Several die, scores hurt in Peru prison riot

LIMA, Peru — (AP) — Eight prison inmates armed with dynamite sticks seized the warden and at least seven other hostages yesterday and escaped in a panel truck, touching off a riot that left several persons dead and scores

wounded, officials said.

Prison officials said all the hostages had been freed and two of the fugitives captured a few hours after they charged through the front gates in a panel truck belonging to the fire department. Six of the escaped inmates were still at large last night.

"The situation is completely under control" Jose Vasquez Estremadoyro, director of the Department of Penal Establishments, told reporters outside the

prison walls.

As he spoke, machine-gun fire was heard inside the prison. Vasquez Estremadoyro said they were warning shots to control the inmates.

The Lurigancho penitentiary, designed to hold 2,300 inmates, is believed to have a population of about 5,000. The United States consulate said it houses 13 Americans who apparently were not

cans, who apparently were not involved.

A police spokesman said as many as 300 prisoners may have been injured. There was a fierce exchange of fire when the truck burst through the main prison gates as other inmates tried to push their way out and police sharpshooters forced them back inside, witnesses said.

The police spokesman said the rioters had asked for better treatment in prison and speedier judicial processes.

Seattle Times 9/19/80

B.C. Wants Ross Dam Order Annulled

George Foster

In an effort to keep Seattle City Light from raising Ross Dam and flooding Canadian land, British Columbia has asked for the annulment of a 1942 order that made the project possible.

The International Joint Commission of the United States and Canada announced yesterday that the province also requested it to invalidate a 1967 agreement allowing compensation for damages inside Canada that would be caused by the reservoir the dam would form in the Upper Skagit River. The dam's backwater would flood about 6,000 acres in British Columbia.

The question remains whether the international body will decide the case. Six years ago the commission told the two parties to settle the matter between themselves.

Seattle City Light won permission from the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission in 1977 to build High Ross Dam, which would add about 45 megawatts to the city's power supply Environmental groups appealed FERC's decision before the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, which ruled 2-1 in favor of the energy agency in 1978.

In June, the II-member U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the three-member panel's ruling

Opponents had 90 days in which to bring the case

before the U.S. Supreme Court. Should the high court refuse to hear the case, or decide in Seattle's favor, construction on the high dam would begin "within a few months," Deputy Mayor Bob Royer said yesterday.

Meanwhile, negotiations between the British Columbia government and Seattle

have continued over damage settlements resulting from the raising of the Upper Skagit over some 10 miles of the province's Skagit Provincial Recreation Area.

Royer said Seattle's last offer was a "very substantial" one but that it was turned down by the Canadians.

"We feel we have failed to reach a settlement and we feel it should go back to the IJC (International Joint Commission)," Ben Marr, British Columbia's deputy minister of environment, said vesterday.

British Columbia's claim is that the IJC's order of 1942 permitting the raising of Ross Dam was due to a wartime national emergency and that subsequently no action was taken to build the project for a number of years after World War II.

City Attorney Doug Jewett said yesterday that he intends to submit arguments before the international commission "that they neither have jurisdiction, or assuming that they

do, that they should not be interested in re-entering the frav."

Jewett further contends that a 1967 agreement between Seattle and B.C. to reach a settlement on damages that would be caused by raising the river still remains in effect.

"It would be inconceivable that they (IJC) would

disrupt an existing contract," said the city attorney.

The international com-

mission was formed in 1909, to adjudicate boundary disputes between the U.S. and Canada.

Seath P.I. 9/17/80 PS. 1

anda

New leader in Korea

SEOUL, South Korea (AP) - President Choi Kyu-hah announced his resignation Saturday in favor of "new leadership" he did not name — signaling the assumption of the presidency by military strongman Gen. Chun Doo-hwan.

Choi said in his nationally televised announcement that the job of his "crisis management" administration, begun after the assassination of President Park Chung-hee last Oct. 26, had been completed.

"I intend to put an end to our unhappy political history by establishing the precedent of peaceful transfer of power and to eliminate the climate of mutual distrust by practicing politics of responsibility," he

said.

Under the constitution, Acting Prime Minister Park Choong-hoon becomes acting president, but high official sources said he will hold office only until the electoral college can meet to choose Chun - probably before the end of this month.

Chun, a 47-year old general and longtime protege of Park Chung-hee, was relatively unknown to those outside of the mili-

tary until the assassination.

He took charge of the murder investigation, eventually arresting not only the man convicted as the assassin and five of his men but also Chun's own nominal superior, Martial Law Commander Chung Seung-

On Dec. 12, Chun lead a group of younger officers in a brief but bloody coup against older military leaders. Since then, he has held near-total control of the country, ruling under martial law as head of the standing committee of the special committee for national security, a military dominated body that has charge of almost all South Korean affairs.

A high level source said a planned constitutional revision, nationwide referendum and new elections will be speeded up drastically. He said the new constitution would be approved next month with elections by the end of the year to confirm Chun in office.

Dissident leader Kim Dae-jung is now on trial in a military court on charges of attempting to overthrow the government. Op-position party leader Kim Young-sam, under house arrest, has withdrawn from political activity.

Review 8-16-80

Spokesmen Review 8-14-80

Leftists battle troops S.R. 8/14/80

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador — Government troops on the ground and in the air fought gun battles with leftists Wednesday and at least six people were reported killed. The activity came on the first day of a planned three-day leftist strike that appeared to be broken.

A coalition of leftist groups fighting to wrest power from the civilian-military junta called the strike, but the capital's citizens ignored it and most businesses were open.

Political executions increase

GENEVA, Switzerland — Death sentences against political opponents and "disappearances" followed by summary executions are increasing worldwide, a survey for the United Nations says. But the report did not identify the nations involved

Torture remains a routine practice in many countries, the study also found. The findings were disclosed Friday in a survey prepared by the secretariat of the Human Rights Commission for a U.N. meeting of human rights experts here.

Spokesman Review 8-16-80

India's riots kill 134

NEW DELHI, India (AP) - Violence sparked when pigs appeared at a mosque during prayers in Moradabad touched off Moslem riots in 10 Indian cities that left at least 134 people dead, officials said Saturday.

In Calcutta, a riot between rival supporters of two top soccer teams erupted Saturday over an official's call, and 12 persons were killed and nearly 100 were wounded, according

to news reports.

Police opened fire on mobs protesting high prices in western Gujarat state, killing two demonstrators in Ahmedabad and wounding 22 there and in other towns, United News of India reported.

The Molem rioting began in Moradabad on Friday, India's 33rd anniversary of independence from Britain. It raised fears of escalating communal violence in this country where more than 10 percent of the 650 million people are Moslems. Most live in impoverished condi-

tions and resent the Hindu majority.

An estimated 130 people died in the violence at Moradabad, 100 miles east of New Delhi. It was described as one of India's worst communal outbreaks since the 1947 partition of Pakistan as a Moslem homeland from what was then British India.

The Moradabad riot erupted after the reported appearance of pigs on the grounds of a mosque during prayers last Wednesday marking the end of Ramadan, the Moslem holy month. Moslems consider pigs to be unclean animals and the eating of pork is forbidden. The pigs that strayed into the mosque compound were regarded by worshipers as a desecretation that police had a duty to prevent.

Witnesses said people began throwing stones at the pigs, and many worshipers battled police. Nearly half of those killed were trampled to death after gunfire broke out, authorities said.

S.R. 8/24/80

Terror groups battle Brazil's liberal drift

المنافسة فأسال

RIO DE JANEIRO — Groups professing to be anti-Communist have begun a terrorist campaign in Brazil that is being widely interpreted as a last stand by backers of the right-wing philosophy that has been dominant for 16 years.

The immediate targets of the firebombings,

sniper attacks, vandalism and death threats have been a Jewish nursery school in Sao Paulo and hundreds of newsstands selling literature newly freed for publication by the removal of censorship. The larger objective is believed to be a halt in the gradual liberalization of the authoritarian pattern of rule that began when Gen. Ernesto Geisel was president from 1974 to 1979 and is continuing under his successor, Gen. Joao Baptis-

The wave of attacks began just after Pope John Paul II came to Brazil in July, a visit that endorsed the social activist role of the Roman Catholic Church, for years the dominant voice opposing the harsh policies of military regimes.

"The despair of the fascists in view of the new reality of Brazilian politics is now bordering on psychosis and paranoia," commented Alberto Goldman, an opposition member of Congress.

To Dalmo de Abreu Dallari, a professor of law, the former head of the church's most powerful human-rights group and himself a victim of a recent beating, the wave of attacks represents "a temporary and necessary phase that the country must endure in moving from an arbitrary regime to a democratic state." The outbreaks prove, he added, "that the ultraright no longer has any space to move in."

Leaders from Figueiredo and his Cabinet officers to local mayors have been voluble in denouncing the onslaught, but this has not been matched by conclusive action. No arrests have been made, which has led to a growing suspicion that paramilitary groups from the armed forces or the police may be responsible for the violence. This conclusion is bolstered by an army document turned up a year ago that recommended "containment of the influence of small opposition organs" that disseminate "Marxist ideas in vari-

ous disguises."

Spokesna-Review 8-24-80

-OTHER VOICES-

South Africa's Trying

By Pieter G. Koornhof NY Times

JOHANNESBURG — I do not need anyone from abroad reminding me that a society where any man, whatever his creed or color, is denied human rights, is an unjust one. I am fully aware of this and so is my government.

We are doing something about it every day. We will not rest until racial discrimination has disappeared from our statute books and everyday life in South Africa.

in saying this I have the full support

of my prime minister.

Recently, the Wiehahn Commission recommended, and the South African government accepted, far-reaching measures to insure equal pay for work of equal value for everybody, non-discrimination in jobs and facilities, and black trade unionism.

At the same time, the Rickert Commission suggested sweeping reforms of our labor system aimed at ending racial discrimination and improving the day-to-day living of the urban black in South Africa. Once again, we are not only listening to such advice but acting accordingly.

This brings me to the single most important issue facing South Africa today. It is evident that all our good intentions to bring about equal oppor-

tunity in our part of the world will be to no avail unless we maintain an economy that can sustain these developments. There is no point in talking about equal pay for equal work and no discrimination in jobs unless we have jobs to offer and the monies to pay.

We realize that we will have to provide one-quarter of a million jobs every year for the next 10 years for blacks in South Africa alone. In terms of our overall population of 20 million, this is an enormous task—one that we dare not underestimate, unless we wish to have large-scale unemployment, poverty and unrest. We know we will have to maintain a healthy growth rate to cope with our growing work force.

