a própria ira de Deus".