

MICHAEL GETLER

U.S. stakes urgent for El Salvador aid

Washington Post

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

In contrast to the distant and frustrating crises in Iran and Afghanistan, El Salvador is much closer to home. It is a place where U.S. influence always was present and still has some chance to work. "But the tragedy," says one State Department official, "is that it's 10 minutes to midnight. We are coming in so late" with a new policy.

Should El Salvador fall to extremists, it could not help but unsettle neighboring Guatemala and Honduras, State Department officials argue, in a central American version of the falling-domino theory.

Whether the shock waves would drift across the Caribbean Sea to some of the young Caribbean republics now also facing leftist upheavals — but for different reasons — is unclear.

Either way, upheaval throughout the U.S. backyard is clearly exploitable by the Cuban Communist government of Fidel Castro.

The region, one official says, "is America's Balkans," an allusion to the tinder-box area of southern Europe.

Thus, the stakes, as Washington now sees them, are very high. They are undoubtedly compounded by the feeling that a setback in Central America, coming on top of the difficulties in Iran and Afghanistan, might be doubly hard for the United States to digest.

Thus U.S. strategy involves openly stated support for the beleaguered and controversial five-man, military-civilian junta now governing El Salvador.

Though the junta has been unable to win much support or confidence among the various factions of Salvadoran society, White House and State Department officials believe this government is the best — indeed, the only — long-term hope that civil war can be avoided.

Intense U.S. pressure is being levied on the military members of the junta to broaden its political base, carry out truly revolutionary land-ownership and banking reforms, and stop the killing being done in the countryside by elements of its own

armed forces in the name of reform.

This plan has put the United States in the unusual position of advocating overturning an elite, wealthy land-owning class and nationalizing the banking system that is the key to the elite's control.

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

Some officials here say a lesson must be learned from the U.S. experience in Iran, where this country's failure to have contacts with various left-wing dissident groups opposed to the shah eventually left the United States with no influence on revolutionary events.

The new approach is sharply opposed by many conservative U.S. lawmakers and organizations as policies that will turn El Salvador toward socialism and play into Communist hands.

The administration, however, argues in effect that the small, rich oligarchy is finished in El Salvador; that social change is inevitable and that the only realistic course for Washington is to try to channel it into a moderate course in which extremist solutions of both left and right are rejected.

"With the encouraging exception of Costa Rica," Deputy Assistant Secretary of State John Bushnell recently told Congress, "Central America is in the midst of a difficult and complex transition. The old order is disintegrating under a combination of endemic problems, popular revolutionary pressures and destabilizing external influences ranging from Cuban subversion to rising oil prices. But if the old order is passing, an alternative balance has yet to emerge."

Even the Cuban connection to events in El Salvador is being handled in an unusual way by the Carter administration.

Bushnell and former Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance both invoked the Cuban threat on Capitol Hill last month at a time when the administration wanted to win approval for a small package of military aid to the junta.

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Waghorn

CASTRO TRAINS GUERRILLAS

But in private, top State Department officials and U.S. diplomats on the scene play down the Cuban role.

Cuba, they say, is important to a degree but not decisive. Clearly, however, Cuba helps train the leaders of the Marxist guerrilla bands that want to overthrow the government, and it exploits turmoil everywhere it can. Furthermore, these officials observe a heavy supply of arms from Cuba.

The Salvadoran Marxists have a war chest of their own, estimated at \$60 million, acquired by kidnapping wealthy landowners. That's enough money to buy all the arms they need, officials claim.

Aside from the new policy lines, a major personal ingredient of the new U.S. strategy in El Salvador was the dispatch early last month of Robert White, a 53-year-old career diplomat with extensive experience in the region, as the new U.S. ambassador.

White is a controversial diplomat who angers many conservatives. He is an outspoken and articulate advocate of human rights, whose appointment was meant as a signal to liberals and the junta in El Salvador of a new tilt to the U.S. position.

The junta took power on Oct. 15 in what is described by U.S. officials as a progressive revolution carried out by a group of young military officers who seized power from the military dictator, Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero, and threw out some 75 senior army officers.

The first attempt at a coalition with liberal democrats disintegrated around year end when all civilians resigned in protest over military actions. The civilian gap was filled early this year when Christian Democrats joined the government.

Soon after that, in March, the reform programs were begun under heavy pressure from the United States.

Whether they will succeed before the violence of the extreme left and right — which has already claimed hundreds of lives — propels El Salvador into all-out civil war is far from certain, U.S. officials acknowledge.

Aside from violence by leftist guerrillas, the major share of the terror killing in the countryside is attributed to elements of the national guard, a special treasury police force, and some military units that are either engaged in violence or failing to put it down.

The central role of the young colonels in the junta in eventually reforming the military as well as broadening the junta's political base is the reason why the Carter administration fought so hard in Congress in recent weeks to get a \$5.7 million military assistance bill approved.

The bill provides trucks and communications equipment, but no weapons. It was bitterly opposed by some members of Congress who felt that it was dangerous to provide such assistance "to gross violators of human rights.

The administration, with the help of the Cuban argument, prevailed.

At one point the United States also suggested sending so-called military training teams, small squads of specialists, to help train the Salvadoran soldiers. Pentagon officials said such teams could be useful in controlling the violence, since many Salvadoran soldiers now know virtually nothing about firing discipline and tend to fire indiscriminately.

When the proposal surfaced in the press, however, both the Salvadorans and the State Department shelved the idea, fearing that dispatch of the teams would invite charges of U.S. military intervention.

Machu Picchu: An Astonishing Incan Riddle

By Robin and Patricia Harris
Special to The P-I

MACHU PICCHU, Peru — Defying all reason, this awesome ruin, remnant of the ancient Inca civilization which ruled half of South America before the Spanish conquest, stands firmly atop a two-mile-high peak, boldly challenging us all to determine how and why it was put there.

Mystery befits the Incas, and Machu Picchu does its best to deepen the riddle. Below us, 2,000 feet straight down, are the raging rapids of the Urubamba River, roaring northward to combine with other Andes tributaries in forming the Amazon, greatest of all rivers.

In the distance above, Machu Picchu is encircled by the forbidding, glacial, snow-capped Andes, far bigger than our tallest Rockies and second only to the Himalayas in the mountain range ratings.

This is conceded to be the most inaccessible corner of the central Andes, hardly a choice location on which to erect a city.

The most eminent anthropologists cannot agree on where the Incas came from, when they appeared in Peru more than 800 years ago, nor where they went when they vanished 400 years later. Nor can they decide whether Machu Picchu was some sort of pagan religious sanctuary, a hide-out for Incan kings, or a fortress to repel Spaniards attempting to cross the Andes.

It is built of huge white granite stones weighing up to 50 tons, fitted together in odd shapes like a gigantic jigsaw puzzle, joined so closely, with no cementing substance, that not even a razor blade can be inserted between them.

To further confound the experts as to its construction, the Incas did not possess the wheel, and for tools they used only primitive wooden wedges, stone mallets and crude bronze chisels. Disbelieving modern engineers, after inspecting Machu Picchu, have often simply declared it a total impossibility.

As if to tantalize the scientists who vainly have long sought to unlock the secrets of the Incas, they left no written records. Despite their amazing genius in such demanding fields as construction, mining and government, they were completely il-



Llamas graze above the Incan ruins high in the Andes

literate.

Our meager knowledge of their manifold activities is derived from the accounts of priests and officers who interviewed surviving Incas after the Spanish invasion, and the artifacts and ruins examined by archaeologists.

Nothing so excites humans as a mystery, and it is natural that Machu Picchu, truly one of the most intriguing of all, should be Peru's foremost tourist attraction, drawing many thousands of travelers annually.

It has been established that while it was occupied neither the other natives nor the Spaniards were aware of its existence. From the time in the 16th century when it was abandoned until 1911, when it was discovered by an enterprising young Yale professor, Hiram Bingham, Machu Picchu was deserted.

Bingham, later to become both governor and senator from Connecticut, had heard rumors about the

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mythical site on previous Andes expeditions from old Indian wise men, who told him roughly where it was supposed to be.

As tourist destinations go, it is still difficult to reach.

We fly an hour from Lima to Cuzco, once the capital of the entire Inca domain and now a thriving city of 140,000, and then take a spectacular four-hour train ride, leading first through the lush and fertile valleys of the Cuzco region and then into the Andes and the wild gorges of the Urubamba.

The last leg which brings us to the lower base of the ruins is made on a small and slightly uncertain bus that winds its perilous course up the sheer mountain face along a narrow road with 14 of the sharpest hairpin turns ever seen. It is named the Hiram Bingham highway, a somewhat flattering term for this precarious path.

From the base, the visitor goes on foot through the ghostly granite buildings, neatly terraced one on top of another, requiring the climbing of more than 3,000 ten-inch rock steps and a lot of stamina.

At the very summit, appropriately for a race of sun worshipers, is an enormous sun dial, which keeps perfect time. The Incas obviously had an understanding of the sky and the stars and one of their most remarkable achievements was an accurate 12-month calendar.

The arduous trip is well worthwhile, a rewarding experience which

you will never confuse in memory with any other you have taken. Our doughty little diesel electric railway car deserves a note for the resolute way it progresses up the steep Andean inclines by a system unique to Peru.

It is called back-switching, which means that the cars must zig-zag upward, alternating between forward and reverse directions and gradually rising with each switching. One route using this Peruvian method attains a height of 15,805 feet, highest altitude of any rail line in the world.

SHOPPING TIPS: — Peru is the least expensive country in South America and therefore full of bargains. At Cuzco's busy sweater factory we found superbly soft and colorfully designed things of soft alpaca fur in the 12 to 20 dollar range. Despite the boom in silver prices, we found exceptionally attractive silver jewelry at half the cost in the states.

Little shops in Cuzco offered interesting water colors for a few dollars each. Haggling is expected and welcomed in Peru, so never accept the first price. Be sure to try the local coca tea, tasty and non-narcotic though it comes from the same bean as cocaine. Down here they claim that it will ward off almost any ailment, especially the altitude sickness which upsets many visitors to the Andes regions.

Brazil

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Pope opening tour of Brazil

VATICAN CITY (AP) — Pope John Paul II leaves for Brazil early today, dismissing complaints he prefers globe-trotting to managing the Vatican's business and flying into the continuing controversy over the church's political role in developing countries.

It will be the pope's seventh trip since he assumed the papacy in September 1978, and his longest and most grueling journey.

John Paul will visit 13 cities in 13 days, covering nearly 6,000 miles of a country in which the conservative government's distress over reformed-minded Roman Catholic priests ranges from embarrassment to harassment.

When the pope returned from a trip to Africa last month, some cardinals questioned his frequent tours in light of pressing considerations back in Rome.

In a State of the Church speech on the eve of his departure, the pontiff served notice to members of the Curia, the church's central administration, that he would continue to travel "to all latitudes . . . in the planetary sphere" to spread his pastoral message.

Despite the pope's insistence on the spiritual nature of his mission, the Vatican's Daily Osservatore Romano said only John Paul can "dissipate clouds of uncertainty and doubt gathering over the Brazilian people."

The pope will be unable to avoid the conflict pitting activist priests demanding social justice against the military-backed government and traditional Catholic sectors.

"The attitude which the pope will take on emerging problems in Brazil will be interpreted in Latin America as an indication for the entire subcontinent," said one of the aides accompanying the pope.

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Tour of Brazil wearies pope

SAO PAULO, Brazil (AP) — Pope John Paul II told the restive workers of Latin America's largest city Thursday the Roman Catholic church supports their rights because "man and his dignity are at stake," but emphasized the church's mission is "essentially ethical and religious."

A stinging introductory speech by a local metalworker who was going to condemn "the savage capitalism of multinational corporations and their exorbitant profits" was shortened at the last minute and its most violent parts deleted. Local church officials said this was done because the pope was running behind schedule.

The 60-year-old pontiff, looking tired and speaking in a hoarse voice, told 120,000 people packed into a soccer stadium the church does not intend "to administer society or take the place of legitimate organs of action and deliberation."

Government officials had expressed concern that any comment the pope made on labor affairs could set off another confrontation in this industrial center of 12 million people.

Many clergymen in Brazil, the world's largest Catholic country, have joined labor in fighting the military-backed government's efforts to hold down wages — and the pope cautiously voiced support for the diocese's efforts.

Pope pays tribute to Brazil bishops

BRASILIA, Brazil (AP) — Pope John Paul II came to Brazil Monday on what he called "a pastoral and religious mission" and lost no time in stressing his traditionalist position in a dispute between the church and the military-backed regime of the world's largest Roman Catholic country.

The pope paid tribute to Brazil's bishops in a speech at Brasilia's military air base. But he warned half a million people in an afternoon open-air Mass that the church's mission cannot be reduced "just to socio-political matters."

Clergymen in Brazil are deeply involved in social and political issues such as the struggle for land between rich and poor, the rights of union workers and the defense of native Indians who are being forced off native tribal lands. Some bishops and priests here urge active church participation in such matters, while others say the church's role should be one of just spiritual support.

Stones Against Guns In Bolivia

LA PAZ, Bolivia (AP) — Right-wing militants, believed to advocate a military coup, clashed in the main square of Santa Cruz yesterday with students who favor democratic elections. Officials said two persons were killed.

The ultra-conservatives of the Bolivian Socialist Falange party seized government buildings around the square and held the area for about five hours before being driven out by students, a reporter on the scene said.

"The students tried to rush the plaza by throwing rocks but they were driven back at first by gunfire. I saw two students fall after they were shot and I think more were wounded," said Edwin Chacon, a reporter for Presencia of La Paz.

Officials said one of the dead was student Alcides Garcia, 17. The identity of the other, a woman, could not be established immediately.

Chacon said about 20 Falangists, some armed with automatic weapons, battled with 1,000 students who charged into the plaza and fought with rocks, clubs and shovels.

Military units that had moved into the city earlier were withdrawn to barracks. Police did not intervene, Chacon said.