Yet there are some abroad who maintain that only by boycotting South Africa could it be forced to implement drastic changes. These same militants demand, on the one hand, better pay for blacks while on the other promote disinvestment and sanctions! While our black leaders insist that foreign business remain in South Africa and expand, these outsiders, purporting to speak on behalf of the blacks,d emand that America and other foreign investors withdraw.

I am reminded of the words of Abraham Lincoln in 1865. You cannot

strengthen the weak by weakening the strong, he said. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich.

These words are as applicable today in South Africa as they were in Amer-

ica then.

In South Africa the whites still happen to have more privilege and prosperity than most blacks. It is obvious that where those privileges and wealth are earned and deserved, they should remain and serve as a means to help our black brethren along the way to greater success. Where such privileges are based on discrimination, they should disappear. The sooner, the better.

Today some 100,000 blacks in South Africa are employed by the 350 American comporations doing business with us. A much larger number are, of course, employed by associated industries, relying on these American corporations.

We trust they will remain and encourage others to follow in their footsteps, making good profits while furthering greater prosperity and equal opportunity for everyone regardless of race, color or creed.

Pieter G. Koornhof, South Africa's minister of cooperation and development, is responsible for administering law controlling blacks.

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VOL. 86, No. 22

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98104, FRIDAY, JANUARY 26, 1979

New world economic order conference set

The impact on the Northwest of Third World proposals for a new world economic order is the topic of a regional conference planned for March 29-31 at the Seattle Center. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance will be one of the major speakers to address the conference.

THE CONFERENCE will examine less developed nations' proposals for change in the share of the world's wealth and technology, according to Lou Vargha, chairperson of the conference planning committee.

Vargha said the growing interdependency of the Northwest and Third World countries is a primary reason Seattle was selected as one of five sites for a regional conference.

"The less developed countries of the world represent important export markets for the region and the source of many raw materials which are vital to our industries," he said.

The United Nations adopted a resolution on the new international sconomic order in 1974. Debate between the industrialized nations and the Taird World has continued to grow over the past four years.

Regional community and business leaders, organizations and private citizens will have an opportunity to learn more about the issues and address their concerns at the conference, Vargha explained.

TOP LEVEL UNITED NATIONS officials as well as national and international experts will speak at the conference. Some 700 participants are expected from the Northwest and British Columbia. Workshops will be conducted on trade and commodities, development finance, energy and industrialization, transnational corporations and the transfer of technology, the human factor, international security, world food supply, and the environment.

These same topics will be the fo-(Continued on Page 9, Column 6)

Economic order

(Continued from Page One)

cus of a series of public forums throughout the Northwest width are being conducted now through March. Forums are to promote public debate on the changing economic order. They also will provide public input on the framework for covering the issues at the conference, Varging and

The forums and conference are being organized by a broad coalition of organizations and individuals from Northwest business, industry, labor and social action groups. Resource and staff support are provided, in part, by the Seattle YMCA, the National YMCA and the United Nations.

Basques Vote

On Home-rule

Parliament

BILBAO, Spain, (AP) — Basques voted yesterday on a 60-seat Parliament for their new home-rule government, and police said the election in Spain's three northern provinces was peaceful.

It had been feared that Basque separatists, blamed for more than 25 killings so far this year, would try to disrupt the election.

Final results were not expected until this morning, but officials said the moderate Basque Nationalist Party appeared assured of victory even though it probably would not gain a parliamentary majority.

They said a collection of other parties including the centrists of Spanish Premier Adolfo Suarez, the Socialists, Communists and People's Union of the Basque separatists were trailing well behind the Basque Nationalist Party.

Seattle P.I. 5-10-80

Unctad: a formula for financial disaster

By Leroy Pope UPI business writer

NEW YORK — The developing countries would suffer, rather than benefit, if the United Nations Committee on Trade and Development succeeded in establishing ocean cargo preference rules and abolishing open registry of ships, says Paul Slater, the London expert on ship financing.

Slater, who is head of Oceanic Finance Co., said the only possible result of the Unctad policy would be to raise the cost of ocean freight in general. Since the developing countries are more dependent than the industrialized nations on foreign trade, that surely would hurt them, he said.

"If you carried to a literal con-

clusion the Unctad proposal that 40% of every maritime nation's trade be carried in ships of its own flag, the United States would end up with the biggest fleet in the world and the highest cost fleet," said Slater. Several of the developing countries built big fleets in the recent affluent years more out of considerations of national pride than practical economics, he said.

Slater said open registry or "flags of convenience"—Panamanian and Liberian registry, for example—is absolutely necessary to keep costs within reason because "shipping is a risky, uncertain and relatively unprofitable business. It requires enormous capital and technical expertise."

Slater said history shows that

every nation in modern times that has sought to establish a merchant fleet for reasons of national interest or in the hope of realizing foreign exchange revenues and so-called "invisible benefits" from ocean shipping, has found the goal an illusion and has had to resort to subsidies to keep its fleet on the seas.

Even the Russians, who conceal the real costs of building and operating their ships and who base their maritime operations on political and strategic as well as commercial considerations, have resorted to open registry, Slater said. They lease a number of ships built and financed by European consortiums that operate under Liberian or Panamanian registry.

Slater said the idea that developing countries, with their limited financial resources, should be aggressively encouraged to build and try to operate big merchant marines is nonsense, particularly in this era when there is a worldwide surplus of shipping and intense competition.

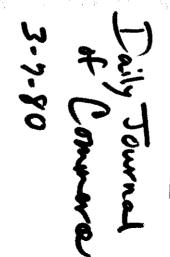
The global situation in shipping is so tough, he said, that if present trends and wage and working conditions demands continue, even the North European ocean shipping industry, which has been so great in the past, may disappear within 10 years unless it gets massive government subsidies.

In the market presently, Slater

said, major users of bulk tonnage (tankers and dry bulk cargo ships) are unwilling to enter into long-term employment contracts for ships. The resulting existence of only a short-term market makes ship investment decisions extremely difficult.

"Any collapse in the bulk freight market in the next 12 months could be catastrophic to many ship owners." Slater warned.

Against this somber background, he said, the Unctad proposals can only be regarded as "a formula for financial disaster."



The Chinese Card Has Two Sides

If the Soviet Union misjudged the American response to Afghanistan, the Carter Administration may now be miscalculating two aspects of its quest for a Sino-American alignment.

There is, first, the obvious Soviet paranoia about the Chinese. When Washington decided to sell military technology to Peking, President Brezhnev is said to have remarked that Americans might have to choose between coexistence and their Chinese "ally." The resentment is real, even if the warning is not. As always, the trick for American diplomacy is to benefit from this Soviet obsession without risking catastrophic choice.

The second problem is in Peking, where the American connection has been valued as a hedge against Soviet power. But that link means far less when America suddenly turns to China for protection against Russia. Suitors cannot expect to be treated as saviors.

So before the Chinese card is overplayed, its value ought to be examined clearheadedly. American and Chinese interests are parallel in some respects, but diverge in others. America has no obvious interest in becoming the guarantor of China's long, disputed border with the Soviet Union. Yet it shares with China a concern about the expansion of Soviet power in Asia. Moreover, Soviet power obviously represents a different magnitude of threat.

The United States now seeks in Peking what Defense Secretary Brown grandiosely calls a "global strategic relationship." It has given China, but not the Russians, equal tariffs for trade. Now it is selling

China low-level military technology — in itself a tame gesture but symbolically menacing to Moscow.

America and China have some parallel interests in countering the spread of Soviet influence, particularly in Central Asia. But a closer alignment, even confined to Asia, drags America into China's quarrels, notably with India and Vietnam, whose ties to Moscow tighten with every American gesture toward Peking. Yet an eventual American opening to Vietnam is no more unthinkable than was Richard Nixon's visit to Peking.

Within the lifetime of any American over 60, China has been perceived successively as a worthy missionary cause, a valiant wartime ally, the most implacable of enemies, and finally a strange new friend, even a potential brother-in-arms. In plain fact, China is now a totalitarian society, ruled by aging sectarians who one day allow a "democracy wall" only to reverse themselves when speech becomes too free. The country is poor, its weapons largely obsolete. The Pentagon thinks it would cost up to \$60 billion to equip China to defend itself against even a nonnuclear Soviet attack.

None of this argues against trade, economic assistance, cultural agreements or even the sale of some military equipment. But there is much reason for moving slowly, for arrangements of demonstrable mutual benefit, for steadying the pendulum of opinion and looking carefully at the other side of the Chinese card. What gives the card its highest value is that, played prudently, it can strengthen the American hand in the higher-stake competition with the Soviet Union.

New York Times 2-5-80

Volcker Warns on Fed Attrition

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4 (AP) — Membership in the Federal Reserve System is continuing to decline and could soon threaten the system's ability to manage money unless steps are taken, the chairman of the Federal Reserve System said today.

Paul A. Voicker told the Senate Banking Committee that 69 banks with total deposits of about \$7 billion gave notice of withdrawal from the system's membership in the last quarter of 1979 and the beginning of this year. As of mid-year 1978, there were between 5,000 and 6,000 bank members.

"The loss of deposits in this short period exceeds that of any full year," he said. "It is my judgment and that of many others that in the absence of legislative action, the stream of member banks withdrawing will reach flood

proportions."

Mr. Volcker urged Congress, which has been considering the declining membership in the system for three years, to take action quickly. He noted that in that three-year period the proportion of banking deposits held by members of the system dropped from 73 percent to about 70 percent.

Banks that are not members of the Federal Reserve System do not have to maintain a deposit in the system, enabling them to put that much more

money into investments.

Mr. Volcker said he believed the reserve requirements should be spread more evenly and that a smaller reserve base could be useful. He suggested an overall reserve of about \$20 billion or more would be adequate if it were distributed evenly among institutions having transactions accounts, such as checking and N.O.W.

"In light of the many new uncertainties facing our nation both at home and abroad and the enormous challenge of dealing with inflation, we cannot responsibly permit attrition from membership to grow to the stage where it seriously disrupts monetary management and calls into question the strength and independence of the nation's central bank," he declared.

"I fear we will soon be perilously close to that point," Mr. Volcker added.

The committee is considering three bills aimed at changing reserve requirements. Mr. Volcker said he believed two of those three could do the job with some modifications.

The following are among the steps Mr. Volcker said were needed to shore up the reserve system:

¶Reserves should be applied to all transactions accounts.

¶Reserve requirements on time deposits should be confined to short-term nonpersonal accounts and should be at a relatively low level.

Reserve requirements should be equal for all depository institutions offering comparable accounts.

The system should have authority to insure that the reserve base is big enough to manage monetary policy.

¶All depository institutions with transactions accounts should have access to Federal Reserve services and should try to recover the full cost of those services through pricing.

Finally, he said that institutions should remain free to choose a state or Fed ral charter and membership in the system should remain voluntary.



The New York Times

Paul A. Volcker, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, during his appearance before the Senate Banking Committee in Washington yesterday.

New York Time 2-5-80

State policy questioned VTaiwan hesitant on coal

By GARRY J. MOES

HELENA, Mont. (AP) — The head of a special trade delegation from Taiwan, H.K. Shao, says his country is interested in buying Montana coal, but so far hasn't found the state's policy or sales climate favorable.

Officials of the state administration and coal industry say they know of no offers or attempts by Taiwan to buy Montana coal to date.

"Most of the producers are pretty gunshy about that sort of thing, said Pat Stuart of the Montana Coal

Council Tuesday.

She said that Montana coal producers have stayed away from foreign deals since one "test" shipment to Japan by Westmoreland Resources in 1974 caused a furor over exporting energy resources needed at home.

The Taiwan trade delegation, which signed contracts Monday for \$12.8 million worth of Montana wheat, left Helena shortly before noon Tuesday for additional buying sessions in the United States, including some sessions expected to result in the purchase of \$900 million worth of Appalachian coal under a 10-year contract.

Shao. director general Taiwan's Board of Foreign Trade, in discussions with Montana newsmen, made it apparent that he was aware of the fact that foreign sale of Montana coal is a touchy subject here.

Emphasizing that he did not wish to interfere in state political issues, Shao said, nevertheless, "If you are willing to sell coal abroad, my country is a potential buyer."

He said that currently there are no restrictions in his country on the importation of minerals by govern-

ment or private interests, and his delegation is therefore asking American companies to provide information about exportable quantities, loading ports and prices.

Sale of Montana coal to foreign countries is emerging as an issue of controversy in this state. A recent poll by one Democratic candidate for governor, Ted Schwinden, indicated that Montanans oppose the idea. A spokesman for Gov. Thomas Judge said Tuesday that the governor is being tagged as an advocate of foreign coal sales, but the spokesman said that is untrue.

Alec Hansen, the govenor's press secretary, said the position taken by the governor has been that Montana coal at this time probably cannot be economically transported to coastal ports even if state policy favored exports of domestic energy resources.

Shao said fuel coal will be a major item on his country's list of increasing imports in the years to come.

In addition to Taiwan Power Co.'s requirements, the need of the nation's cement industry for imported coal will be increased to 1.4 million tons a year, he said.

China Steel Corp. also expects to increase its coking coal imports from the present 1.2 metric tons per year to 2.6 million metric tons annually by 1982. The current U.S. share of the coking coal importation for China Steel Corp. is about 200,000 metric tons per year and that will be increased to 300,000 metric tons by 1982.

Incidentally, in another item of possible Montana interest, Taiwan Metal Mining Corp. is also reportedly planning to buy about 260,000 metric tons of foreign copper concentrates a year beginning this year.

In all, the current trade mission will purchase \$1.9 billion in commodities and products from the United States, bringing total U.S. buys this year to \$11 billion, up from \$9 billion only one year ago.

The mission is also seeking a key commodity which cannot be packed

in a crate or ship — publicity.

While Judge's interest in the publicity benefits of the Taiwanese mission has been duly noted by the Montana press, Mike Fitzgerald, head of the Montana International Trade Commission, said that Taiwanese are clearly seeking public notice by their presence in the United States.

Fitzgerald said the whole procurement mission, including the Montana wheat purchase, could easily have been handled through world financial communication systems.

But he said that, because of the United States' official breakoff of diplomatic ties with Taiwan (when Red China was recognized), Taiwan is using trade missions for diplomatic purposes and to make the progressive little nation's presence felt in the world.

"Our Chamber of Commerce is virtually our diplomatic mission as as Taiwan is concerned," Fitzgerald said, calling that an absurd but real proposition.

He said the Taiwanese, without official contacts in the American government, are taking their nation's story and commerce directly

to the American people.

Thus while their business here could have been handled over the finanical wires, personal appearances are more advantageous — making ceremonies, such as the one held in the Governor's Reception Room here Monday, beneficial mostly for public exposure.

Taiwan buys \$2.8 million of Montana wheat

HELENA, Mont. (AP) — A special trade mission from Taiwan signed contracts for \$12.8 million worth of Montana wheat Monday morning, following a bidding session with some of the nation's top grain marketers.

The Taiwanese will be taking 68,000 metric tons (2.6 million bushels) in six shipments — two shipments of 12 percent protein hard red winter wheat and four shipments of 14.5 percent dark northern spring wheat.

The shipments will take place between July 25 and Christmas.

Successful bidders were Cargill Inc. and United Grain Corp. for the winter wheat and Columbia Grain Co., Bunge Corp. and United Grain Corp. (two shipments) for the top-of-the-line spring wheat.

Gov. Thomas Judge, who presided over the bidding session in the Governor's Reception Room at the state Capitol, said the total sale exceeded earlier expectations of a \$11.8 million sale.

Hsioh-kwen Shao, director general of the Board of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Economic Affairs of Taiwan, said the higher price is "good for Montana farmers."

Judge took full advantage of the bidding and accompanying flag-draped ceremony, claiming personal credit for the sale and signing contracts before the whirring cameras of his political campaign advertising agency.

"Last fall, when I was visiting in their country, I invited representatives of government, business and industry in Taiwan to visit our state and I am pleased that they accepted and are here today to renew old acquaintances," Judge said in opening remarks.

Asked if the trade mission would have bought Montana wheat without Judge's invitation, Bob Brastrup, executive secretary of the Montana

Wheat Research & Marketing Committee, replied with a smile, "Don't ask me that."

Mike Fitzgerald, head of the Montana International Trade Commission, said a small protion of the wheat purchased Monday — less than 10 percent of Cargill's portion — may come from outside of Montana.

In 1978, the Republic of China (Taiwan) purchased about \$10 mil-

lion worth of Montana wheat, and Monday's sale brings the total volume of business between Taiwan and Montana's grain producers to \$22.8 million.

Judge said Shao told him there will be future purchases as well.

"The transaction today is particularly important at this time, because of reduced demand and declining market prices resulting from the Soviet grain embargo," Judge said.



Spokesman Review 3-27-80

PLO recognized by India

NEW DELHI, India (AP) — India granted full diplomatic recognition to the Palestine Liberation Organization on Wednesday, another success in the PLO drive to gain recognition from oil-thirsty nations.

India buys about 2.9 billion gallons of oil a year from Arab countries, including Kuwait, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. India has sought close ties with the Arab oil-exporting countries to maintain stable supplies.

Some say India has sought close ties with the oil-rich Arab nations because it wants to minimize the Moslem world's support for neighboring Pakistan, a traditional military rival.

At the invitation of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, PLO leader Yasser Arafat will arrive Friday for a two-day visit. External Affairs Minister P.V.N. Rao made the announcement in Parliament, and members cheered it.

"Over the years, not only by words but also by deeds the people of India have demonstrated their sympathy, affection and brotherly feelings for the Palestinian people," Rao said.

He said the PLO representative office in New Delhi, established in 1975, will be accorded "full diplomatic status." A government

spokesman said the office would now be considered an embassy-level mission.

"India has all along supported the Palestinian cause in the United Nations ... granting full diplomatic status to the PLO, therefore, is but another logical step," Rao added.

Rao repeated India's position that there can be no lasting settlement to the Middle East crisis without the PLO's participation in peace negotiations.

"That alone can bring about lasting peace," he said. "The inalienable rights of the Palestinians, including their right to a national state, must be fully restored."

The Indian government recognizes Israel but does not have full diplomatic relations with it. However, it has permitted Israel to maintain a consulate in Bombay. There is no official Indian representation in Israel

In an interview, Ram Jethmalani, a leader of the opposition Janata Party, called the decision involving the PLO "unfortunate and inconsistent with international law and morality." He said, "It is inconsistent that India's commitment to non-violence because the PLO is an organization which fully believes in violence."

"To accord recognition to a movement, an organization, is something unheard of in diplomatic circles," said Jethmalani, known for his pro-Israel views.

Within the past month, France, Britain and West Germany recognized the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing said the PLO should participate in Middle East peace talks.

Austria granted the PLO office in Vienna virtual full diplomatic status recently.

Arab influence in the West skyrocketed after the 1973 oil embargo,
and Arafat's influence on the Arabs
was cemented in 1974 when the nations of the Arab League, most notably Saudi Arabia, recognized the
PLO as the "sole representative" of
the Palestinians who left or were
forced from their homeland when
Israel was created in 1948 and during subsequent wars.

Over the past decade, the influence of the 16-year-old organization has grown as rapidly as oil prices.

The PLO has long enjoyed almost full diplomatic privileges in the Arab world, Africa, and in socialist nations of eastern Europe and Asia. In the United States, the PLO has offices at the United Nations and in Washington, D.C. Neither is officially recognized by the U.S. government, which has promised Israel that it will not talk with the PLO.

SR 3-27-80

NY Times

SAN JUAN, P.R. — Before recessing House and Senate committees approved a resolution that would commit Congress to support self-determination for the 3.2 million people of Puerto Rico. Gov. Carlos Romero-Barcelo says passage of the resolution would be a commitment to statehood for Puerto Rico, if its people should choose that course.

The congressional resolution is a response to the expected approval later this month by the United Nations Decolonization Committee of a declaration describing Puerto Rico as a colony of the United States and endorsing either "free association" with the United States or independence. Such a declaration, sponsored by Cuba, was ap-

Puerto Rico: State or Nation?

proved for the first time last year by the Decolonization Committee

This maneuvering reflects a striking political development in Puerto Rico — a vital consensus among the island's warring political forces that change in its status is now necessary. Statehood sentiment, at least on the surface, seems to have made the biggest gain, but there is more open interest in independence, too. And even those who back the American commonwealth status that has existed here since 1952, like former Gov. Rafael Hernandes Colon, are calling for the island's political powers to be significantly increased to give it more autonomy.