President Lidia Gueiler met in emergency session with members of her Cabinet yesterday to discuss the situation in Santa Cruz, the second-largest city in Bolivia and about 400 miles east of La Paz.

Earlier yesterday the Falangists looted the U.S. consulate in Santa Cruz, the Bolivian-American Cultural Center, a regional workers center and the electoral court headquarters, official sources said.

The sources said 50 to 100 peasants — some carrying automatic weapons — rifled files, broke furniture and carted off typewriters and other equipment. No Americans were in the buildings at the time. There were no injuries in that incident.

American sources reported heavy gunfire in various parts of the city during the night.

The Falangists continued to hold most Santa Cruz radio stations, apparently with the cooperation of the military. The stations broadcast martial music and appeals for the American ambassador's ouster and for the army to stage "a patriotic uprising."

On Tuesday, the peasants shot their way into the office of Santa Cruz Gov. Walter Pereira, wounding him seriously.

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Talks In Island Rebellion

PORT VILA, New Hebrides (AP) — Rebel leader Jimmy Stevens agreed to preliminary talks aimed at ending a three-week insurgency in the South Pacific island chain, the government announced yesterday. Only a day before, natives rolled oil drums and trucks onto the airfield of the rebel-held island of Espiritu Santo to prevent government negotiators from landing their plane.

But Stevens agreed to talks today after the government threatened to use force to remove the rebels, who have declared an independent republic known as Vemerana.

The New Hebrides are jointly owned by Britain and France.

Stevens, leading a rebellion of bow-and-arrow-armed natives and a few French planters, is said to enjoy the support of conservative American businessmen who want to set up a tax-free haven on the island.

Home Affairs Minister George Kalkoa said, "I'm not placing any hopes on it (the negotiating session). If it all falls on the negative side we will have to use force. We will sit on the backs of Britain and France and say 'are you going to help us or not?'"

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International
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El Salvador's Agony: 24 Hours of Terror Leave 11 More Dead

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador (UPI) — Terrorists struck another eight times in a 24-hour period ending yesterday, killing 11 persons including a Protestant pastor, and a teacher and his 72-year-old mother, who were hacked to death, authorities said.

The latest bloody chapter in El Salvador's right-wing and left-wing political strife came as leftists announced the creation of a new guerrilla group and its integration into the left-wing terrorist alliance fighting to overthrow the military-civilian junta.

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The new group, the Armed Forces of Liberation, joined the alliance of four other leftist groups fighting the U.S.-backed regime through guerrilla warfare and terrorism, a clandestine communique released late Tuesday said.

In the latest political violence, about 50 guerrillas from the left-wing Popular Liberation Forces ambushed

a military supply convoy on a highway 42 miles north of San Salvador. The guerrillas killed four soldiers, wounded eight and suffered at least four wounded themselves before being driven off, the sources said. Seven civilians were also killed in terrorist attacks since late Tuesday, officials reported.

In the capital, grade school teacher Jorge Ceron, 49, was hacked to death with machetes by four unidentified men. Later, Ceron's 72-year-old mother, Mrs. Marcelina Ceron, also was hacked to death with machetes by four men when she went to her son's house after preparing funeral arrangements, officials said.

Nicaragua to try 7,000 charged with war crimes

MANAGUA, Nicaragua (AP) — Some 7,000 accused war criminals and collaborators of the Somoza regime face a lengthy series of public trials that could start as early as this week.

The star defendant will be the ousted President Anastasio Somoza himself, though his trial on genocide charges will be conducted in absentia. He is living in exile in Paraguay.

The proceedings, which one local newspaper describes as "Nuremberg without the gallows," a reference to the World War II trials of German war criminals, may open as soon as Wednesday, diplomatic sources here say. They could last as long as six months.

Nicaragua has no death penalty and the maximum penalty the defendants face is 30 years in prison. Many of the German war criminals at Nuremberg were hanged.

Sergio Ramirez, a member of the junta that now rules Nicaragua, has said the trials will be public and the government welcomes the attendance of international watchdog agencies such as Amnesty International, the London-based human rights group that won the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize.

An Amnesty spokesman reached in London had not heard of the invitation, but said his group was always interested in observing "political trials."

The proceedings will judge some 4,500 former national guard troops charged with murder and former members of the toppled government accused of fraud, theft, torture, extortion and other crimes. They are all in jails throughout Nicaragua.

Besides the exiled Somoza, hundreds of his supporters who fled the country will be tried in absentia, as will scores of others who currently crowd foreign embassies here in hopes of obtaining asylum. Paraguay has no extradition treaty with Nicaragua.

7 Die in Riot During ^{P.1.} 12/11/78 El Salvador Protest

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador (UPI) — Armed leftists hurling gasoline bombs and wielding clubs surged into a "peace" march by 10,000 women yesterday in a bloody melee that left seven persons dead, witnesses said.

At least eight of the women, members of the "Pro Peace Committee," were injured after being battered with clubs by the leftists, who are fighting the civilian military junta in the Central American nation.

Witnesses said the leftists shot

three of the men trying to protect the women and a car plowed into the procession, killing two female marchers and a youth.

The seventh fatality was a leftist shot to death by police as he tried to place a gasoline bomb in a store window in downtown San Salvador, the witnesses reported.

Three other women members of the Pro Peace Committee of housewives, professionals and office workers were run over by a car and taken to a hospital in ambulances. There was no report on their condition.

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Rights Group Aims at U.S.

LONDON — (AP) — Executions, arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, and staged disappearances formed a global pattern of human rights abuse in 1979, Amnesty International said yesterday in its annual year-end report.

The London-based group, which was awarded the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize for its international work on behalf of political prisoners, also praised what it called an increasing concern for rights of the individual in Europe, some African nations and Indonesia, where the government has released tens of thousands of persons imprisoned for political offenses.

The annual review also reiterated Amnesty International's findings on the human rights situation in Iran.

While confirming again that political prisoners were tortured for 15 years under the deposed shah, it denounced the imprisonment without charge of thousands of alleged shah supporters and the execution of hundreds more after secret and summary trials under the new Islamic regime.

Amnesty's 219-page report detailed proven and alleged violations in 96 countries, including:

- The United States. Amnesty said it is investigating allegations that illegal aliens from Mexico and Mexican-Americans are "victims of systematic ill-treatment" and other claims that the prosecutions of some American Indians and blacks are politically motivated. Amnesty also said, "The large number of people under sentence of death in the United States, nearly 500 at the time of writing, continues to be a matter of great concern."

- The Soviet Union. It said political dissidents are still being sent to psychiatric institutions despite international condemnation and that Soviet authorities "continued to imprison religious and nationalist dissenters, would-be emigrants and non-conformist writers for exercising their civil and political rights."

- Egypt and Israel. Amnesty reported waves of arrests in Egypt of those opposed to the peace treaty with Israel. The Israeli government was accused of abusing Palestinians, especially in the occupied territories seized in the 1967 Mideast War.

On Latin America, the report was unreservedly harsh.

It railed against political disappearances, to which Amnesty said the international community paid little attention, and said the worst offenders were Chile and Argentina, where it accused military leaders of using terrorism to keep the country in a "stage of siege." In the Central American nation of Guatemala, it said, 770 unidentified bodies believed murdered were found in one cemetery alone.

Puerto Rican nationalists unifying

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico (AP) — Though their numbers are small, advocates of Puerto Rican independence and those who want the U.S. Navy off Vieques Island are defending issues that have a heavy emotional impact among this island's 2.7 million people.

Last Monday the two issues fueled a bloody road terrorist attack on a Navy bus in which two Americans were killed and 10 wounded. Three small nationalist groups claimed responsibility.

It was the first sign that parts of the hitherto sharply splintered nationalist movement might be forging a unified front.

Advocates of independence for this Caribbean is-

analysis

land, linked to the United States in a commonwealth arrangement, range from the tiny bands of militant ultra-leftists who said they staged the bus attack, to the Marxist-Leninist Puer-

to Rican Socialist Party, to the Puerto Rican Independence Party.

The social democrat Independence Party, which has lost considerable political clout over the past decade, has recently been moderating its policies. Only last month it backed away from its stand for immediate independence in the unlikely event that it should be voted into power.

All the pro-independence groups boycotted the last island-wide referendum on independence, more than a decade ago. Those who favored Puerto Rico's becoming America's 51st state showed surprising strength then, while the independence movement got almost no votes.

Since then, Puerto Rico's dependence on the United States has grown.

The most important factors include an emerging middle class and the full U.S. citizenship that Puerto Ricans have enjoyed since 1917. This allows them to migrate freely to the mainland for jobs and to get federal aid, including the food stamps now used by more than half the islanders.

In the last election, in 1976, the Independence Party got only 59,000 of 1.4 million votes cast and failed to elect anyone to

either the 51-member House of Representatives or the 27-seat Senate. In the previous Legislature it had one senator and two representatives. The Socialists did even worse in 1976, polling fewer than 10,000 votes.



JACK ANDERSON

Nazi Horrors Move South

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S. A. HALL

Are the horrors of Nazi Germany being relived in South America through an unholy alliance between right-wing totalitarian regimes and war criminals from Adolf Hitler's Third Reich? A top-secret Senate report raises this disquieting possibility.

Over the years, we have reported eyewitness accounts of the unspeakable methods of torture used by the military dictators of Latin America against political opponents and their suspected allies. Women are raped repeatedly while their husbands are forced to watch, babies are tortured in front of their parents. Uncooperative suspects are asphyxiated in piles of excrement, or roasted to death over barbecue pits.

Apparently, it is no coincidence that some of these dictatorships are havens for Nazi war criminals who managed to escape the collapse of Hitler's Germany. In 1945, competent sources have told our associate Dale Van Atta that Nazi refugees have offered their inhuman expertise to the secret police of their adopted countries and may even be directing some of the Hitler-style torture and extermination of political dissidents.

And it may be no coincidence that five of the countries named in the torture charges — Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina — are also members of an international as-

sassination consortium known as "Operation Condor." As we reported earlier, Condor's "Phase Three" section first identifies common enemies in foreign countries (including the United States) then tracks them down and finally eliminates them. The dynamic execution of Chilean exile leader Orlando Letelier in Washington three years ago was listed by the FBI as a possible Condor operation.

DINA, the infamous secret police of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, was responsible for the Letelier murder, according to the confessed hit man. And a top-secret Senate report raises the possibility that DINA carries on under a new name after Pinochet "reformed" it, is perpetrating SS-type brutalities at a Nazi enclave called "The Colony" at Parral, Linares Province, Chile.

"An informed source indicated that DINA has maintained a detention center inside The Colony, and there are allegations that torture has taken place there," the secret report states. "Allegations also have been made that German personnel, who are described as ex-Gestapo and ex-SS officers, have given instruction in torture techniques and have actually taken part in the application of these techniques."

The Colony, a commune officially named "La Dignidad" ("Noble Bearing"), was established on a 3,000-acre

tract by refugee German Luftwaffe officers at the end of World War II. CIA sources have identified the leader as Franz Pfeiffer Richter, referred to as "The Commander." He runs The Colony in military fashion; the men wear uniforms and maintain close ties with Chilean military officials, particularly with Chilean Air Force officers.

"The Colony maintains complete autonomy over its territory," the report states. "Investigations into its activities have always come to an abrupt halt."

The Colony's main source of livelihood for its 250 men, women and children is a large dairy farm, but it has "modern, sophisticated, German-made communications equipment which allows it to maintain contact with other pro-Nazi elements throughout South America and Europe," the report notes, adding: "The Colony has received large amounts of money over the years, probably from German Nazis."

And DINA, the Chilean military's thorn Gestapo, used The Colony's international contacts to further its murderous dirty work in foreign countries, the report concludes.

Adolf Hitler's "1,000-Year Reich" may not have perished in the rubble of Berlin after all.

The Great Paragquat Flap may turn

out to have been a tempest in a teapot. For three years, marijuana smokers have been huffing and puffing over the U.S.-supported spraying of the herbicide paragquat on Mexican marijuana fields. Pro-pot lobbyists have charged that the State Department endangered the health of millions of marijuana users who have inhaled the weed-killer's residue in the hallucinogenic smoke of their favorite weed.

But the results of scientific tests by the respected Mount Sinai School of Medicine show that, even at incredibly high levels of ingestion, "there is no difference in (the) effects of . . . paragquat and marijuana alone."

While warning that marijuana smoke is toxic, the researchers found that "the residual paragquat coming over as smoke does not increase this effect."

Mount Sinai's report to the National Institute on Drug Abuse, made available to House Narcotics Chairman Lester Wolff, D.N.Y., says that "the tentative conclusion is that paragquat at 1,000 and 5,000 parts per million does not increase the toxicity of marijuana smoke."

To reach a paragquat level of only 500 parts per million, a marijuana user would have to smoke more than 100 "joints" per day, congressional researchers calculated.

Start the Presses In Nicaragua

The best news to come out of Nicaragua since the thunder of revolutionary guns died down is that the new government is getting ready to start the presses. Most restraints on news gathering are about to be lifted.

The press won't be entirely free. Certain "general guidelines" are to be laid down by the five-member ruling junta. Praise of the departed President Anastasio Somoza Debayle will not be allowed. But independent newspapers, radio and television stations are going to get back to the business of informing the public, a rather important business in a nation that is 55 percent illiterate.

As for restrictions on reporting political news, other than the few

guidelines, one official said, "None at all."

Xavier Chamorro, editor of La Prensa and brother of Pedro Chamorro, who was murdered because of his outspokenness, said of his newspaper's plans: "The role we're going to play is an independent role, one of critical support for the government. We will put an emphasis on the need for the pluralistic expression in government of all groups. It was one of Pedro's ideas . . . Now we see things moving in the right direction."

If Nicaragua can continue to move in the direction of a fully independent press, it will be building its best defense against the emergence of another dictatorship.