This raises hard questions for mainland Americans — no doubt including many members of Congress - comfortable in the belief that Puerto Ricans overwhelmingly support commonwealth status. Sooner than they think, the nation may be faced with the question whether to admit this Spanish-speaking island as the 51st state and the 27th largest, with seven congressmen and nine electoral votes. And independence sentiment, in the Island and at the U.N., may well keep going unless headed off by improvements in Puerto Rico's status that Congress may not want to make.

The trend toward change — with statehood sentiment, at least on the

surface, rising most swiftly—is reasonably clear. Romero-Barcelo is an avowed statehooder, and his party won control of both houses of the Island Legislature in 1976. In 1968, the governor's New Progressive Party, succeeding the old Statehood Republican Party, got 43.6 percent of the vote; but eight years later Romero-Barcelo won by 48.3 percent.

Meanwhile, the Popular Democratic Party, led for many years by Luis Munoz Marin, the founder of the commonwealth, has slipped steadily from 59.2 percent in 1964 to 45.3 percent in 1976, when Hernandes Colon lost a bid for reelection. These percentages in gubernatorial elections are not directly comparable to statehood and commonwealth sentiment. But Popular Democrats, observing the trend, are newly militant in demanding improved commonwealth status.

Romero-Barcelo thinks statehood has just received a big lift from the mainland Democratic Party, which recently awarded 41 delegates to its island branch (a different organization from the Popular Democrats). For the first time next year, the mainland Democratic and Republican Parties will hold primaries here (Puerto Rican Republicans are entitled to 17 delegates), and all presidential candidates

in both parties are expected to campaign.

The governor — who is ahead in the polls — has promised, if re-elected next year, to conduct a plebiscite in 1981, with voters choosing among the three historic political positions — commonwealth, statehood, independence. If a majority for statehood results, he says, he will quickly present a statehood application to Congress.

But many Puerto Ricans doubt that statehood can get — or ever — command such a majority, despite its apparent gains. And they believe that, anyway, a Puerto Rican statehood application would present Congress with unprecedented difficulties. With independence at best far in the future, they say, improved commonwealth status, if Congress will grant it, is still the island's best bet.

4 Antorgovernmen Sel Relations

U.S. Tied to Third World Sterilizations

government has been linked directly to the sterilizations of up to 30 million people worldwide since 1972 as part of a \$1.3 billion population control effort, it was reported yesterday.

In a copyright article, the Richmond Times-Dispatch quoted sources as saying that sterilizations in developing countries, performed with the encouragement of the United States, sometimes have been involuntary.

Phillip Clark, a Harvard University population ethicist, said he participated in a United Nations study that concluded that the United States had imposed "direct or indirect pressure" to promote birth control despite local resistance.

In the Philippines, for example, he said

Filipinos maintained they "would lose their jobs if they didn't fill quotas for the most effective (birth control) measures, which include steriliza-

The Agency for International Development, a branch of the State Department, has been the chief vehicle for this country's strong worldwide birth control effort, the newspaper reported.

The AID, which has described sterilization as the "world's leading contraceptive method," funnels funds to a number of private organizations that conduct birth control programs.

The newspaper said a U.N. study of population control in Third World countries, due to be released this summer, will urge a major reassessment of this nation's involvement in such pro-

AID officials stress that every sterilization conducted under the agency's auspices must be accompanied by elaborate consent forms and verbal instructions. But they concede that most of the Third World is illiterate.

The United States has spent \$100 million in services, training and research to encourage sterilizations worldwide, the newspaper reported. In addition, the AID trains foreign doctors in sterilization methods at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

The former head of the AID population control effort, Dr. R.T. Ravenholt, was demoted last summer after allegedly implying that the State Department advocated sterilization of a fourth of the world's fertile couples.

Sterilization

World's Renewable Resources on Decline

By BAYARD WEBSTER

ECENT studies by resource and population scientists reveal that many of the earth's resources that enable the human race to feed, shelter, transport and clothe itself have passed their peak production years.

The researchers' findings indicate that the decreasing rate of per capita production of major resources is already posing problems for a world population of 4.3 billion, which is expected to double within the next several decades and, according to United Nations projections, will reach 12 billion in the next century.

The investigators' studies also show that biological crops, although renewable resources, are now steadily declining in the amounts available and pose the

same problems as nonrenewable mineral and orebearing rock resources.

The majority of essential nonrenewable mineral resources, such as petroleum and natural gas, and nonfuel minerals such as tungsten, nickel, zinc, lead, silver, tin and platinum have either peaked or are approaching a point close to the highest annual per capita production level it is possible to achieve with current technology.

But a study by Lester Brown, director of Worldwatch Institute, the Washington-based research organization, indicates that per capita world production of the earth's principal biological, or renewable, resources — cattle, fish, grain and wood — has already peaked and is steadily declining.

The significance of this trend, Mr. Brown points out, is that the forests, fishery waters, grasslands and croplands that support these commodities are eigenvalue.

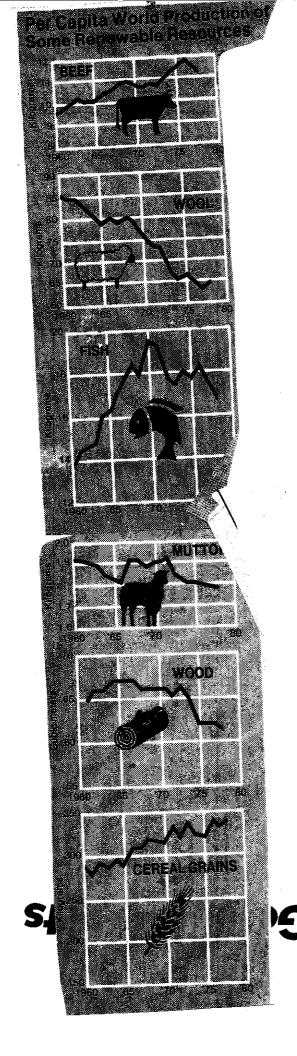
ther being diminished or damaged. The result is that there is a smaller amount of each resource available for each person on earth. And as the population increases, the disparity becomes greater.

Using data from the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization and the United States Department of Agriculture, Mr. Brown surveyed the per capita production of the six principal biologically originated commodities: fish, beef, mutton, wool, cereals and wood.

He found that wood production peaked in 1967, when it totaled 2.2 cubic feet per person, and slowly but steadily declined to its present level of 2 cubic feet. Fish from the world's fisheries reached a peak of 43 pounds per person in 1970 and now totals 36 pounds. Beef peaked in 1976 with 26 pounds per per-

Continued on Page C2

New York Times 2-5-80



Resources Past Peak

Continued From Page C1

son and declined to its present level of 24 pounds.

The mutton output has declined from a high of 4.2 pounds per person in 1972 to the present level of 4 pounds. Wool production reached its peak 20 years ago when production averaged 2 pounds per person. Present data shows total annual per capita production of 1.4 pounds. And the production of cereals from the world's croplands began leveling off in 1971, when 739 pounds per person were obtained, peaked in 1976, when 754 pounds were grown, and declined since then to a total of 701 pounds last year.

Mr. Brown, in an interview in his Washington office, cited declining cereal production as one of the most important resource problems that the world faces. "In terms of human wellbeing and survival," he noted in "Resource Trends and Population Policy," a recently published Worldwatch paper, "the grain crops that occupy some 70 percent of the world's croplands are the single most important product of all the biological systems." And the leveling off and decline of supplies of wheat, rice, corn and other cereals that, supply well over half of man's together great can only be a threat to humanity swell-being and survival, he added.

Other Problems Cited

"There are four main reasons for this," he said. "One is that population growth has caused the conversion of croplands to nonfarm uses such as residential and industrial development. Another is that soil erosion is causing the loss of topsoil on almost a fifth of our farmland. And the combination of rising energy costs and the diminishing returns on the use of chemical fertilizers also contributes to the leveling off of grain and cereal production."

But the problems of declining resources are linked with many seemingly unrelated conditions, Mr. Brown and other researchers have noted in recent studies. In a bulletin on resources and environment published by the Population Reference Bureau, Ronald Ridker and Elizabeth Cecelski, of Resources for the Future, an organization in Washington, note that the world energy shortages and skyrocketing prices can only have a pernicious impact on the production of the earth's resources. As energy resources dwindle, the energy costs of collecting and processing both biological and nonbiological material rises, making it economically more difficult to increase or maintain production levels.

But Dr. Ridker, in an expanded version of the bulletin, which will be published in a book, "To Choose a Future," noted that many other factors can arise in the future that may lower resource outputs. These include increased emissions of environmental pollutants, unforeseen massive disasters such as earthquakes, epidemics and global climate changes, soil deterioration and the buildup of toxic chemicals in food chains.

Mr. Brown, however, said that many situations could also occur that might have a beneficial effect on resource production. These could include discoveries of new sources of materials, technological advances, improved distribution methods, benevolent climate changes and new biological discoveries.

"This makes it hard to predict exactly what the future holds for us," he said, "but it's safe to say that it will be difficult to reverse or halt any of these downward resource trends without reversing population growth. But I don't think the population will expand to 12 billion as the United Nations demographic division predicts, because inflation, malnutrition and resource shortages will tend to keep population down.

"Peoples' life styles are going to have to change," he added. "Recycling and conservation will have to be practiced on a much larger scale than they now are. The throw-away society's days are numbered."

-(Continued from page

SQUAXIN ISLAND TRIBE HOST GOVERNMENT

Demirel took power last November, 2,444 persons

were killed and more than

10,000 others were injured Korkut Ozal, who served

in terrorist attacks.

In the 22 months before

tions daily

ly familiar with Turkey's

ment and who is intimate-

security forces, said that police have been divided into leftist and rightist

as interior minister in the previous Demirel govern-

Since the beginning of the year, there has been an average of six assassina-

of Tribal Governments

Ave.

obtained such status, Turkey's Kurds would be tempted to follow suit." residents who use ferry ing into existence. boats to reach work across "If the Iranian Kurds the Bosporus refused to pay their fares one recent

Cirkey

sources said that Kurdish secessionists are divided into several groups and that pro-Moscow factions are the best organized and most nu-Turkish

But Turkish and Western officials say the situa-

tion is potentially explo-

sive since widespread dis-

satisfaction easily could turn into riots and provoke

a reluctant military to

After about three months in office, he has

vowed to eliminate anarchy and restore govern-ment control in "liberated

assistance to buy oil and

get the economy moving.