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South America

New York Times 2-5-80

2 Ex-Prisoners of Argentina Tell Of Abuses, Killings and Torture

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH

Amnesty International has issued a report that includes allegations from two escaped prisoners who said they saw hundreds of people jailed, tortured and killed in three years under Argentina's military rule.

The statements by the two men offered details of the conditions in five secret camps in Buenos Aires, where they said they were held during a 15-month period before they escaped last year. According to their accounts, Jewish prisoners were singled out for harsh treatment.

Both men said they were kidnapped and taken to a building in the capital that served as a prisoner depot, "where the only law was terror." They said that they were kept blindfolded and shackled for days and beaten and that all prisoners passed through the "lion's den," where newcomers were tamed by systematic torture using electric cattle prods. "You could hardly see the original yellow paint on the walls, which were covered with all sorts of stains and blood," the two survivors said in their statements.

The two men, who are now living in the Netherlands, were identified by the international human rights organization as Oscar Alfredo González, a 29-year-old political activist, and Horacio Cid de la Paz, a member of a left-wing political group who said he was 20 years old when he was arrested.

Amnesty International said the men came forward after the rights organization published a list in 1979 of 2,665 people who were known to have "disappeared" in Argentina since the coup that brought Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla to power in March 1976. Amnesty said it spent months cross-checking the two survivors' testimony against their own records and collecting corroborative data from sources in Argentina.

Hernán Massini-Ezcurra, an official at the Argentine Embassy in Washington,

said in a telephone interview that the embassy had not received a copy of the report. He said Government policy is not to reply to such charges from private organizations.

Amnesty International, in releasing the statements of the two survivors, said that their account and the lists they furnished of prisoners' names threw new light on the probable fate of the thousands of Argentines who disappeared over the last few years. Some rights groups say the number of missing is now 15,000.

The two estimated that 800 people passed through the camps where they were held during their months there, and they supplied data on 330 along with diagrams of the camps and descriptions of the activities of the military and security forces who supervised them.

According to Amnesty, they managed to survive by adopting an attitude of submission, but how they gained their freedom last February was not disclosed.

Most of the 330 others they talked about were not so fortunate. They said 62 were released but the others, after torture and interrogation, were taken away for "transfer," which they said was a euphemism for death.

They said prisoners usually were transferred in groups of 30 to 50 and guards were heard to tell them they would receive injections of a tranquilizer because they faced a long journey. Shackled and blindfolded, they were loaded into trucks, some wearing just underwear in midwinter. They were never seen again.

According to one account repeated by the two survivors, camp inmates discovered that the transferred prisoners were sedated and loaded into a plane "from which they were thrown into the sea, alive but unconscious."

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST!

Murder in a Cathedral

THE MURDER of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero while he was saying mass at a church in San Salvador is, as Pope John Paul II says, an "execrable crime." A towering figure in El Salvador, known for his efforts to identify the Catholic Church with the aspirations of the oppressed people, the archbishop had long been a potential victim of the violence that has turned his Central American homeland into a hell on earth. He went about, nonetheless, as though the love of his flock would protect him. It defines the politics of his country that he could have been murdered either by the extreme left, hoping to precipitate the total disintegration in which it might pick up power in the streets, or by the extreme right, hoping to provoke the popular uprising that would unseat the junta.

Archbishop Romero's career is a telling commentary on life in a society in agony. Born to a humble family, he was chosen for his post by a conservative hierarchy obedient to El Salvador's rulers. He then was "converted" to the more liberal "liberation theology" that evolved from the Latin bishops' conference at Medellin, Colombia, in 1968. That was based on a fundamental shift of church emphasis from spiritual to social concerns. El Salvador, ruled by arguably the narrowest and most corrupt elite in Latin America,

was a natural place for such a philosophy to take root. For Archbishop Romero, it meant an increasingly strained attempt to balance the two ideas: the idea of peaceable change, which seemed to play into the junta's hands, and the idea of social justice, which seemed to require at least a certain tolerance for Marxist revolution. The archbishop was in uncertain suspension between these points when he died.

Undeniably, his death supplies powerful posthumous impetus to his recent political advice, especially to his appeal to Jimmy Carter to retract his pending offer of military aid to the civilian-military junta currently attempting the formidable task of establishing a workable center in El Salvador. The archbishop was reflecting a widespread Salvadoran fear that American military aid might merely strengthen the forces of repression. His murder, however, would seem to underline how intolerable it would be for the United States to abandon the center now and leave the field to the two extremes. Whether the junta can in fact consolidate power and use it for the benefit of the many is a fair question. But there can be no question that if the junta does not, the people whom Archbishop Romero served so bravely will be the ones who pay most.

Why Play with Fire?

DEATH UPON death is the scene in El Salvador. At the funeral of Archbishop Oscar Romero, himself gunned down while saying a funeral mass, gunmen fired obscenely into the crowd of mourners, leaving some 30 dead and hundreds injured. In a land where hundreds die from political murder monthly, the toll was notable not so much for its size as for being witnessed by the large foreign press corps gathered for the archbishop's funeral. As with his murder, a debate over whether the left or the right was responsible for the mourners' massacre is feeding into the larger debate over how the violence can be brought to an end.

Especially with Archbishop Romero's death, many in El Salvador are yielding to a pessimistic view that further violence is unavoidable. In this spirit, despairing admirers of the murdered prelate urge that the United States remove itself from the Salvadoran struggle, specifically, by countermanding its offer of military equipment to the civilian-military junta ruling—precariously there. That junta, however, including respected Christian Democratic politicians and reform-oriented officers, seems to the administration—and to us—to

offer the last available barrier to a collapse into total barbarity and civil war. El Salvador's infamous oligarchy, with its private armies, on the right and various terrorists, some Cuban-equipped, on the left oppose the junta for its promise of order and reform. That is its challenge and its best advertisement too.

Americans may fairly ask: Why should the United States, by conducting an activist policy, risk being burned? Why not let the fire rage? For one reason, El Salvador's special history lends morbid credibility to forecasts of deaths in the tens of thousands—a human catastrophe the United States is morally bound to help try to avert. For another, such a deepening tragedy would cripple a country in the American neighborhood, leaving it vulnerable to extremist takeover and liable to affect other places of more or less revolutionary potential in Central America. The example of Nicaragua, where American policy did not move fast or far enough to preempt a military victory by leftists alone, is relevant here. The hint down the road of turbulence in Mexico, whose proximity, size and oil make its future a matter of all-consuming importance, gives final reason for the United States to encourage and fortify the region's forces for peaceful change.

U.S. Embroys Question Military Aid to El Salvador

By Christopher Dickey
Washington Post Foreign Service

SAN SALVADOR, March 28—In the four days since the assassination of El Salvador's archbishop Oscar A. Romero, U.S. diplomats here have expressed reservation over the merits of U.S. military aid now being considered in Washington for El Salvador's fighting civilian-military junta.

While they do not explicitly oppose the aid, which administration officials earlier this week told Congress is essential to restore peace here, the diplomats have repeatedly charged Salvadorean military factions with "excesses" of violence.

Previously, the U.S. diplomats had prepared much of the country's killing the rightist paramilitary groups operating independently of the armed forces, and portrayed the military as the only force capable of controlling the extreme right and left.

Speaking to a mostly conservative group of businessmen here today, U.S. Ambassador Robert E. White called these military elements "the enemy within."

"There rests a heavy responsibility," in the view of White, "on the United States." White told the businessmen, "on the other hand, the military forces to put an end to the abuses... If the abuses continue, you are going to find, just as in Nicaragua, a country-side radicalized by barbaric acts."

According to figures compiled by the Roman Catholic church here, 689 people have been killed since the beginning of the year in political violence. The church lists the majority of them as peasants killed by the armed forces. The army maintains that those it had killed had died in military confrontations with guerrilla groups.

The essential question in the minds of several embassy officials here is whether the proposed military aid package, consisting of \$57 million in transportation and communications equipment, will help bring the opposite elements of the armed forces under control, or encourage them.

The original aid package, drawn up several months ago when the United States decided on strong support for the coalition junta, called for sending U.S. Army trainers and weapons. That program was reworked when it became clear that neither the U.S. nor the Salvadoran governments was prepared to accept the political costs of appearing to contribute to military repressions.

The \$47 million would come out of reprogrammings of fiscal 1969 funds, and therefore does not need congressional authorization. The administration, however, is required to notify Congress of its plans and members of both the House and Senate have raised questions over the advisability of the aid. Should any congressional committee raise serious objections, it is considered unlikely that the administration would implement the program.

"We are in a tough situation," White told reporters earlier this week. "Our success will depend to a certain extent on our willingness to provide the military with material. If you stop the supplies, that diminishes your influence and eventually is even worse."

"On the other hand, there is the problem that we do not want to give the impression that we totally support the armed forces as presently constituted. In some quarters, that would be interpreted as U.S. approval of the excesses. I assure you that is not true."

White also said that he believed the extreme right, possibly using a hired professional force from outside the country, was responsible for murdering Archbishop Romero.

In addition, White declared that the nation's most popular leftist leader, Juan Chacon of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc, had been assassinated today. But Chacon later held a news conference and said the death report was part of a plot concocted by U.S. imperialism. "If he had been killed, the impact could have been intensely violent."

Before Romero's assassination Monday night, U.S. diplomats and El Salvador's fragile civilian-military government were showing first tentative signs of optimism about a possible peaceful solution for El Salvador's conflict.

Violence by Marxist extremists and right-wing forces both inside and outside the Army continued, but the massive agrarian and economic reforms initiated at the beginning of the month seemed seriously to have undercut the left by preempting some of its most potent promises to the land-poor.

The government's reform program appeared more balanced and moderate since it began to accept the reality of the reforms, if not to endorse them.

"Understanding was growing every day," said one member of the governing junta. Both members of the government and the U.S. Embassy were making a concerted effort to reach an understanding with the archbishop, who had been one of their most vocal and powerful critics. Ambassador White attended the archbishop's last Sunday mass.

The murder of Romero is generally seen as an effort to destroy such peaceful alternatives and reduce the changes of reaching a settlement. It was widely expected to precipitate rioting and a breakdown in the way that the military and the archbishop King Jr. had been working since a dozen years ago. The murder of Chamorro did not occur until 1976.

That it has not at least not yet is due partly to the shock felt by the people of El Salvador, apparent on the faces of the thousands of mourners who are passing by the glass-topped coffin of the archbishop lying in San Salvador's vast, unfinished cathedral.

As one church worker put it, "This was the final blow. The people here are sick of the killing. The murder of a priest during a mass—the murder of the archbishop—these unbelievable. They want the killing to stop."

Few people actually expect that it will. Militant leaders have called for a general strike to be signaled by a general power takeover at any moment. A similar strike was called early last week and it drew the great popular support but ended with nothing in the streets and the deaths of more than 50 people by official counts. Other estimates range upwards of 100.

...the great danger of the govern-
ment that the extreme left will try
to take possession of the archbishop's
popularity and moral authority, now
embodied by his violent death," said

...but there is also the possibility, ex-
pressed as a fear by many leftists,
that the extreme right is trying to
push them into positions they be-
lieve they are ready, or sufficiently
armed, in which case the right could
crush them altogether.

Leftist Chacon publicly called yes-

terday for "serenity" in the aftermath
of Romero's death.

Hundreds of thousands of mourners
are expected to come to San Salvador
for Romero's funeral on Sunday. Pas-
sions and fears are expected to be
high. In this hate-filled country any
such gathering presents tremendous
risks of violence.

Some diplomats and government of-
ficials say they believe that if the cur-
rent regime can weather this crisis it
will emerge stronger and solve prob-
lems that had been causing hovering
on the brink of collapse. But for more
than a year, the situation has main-
tained far some time.

Deep and destructive divisions run
through virtually every institution in
the nation. Voices of conciliation have
been eliminated systematically
through murders or threats.

The Catholic church is so deeply
split that four of the country's five
bishops — all conservatives — were
specifically told by priests close to the
archbishop not to come to Romero's
first memorial service on Tuesday.

The leftist clergy who had sup-
ported Romero now openly express
worries that the Vatican, which was
often troubled by his outspoken oppo-
sition to the government here, will ap-
point a conservative as his successor.

El Salvador to Get \$13 Million in Aid

United Press International

The Agency for International
Development signed two aid
agreements with El Salvador
totaling \$13 million yesterday.

The agreements include a 25-
year, low-interest loan of \$10
million designed to create im-
mediate short-term jobs for up
to 40,000 people.

The agreements also include
\$2.7 million in food grants, con-
sisting of corn, rice, vegetable
oil and dry milk. The foods to
be distributed to about 6,000
poor people who, in exchange,
will work 15 to 20 hours a week
on community self-help pro-
jects.

In the current year, U.S. aid
to El Salvador amounts to about
\$50 million. U.S. officials have
warned right and left wing
political opponents of the rul-
ing junta that aid will cease if
there is an attempt to oust the
existing government, which has
instituted extensive human
rights reforms.

El Salvador and Guatemala Ripe for Next 'Cuban' Revolutions

WASHINGTON (UPI) — There are growing indications that El Salvador and Guatemala are the next targets in the Soviet-Cuban subversion strategy to establish firm American leftist dictatorships in the Caribbean and Central America.

Havana has proclaimed both countries ripe for revolution.

After the recent triumphs in Nicaragua and Grenada, the process inevitably is spreading, a recent Radio Havana broadcast said. "Central America is particularly ripe with a climate of revolution. The front against oppression is in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras."

Cuban-supported revolutionary forces in these countries have intensified guerrilla operations in recent months. This has led to terrorist retaliation by extreme right elements. The violence is threatening to create a full-scale civil war.

"El Salvador already is on the brink," a current American Security Council report said.

Another report by the Council for Inter-American Security said Guatemala, the largest and economically most important country of Central America, has "moved to the top of the 1980 hit list of Castro-backed revolutionaries and human rights violators."

"The revolution in Central America, geographically important for its proximity to the Mexican oil fields which means the control of Guatemala."

The plan for the leftist takeover of El Salvador and Guatemala has been laid out according to this report, hatched at a secret meeting in Costa Rica last December of communist and guerrilla leaders from 10 Caribbean and Central American countries.

At a Washington news conference sponsored by the American Security Council, Maj. Robert G. Fitzhugh, former intelligence chief of the Salvadoran army, said the communist-led guerrilla forces, of which the so-called "People's Revolutionary Army" is the largest, are now receiving large quantities of arms from neighboring Nicaragua, where the Cuban-supported Marxist-oriented Sandinista National Liberation Front gained power last summer after the United States administration persuaded President Anastasio Somoza to leave the country.

Although Sandinista leaders were known to have been trained and supplied by Castro, President Carter discounted Cuban influence in the Nicaraguan revolution. When Somoza fled, the president said it was a mistake for Americans to assume that every time a revolutionary change takes place or even an abrupt change takes place in this hemisphere that somehow is a result of Soviet massive Cuban intervention.

In the hope of keeping the Sandinista-led junta out of the White House, the president's chief of staff asked the House of Representatives to approve a resolution authorizing aid for Nicaragua.

When the House was considering the resolution, a Nicaraguan delegation was in town, which it signed a joint communique supporting the Sandinista government of Anastasio Somoza.

The Carter administration has taken the position that

"Economic and social instability" is a greater danger in the Caribbean and Central American countries than Castro's support of revolutionary movements in the area.

It has sought to curb the situation by advocating "social change." But this has led it to support the Marxist-controlled Nicaraguan regime and the left-leaning Guatemalan military junta in El Salvador, which is not nearly enough for the communists but too little for the rightists.

In the Washington Post, the editorial "Newly extremists in the name of reform as we have been doing in El Salvador doesn't seem to be the way to block the Soviet-Cuban campaign to undermine American security in what has been called the 'soft underbelly' of the United States."

In his address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington this month, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger expressed doubt that the administration would succeed in maintaining the status quo by supporting revolutionary changes in these countries.

"We should teach us that humane values are not necessarily served by the overthrow of conservative regimes," he said. "If we encourage upheavals without putting in their place moderate, democratic alternatives, a foreign policy conducted in the name of justice will end up making the world safe for anti-American totalitarianism. We will see new governments not only hostile to us but even more brutal toward human beings."

Seattle P.I. 4/18/80

World's Most Vicious People

They beat their wives savagely, kill unwanted children, attack invited guests, and for fun they'll bash each other over the head with bamboo poles.

They are Yanomamo tribesmen — the world's most vicious people.

By ARLINE BRECHER

Deep in the dense rain forests near the Brazil-Venezuela border, the 15,000-strong tribe practice such an extreme form of male chauvinism that the men regularly batter their wives at the

ADVERTISEMENT

slightest provocation.

"Most Yanomamo women are covered with scars and ugly welts which are seen as tokens of their husbands' affections," declared sociologist Dr. Charlotte Tatro.

"She's made a study of husband-wife relationships in various societies and found the Yanomamo unequaled in viciousness.

"And all Yanomamo men abuse their wives. They expect their wives to respond to all requests. At the slightest reluctance or hesitation of the wife, the husband may beat her with a piece of firewood, take a machete, press a burning branch against her arm or shoot a barbed arrow in her calf. The fiercest men kill their wives.

"The women not only expect to be beaten but they



BRUTAL HUSBAND

This painted Yanomamo male would think nothing of killing his wife if she didn't respond fast enough to his command.

consider it a mark of status to carry scars as evidence their mates really care for them. An unscarred woman would feel neglected and be frowned upon by others."

The females are treated with contempt from infancy on, said Dr. Tatro, director of the Institute for Women at Florida International University in Miami.

"Since their husbands demand their firstborn child be a son, the women will kill each daughter born until they produce a male child. Even after the male heir is born, unwanted babies can be killed."

If little girls survive, they learn quickly that they are second-class. They are not



DIRTY FIGHTERS: No, these tribesmen aren't hugging. They're trying to maim or kill each other — just for kicks. — after blowing hallucinogenic powder into their nostrils.

permitted to strike back when their brothers hit them. Yanomamo men are as brutal to each other as they are to women.

"They are dirty fighters," said Dr. Tatro. "It's considered an act of bravery to sneak into an enemy village and bash someone's head in while he's asleep."

Being a friend isn't much of a picnic either. "When men hold a friendly feast, it's understood that the hosts and guests will engage in savage sports," said Dr. Tatro.

For example, they will pound each other's chest with rocks, inflicting as much pain as possible until one sinks to his knees in defeat. That's the preliminary contest. In the main event, the men alternately beat each other over the head with bone-crushing

blows with 16-foot-long poles.

"Quite often the invitation is a treacherous subterfuge — the hosts' real intention is to massacre all the men guests and gang rape their women," said Dr. Tatro. "That's why it's not at all unusual for the guests to strike first and try to slaughter their hosts."

Other than maiming and killing each other, for kicks the men lie around in a stupor with hallucinogenic drugs.

"A Yanomamo male and his brother-in-law — which is his most important relative by tribal tradition — often spend hours together, blowing hallucinogenic powder into each other's nostrils," said Dr. Tatro. "This helps them ignore the pain they've experienced in their duels and raids."

S. America

Nicaragua left concerns U.S.

WASHINGTON (AP) — The State Department expressed concern Tuesday over the strengthened position of leftist forces in Nicaragua caused by the resignation of two moderate members of the country's revolutionary junta.

Department spokesman Thomas Reston also said any Nicaraguan deviation from its program of liberal reform "could have a major influence on our bilateral relationship."

Spokane Review
4-23-80

Details worked out for diplomats' release

BOGOTA, Colombia (AP) — The Colombian government said Saturday a "satisfactory balance" has been reached in negotiations with guerrillas holding 14 diplomats hostage in the Dominican Republic Embassy.

Expectations rose that most of the diplomats would be freed within two or three days and that five, including U.S. Ambassador Diego Asencio, would be flown with their 20-30 guerrilla captors to Cuba and then Vienna, where the diplomats would be released.

Members of the Organization of American States Human Rights Commission met with government officials Saturday afternoon and a government communique said another round of talks with the guerrillas would be held today.

Security police removed a half dozen cars from streets beside the embassy, apparently to clear the way for a caravan to take the guerrillas and diplomats to the airport. Most of the cars belong to the dip-

lomats who were attending a reception in the embassy when the guerrillas shot their way in on Feb. 27, two months ago.

Earlier Saturday, government sources had expressed concern that the guerrillas had hardened their demands, jeopardizing a settlement. But the communique issued Saturday afternoon said negotiators, who met for 90 minutes Saturday, "constructed a satisfactory balance" to end the dispute. It was the most optimistic assessment by the government yet.

Under the reported release plan, sources said, a plane would take the guerrillas and five diplomats to Cuba, where it is likely to refuel and fly to Vienna. There the leftists would decide their final destination and the diplomats would be freed.

Reports from persons with direct access to the bargaining indicated that the flight from Bogota would occur before Tuesday and possibly as early as today.

The hostages include the

American ambassador, the papal nuncio, 10 other ambassadors and four consuls. Also in the embassy are two Colombian foreignists who have said they are remaining there voluntarily to collect material for a book.

One source said all that remains to be done to end the standoff is to coordinate the arrival of a Cuban liner that would transport the guerrillas and the others from Bogota. Most Swiss officials were also expected to accompany the plane from Bogota.

Spokesman Review 4/27/80

Spokane Review
5-20-80
S. America
Peru

Bouncing back: Peru's Belaunde apparent winner

LIMA, Peru (AP) — Fernando Belaunde Terry, the man the polls had ousted from the presidency 12 years ago, appeared Monday to have won it back.

No official count was announced from Sunday's election, but the national television network broadcast a computer projection predicting that Belaunde, 65, near the candidate of the left, first Popular Action Party, would get 1,762,578 votes — 52.4 percent of those cast.

Belaunde was elected president in 1963 and served six years, only to be overthrown by a military coup on Oct. 3, 1968.

Belaunde has said his top priority was increasing employment for the 60 percent of the population that is unemployed or underemployed, and stimulating investment.

He will have the daunting task of nearly a century's backlog of rampant inflation and public and private foreign debt of some \$10 billion.

Spokane Review 5-20-80

S. Amer.

Peru

Seattle P.I.

5-20-80

Ex-Peru President Back?

LIMA, Peru (AP) — Francisco Belaunde Terry, the man the military ousted from the presidency 12 years ago, appears to have won it back again on the basis of yesterday's projected election results. No official count was announced from Sunday's balloting, but the national television networks broadcast a computer projection predicting that Belaunde, 67-year-old candidate of the centrist Popular Action Party, would get 1,262,573 votes — 42.4 percent of those cast. Only a 38 percent majority is necessary to win under Peruvian law.

5-20-80

RI 2-19-80

ANDERSON

More Trouble Brews in El Salvador

1980 AS TOWNS VOTE IN NEW

The United States is on the verge of repeating its disastrous Iranian and Nicaraguan policies in tiny El Salvador, with results that could be equally catastrophic for U.S. interests in Central America.

State Department, the Pentagon and CIA have all urged Congress to rush economic and military aid to the coalition junta that rules the Massachusetts-size nation -- the second junta to take control since 1979, toppled President Carlos Humberto Romero last October.

Yet these same agencies insist, and express privately, that the coalition junta has no popular support and will be crushed by the end of the year.

By the time the users with the military and CIA have finished their limited support, the junta will be in a state of collapse.

The basic trouble sources will be

the lack of popular support for the military-organized junta. Its failure to control events has been demonstrated by continuing bloodshed, kidnappings, street violence and rampant acts of terrorism.

While the junta could survive according to the experts, would be to effect land reforms, disband the armed forces, guarantee political liberty and end the rampant violence of the army and the 14-family oligarchy that has exploited El Salvador since 1949.

But this the junta will not do.

It has made pledges -- as reinforced -- to grant reform to the people of carrying through with the U.S. experts.

The coalition, with two members from the military, is widely unpopular. Any source explained a coalition between the Typics and the Junta Brich Society in this country.

The basic economic and political power in El Salvador in this century has rested with an extremely wealthy families, which have kept their wealth and position by an unbroken alliance with the military. And this power base has remained as solid as ever

since the 1960s under the latest military oligarchy.

It is consistent with the lessons of that oligarchy at hand, that U.S. policy makers would use the proposed millions in economic and military aid as a lever with which to pry some real reforms out of the rulers of El Salvador.

It would, for example, be in line with Jimmy Carter's vocal support for human rights to demand that, in return for U.S. aid, the junta agree to be members of a general amnesty for political prisoners.

The United States might insist that the junta broaden its base to include civilian elements from the left. This would give it a slight chance for survival, according to spokesmen for the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), a Washington-based human rights organization.

But the junta's policy is to avoid a congress of just this kind in aid to the junta without securing any conditions that would make the aid worthwhile.

The predictable result is that violence will continue and grow in the unhappy nation. Intelligence officials estimate that kidnapping is already a \$20-million-a-year "industry" in El Salvador. Marxist elements, cut out of

participation in the junta's regime are believed to be preparing for armed insurrection -- with Cuban help.

By using our aid package as leverage for reform, there is an admittedly slim chance that a peaceful solution may be achieved in El Salvador. By pouring money down the junta's hole with no concessions, there's no chance at all.

For Sen. Strom Thurmond, D-S.C., the treatment a communist country deserves seems to depend on whether it's air history. Viewing the Soviet Union as our greatest enemy -- if not our only one -- in the communist world, Thurmond says cultivating close ties with Red China as an end, Sovietly in the Far East.

At the same time, he adamantly opposes the sale of sophisticated technology to any Soviet satellite, on the sensible grounds that the goods may well wind up in Russia. For he teaches Yugoslavia in his list of states that deserve a record of anti-Soviet independence that goes back to 1948. That was a year before the Chinese communists gained power with Russian assistance -- and several years before the Chinese broke with the Russians.

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Seattle P.I. 2-19-80

U.S. ignores evidence of right

Frank del Olmo is a Los Angeles Times editorial writer.

by Frank del Olmo

THE contribution of your government, rather than bringing about greater justice and peace in El Salvador, will without a doubt sharpen the repression."

That warning was contained in a letter sent last February by Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero of San Salvador to President Carter. Archbishop Romero, at that time the leading voice in El Salvador for moderate social reform, sent his letter shortly after the administration announced plans to provide \$5.7 million in "security assistance" to the Salvadoran government. The assistance was in the form of defensive materiel — flak jackets, tear gas, and communications equipment — to be used in dealing with both rightist and leftist violence.

Within a month of sending that letter, the archbishop was dead, assassinated by right-wing terrorists as he celebrated Mass. Yet the Carter administration went ahead with its plans to send military aid to El Salvador for the first time in two years.

Why Mr. Carter did not heed the prelate's warning remains a troubling question. The archbishop had, after all, been regarded around the world as a champion of human rights long before Jimmy Carter was. He was a critic not only of the landed elite that has ruled El Salvador for generations (only 2 per cent of the population controls 60 per cent of the land in that country), but he also criticized the brutality of the military regime of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero.

When the general was toppled last year in a

coup led by "moderate" military men and replaced by a military-civilian junta, the archbishop did not let up in his activism. He continued to argue for land distribution to peasants and for other reforms and to criticize both terrorists and government security forces for their violence.

When they argued for military aid to El Salvador before Congress, State Department officials contended that the five-man junta that had replaced General Romero was the best hope for a "moderate" alternative to a leftist take-over. They have since continued to press for more economic and military aid — \$5.2 million is the proposed figure for fiscal 1981 — despite increasing evidence that Archbishop Romero's warning was prophetic.

A series of dispatches came out of El Salvador last month. Most have been lost in the shuffle of election news and speculation about Iran, but they add up to a picture that some critics of U.S. policy in Central America are calling the "Vietnamization" of El Salvador.