Demirel says he urgent y needs Western financial take over the government.

ergy" are being devoted to the issues of economy and

His entire "time and en-

areas."

the latter getting "70 per-

cent" of his attention,

errorism, he said, with

Although the govern-ment arrested more than ,000 suspected terrorists

in January, the crackdown has yet to make an appre-

ciable impact on the politi-

cal violence.

underground Marxist mili-tants operating in urban centers is in the thousands They said the number of

or tens of thousands.

At least nine leftist groups are known to operkara, ranging from the ate in Istanbul and An-Marxist-Leninist Propa-

ganda Union to the Turk-

ultra-right Nationalist Ac-

judges to newspaper editors, uncooperative police officials and Americans in prominent figures ranging from businessmen and tion Party. Both sides carry out teragainst rorist attacks

Both sides would like to provoke a military take-Turkey

Meanwhile, the leftists believe a military take-over would be a prelude to

ployment.

Ish Revolutionary Communist Union.

Officials fear that these groups are in cooperation with the Moscow-oriented Kurdish groups. Rightist, armed groups are known to maintain close association with the

over, but for different rea-

The rightists would like to see an authoritarian hat would stamp out the government in Ankara eft and the Kurdish prob-

ing out the of unemple ing with you have no pr "This co This year nist Hasan

school grad

TOSKO DODER Washington Post

ANKARA, Turkey - Coffee and light bulbs have disappeared from Turkish shows, but Soviet-made Kalashnikov rifles are readily available in the bazants.

And the evide of violence that marks life in this country today already, has produced several becated towns in the hands of ter-

regist araties.

The police in many areas are openly split along political lines -"right-wing" police forces and "left-

wine" police forces.

If the frequent ideological violence were not enough, there are **regular** reports in eastern Tuckey of armed classics involving Kurdish secessionists.

About 7 million Kurds live in eastern Turkey along the border with

Iran, Iran and Syria.

All this is taking place while the Turkish argly is confident market law, another sign of Turkey's potential slide toward anarchy

This strategically plated country an important member of NATO, E

In ching toward chaos.

as social fabric is in desperate ment of repair, if repair is even pos-

Piercely independent and a seculan state since the revolution of

Kemal Ataturk in 1921. Turkey today is on the verge of collabse, and eirifined by Dromonis Travility and torn by political violences.

Officials say that armed leftest groups are in control of the eastern town of Tuncell while rightist paramilitary forces are in charge of the city of Erzardia, a strategic provin cial capital of 105,000 in Turkish Armentar, with the second

Lawiessness and banditry also are reported on the rise throughout Turkey as factories stand tille because of oil shortages and one out of four workers is without a job.

The absence of any type of memployment insurance or even temporacy support for the jobless has put an epormous strain on the society.

These who held jobs and bave seen their income steadily shrinking because of 70 percent inflation were deale a devisioning blow when Practical Violetter Salley ment September coveragion recently? distributed distributed helt-fightening treasures melneme price increases andrem 50 percent for soil percent on voctually all back etherhodities.

So far abere have been few mass

acts of civil disobedience.

However, thousands of Istanbul

(Continued on page 5)-

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Surdish rehel groups

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Alesting sources say it is
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BY REMITS BEING

Principle Por ligarability of A. Springs and opinion deficient in the office in London casefully begin in Cambodians "me alive gai well and livingsoff their resourcefulness."

Just how well the Cambodians are

Just how well the Cambiguians are things is appliable, to so the least for the least for the from being of the brink of assing hours, as was incontested several months ago by some authorities, including the U.S. Central Intelligence applies the Cambodians have survived theirs of year ordest of war and revolution with remarkable vigors.

orr Tallication in far hom over. But

the consense in the international concentration of community here is that the food consists is past, barring some unexpected flow calendary Some relief againsts have in fact stopped importing food and medicine and switched to other kinds of aid projects.

Mondy is starying, said Marcus Thompson of the British rehel agents Objam, "at least not that, I know about."

where eight months ago people were either starving or surviving on back, leaves, rats and insects. Still, if they are no longer starving, a great many people are going

That is progress in a country

in hed hungry — if they have a bed; and many dent. Majnutrition is uniyered in a country once blessed with an abundance of food.

"The situation is not good but it's not appalling." Or. Helen (Henny) brown, a British nutritionist, said after a survey of children in three provinces.

"What seems to be missing from their diet is rice, vegetables, eggs, meat and fish. I don't know what they're surviving on, but they're surviving."

Western aid officials are careful to avoid the appearance of optimism. The situation is far too precarious for that. Besides, optimism

might dim the generosity of the aid givers. But there is a general feeling

orpelief, that the worst is over. Western relief officials, who have been afmost constantly at war with the Vietnamese supported Phnon Pent government since their gerival last year, now conceder that their food import program has been only 50 percent successful — as one Eu ropean put if, "a half-flop."

The logism at Cambodia's only deep-water port, Kompong Soul where relief ships had to wait a long as three months before the could be unloaded, was braken with the arrival in April of 92 brawns Bussian dockworkers accompanied

by transcand for Klibs.

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(There is plepty of rice — if we only color get them the gerein-tent to distribute it," one ind affi-italiant it.

That officials say there is beweek 40000 and 50 bill tons of miles of the color of the When it will be distributed.

We have a mandate to monitor food distribution but we haven't been able to do it because the government won't let us," one senior of-ficial said. "We know where it goes, up to province level, but not after that."

There is an abundance of evidence that the government has favored civil servants, the army, party cadres and others loval to the regime in food distribution.

Without the flow of Western aid across the Thai border via the ox-cart "land bridge," thousands of Cambodians would have starved.

The key to Cambodian self-sufficiency in food, however, lies in seed rice. And here the outlook is good.

The Phnom«Penh officials estimate that they have about 40,000 tons of seed rice on hand, not nearly enough, but certainly more than last year. More than 20,000 tens came across the border from Thailand before Niemannese troops sealed the border during recent fighting.

Thousands of Cambodians are tolling in their rice fields now that the rains have come and the planting season is in full swing. Yet the watery landscape seems curiously empty, a reminder that Cambodia, always an underpopulated country, has lost an estimated 2 million people over the past decade. Most of them died at the hands of Pol. Pot, the premier who was onsted in January 1979.

We are definitely in much better shape than last year," said Niv Narin, à 36 gear-old agronomist who is agriddings dieseloriet Bartambang Protings Kandbangs pignemal nggorodings figa

Weston's flave enough of anything, additing seen failes and there's a shoring of dealf animals. It has been estimated that framposites water sufficient opposition was reduced from the state of the source of of the sourc

"We wan't produce enough for to sto feed ourselves o Narm conjuged but well getally extinguous consulta-toes, beans and unappoer lies entent root also known ascassawa?

Some aid officials are derried that there will not be duning from to go around during late authors, just

The situation is bad but

it's not appalling.

before the winter harvest, when rice stocks, are low even in agricul times.

As the country struggles to put it self together again, one eminous question mark hovers over everything. That is Pol For Although he was driven out of Phnom Pedie 18 months ago by the invading Vietnamese, he is still very much on the minds of his countrymen and their Vietnamese masters, who make all the major decisions here.

Pol Pot and his Khmer Kange guerrilla force are stronger than they were eight months ago, which they were on the run and more con cerned with staying alive than fight ing. But just how strong is another. matter.

The Pol. Pot forces somethy coup. June 11 when they audiushed a train: packed with Cambidians returning. from a black market invite trip on the Thai border and killed some. where between 150 and 200 people:

Security, relief officials say has deteriorated, and bridges are routinely blown in some places. Yel-this reporter and a British colleague traveled more than 1900 miles through 10 provinces, from the Viet nam border in the east to within 25 miles of the That border in the west without hearing a shot fired in an

THE SPOKESMAN REVIEW Sun., July 6, 1989, Spokane, Wash.

mana: Lest c

HY DON OBERDORFER

BANGKOK - Five years after the fall of Salgon, the finie of testing finally may have begun for the noncommunist "deminoes" of Southeast

The setting was the downing light of the That sorder village of None Mark Man on Monday, June 23. The appointment by ofth-helmeted Victorances soldiers that That civilians would not be killed, but that

food would be collected. The startled vallagers fled to the surrounding vice paddies. Thalland's army quickly challenged the intrud-ers and dreve them back across the That Cambodian borner with over-whelmigg fireflower of automatic weapons, helicopter gunships and

This fill offices and most serious encounter between Vietnam and the non-communist world since the ig-

conquest of Thailand. In the meantime, the main dangers are internal instability, confusion and Vict-namese-fostered insurgency—mone of which are seen by Salyud as major threats today. . 27

said, whether the incident at None Mak Mun was a limited operation with limited aims or the beginning of a long campaign of pressure against Thailand's borders. His the That response.

From all appearances the Thais displayed both confidence and capability, attributes that are striking to a correspondent peturning to noncommunist Southeast Asia after an absence of five years.

If it were ever true - as popularly helieved in 1975 — that the "dominoes" would be easy prey to Vietnam's legions, it is true no longer. The Asian states seem ready willing to fight for their continued independence — and increasingly able, as well, to stand up to the challenge.

Communist Asia has squandered the past half-decade in mutually destructive struggles and hot wars arising from this Chinese Soviel dispute and the clash of national interests. As a result of Vietnam's invasion and contested occupation of Cambodia and China's 1979 attack and continuing pressures against Vietnam, the predominant lines of confrontation in the region have been within the communist world rather than between the communist states and their capitalist neighbors.

The Asian "dominoes" of Thatland, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Indonesia, which organized themselves into the Association Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), have used the time to build their strength and their alliances. On balance, they seem better prepared today to meet external pressures and internal stress than heywere live years ago.

In the spring of 1975, we were aying, 'my God, here come the vietnamese, straight from victory er the Americans, with lots of weapons, and friends volunteering

sorbing Chinese energies in short run.