October 7 — The Washington Post revealed that 300 Salvadoran military officers were being trained at U.S. bases in the Panama Canal Zone on how to deal with guerrillas "while observing human rights."

October 8 — Maria Magdalena Henriques, 30, official spokeswoman for the country's Human Rights Commission, was found shot to death and buried alongside a road near the capital city of San Salvador. She had been abducted two days earlier on a downtown street. Witnesses, including her son, said her abductors included men in uniform, possibly police.

October 24 — Ramon Valladares, executive director of the Human Rights Commission, was

Leftist terrorism in El Salvador

killed by automatic-weapons fire while driving along a main avenue in San Salvador. Like the death of Maria Henriques, his murder was blamed on right-wing terrorists.

Although there are several leftist organizations in El Salvador, experts agree that they are not as well organized or equipped as right-wing groups, which get financial support from wealthy conservative landowners. Which makes the latest dispatch especially ironic:

October 25 — The New York Times reported that the Salvadoran government had recently launched a major offensive against leftist guerrillas in the country's northeast provinces, along the border with Honduras. Heavy artillery and helicopter gunships were being used to clear out suspected encampments. The newspaper's Mexico City correspondent, Alan Riding, quoted guerrilla leaders who said U.S. military advisers were taking part in the fighting.

These final reports could not be verified by Riding, one of the best reporters in Latin America, or any other foreign journalists because government forces have blocked all access to the besieged provinces since the offensive began. Many news agencies will not even send reporters into the capital because of the danger. Three reporters have been killed in El Salvador this year, and several others, including Riding, have been threatened with death by right-wing terrorists.

So despite all the evidence that most of the violence is being perpetrated by the right wing, the "moderate" junta is working harder to crush leftists organizing among poverty-stricken peasants than to stop rightists who abduct and murder people on the streets of the capital.

The attacks on the Human Rights Commission are as ominous as Archbishop Romero's murder. Even the late Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua, at the height of his bloody struggle against the Sandinista guerrillas who overthrew him, never turned against the Human Rights Commission in his country.

The Carter administration and the State Department have not figured it out yet, but the archbishop's murder may well have marked the end to any hope for a "moderate" solution to El Salvador's desperate problems. Almost 8,000 people have died in political violence there this year.

On a recent Sunday, in a homily delivered from the pulpit of the capital's Metropolitan Cathedral, the Rev. Fabian Amaya, who has become one of the Catholic Church's official spokesmen in El Salvador since Archbishop Romero was killed, charged that government forces were carrying out a campaign of genocide against the peasant population of the northeast provinces. (The Red Cross estimates that 40,000 refugees have been displaced by the fighting.)

Father Amaya said the military's anti-guerrilla campaign was "exterminating a defenseless civilian population. . . . Women, children and old people are assassinated." The priest warned that the repression being perpetrated by the Salvadoran junta "is worse in sadism and bloody cruelty than that of the worst days of (General) Romero."

Observers said it was the strongest language heard from that pulpit since Archbishop Romero was murdered. Isn't it time the United States listened?

Dilemma of status

by Don Bohning
Knight News Service

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Gov. Carlos Romero Barcelo is telling Puerto Ricans in no uncertain terms that it is time to make up their minds; that "tomorrow is now."

"To put an end to all possible ambiguity, vacillation or doubt, and to forge forward with vigor and certainty in our development as a people, Puerto Rico must ratify, modify or rectify the expression of its choice of political relations with the United States and the world," Romero bluntly told the 3.3 million island residents January 31 in his annual state-of-the-commonwealth message.

"We must declare ourselves in a definitive manner. We must not be a lost generation."

The options for Puerto Rico, as they have been for more than quarter of a century, are independence, statehood or a continuation in some form of the unique commonwealth relationship with the United States.

In a word, the debate evolves around Puerto Rico's "status," that amorphous dilemma that envelops the island like a low-hanging Los Angeles smog.

The last time Puerto Ricans were forced to choose, in 1967, they opted overwhelmingly for commonwealth. But times have changed and the available barometers indicate that majority sentiment now favors becoming the 51st state.

The 47-year-old Romero, who is unequivocally and unabashedly pro-statehood — some say fanatically so — intends to test that sentiment in late 1981 or early 1982 with an island-wide plebiscite.

To do so, however, he must first win re-election in November to a four-year term as governor.

Conventional wisdom on the island anticipates that will be achieved over former Gov. Rafael Hernandez Colon, head of the pro-Commonwealth Popular Democratic Party.

Once accomplished, Romero declared in his state-of-the-commonwealth message, "Puerto Rico should hold a plebiscite as soon as possible . . . I deliberately refrain from repeating the overworked phrase that in this plebiscite we must choose 'our future destiny,' because for a long time now our future should have been our present.

"Tomorrow is now."

In a subsequent interview, Romero said he is "more convinced than ever that we are finally headed for a resolution of this dilemma."

There are, however, a substantial number of Puerto Ricans who feel Romero is not only moving the island towards resolution of the status question, but also towards serious polarization and perhaps violent confrontation.

"The strong push for statehood has polarized the situation," said Luis Agrait, a professor of Latin American studies at the University of Puerto Rico, and a former island undersecretary of state during the 1973-76 Hernandez Colon administration.

"The clearer the possibility of statehood becomes, the more likely it is that certain groups are going to react violently to that possibility."

Agrait, as others, sees the early morning December 3 ambush of a busload of United States Navy personnel as marking a new and more ominous phase in pro-independence terrorism, one likely to escalate as Romero pushes the island inexorably toward statehood. Two persons died in the assault.

Neither is right-wing counterreaction, already endemic in several Latin American countries, precluded if pro-independence terrorism escalates. The first symptoms already are apparent.

On January 7, the Puerto Rico Bar Association Building was bombed, in retaliation for the Sabana Seca ambush. Late last month, a Navy lieutenant and two Cuban exiles were arrested in connection with the bombing.

"Puerto Rico has lived with left-wing fanaticism for a long time," says a Romero critic, "and now statehood fanaticism is getting intense. The big dan-

CLOSE-UP

ger is that Puerto Rico could become an ideological battleground."

Romero concedes that there may be some violent incidents "but an escalation I doubt. That is not historical. History does not show us that when a territory becomes a state or becomes integrated into the mother country by expressed desire that violence occurs.

"When violence escalates is when that territory goes towards independence and that has been shown by all the new territories that have become independent states."

At any rate, says Romero, "the bottom line is 'are we are going to do what we feel is better for Puerto Rico and what the majority of Puerto Ricans want or are we going to move or act, guided by threats or acts of violence?'"

And Romero clearly feels that statehood is best for Puerto Rico and that it is what the majority of Puerto Ricans want. He expects the plebiscite to demonstrate that.

Given the time it would take to prepare the legislation and hold hearings on it, about the earliest a plebiscite could be held would be late 1981, says Romero.

If, at that time, statehood gains a clear majority — no matter how small — Romero says he will take the case to the United States Congress where the ultimate decision rests.

He declines to predict what the outcome of a status vote held today might be, but notes that polls taken a year ago reflected a 55 per cent majority in favor of statehood, 31 per cent for commonwealth and 6 per cent opting for independence. The remainder were uncommitted or undecided.

In the 1967 plebiscite, commonwealth supporters won a 60 per cent majority, statehood received 39 per cent and independence was favored by less than 1 per cent.

A year later, Luis Ferre, the island's first pro-statehood governor was elected with a plurality of the total vote as a result of division within the ranks of the Popular Democrats.

Statehood sentiment appears to have been on the rise since, although Ferre was defeated in 1972 by Hernandez Colon who, in turn, was defeated in 1976 by Romero.

The fact that three successive incumbent governors have been unseated is the one thing that offers hope for Hernandez Colon and the Popular Democrats in the November elections.

Even they, however, agree that some sort of showdown is nearing on the status question.

"It is obvious that some more definite decision will be taken in the early part of the decade," says Agrait. "The situation cannot go on the way it is. We are heading toward some sort of more clear definition. Both domestic and international currents are leading to that. Pressures are building everywhere."

The commonwealth relationship, says Agrait, was "conceived as one capable of growth, development and evolution but there has not been any . . . It is not for the lack of Puerto Rico trying but because of the lack of responsiveness on the part of the United States."

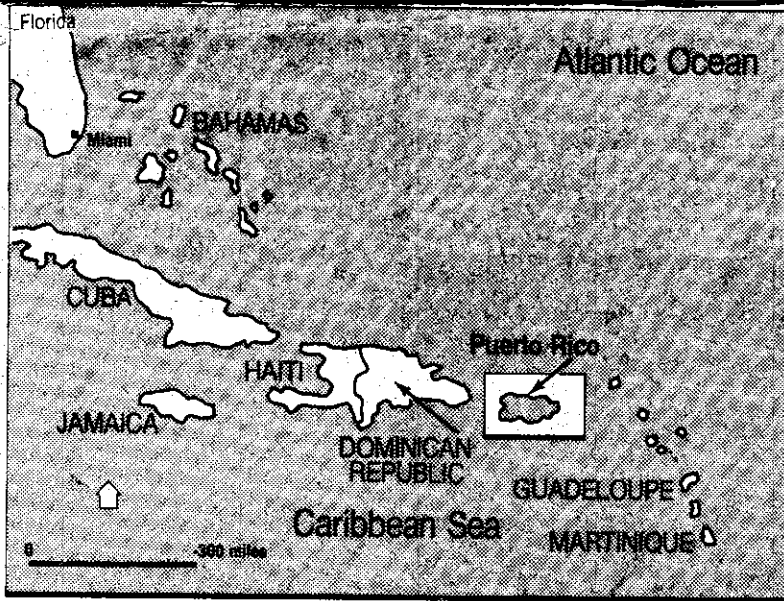
Hernandez Colon also is on record as favoring a plebiscite but neither as promptly or as precisely as Romero.

One big step toward statehood already has been taken in the view of most everyone here: that is the introduction this year for the first time of Republican and Democratic presidential primaries even though residents of the island cannot vote directly for President.

Among the realities that could change some minds about becoming the 51st state is that residents of the island would be obligated to pay United States



A.P. photo



A "Yankee go home" demonstration in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

'Our future should have been our present'

income tax, from which they are now exempt even though they have been United States citizens since 1917.

Romero responds that, with two thirds of the island receiving food stamps, a good number of Puerto Ricans would not be paying any income tax in any event.

In addition, he is proposing a 20-year transition period for phasing in payment of federal income tax once Puerto Rico becomes a state, beginning with 5 per cent the first year, 10 per cent the second and so on.

There is skepticism that Congress would approve such legislation although Romero says he already has sounded out the White House, the Treasury Department and the Congress and "everyone

agrees there must be a transition period."

He acknowledges that it would be "unprecedented but so is the condition of Puerto Rico as a territory within the economic and fiscal system of the nation. Since the passage of the income-tax law, all other territories were paying taxes before they became states. But Congress decided not to include Puerto Rico in the tax. Since we are not now paying federal income taxes it is only reasonable, I think, that there must be a transition period."

Neither does Romero think that Congress can reject Puerto Rico's application for statehood if a plebiscite indicates that is what a majority of Puerto Ricans, no matter what the margin, favor.

"I don't even want to consider that option because I don't think they can."

Dilemma of status Puerto Rico

U.N. panel delays resolution vote

UNITED NATIONS (AP) — A United Nations committee decided Friday it will wait until next year to consider a Cuban resolution demanding self-determination and independence for Puerto Rico.

The U.N. Decolonization Committee voted 11-7 for an Australian motion to postpone action. The Cuban measure would have the General Assembly declare Puerto Rico a U.S. colony and calls for release of so-called Puerto Rican political prisoners held for terrorism in the United States.

The United States waged an intense campaign to get the Cuban resolution sidetracked after it was introduced Thursday. The document is a softened version of a similar resolution put before the committee last month.

The United States insists the committee has no competence to discuss the future of the island because its three million people exercised their right of self-determination in a 1967 referendum and continue to do so in regular free elections.

In a letter to the committee chairman Thursday, Puerto Rican Gov. Carlos Romero Barcelo said his island is "fully capable" of deciding without U.N. help whether it eventually will become a U.S. state or independent.

The United States, not a member of the panel, feared adoption of the resolution now would anger conservatives and hinder rapprochement between Cuba and the United States.

Cuban Ambassador Ricardo Alarcon said his government will continue to fight for the "legitimate rights" of Puerto Ricans and for release of Puerto Rican "political prisoners" held in U.S. jails.

His statement was greeted by shouts of "Viva Puerto Rico Libre!" and prolonged applause from nearly 100 spectators.

Cuban officials said they are not calling for the release of those "self-styled Puerto Rican terrorists" arrested or convicted on charges of planting explosives in New York city buildings and elsewhere.

Alarcon specifically referred to five prisoners: Oscar Collazo, imprisoned since 1950 for an attempt on the life of President Harry S. Truman, and Lolita Lebron, Raphael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores Rodriguez and Andres Figueroa Cordero, all convicted in 1954 for shooting up the U.S. House of Representatives.

The 11 nations voting for the Australian motion were Afghanistan, Australia, Chile, Ethiopia, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Norway and Tunisia.

The seven opposed were Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Iraq, Syria and the Soviet Union.

Mali, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago and Yugoslavia abstained and Congo and Tanzania were absent.

*International
S. Amer.*

Brazil emerging as one of the top arms exporters

File Internat'l

*Seattle Times
~~April 1980~~
May 18, 1980*

In one sense, Brazil owes its booming arms industry to the United States. Because Washington refused to sell unlimited military equipment to Latin America, Brazil decided, only five years ago, to start manufacturing its own. Tad Szulc, in the third article of a series on Latin America, reports on Brazil's amazing emergence as a major producer of arms.

by Tad Szulc

SAO PAULO, Brazil — Suddenly, Brazil is becoming an important exporter of arms to the Third World and a potential rival of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France.

With over \$500 million in international military sales projected for 1980, and possibly twice as much next year, the Brazilian defense industry now ranks in the world's top 10. All this has been accomplished in barely five years.

Because the U.S. had placed severe restrictions on the sale of military equipment to Latin America, Brazil decided to build its own.

Brazil's air minister, Gen. Delio Jardim de Matos, remarked a week ago in a conversation in Brasilia that his country's defense industry in its present form developed almost by accident — and thanks to U.S. policies.

Because Washington had placed severe restrictions on the sale of military equipment to Latin America, he explained, the Brazilians, who already possessed an adequate industrial infrastructure and considerable automotive experience, decided to build their own equipment.

Unable to compete with the big international arms merchants and their super-sophisticated wares, the Brazilians decided their best bet was the production of light and relatively inexpensive but



high-quality items for Third World countries: Armored cars, flamethrowers, small multipurpose aircraft, howitzers, submachine guns.

Brazilian arms production remains essentially in private hands — the Sao Paulo-based Engesa Company specializing in armored vehicles and the Embraer Company in aircraft — but the government controls all exports through a special committee representing the National Security Council, the armed forces and the foreign ministry. The official policy is to sell arms to all countries regardless of ideology — except to those who may be on the verge of conflict with others. And clients are lining up.

An 11-man Chinese military purchasing mission spent two weeks in Brazil last February and March testing Brazilian-made armored cars, which are



considered among the best of their kind in the world. Peking may soon be placing orders for them.

Iraq and Libya have already equipped their armed forces with Brazilian armored cars in addition to Soviet and French equipment. The entire six-plane air force of the African republic of Togo consists of Brazilian jet Chavante attack aircraft. Chile has purchased its first Brazilian twin-engine turboprop Bandeirante planes, adapted for naval patrol missions. Ecuador and Peru are interested in other types of Brazilian arms.

The Brazilian defense industry now ranks in the world's top 10. All this has been accomplished in barely five years.

Imitating U.S. practices in the Middle East, Brazil pays with arms for at least a portion of the oil it imports from countries like Iraq and Libya.

This is an important consideration in light of the immense balance-of-payments deficit resulting from the Brazilian dependence on foreign petroleum. Brazil is already buying small quantities of oil from China — \$100 million of it this year — and the hope is that, in the long run, additional purchases could be paid with the armored cars in which the Chinese appear interested.

Highly rated by U.S. Army specialists, the four types of Brazilian armored cars now in production are designed for desert or mountainous terrain. Six-wheeled rather than tracked, the Brazilian armored cars — each type named after a tropical snake — fill a need in highly mobile modern warfare for light and well-armed combat vehicles.

The 18-ton Sucuri-17, the largest wheeled armored vehicle in the world, can be equipped with either a 105-milimeter howitzer turret cannon or a 20-mm. gun, and is designed as a tank destroyer. It is the Sucuri-17 that most interests the Chinese military.

American experts have been impressed with the small Jararaca EE-3 armored scout car, in production since last year. It has a top speed in excess of 60 miles per hour and is equipped to carry an anti-tank missile launcher.

Most popular with Arab armies is the Cascavel, armed with 90-mm. cannon. It costs only \$450,000 and it can use truck spare parts. The Urute is an amphibian armored car, also of special interest to the Chinese team that visited the Sao Paulo factories.

Brazilian authorities say they expect to hear from the Chinese within a matter of months about their plans to buy these weapons systems. Initial conversations here have given China the option of buying the armored cars outright or of producing them under a transfer-of-technology licensing arrangement. If Peking decides to go ahead with purchases of military equipment here, Brazil will be the third Western nation — after Britain and France — to arm the Chinese.

Meanwhile, Brazil is also moving on other armament projects. Using Italian-designed engines, it is building a new twin-engine turboprop trainer attack aircraft in which both Italy and Belgium have indicated interest. The Brazilians also hope to sell this year at least 35 of their turboprop XINGU Executive aircraft to France, thus competing directly with manufacturers in NATO countries and the United States.

This is the latest demonstration of the vast nation's determination to develop into a world power.

Still, China and the Third World are Brazil's best hopes in joining the world club of major arms builders and exporters. This is the latest demonstration of this vast nation's determination to develop into a world power.

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APR 7 1980

FILE:

International Res.
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WCIP 80-3

SENSE INC.

1010 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 421 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • 202/628-1151

MEMORANDUM

TO : Rudy Ryser, COSAMCO

FROM: Joe Tallakson, SENSE, Inc. *Joe T.*

RE : Recent Publication in The Washington Post on Central/South America

DATE: April 3, 1980

Enclosed, for your reference file on the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, are copies of several recent articles in The Washington Post and Congressional Record.

Note, in particular, the article entitled: "Indians Resist Military Service" on Quatemalen military conscription techniques with Indians and how the guerrillas are now being joined by Indian veterans.

Indians Resist Military Service

Guatemalan Army's Contempt for Their Culture Breeds Spirit of Revolt

By Marjorie Simons
Special to the Washington Post

GUATEMALA CITY—Twice each

year the Guatemalan military heads for the country's jungle mountains, combing highland villages and hamlets looking for Indian boys. Soldiers stake out cornfields, wait outside churches for mass to end, and descend on crowds on market day.

Guided by the local military commission, corporals and sergeants begin the chase, grabbing the young Indians by their embroidered cinchimbundo or by their hair, using ropes when necessary. At times, shots ring out as terrified boys run away.

The new "conscripts"—taken under the law requiring universal military service and often numbering 30 to 50 from each village—are then locked up in the local jail. They are sorted out and often beaten and starved for two or three days until military trucks take them to an Army camp hundreds of miles away.

As in much of Latin America, the well-to-do here avoid the compulsory military service through bribes or influence. Officers tend to come from lower middle- or middle-class white families. Many of them—3,334 between 1950 and 1977, when Guatemala refused U.S. military aid over human rights criticism—were trained by the Pentagon.

But two-thirds of the close to 11,000 troops, the backbone of the military government headed by Gen. Romeo Lucas Garcia, consists largely of those press-ganged Indians.

More than half of this Central American country's 6 million people are Indians. Families often spend months looking for their sons after the roundups. The peasants, whose culture is built on a closely knit family structure, will spare no effort within their humble means to buy

their children free. As ransom, they often put up their most sacred possession, their land.

In this way, many communal Indian plots on the shore of Lake Atitlan, a budding tourist resort, have been sold by loan sharks, middlemen or the military to wealthy outsiders, including Guatemala's growing colony of American retirees.

Guatemala's Indians, descendants of the Mayans, are the last large indigenous culture in Central America. They have managed, despite pressures from both leftist guerrillas seeking to overthrow the military government and the military itself, to remain aloof from the political vio-

lence that has wracked the country for decades.

But during the past five years, the Guatemalan military described by international human rights groups as among the most repressive in Latin America, has acted increasingly against the Indians—seizing their land on behalf of the powerful, frequently kidnapping, torturing, and killing local leaders perceived as threats to the status quo.

While the Indians have long rejected the values of the white society that has dominated them for centuries, many now feel the "Army of the whites" not only abducts their sons, but uses them and teaches them to turn against their own race.

Many Indians now feel the "Army of the whites" not only abducts their sons, but . . . teaches them to turn against their own race.

Reports about the roundups, Dominguez said, are "exaggerated, and part of the international campaign that is going on against Guatemala. The point is, military service is compulsory, and people are called in. If they don't come, they get picked up. It's the same in the United States."

In the Army, a high-ranking officer said, Indians "improve culturally and they learn how to behave like citizens." But many who work or live with the Indians here, and the Indians themselves, believe the practice is not only to fill the Army's ranks, but as a way of destroying Indian culture.

According to a priest who has long lived among them, "the Indians teach modesty, and their greatest respect is reserved for parents and elders, not for institutions. They attach a deep, mystic value to nature, life and death. Their contemplative world could not be more contrary to the defiant, macho, violent style of a Western Army."

The picture that emerges from numerous interviews with Army officers, Indian parents and press-ganged boys and men, is that the Army tries to instill a blind sort of anticommunism and to alienate the conscripts from their culture with deep contempt for all that is Indian.

As former soldiers from the Gutche, Solola and Verapaz provinces told their stories, they seemed baffled and traumatized by their experiences. Most of the time, they agreed, they had been concerned with just staying alive.

"I was caught on Christmas day in San Lucas, just as I came out of church. I was just 16," said one of them. "We stayed in jail for three days. We got beaten a lot and there were so many of us, there was no room to lie down."

See GUATEMALA, A-22, Col. 1

Indians Resisting Guatemalan Army

GUATAMALA, From A21

From San Lucas, on the shore of Lake Atitlan, trucks drove the captives to Jutiapa, a large camp in the hot lowlands near El Salvador.

Those first few months were a mixture of terror, torture and shame about being an Indian. Like the other boys, he said he had a holy respect for his parents but he heard the soldiers shout constantly that his father and mother would no longer exist for him. The Army was his new father. The ones at home were ignorant, dirty brutes. He had not come to live but to die here.

In the early hours of the morning his nightmares were often interrupted with rifle butts in the stomach. "Then we had to strip naked and walk on our knees in the gravel until the skin was bleeding and broken. If you moaned you had to do turnabouts, making the wounds worse. All the time they shouted: 'You stupid Indians. You're worse than animals. You speak no Spanish, you're filthy. We'll stop you being Indians.'"

"One afternoon, he said, his best friend put his rifle between his knees, the muzzle under his chin. "When I heard it go off, the top of his head was gone," he said. "Another boy was kicked unconscious. A few days later he died. They told his parents he had an accident."

For the young Indians there clearly comes a breaking point at which they either try to escape, as many reportedly do, or they cross the line and eventually become capable of whatever the Army demands.

The Army now demands that the Indian troops carry the brunt of the guerrilla hunts, which includes raiding the Indian villages in areas where guerrillas operate, rounding up the men, often torturing and then shooting them.

During training, the anticommunist pitch seemed lost on the uneducated boys.

"We'd have to run and shout, 'All students are communists.' But that never meant much to anyone," one of the boys recalled.

But there was a tangible foe, the leftist guerrilla, their principal enemy.

"We were scared to death on guerrilla patrols," said one of the recruits. "During training we learned a refrain and we'd sing it on patrol. It goes, 'I am a Great soldier, I hunt guerrillas. When I get them I rip their hearts out.' Shooting came easy. We were always afraid."

After 30 months in the service, the interviewed former recruits all agreed on what they had learned: to read and write and to kill.

A study by a Roman Catholic work group here concluded that at the end of the service the Indians' reactions are very mixed. Most boys have problems re adapting to their community because of their rowdy new machismo and sense of superiority.

Some refuse to return to the drudgery and hard farmwork. They stay in the Army, become police officers or guards. Many become alcoholics, the study said.

Yet there are also growing indications that the military experience, the humiliations and disregard for hu-

man life can have a politicizing effect. There is reliable evidence, although no firm figures are available, that former Indian soldiers have recently begun to join the leftist guerrillas they were taught to hunt.

The guerrillas have launched a campaign to enlist them. A booklet addressed to "the noble soldier, on ending his service" reminds the Indian of "the way you were used against the poor by the Army of the rich." In simple language, illustrated with cartoons, it calls on the soldier to "return to your village but refuse to become the spy they ordered you to be. Help your people fight, organize."

Outwardly at least, the military shows little concern that some of its practices are serving to polarize people and play into the hands of the extreme left, the perceived enemy.

One officer said anonymously that he objected to the press gangs, and also the Army's killing of the Indians, "because eventually this will lead to racial war. But the military thinks vertically, they believe people only understand the use of force."

considerable investigations into other alleged causes of cancer. And now prestigious scientific research laboratories are identifying environmental, occupational, and chemical factors as possible causes. The simplistic charge that smoking is the major cause no longer holds sway in the scientific community or among the public either.

The simplistic case against tobacco as the single most important cause—which, of course, never was true—is now no longer credible. Each day's newspaper and each night's network news brings out new scientific findings pointing toward a new culprit.

This turn of events did not happen by chance. I believe it is the result of our 20-year dedication to objective scientific research—and equally important to our massive resistance against unfair, untruthful, unsubstantial attacks.

Yes, we may have seemed stubborn, unyielding, hardbitten holdouts. But so be it. You can't compromise with objective reality. You can't broker scientific research findings. You can't make a deal with gaps in knowledge and pretend that someone is in the possession of truth when, in fact, he only has a loose grip on the unknown.

I would hope that we can—all of us—transport this attitude into the 80's. If we do, I am confident that when you invite me back to speak to you 10 years from today, my text will be all hosannas and hallelujahs.

Let us never forget that we tobacco people are a proud people—with much to be proud about. I would like to read you a passage from a book, "Mules and Memories." It was written by Pamela Barefoot who grew up in a tobacco patch in North Carolina.

"There are as many kinds of tobacco farmers as there are tobacco! The mountain people of Kentucky grow it in backyard patches and the Carolina flatlanders cultivate dozen-acre spreads. Tobacco is grown by the Cajuns of Louisiana and the Crackers of Florida. It is grown by rich folk and poor by black and white, by farmers who own the land and farmers who are tenants, by those who have switched to mechanized farming and those who stick with the hand-labor methods of generations.

"Despite the variety of tobacco farmers, they share certain things in common, including a belief in hard work, and a commitment to family, community, and respect for life. Most important of all, they are convinced that tobacco is as crucial to their economic well-being as it was for the settlers of Jamestown in the early 1600's."

As we advance into the 80's, let us resolve here and now, to take pride in our past and be confident in our future. ●

BYELORUSSIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

● Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, March 25 is a day remembered by all Byelorussians as the day of the establishment of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic, proclaimed in the city of Minsk where the first Byelorussian Congress convened on December 17, 1917. Independence ended 125 years of oppression under the tyranny of the rulers of the vast Tsarist Russian empire.