Singapore, a developed citystate dominated by affinite Chinese, is skrongly anticontropist and the home of the region's leading geopo-litical snateging, Singapose opposed Vietnam strongly largely out of concern about the spread of Soviet influence through the Hanoi connec-

 The Philippines, which renewed main hunch is that it was a test to its U.S. base arrangements and alli-gauge That determination and decance, inspect cautiously closer to fenses, with the future course dec China as Waghington-Pelging rela-pending on Ranol's assessment of thom, wagning the Thing the Ellipinos supported the U.S. war in Vietnam with logistical decilities

the domino thei troops, and time had little in

ine divergent viewpoints partners

Which are more concerned hing, Paking is a potential dian an Immediate plomat, Sinnathamby Rajarath-

"We may dream different night. marca about the future, but when

the alarm goes not in the morning we wake to real with the problem at hand. And we are all strongly backing Thailand when it is confronted with the immediate threat," Ra-

The backing for Theiland from its Agian neighborshas been the tours Asked in an interview if would do more, hajaramam replied

pow to the Atlantic Geran?" ASEAN'S coalfien building and maneuvering between reval powers the community world pesulted, in part, from the decline of the United States as the president outside

was fear and som that the thingel back from South da year the the tell

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF HUMAN HIGHTS: Volume I: The Washington Connec-After the Cataclysms Postwar Indochina and The Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology. By Noan Chemsky and Edward Herman, South End Piets, 515 cathr, 55,50 cach, paper.

Realier in this century, faced with the popular success of fascism. Antonio Gramsol posed the cuestion: How does any willing differ fined the ellegence of those phony it rules? Gramma siquestion has sprompt a vast field of insulty into idealogical control or "hegemony," the ways people are induced to accept as legitimate, or at least inevitable, their own victimiza-

Awareness of this problem, by no means limited to academic Marxists. has produced some white-hot books-The Wretched of The Earth, Pedagogy of the Guineas, and now Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman's two-volume The Politioul Economy of Human Rights. Like that other critique of political economy. Capital, the Chomsky-Herman work is both an anatomy of a system of domination. in this world, and a dissection of the ideology that I tion laws. masks it, the myth of American benevolence, or in its current version, the "human rights" crusade.

Two charts early in the back offer data about the relationship between human plets control by foreign companies, the result was a coup d'etat organized by Allen third world countries within the American orbit Argentina, Brazil, Chile, the Dominjean Republic. Ethiopia, Gustemala. Indonesia, Iran (under the shah), the Philippines. South Korea. Thailand, and Uruguay-American military and economic aid correlate positively with human highes violations. That is, a high level of harman rights violations goes with a high level of American aid Furthermore, wherein the United States. Other examples are fuman rights situation in these countries. American eld line verted correspondingly. Changes of government involving an increase in democracy and popular participation have resulted in decreased American aid changes of government involving intressed halforkarienten find here det ror have resulted in Mirches America

Miconagua Paraguay. Honduras. El Salvador, and so on throughout the Free World.

Why? What is the key to American foreign policy? Here is the dirty little secrett "The deterioration in the human rights situation and the increase in U.S. aid and support each correlate, independently, with a third and remain factor: namely, improvement of the investment climate. The climate for business operating of Human Rights of torture statistics tions improves as unions and popular bre ganizations are destroyed, dissidents are tortured or eliminated, real wages are depressed, and the society as a whole is placed in the hands of a collection of thugs and gangsters who are willing to sell out to the foreigner for a share of the loot. And as the climate for business operations im-Oppressed, Death at an Early Age, Three proves, the society is welcomed into the Free World and offered the specific kind of 'aid' that will further these favorable developments." Other features of a "favorable investment climate" cited by Chemsky and Herman include unregulated access to minerals and other case America's relationship with the third resources and easy tax and profit-repatria-

Thus, when a popular, moderate, nationalist government in Iran, in 1953, tried to assert a measure of control over the country's oil, limiting the hitherto com-Dulles, director of the CIA. In Guatemala in 1954, a similar government, popular, moderate, and nationalist, undertook similar modest reforms—distributing uncultivated land owned by American corporations to landless agricultural workers. and permitting labor union organizing. Again the result was a coup, organized. financed, and immediately recognized by there have been significant changes in the equally familiar: Nicaragua in 1926, Lebanon in 1958. Laos in 1958. Brazil in 1964, the Dominican Republic in 1965, Chile in 1973, Thailand in 1976, and, of course, Vietnam (beginning, however, in the late 1940s, not the early 1960s).

Besides overturning governments that resultant siege-mentally has produced 18 topsist controller Afferican capital, there is an industry course to Ladio 200 decided blood 1960 of support for governments willing as sandadout the sauthors call the National

nid As the rest of the study demonstrates, I cuforce this control, like the 12 listed the same relationship holds for Zaire, earlier. Since this control involves such things as conversion of arriculture to cash crops for export, creation of a large work force of impoverished ex-peasants for foreign-owned plants and plantations, guarenteed low wages as an incentive for foreign investment, and extreme austerity in social welfare programs, these governments are generally unpopular. This means repression: that is, torture.

The regitation in The Political Econo-

imerticulated and unargued; fur is monetheless assumed by all in the mainstream -In fact, acceptance of this framework is what defines the mainstream. Dissent is legal but margital, heretics are thee to talk to each other, while among those without considerable free time and access to material outside the mainstream, the engineering of consent proceeds unhindered. The consensus is tacit but overwhelming.

The assumption of all "responsible" discourse about American foreign policy. the fundamental article of our state religion, is, in Chorisky and Helman

may be left for conscientions readers. But a few figures are worth quoting. According to AmnestyInternational, 35 countries were practicing torture on an administrative (i.e., regular) basis in the mid-'70s. Of these, 26 were within the American sphere of influence-recipients of military and economic aid and military and police training. Between 1946 and 1975, these countries received \$36.5 billion in military aid and had over 150,000 military personnel trained by the U.S. The Latin American military, for example, are brought to the U.S. Army School of the Americas in the Canal Zone, where, as Chomsky and Herman note, they are offered instruction in sophisticated interrogation techniques and demonstration of state-of-the-art torture technology, and taught that they are the guardians of a beleaguered Western civilization, threatened by relentless Communist subversion

in the guise of reform movements, labor

organizing, and civil rights agitation. The

and torture episodes is nauseating. Details i words, that "the United States is unique among the nations of past or present history in that its policies are governed by abstract moral principles such as the Wilsonian ideals of self-determination, human rights, economic welfare, and so on, not by the material interests of groups that actually have domestic power, as is the case in other societies." There is no shortage of critical analysis applied to the international behavior of other countries. It is obvious that the "groups that actually have domestic power" in the Soviet Union, or in Bismarckian Germany, set foreign policy in their own interest. But we are somehow different.

To be sure, there are voices within the majnstream that deplore this excessive idealism. These are the "realists." who argue that the limits of American power make our overriding concern for human rights and demodratic values no longer affordable. Others wonder whether American moralism is a form of naivete of condescension, an attempt to graft our traditions onto complex and affeir cultures. But all agree that sandred or not: "abstract -Continued on next page

BOOKS



If evidence of atrocity is lacking, invent it. This photo, supposedly showing a Khmer Rouge execution-by-axe in Cambadia in 1976, ran in "Time" magazine, Nov. 21, 1977, But according to Chemsky and Herman, the photo was known before publication to have been faked by Thai intelligence.

The Free World Gulag

Secondly Steep-Pastistic with no popular base, or "sudification"

Having surveyed the gruesoment Chomsky and Herman turn to the think. to the reporting and interpretation of American foreign policy in the media and academic scholarship. It is an amazing record, a kind of duncted, an epic of incompetence, hypocrisy, and deceit. They cite simple non-reporting: of the 1968 bombing of Laos, the heaviest in history, of Sihanouk's White Paper, protesting American hombing in Cambodia in 1969. They cite neglect: When Kissinger appeared on television to summarize the Paris peace accords, no one bothered to point out that his summary was a travesty of the text. They cite flimflam: Time and Newsweek ran fake photographs of Khmer Rouge strocities after it was revealed that they had been fabricated by Thai intelligence. And they cite moral obtuseness: When President Carter announced that there would be no reparations for Indochina because "the destruction was mutual," not a single editorial voice was raised in protest.

Chomsky and Herman record many more examples, equally dismaying, but the burden of their argument lies elsewhere. It is that the normal performance of scholarship and the media involves a systematic bias. Their formulation is provocative, even outrageous. They claim that, much as in totalitarian societies, our scholarship and media function largely as a propaganda system, although the mode of functioning is different. Under totalitarianism, the framework of discussion, the principles of the state religion, are explicitly promulgated. They are sacrosact but transparent: outward dissent is illegal, but inner dissent, or mental reservation, is made easier by the blutaticy of state propaganda. In the United States, the framework is

goals.

(Chambora Wan Street day bare 141) meral brinciples" have been the soul of clean foreign policy.

Occasionally it is admitted that our noble efforts have sometimes gone astray. Thus, the fact that the U.S. bears primary responsibility for turning Latin America into a forture chamber and Indochina into a moonscape is referred to (when acknowledged at all) as "ironic" and a "tragic error." the unforeseen result of "blundering efforts to do good" (Anthony Lewis), or of "good impulses transmuted into bad policy" (The Washington Post). Liberal critics boldly question the feasibility of this or that intervention or the prudence of supporting this or that dictator—but never the essential benevolence of American

Upon this consensus Chomsky and Herman heap 800 pages of staggering documentation and ferocious scorn. Yet, their fury is controlled: there is never a suggestion of deliberate conspiracy. Again like Capital, the book portrays a vast, marvelously efficient system without conscious central coordination. The market organizes ordinary greed, as the state religion organizes ordinary chauvinism: though the rules are rigged, the individual players, by and large, are honest.

An elegant theory, and it comes with a crucial experiment. The second volume of the study focuses on postwar Indochina. and especially on Western reporting about Indochina. Its thesis is that defense of the state religion requires proof that the American intervention, however destructive was plausibly intended to prevent something worse i.e., bloodbath and enslave ment. Hence, evidence must be found, or if necessary invented, and sounterevidence suppressed. And this, in part explains the explosion of Western outrage over Cambodia's incomprehensible "auto genocide."

It is difficult to imagine a more unpromising preject than to give a rational amount of Cambadia under the Efforer House. To anyone dependent on the mass media for enformation (just about all of us), the picture is glastly: a hand of Matrist fanatics dedicated to a higher form of primitive communism, turning a gentle land into a gigantic prison camp slaughtering and starving millions. This is

The transfer and the second in the second se dividuals fire antiwer movement is disbradited liberal confirmets rependent. Chomsky and Lemman devote & ver

long chapter to examining recent Cambodian history and its portrayal in Western media. It is full of surprises. Sidney Schanberg won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting of the fall and evacuation of Phnom Penh in April 1975. Yet Schanberg, like all other Westerners in the city, was largely confined to the French embassy compound. Only one non-Cambodian. Shane Tarr. a New Zealander with a Cambodian wife, actually participated in the evacuation, and his account, published in News from Kampuchea (readership c. 500), sharply contradicts the general Western impression of a barbarous and vindictive forced march. Tarr and a few other leftists tried to circulate his

in Phnom Renh: What drove the Cambodians to kill? ... To a large extent, think. American actions are to blaine. From 1969 to 1973, after all, we dropped more than 500,000 tons of bombs on the Cambodian countryside. Nearly half of this tonnage fell in 1973. . . . In those few months we may have driven thousands of people out of their minds." This speculation seems plausible.