The events that followed the Russian Revolution were, however, to have their effect on the history of Byelorussia, who a victim of the same ploy that engulfed other neighboring independent countries. On January 1, 1919, the Moscow Government proclaimed the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, affirming its power over the fictitious state thus created by military attack

and conquest in 1921. Afghanistan has proven that nothing has changed.

In violation of the Helsinki agreements, the Soviet Union has continued to deprive the Byelorussian people of the human rights it pledged to observe. The Russification efforts directed by the Kremlin have intensified. In an attempt to eradicate Byelorussian language and culture, the Soviet leaders have clearly not yet learned the futility of such efforts, and are oblivious to historic failures encountered by other nations who engaged in similar endeavors to colonize alien territories.

The Byelorussian people has not submitted to the chain of Soviet domination with docility. Writer Michal Kukobaka, one of the most eloquent exponents of Byelorussian identity, has long protested Soviet violations of human and political rights. He is the author of a fine essay on the Byelorussian consciousness, "The Stolen Motherland," and has renounced his Soviet citizenship, in a bold and courageous move.

Mr. Kukobaka has been imprisoned by the Soviet authorities, and is reported to be suffering of poor health. His struggle is symbolic of his people's quest for freedom, a quest that will not be thwarted.

I have written to Ambassador Dobrynin on his behalf, and to President Brezhnev, urging that Mr. Kukobaka be released. I believe that it is imperative that we maintain our efforts on behalf of the Byelorussian people, and on behalf of men and women such as Michal Kukobaka. It is imperative that we maintain the degree of our protests to the Soviet leaders, as a demonstration that indeed we do care, and that their actions are of universal concern, and not merely the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. ●

ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY

● Mr. STONE. Mr. President, the passage of the third anniversary of the arrest of Anatoly Shcharansky marks for all of us a period of growing frustration and concern with the continued disregard for human rights on the part of the Soviet Union.

Anatoly Shcharansky is a symbol for all Americans—at once a symbol of Soviet oppression and human bravery as he persisted to monitor and pursue Soviet compliance with the Helsinki accords. He is a symbol of courage for the Soviet emigration movement. As one of the leading and most vocal spokesmen for human rights in the Soviet Union, he was subjected to a brutal separation from his wife Avital, who for the last 3 years has worked, prayed, and hoped for their reunification in Israel. The tragic yet persistent struggle of this man, his family, and friends has captured the heart and support of America.

It was most appropriate that during the past week Members of Congress as well as top administration officials spoke out on behalf of Anatoly Shcharansky. For Anatoly Shcharansky, outrageously and unjustifiably locked up in a Soviet

prison cannot now speak aloud for himself. And because he has been so brutally silenced we shall not rest until Shcharansky is free and reunited with his family and loved ones. We shall not cease to work for the cause he has come to represent and will continue to speak out not only for Shcharansky, but for all of the human rights activists, intellectuals and scientists who have had the courage to challenge Soviet repression. We will continue to work for Sakharov, Nudel, Gubermen, Roitburd, Orlov, and all others who are subject to Soviet oppression. ●

ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO

● Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the senseless murder of Archbishop Oscar A. Romero of El Salvador while celebrating a memorial Mass is not only a human tragedy, it is a brutal blow against the universal cause of peace, justice, and human dignity. Archbishop Romero is now a martyr in that cause.

The Archbishop was one of the very few voices of reason and compassion in a country torn by violent repression and terrorism. Despite repeated threats against his life, he stood courageously for the rights of all people in El Salvador and against the abuse of those rights from whatever source. He recognized and rose to his "obligation to see that faith and justice reign in my country."

Last month, Archbishop Romero wrote to President Carter in opposition to U.S. plans to provide military assistance to the current military-civilian government of El Salvador. He told the President that:

If you truly want to defend human rights, prohibit the giving of this military aid to the Salvadoran government. Guarantee that your government will not intervene directly or indirectly with military, economic, diplomatic or other pressures to determine the destiny of the Salvadoran people.

The administration and Congress should heed Archbishop Romero's call and refuse all military aid to El Salvador. His assassination is a stark reminder of the overwhelming need to turn away from repression and violence and toward peace and justice in El Salvador and throughout Central America.

In the wake of this latest tragedy, let us hope that all sides step back from the precipice and recognize that there is no future in violence, no victor in bloodshed, and no triumph in civil war. Let us encourage them to declare a truce to the violence and to pursue a lasting political accommodation, based on the ideals of Archbishop Romero, that offers the only hope for peace and reconciliation to the millions of Salvadorans who remain poor, hungry, sick, oppressed and in despair.

I request that the full text of Archbishop Romero's letter on February 17, 1980 be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The letter follows: **FEBRUARY 17, 1980.**
DEAR PRESIDENT CARTER: In the last few days, news has appeared in the national

press that worries me greatly. According to the reports your government is studying the possibility of economic and military support and assistance to the present junta government.

Because you are a Christian and because you have shown that you want to defend human rights, I venture to set forth for you my pastoral point of view concerning this news and to make a request.

I am very worried by the news that the government of the United States is studying a form of abetting the army of El Salvador by sending military teams and advisers to "train three Salvadoran battalions in logistics, communications, and "intelligence". If this information from the newspapers is correct, instead of promoting greater justice and peace in El Salvador, it will without doubt sharpen the injustice and repression against the organizations of the people who repeatedly have been struggling to gain respect for their most fundamental human rights.

The present junta government and above all these armed forces and security forces unfortunately have not demonstrated their capacity to resolve, in political and structural practice, the grave national problems. In general they have only reverted to repressive violence, producing a total of deaths and injuries much greater than in the recent military regime whose systematic violation of human rights was denounced by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

The brutal form in which the security forces recently attacked and assassinated the occupiers of the headquarters of the Christian Democratic Party, in spite of what appears to be the lack of authorization for this operation from the junta government and the party, is an indication that the junta and the party do not govern the country, but that political power is in the hands of the unscrupulous military who know how to repress the people and promote the interests of the Salvadoran oligarchy.

If it is true that last November a "group of six Americans were in El Salvador . . . providing \$200,000 in gas masks and Bak jackets and instructing about their us against demonstrators," you yourself should be informed that it is evident since then that the security forces, with better personal protection and efficiency, have repressed the people even more violently using lethal weapons.

For this reason, given that as a Salvadoran and an Archbishop of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, I have an obligation to see that faith and justice reign in my country. I ask you, if you truly want to defend human rights, to prohibit the giving of military aid to the Salvadoran government. Guarantee that your government will not intervene directly or indirectly with military, economic, and diplomatic or other pressures to determine the destiny of the Salvadoran people.

In these moments we are living through a grave economic and political crisis in our country, but it is certain that it is increasingly the people who are awakening and organizing and have begun to prepare themselves to manage and be responsible for the future of El Salvador.

It would be unjust and deplorable if the intrusion of foreign power were to frustrate the Salvadoran people, or to repress them and block their autonomous decisions about the economic and political form that our country ought to follow. It would violate a right which we Latin American Bishops, meeting in Puebla, publicly recognized when we said: "The legitimate self-determination of our people that permits them to organize according to their own genius and the march of their history and to cooperate in a new international order."

I hope that your religious sentiments and your feelings for the defense of human rights

will move you to accept my position, avoiding by this action worse bloodshed in this suffering country.

OSCAR ROMERO,
Archbishop of San Salvador.

ALLARD LOWENSTEIN—HE MATTERED

● Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, we were all shocked and saddened to learn of the untimely death last week of Allard Lowenstein. I knew him as a sensitive human being who put concern for others above all else.

As R. James Woolsey so aptly put it in a column in the March 16, 1980, edition of the Washington Post:

He fought racism, not racists—the latter, he always thought, might be converted. He fought the abuse of American power, not America.

All Lowenstein was a symbol for all of us. He was a symbol of determination and perseverance many times in the face of overwhelming odds. In an era when many activists decided for themselves that the system would not work and rebelled against it, All Lowenstein firmly believed that the only lasting benefits were to be made by staying within the system and making it work better.

As Mr. Woolsey puts it in the same article:

His message was always the same, whatever the particular issue that fired him up that month: you can make the system work. Get outside yourself, there is a lot to be done.

I can think of no better epitaph for All Lowenstein than the last lines of another column by Richard Cohen in the same issue of the Washington Post:

He mattered.

Mr. President, I ask that both articles be printed in the RECORD in their entirety.

The articles follow:

REMEMBERING A MAN WHO MATTERED THROUGH THE YEARS (By Richard Cohen)

On Friday, a man named Sweeney walked into the law office of Allard K. Lowenstein and shot him dead. Lowenstein was 51 years old. He has three children and a former wife and several thousand friends and they will all tell you the same thing about him: he mattered.

He mattered in Mississippi and he mattered in New York politics and he mattered in the U.S. Congress and in southern Africa, and in the National Student Association, but he mattered most—at least for me—when he stopped Lyndon Johnson cold in New Hampshire. It was 1968, and Allard K. Lowenstein had set out to end the war in Vietnam.

I know that one man is not supposed to be able to do that. I know that historians debate whether even heroes—emperors, generals—control events or whether it is the other way around. I know a teacher who things that the correct answer to the question "who discovered America" is "the Nina, the Pinta and the Santa Maria." Allard Lowenstein would not have liked that teacher.

Lowenstein helped organize something called the New York Coalition for a Democratic Alternative. It was dubbed the Dump Johnson Movement and it was given no chance of succeeding. No one thought All Lowenstein could succeed. No one but

Lowenstein. That proved in the end to be more than enough.

In 1968, I was a graduate student. In 1968, I was also a member of the United States Army Reserve and bitterly opposed to the war in Vietnam. I'd already decided that if called to fight, I would not. I would go to some other country—Canada, Sweden. I had told my parents this and they had said, simply, that they understood.

Lowenstein worked near where I lived. At night, I would walk my dog and see the lights burning late. Several times, I looked up the stairs and thought about going in, but every time I backed out. It was foolish. It was senseless. Johnson would win a second term. The war would go on and on and no one, especially me, could do anything about it. Later, I went up to New Hampshire. I went to write about the primary, Eugene McCarthy's campaign, as a student. I already knew, of course, how Lowenstein had gone to Robert Kennedy and asked him to run against Johnson and how Kennedy, anguished, had finally turned him down. In January of that year, at the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, Kennedy had in fact endorsed Johnson.

Lowenstein then went to McCarthy. McCarthy also said no, muting that along the way to a maybe. McCarthy also went west—to Berkeley across the bay from San Francisco. There he gave his standard anti-war speech, but this time called for the resignation of Secretary of State Dean Rusk. The kids went wild. McCarthy became hopeful. He declared for the presidency and All Lowenstein, working hard once again, cajoled him into that race in New Hampshire.

Much later, of course, Lowenstein would become something of a celebrity and everyone would have his story. He would call in the middle of the night and come over to sleep. He was always on the go, sleeping in his clothes, a kind of hobo of lost causes. Friends who were in South Africa, for instance, were not surprised when Lowenstein dropped in on them in their hotel, asking only if he could use the shower. He stayed for awhile and left. He was wearing dungarees and a New York Yankees baseball jacket.

But on election day in New Hampshire, Allard Lowenstein was not yet a celebrity. That day, he got into his white Mustang for the drive from Manchester to Concord. He sat in the back and talked with me while a student volunteer drove. It was beginning to snow, but Lowenstein wanted to make the trip anyway. He was going to see the student volunteers. He wanted to make sure they didn't flag on this last day. He was going to see a kid named Sam Brown.

We arrived in Concord as the snow was beginning to tell. Lowenstein flew into action. He cajoled the kids to work harder. He went from one to another, talking to them as they made their last minute get-out-the-vote calls from little pine stalls. He was a bundle of energy, a short man with hair combed forward, strong and kind and always distracted.

After exhorting the students to even greater efforts, Lowenstein returned to Manchester. In the evening, the results started to come in and pandemonium broke loose. McCarthy was winning. People cried and people laughed and finally, they called for Allard Lowenstein to say something.

Lowenstein stood in the glow of the television lights, a little man, strangely shy, and he said that McCarthy's victory proved that the system worked. He made it sound like it would all have happened without Allard K. Lowenstein but that is not the case. A couple of thousand people could tell you, but the whole nation ought to know.

He mattered.

THE WASHINGTON POST, SUNDAY, MARCH 16, 1980

Boredom and Alarm

PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY swing from boredom to alarm at the prospect of coups or revolutions in Central America. The ho-hum reaction is a traditional North American response to turgid developments south of the border. The alarm follows when the inadequacies of ho-hum start to be recognized. Until last fall, the United States remained indifferent to El Salvador, the hemisphere's most active volcano. Then, the administration got scared. It decided that the risks of a "second Nicaragua," a second Central American revolution that might go Cuba's way, outweighed the comforts of its preferred non-intervention policy. It started intervening, in a political sense, to an extent that has made El Salvador the most interesting laboratory of American policy anywhere in the world.

The scene could hardly have been less inviting. For more than four decades the United States had contributed to the building of a vast social explosion, which was already coming, promising a terrible civil war and a geopolitical calamity. Then the administration began trying to muffle or channel that explosion. Military intervention, Vietnam style or any style, plainly was out, although it had its partisans in the Pentagon and among the unreconstructed Salvadoran right. The classic liberal response, to bring along social reform and popular participation by easy stages, was no less irrelevant in the context of El Salvador's advanced deterioration.

The policy finally chosen, or partly chosen, was to make an audacious gamble on the Salvadoran military: to transform key elements of it from custodians of a rotting, violent status quo to caretakers of reform. This has involved a delicate appeal to the patriotism and institutional interest of the armed forces by providing supplies (and the prospect of training) and by seeking their commitment to truly vast efforts at social redress, centering on land reform. The risk of this policy lies in the corruption of substantial parts of the military and their identification with repression. The promise of the policy lies in its readiness to deal with a real center of power, one with important elements interested in modernization, and to harness those elements to change.

Many of the broadly based political groups that will have to be brought into the new order to make it work are frankly skeptical, if not contemptuous, of the idea that the military includes potential allies, not just assured foes. A deep pessimism inclines many citizens to feel that progress can come only by cataclysmic violence. This puts an extraordinary burden on the military to earn popular confidence by limiting violence and making land reform work. It puts a special burden on the United States to continue its wager on the armed forces only if they show themselves worthy of it.

7-8-80

THE SPOKESMAN-REVIEW 7

Salvador weekend: 55 killed

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador (AP) — Fifty-five civilians died over the weekend in El Salvador's violence, 11 of them when unidentified gunmen opened fire in a crowded coffee shop in the capital, police said Monday.

A police spokesman said that he had no details on the coffee shop shooting late Saturday night and that judiciary authorities have opened an investigation.

However, a witness who asked not to be identified said the 11 were killed when one man — some said he was a leftist guerrilla suspect — rushed into the coffee shop chased by a group of unidentified armed men in civilian clothes a few minutes before midnight.

The witness said he escaped unharmed by playing dead. "I spent about 10 minutes pretending I was dead. The attackers kept shooting their sub-machine gun until they saw that everyone stopped moving."

The coffee shop is a small establishment in the San Jacinto district, on the south side of the Salvadoran capital.

Forty-four more persons died, the police spokesman said, in scattered shootouts between government security forces and leftist guerrillas seeking to overthrow the ruling junta of two army colonels and three civilians and set up a Marxist regime.

A new casualty estimate released by the local Human Rights Commission said 4,000 civilians have died since the beginning of the year in shootings and bombings and terrorist attacks between the leftist guerrillas, squads of rightist gunmen and government security troops.

The junta, dominated by Christian Democrats, has been under attack from rightist and leftist groups since it succeeded Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero's conservative regime overthrown in a military coup Oct. 15.

Rightists accuse the junta of "opening the doors of El Salvador to communism" with its sweeping land, banking and other social and economic reforms.

S.R. 7-8-80

55 Salvadoran civilians die

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador — Fifty-five civilians died over the weekend in El Salvador's violence. Police said 11 were killed when unidentified gunmen opened fire in a crowded coffee shop in the capital, and 44 others died in scattered shootouts between government security forces and leftist guerrillas.

The local Human Rights Commission estimates that 4,000 civilians have died since the beginning of the year in shootings, bombings and terrorist attacks between the leftist guerrillas, squads of rightist gunmen and government security troops. The guerrillas are seeking to overthrow the ruling junta of two army colonels and three civilians and set up a Marxist regime.

Pope nearly mobbed

S.R. 7-8-80

SALVADOR, Brazil — Thousands of barefoot slum dwellers trying to hear Pope John Paul II nearly mobbed him Monday on a muddy square in one of the Western Hemisphere's most wretched slums. The pope had to seek refuge in a bus. Throngs of diseased men, pregnant women and children with bellies swollen by vermin stood in the foul-smelling water of All Saints Bay as the pope came to the Alagados slum, but only a few were able to hear him.

During his visit here, the pope came out with a surprisingly moderate stand on voodoo-like African-based spirit cults which permeate Catholicism in the world's biggest Catholic nation. He said that, "purified of negative values, superstition and magic," these cults can help spread the Gospel of Christ.

Aid to El Salvador claimed 'defensive'

By BETTY RICHARDSON NUTE
AND WILLIAM L. NUTE JR.

Los Angeles Times

(The authors returned recently from a fact-finding mission to El Salvador in which Betty Richardson Nute represented the American Friends Service Committee. William L. Nute Jr. is a physician with the New York City Health Department.)

After facing ample evidence to the contrary, the United States clings to a myth that in El Salvador it is helping a moderate government struggling against mindless violence unleashed in equal measure by leftist and rightist groups. Yet that supposedly moderate government, for which a House subcommittee has voted military aid, is massacring unarmed peasants behind a smokescreen of "agrarian reform." Merely to gather with friends and neighbors, even for Bible study, is enough to bring murderous assault, torture and mutilation to anyone suspected of subversion. The intent, apparently, is to eliminate some groups and terrorize others into submission.

Since January's inauguration of the second junta, 682 persons have been killed, 211 have been detained and 176 have vanished — figures far exceeding those amassed over the entire three-year regime of Gen. Humberto Romero, who was overthrown last October. The army and national guard have collaborated in this brutality with Orden, an extreme-right and officially proscribed paramilitary group.

The vast majority of the victims are not Marxist terrorists. On March 3, for example, members of the guard and Orden invaded a community Bible-study group in Canton Carmen Montes, Chalatenango department, and massacred 12 people. In Canton Ojo de Agua, two men were decapitated and their hands and feet cut off, and two girls' arms were cut off and they were left to bleed to death. On Feb. 21 near Camulasco, the army burned the fields to destroy cover, and wrecked two bridges to prevent escape.

These examples are drawn from

scores of eyewitness reports told by terrified illiterates, including a boy of 12 who described the murder of his mother. In each case, the armed forces were identified by their uniforms, and Orden members were personally known to the survivors. The testimony came from six departments across the country: Chalatenango, Cuscatlan, Cabanas, Santa Ana, La Libertad and La Paz. Those who testified said again and again they were attacked because of their membership in an organization, usually a Christian peasant league, and that no one in the community was armed. These are politically motivated massacres.

The unrestrained nature of the savagery stems from the broad range of rightist elements, some within the government, that perpetrates it. As Christian Democrat members of the ruling junta have resigned one by one, the rightist coup that the U.S. State Department hoped to avoid has gradually come to pass.

Meanwhile, as a regime thought to represent the "moderate center" in El Salvador grows ever more ephemeral, the United States is ignoring a true center coming into being now among the people. This center embraces the landless peasants and urban poor who, with the strong cooperation of the Roman Catholic Church, are forming alliances with labor, professionals, small businessmen and dissident Christian Democrats, among others. These groups, repudiating terrorism, as their assassinated Archbishop Oscar Romero had exhorted, are growing in unity, maturity and political skill, forging a democratic alternative to the ruthlessly oppressive security forces. Yet the United States remains out of touch with this new popular center.

Despite Romero's appeal to President Carter not to send military aid to El Salvador, a House subcommittee under administration pressure approved \$5.7 million to provide assistance that is claimed to be defensive in nature — material like flak jackets, tear gas and communications equipment.

S.R. 6-22-80

RE: WCIP Study/J-P II

SOURCE: The Daily Telegraph
date 7/1/60

BRAZILIAN

ROW AS

POPE LANDS

By FRANK TAYLOR
in Brasilia

THE POPE, who is swiftly becoming the most travelled pontiff in history, arrived in Brazil yesterday at the start of his most arduous trip so far.

His 12-day visit will take him from the steamy Amazon to the glittering beaches of Rio de Janeiro.

As has become his custom, the Pope knelt on the tarmac at the Brasilia international airport and kissed the ground—his first act of homage to the host country. He was greeted by President Figueiredo and other dignitaries.

The Pope's visit began on a controversial note when the Brazilian bishops, by implication, pre-empted his backing for their many disputes with the Brazilian military-run government.

'Grandiose projects'

The Bishops' National Conference, which represents the 345 bishops throughout Brazil, called a Press conference to declare that by the very acceptance of their invitation to make the visit, the Pope had demonstrated his support for them.

They issued a declaration saying that the Pope would find in Brazil just over 200,000 Indians—the only remaining descendants of the six million who inhabited the land when it was settled by the Portuguese 480 years ago.

Clearly hoping for the Pope's intervention with the government on the Indians' behalf, the bishops said that they were falling prey to grandiose land projects.

In his first homily at a mass in Brasilia, the Pope did not have too many encouraging words for the liberal elements of the Brazilian church. The church's mission could not be reduced to a pseudo-political role, he said.

But in his arrival speech at the airport, he did refer to the "anxieties, uncertainties, suffering and bitterness" out of which, he said, he hoped a nation would emerge that could offer much to international harmony.

Polish complaint

Polish bishops, in a communiqué issued a year after the Pope's visit to his homeland, said yesterday that there had been little if any progress made in church-state relations. They complained of a "negative approach" taken by local authorities and said that talks held with state authorities had not been on a "proper level."

Military controls Bolivia

LA PAZ, Bolivia (AP) — The military took control of this coup-prone South American country again Thursday, apparently to head off the expected choice by Congress of a leftist as Bolivia's democratically elected president.

Troops armed with automatic weapons surrounded the presidential palace. Witnesses said armed civilian "nationalists" seized interim President Lidia Gueiler and her top aides.

Tanks and troops were in the streets and sporadic firing was reported in the capital.

Sources said the men behind the coup were army commander Gen. Luis Garcia Meza and air force commander Gen. Waldo Bernal Pereira.

Garcia said a few days before the June 29 election that the campaign had plunged Bolivia into "chaos and confusion." Bernal joined Garcia's attack by calling Hernan Siles Zuazo, who won a plurality and was expected to be named president in the congressional run-off, a representative of "international communism."

The civilian rebels who entered the presidential palace Thursday, some identified as members of the right-wing Socialist Phalange Party, announced they were resisting a "communist assault" in Bolivia, which has had an average of nearly one coup a year since it gained independence from Spain in 1825.

At least one person was reported killed in a gunfight at a union headquarters.

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GUEST EDITORIAL

New president of Peru has fighting chance at civilian rule

Reprinted from The Baltimore Sun

The election of Fernando Belaunde Terry as president of Peru indicates that the people of the Andean nation are not about to relinquish the dream of participatory democracy. Civilian government may yet succeed where military rulers cannot.

The Peru over which Belaunde now governs is considerably different from that which existed when Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado ousted him from office in 1968. An anomaly of a military dictatorship, that government introduced left-

wing rather than rightwing policies. Its agrarian reform program broke up giant haciendas along with the political power of the large landowners. It nationalized oil, mining, fishmeal and banking activities.

But Gen. Velasco's government was not immune from a later ouster by Gen. Francisco Morales Bermudes et al. more important, the widespread social and economic upheavals which precipitated his removal from office. Gen. Morales sharply reduced the country's three-digit inflation rate and righted the country's balance of payment accounts. He will

thus be leaving Belaunde with a healthy \$800 million reserve. These achievements, however, did not directly help the poor.

The pressure of urban poverty is now much greater than in 1968. Because the state-controlled peasant cooperatives were unproductive, thousands of peasants fled to urban shantytowns in search of a living. One of Belaunde's first priorities, therefore, will be to increase agricultural and livestock production. He must also find work for the urban unemployed.

These are major challenges, not suited

to a weak or ineffectual president, no matter how popular. To fulfill his campaign promise to provide one million jobs in two years and increase food production, Belaunde must assemble a sharp administrative team and discipline his political allies, left and right.

This is a tall order, especially for a key country of the important five-member Andean Common Market. But, as long as the military sticks to its business of defending the country rather than trying to run it, Belaunde at least will have a fighting chance.

S.R. 7/18/80

Terry Int'l

Spokane, Wash., Sat., July 26, 1980. THE SPOKESMAN-REVIEW 5

Reagan denies Bolivia talks

LOS ANGELES (AP) — Republican presidential nominee Ronald Reagan said Friday that a news report that he met with military officials from Bolivia prior to their July 17 coup in that country are "absolutely not true."

Reagan said he could not recall any sort of meeting and had "no idea" where the story originated.

In Washington, Reagan aides staunchly denied the broadcast report that quoted senior Bolivian military officers as saying the Republican presidential nominee encouraged their recent overthrow of the government in the South American country.

Reagan spokesman Lyn Nofziger said in Los Angeles that the candidate "was flabbergasted" when he learned of the report by ABC News from La Paz, which quoted unnamed officers as saying Reagan met with a delegation of army officers before the July 17 coup and offered them his support.

"There is no way" that anything like that occurred, Nofziger said. And Reagan's chief foreign policy adviser, Richard Allen, said the ABC report was "preposterous" and contained "not a word of truth."

In Washington, another Reagan spokesman, Joseph Holmes, said: "The governor never met with any Bolivians or any army officers. The story is totally without foundation."

The Bolivian military took over the government to prevent a leftist presidential candidate, Hernan Silas Zuazo, from coming to power next month.

AP

S. America
Bolivia

Miners returning to work

LA PAZ, Bolivia — Tin miners have ended their week-long revolt against Bolivia's new military regime and are returning to work in the country's two largest mines, the state-owned Bolivian Mining Corp. reported Friday.

The announcement could not be confirmed by union leaders, many of whom are in hiding or reportedly have been arrested by the armed forces junta that seized power July 17.

Other reports suggested that pockets of resistance remained.

In Washington, Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie announced that the United States had halted all economic aid to Bolivia except for foodstuffs and humanitarian aid. He also said the U.S. Embassy staff would be reduced and U.S. military advisers withdrawn.

S.R. 7/25/80

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International
S. America

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~~July 2, 1980~~

Indian
Voice

June '80

Brazil Indian leaders petition pope for help

Pope John Paul II, in Brazil on a papal visit, was petitioned by Indian chiefs July 1 for help in a struggle with the government over their native lands.

The chiefs sent a letter to the pontiff through the Rev. Tomas Balduino, a leading supporter of Indian rights groups. Balduino handed the letter to the pope personally.

"We are suffering, both as proud Indians and as people, at the unworthy hands of a government agency which says it supports the Indian but which in reality does nothing but steal Indian land," the letter said.

Church sources said a meeting the pope and Indian chiefs may be arranged when the pope visits the Amazon jungle city of Manaus.

Brazilian anthropologists say there are about 210,000 Indians in Brazil and many of them have had little contact with modern civilization.

Indian leaders charge that the government's national Indian foundation, Funai, has taken systematic steps to turn over Indian land to business interests to exploit the nation's vast mineral and potential agricultural wealth. Inexplicably, the pope warned Brazilian priests not to let "socio-political concerns" get in the way of their "spiritual mission."

The government is headed by President Joao Figueiredo, the fifth army general to head the government since a right-wing military coup in 1964.