What about mass starvation—never mind whose responsibility it would have been? There is little demographic evidence, since Cambodia was largely closed to the outside world. Yet, apart from refugee testimony-often obtained under supervision and filtered through officially selected translators, and by no means unanimous, as Western reporting suggests—there are some first-hand accounts from Swedish and Japanese

acjalski karijarijarija kovinstriterio karijarijari in Indochina must be woheld, thus the nasreportea kolonabatak uniCarbondia

account, in vain. Chomsky and Herman recall some in

frequently remembered background to the evacuation: Three million people, mostly refugees, lived in Phnora Penh in April 1975, five times the prewar population. They were totally dependant on air-lifts of American rice, which were terminated or the day of occupation. Only a six-day store of rice was left in the city, after which mass starvation must have ensued. Cambodian agriculture had been destroyed by American bombing, so that Agency for International Development officials leav ing Phnom Penh in April predicted that a million people would die of famine in the next year.

So much for the American legacy What of life under the Khmer Rouge? The authors write that "there is no difficulty in documenting major atrocities." Must pundits ascribe these to "dogmatism" or some other form of Communist iniquity. But there are other possible reasons. Chomsky and Herman quote congressional testi-

diplomats. Danish and American leftists, Yugoslav journalists, a Belgian sociologist, a French Khmer scholar, and others. The picture is obscure, but it seems that Camhodian agriculture made a surprising recovery, perhaps even reaching prewar levels by 1978, and that Cambodia weathered the disastrous 1978 floods better than any other country in the region. The outstanding foreign correspondent, Richard Dudman of The St. Louis Post-Disputch, visited Cambodia in December 1978, on the eye of the Vietnamese invasion, and found it "flourishing and potentially presperous." Hardly the picture generally presented in the Western media.

There are probably four main sources for the popular American perception of postwar Cambodia: Murder in a Gentle Land by John Barron and Anthony Paul Cambodia: Year Zero by Francois Ponchaud. Jean Lacouture's review of Ponchaud in The New York Review of Books, and Henry Kamm's reporting in The New York Times. Chomsky and Ethings at the there all at launth with There as good the Indenticion

devastating results. Barrow with Paul's book and Lacouture's review are shreaded; Ponchaud's and Kamm's oredibility are seriously damaged. The analysis is too intricate to reconstruct here, but is recommended to connoisseurs of polemic.

All this is somewhat disorienting. The documentation, as noted, is staggering. But the reasoning is something more, so austere and scrupulous that its effect is almost painful. One flinches at the mechanical annihilation of complacent assumptions and gratuitous inferences, the relentless production of jarring conclusions. In a final tour de force, Chomsky and Herman orchestrate a remarkable comparison between the Western resnonses to atrocities in Cambodia and East Timor. It happens that history offers a kind of

controlled experiment to test the book's

argument. Consider two situations of re-

pression and mass murder, similar in

many significant respects, equally worthy of exposure and protest, with this difference: In one case, the atrocities are conducted by our ideological enemies, remote from our influence, and cannot be mitigated by our denunciations; in the other, they are conducted by our clients. wholly dependent on our continuing military supplies, and therefore vulnerable to any expression of displeasure by our government or public opinion. What is the response of a morally serious person? Naturally, to protest actions that we may possibly influence and for which we bear some responsibility, i.e., the latter dese But given the Chomsky-Herman hypothesis about the propaganda function of the media, what is the predicted attcomé? Exclusive concern with former case.

To explain: Indonesia & a banical suit-fascist client state, an investors, paradise," according to Le Mande. On Determher 7, 1975, the Indonesian army invaded the nearby island republic of East Timor. The day before, Gerald Ford and Flency Kissinger completed a state visit to Indonesia: asked to comment on the invesion. Kissinger said only "The Linited States understands Indonesia's position on the question of Timor." In August 1975, the Australian ambassador to indonesia cabled home: "We are dealing with a settled Indonesian policy to hicorporate

MOUN TREATY

At issue is not just future development of outer space but relationship of the U.S. to the developing countries



Moon's mountains and crate

by Lee Dembart Los Angeles Times

n a desk in Washington — and likely to remain there — is a proposed treaty covering what seems like science fiction. It deals with mining minerals on the moon, making drugs in outer space, beaming energy to earth from solarpowered satellites.

Perhaps because it would have no practical effect until far in the future, no one paid much attention to the so-called Moon Treaty during the seven years it was being negotiated at the United

But now that the freaty is available for signature, unexpected opposition has developed, from people who say that the United States, if it signed, would be needlessly giving away the vast resources of outer space to the world's developing

"There's no question about the resources," said Leigh S. Ratiner, a Washington lawyer who represents the L5 Society, a group of space enthusiasts who oppose the Moon Treaty.

"The resources are similar to what's on earth, the same broad entargories. They're all out there

the same broad categories. They're all out there, unbelievably high grade. There are some asteroids, which are already known to exist, that are almost solid stainless steel."

atiner envisions a future in which large ore carriers constructed in space — to avoid the high cost of launching them — are filled with ores mined by remote control and then plummeted

back to earth.
"There are people now talking about the possibility of catching asteroids, as you would a dog on a leash, towing them into near-earth orbit, working on them, breaking them up, taking them

Ratiner said.

Of course, it would require billions of dollars just to explore the possibility of retrieving the commercially valuable minerals from space. But as earth resources become depleted, the economics of extraterrestrial mining may look more favorable.

"Nobody's suggesting that there's a near-term economic use for these resources," Ratiner said. "But I sure can't see any conceivable reason why there isn't a possible use for those resources.

Julian Levine, spokesman for the Aerospace Industries Association in Washington, said it would take an Apollo-like commitment by the Uniterd States to make the mining of celestial bodies practical.

"And we don't see that." he added.

More likely, he said, is a manufacturing program in space, principally by the pharmaceutical industry, in which a number of processes would benefit from the zero-gravity environment. But even that is far in the future.

CLOSE-UP

At issue in the debate over the treaty is not just the future development of outer space but the relationship of the United States to the developing countries of the world. Increasingly in the Law of the Sea discussions, in Antarctica, in the allocation of the radio spectrum, and in the resources of outer space, the Third World countries are arguing for a share of the developed world's wealth.

he part of the Moon Treaty that has stirred the most opposition in the United States declares that extraterrestrial resources are "the common heritage of mankind," a phrase borrowed from the still-incomplete Law of the Sea Treaty.

Opponents of the Moon Treaty say that the Third World countries, which have a numerical majority in any international organization, understand "common heritage" to mean "common ownership" and they say that American companies would not be willing to risk billions of dollars to exploit minerals on the mean unless the work of the mean unless t exploit minerals on the moon unless they were sure that they owned them.

'We're afraid it would act as a disincentive to private investment in the exploration or the development or the exploitation of lunar materials or any resources which might occur in the solar system," said Stan Rosen, chairman of the public policy committee of the Los Angeles section of the American Institute of Aeronautics and

Astronautics.

'American inventiveness and enterprise would be shut off from the industrialization of space, United Technologies declared in an advertisement in The Washington Post. "The pace and scope of space development would be dictated by the political will of other countries."

The body of law and precedent developing around the "common heritage" principle in the Law of the Sea, opponents fear, would be transferred to the Moon Treaty. Specifically, the Law of the Sea would require companies mining the deep seabed to share their technologies with the

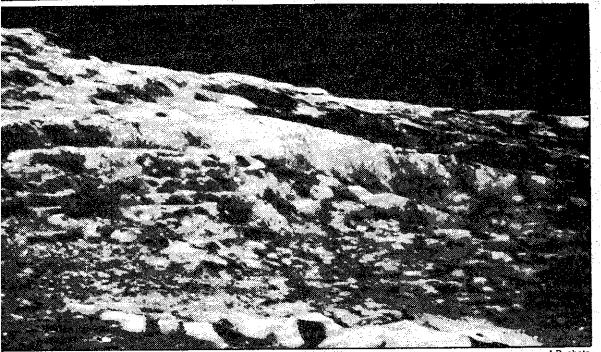
developing world.

A staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said: "There are a whole number of legal assertions with respect to the transfer of technology which are attached to the heritage-of-mankind doctrine which could apply to the Moon Treaty — rocket technology, space technology, satellite technology

"The space-technology industry is afraid that this will lead down the road to technology transfer" that the advanced nations would have to

International

Sunday, May 18, 1980 The Seattle Times A 3



rs hold riches — for somebody.

A.P. photo

Department of State official who helped negotiate the treaty and who requested anonymity said there is no reason for such fears. He said the Moon Treaty asserts that the phrase "common heritage of mankind" has no meaning except as it is defined in the treaty.

"Legally, what happens in the Law of the Sea is not incorporated in the Moon Treaty," the official

The Senate staff member responded, "To think that the Third World countries are not going to take all of these legal assertions and apply them to the space negotiations is naive.

The Department of State says the basic principles of the Moon Treaty are already contained in the 1967 Outer Space Treaty, to which the United States is a party. That treaty says that the exploitation of the cosmos shall be carried out for the benefit and in the interest of all countries regardless of their economic or scientific development. The Moon Treaty, the government says,

Opponents of the Moon Treaty say that the United States blundered in the negotiations, that it was trying to make points with the Third World in a

way it mistakenly thought was harmless,

promises nothing more.

The opposition has caused the Carter administration to tell the Department of State to take another look at the pact, and informed speculation in Washington says that this second look will last well past Election Day.

senior State Department official, asked the other day who favors the treaty, replied: "I don't have anyone knocking down my doors." "They'd be out of their minds to sign it this ear," Charles Sheffield, president of the American istronautical Society, said in a telephone interview. 'All they're doing is guaranteeing that they'll annoy aroup of people, and it's not clear who they'll dease. It makes no sense politically to try to sign it his year."

The point was brought home to the administraton when Senators Frank Church, Idaho Democrat, and Jacob K. Javits, New York Republican, the nairman and ranking Republican on the Foreign lelations Committee, sent a letter to Secretary of Sate Cyrus R. Vance urging him not to send the

Noon Treaty to the Senate for ratification.

The treaty, negotiated in the U.N. Committee m Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, was ratified by the General Assembly last November and offered for signature. So far, France and Chile have signed it. If five countries sign it, the treaty will become binding on them and any future signatures.

The Moon Treaty would require that when exploitation of celestial bodies becomes feasible certainly no sooner than 30 years from now international negotiations would be undertaken to decide what "common heritage" means and how it would be implemented.

"Political power rests with the majority of

nations, and the majority of nations - more than two thirds - are developing countries," said Ratiner, who is one of the leading opponents of the Moon Treaty.

"Plus," he said, "you've got a large bloc of additional countries who may not think that American access to these resources is in their interest, either. You're really dealing with at best controlling maybe one fifth of the vote of such an organization.

"And you don't really control even that fifth because America is in competition for the development of those resources with its other close allies: Japan, Germany, the whole European community. So you're putting yourself in a very vulnerable position."

he Department of State official said, however, that even if there is no Moon Treaty, when exploitation of natural resources on the moon becomes feasible "every country in the world is going to call for an international conference. because no one is going to let that amount of wealth just go the few countries that are able to physically go up there and get it."

"We think it is quite valuable," the official went on, "that the general rules are established now when people can have a relatively cool head about what's going to happen in 30 years, rather than everyone waiting until exploitation is just around the corner. At that point, it will become a much more contentious issue, and it will be much more difficult for the United States to get its way."

Sheffield of the Astronautical Society said. "We can do very well without that treaty. The way to play this is to regard it as an open frontier. It seems as if we have very little to gain right now by signing it."

"It's not entirely clear that the United States is going to be the first up there with the ability to exploit natural resources," the Department of State's negotiator said. "There's the Soviet Union, there's Western Europe, Japan is coming around the corner. To blithely assume that 30 years from now we're going to be the one and only or the chief state up there is not necessarily accurate."

The Moon Treaty, he said, establishes rules now that will be beneficial later. Once a mining operation is set up, for example, other states are not allowed to interfere with it.

"You can't afford to say that because it's 50 or 100 years away it doesn't matter," Sheffield said.

"We don't know how valuable it will be," he added. "A very interesting speech was made in the Senate in 1850 by Daniel Webster, who talked about the useless deserts and unproductive sandy wastes and we shouldn't be interested in this place because it could never have the productivity of one tenth of the state of Illinois.

"It sounds just like many speeches you read today applying to the moon. But Daniel Webster happened to be talking about California."

African cardinal hits corporations

VATICAN CITY - A Roman Catholic Cardinal from Africa said yesterday the practices of multinational corporations bring "famine and destitution" to the people of his continent and the rest of the Third World

The Most Rev. Paul Zoungrana. archbishop of Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, made his accusations in a Vatican news conference discussing the progress of the Fifth World Synod of Bishops that began

September 26.

"The bishops of Africa have stressed this exploitation of the poor. Poverty and dejection are imposed as a condition on the family. This pressure and oppres-sion comes from the outside," Archbishop Zoungrana said.

He also addressed the problem of "Africanization," the assimilation of African culture into Church ritual, and stressed that Church cannot expect Africans to cast aside their culture in order to accommodate doctrine.

Good will, fresh hope and freedom from fear

By ALAN RIDING

New York Times Special Features

On July 19, in a capital that wore, for the first time, the red and black colors of the victorious Sandinist rebels, jubilation was mixed with bitter memory, wrenching trauma and total exhaustion.

In the lobby of Managua's Inter-Continental Hotel, a young Sandinist with the nom de guerre of Ricardo, whose tired face and serious words belied his 18 years, spoke about the future

"The war is not over," he said.
"We have overthrown the dictatorship, but the revolution has only just begun."

For the previous two years, Ricardo had been with a guerrila column in the northern mountains, having left his part-time job, his high school studies, his family and his girlfriend.

As troops of heavily armed young guerrillas marched into the military headquarters, aban-

doned only hours earlier by the Nicaraguan National Guard, a businessman, sitting on the hood of his Mercedes-Benz, exclaimed, "Aren't they beautiful?"

And another waved his arms excitedly, "We're all Sandinists now," he cried. "The country is united."

And for a heady moment, the end of the 46-year-long Somoza dynasty was a meeting point for an entire nation.

Businessmen embraced peasants, conservatives saluted guerrillas and, amid the death and devastation, an extraordinary victory was acknowledged.

In the last 18 months of the civil war, 35,000 people had died, 100,000 had been wounded and a million or so — out of a total population of 2.5 million — had fled their homes.

The centers of five cities lay in ruins, much of their industry and commerce destroyed.

During the past four and a half months, every Nicaraguan's life has been transformed.

For the National Guardsmen and politicians who stood beside Gen. Anastasio Somoza Debayle until he fled to Miami in the predawn hours of July 17, defeat has meant exile, asylum in a crowded foreign embassy or incarceration in the grim jails that the dictatorship built to house its opponents.

For the rest of the population, victory has brought a rare sensation: freedom from the fear of sudden arrest or even death.

In place of fear, there is, even after the initial euphoria of victory has passed, an overwhelming feeling of good will toward the new regime. Among the poor in particular, there is fresh hope.

Life remains difficult, with chronic food shortages and widespread unemployment, but there is a clear determination to take part in "our revolution" and a new pride at the sight of city slums cleaned up by voluntary workers, or once-private

farms now in peasant hands.

The wealthy, too, are digest-

ing the changes, so ne hurriedly leaving the country, but many adjusting to their diminished roles.

And for the former rebels, the consuming interest in their lives has switched overnight from destruction to construction.

For the time being, the country's civilian Government of National Reconstruction is more intent on rebuilding the country than it is in ideological sparring.

And despite a treasury looted, officials say, by the Somozas, the government in Managua has initiated a reconstruction effort that defies easy definition.

In the cities and countryside, a network of block organizations—known as Sandinist Defense Committees, or CDS's, and modeled after Cuba's Committees for the Defense of the Revolution—is attempting to respond to critical local needs.

Successors to the clandestine urban cells that collected food.

(Continued on page 2)



S-R illustration by LILI HIRATA

Nicaragua

medicine and weapons before the insurrection (and, once the war began, became militia units), these committees are also instruments for political education and propaganda.

The objective, say revolutionary leaders, who aspire to transform society without eradicating political freedom and private enterprise, is to build "another Nicaragua" — and not another Cuba, Yugoslavia or Costa Rica.

The fledgling Nicaraguan regime has no "strong man."
At first, the foreign press thought it had found one in Tomas Borge Martinez, the sole surviving founder of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN), who is interior minister in the new government.

But when Borge appeared to be

emerging in the public's eye as primus inter pares, his fellow com-manders quietly brought him into

What the new leaders appear to insist on safeguarding is a continuation of the kind of collective vision and effort that toppled an entrenched and powerful enemy despite overwhelming odds.

Real power, therefore, seems to lie not with a single Sandinist commander or with the junta, but in the FSLN's national directorate, which describes itself as "guarantor" of

the revolution.

Made up of three representatives of each of the three FSLN factions that combined forces in March this year for the "final offensive," the 'college" of the nine commanders of the revolution — who serve as coalition leaders of the Sandinist political movement - makes decisions collectively and, so far, with surprising unanimity.

The power structure reflects the breadth of the opposition to the Somoza dictatorship, the need for involvement from the private sector in reconstruction and the Sandinists'

in reconstruction and the Sandinists' key role as the "popular vanguard."

The five-member junta is composed of one FSLN commander, Daniel Ortega Saavedra; two Sandinist academics, Sergio Ramirez Mercado (a lawyer and writer) and Moises Hassan Morales (the country's only quantum physicist). a So try's only quantum physicist); a Social Democrat businessman, Alfonso Robelo Callejas, and Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, widow of the popular opposition newspaper editor Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, whose murder in January 1978 escalated the fight against the Somoza regime.

An 18-member Cabinet also includes a Maryknoll priest (the Rev. Miguel d'Escoto, now foreign minister), a National Guard deserter (Lt. Col. Bernardino Larios, minister of defense), several middle-class businessmen and technocrats and a few

Marxist intellectuals.

Despite a government struggling with inexperience and lack of resources and the emergence of contradictory policies from different ministries, the national directorate has gradually begun providing more detailed guidelines to the administration.



A youth fights for the guerrilla cause earlier this year

torate met for three days with 22 other top Sandinist commanders and came to two important decisions: to control extreme leftist agitators and to reassure the private sector.

It was the clearest indication of the direction of the revolution to emerge so far.

Inevitably, the demarcation line between the FSLN and the Government of National Reconstruction has begun to blur.

Both the police and army, each undergoing crash training programs, carry the Sandinist name and are controlled by former rebels.

The FSLN has also formed labor and peasant confederations, which serve as instruments both of popular expression and political orienta-

Outside Managua, municipal authorities were appointed by Sandinist commanders, often while fighting was still going on, but they have and are now answerable to the jun-

Popular power, though, is most evident in the CDS's.

Now directing their energies toward solving community prob-lems, they have begun by taking a census of the number of homes, adults, head of the number of homes, every block.

They then ensure that food goes to the most needy, that all children attend school and that the sick receive

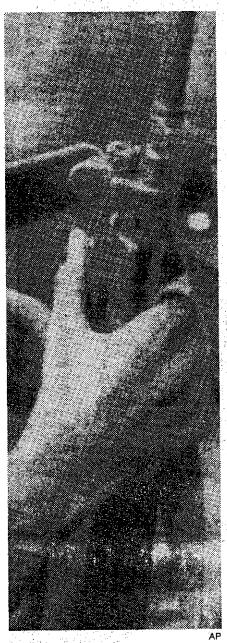
medicine.

Above all, during the early weeks, the CDS's also assumed the role of investigating and denouncing those who collaborated with the dictator-

ship.

The segments of the population that are feeling the revolution most keenly are the city slums, which had been affected most by the civil war.

It was the poor who dug trenches, built roadblocks and held off the guards with homemade bombs nis-



in Nicaragua.

In reality, the insurrection and the victory belong to them.

The barrio, formerly a breeding ground for disease, crime and despair, has today developed a new sense of purpose and unity

In the San Cristobal district of Managua, for example, the unpaved streets are swept clean every morn-

ing by volunteers.

On every corner stands a new

garbage can.

And, for the first time, even the houses have numbers, and the streets have names, usually those of and the revolutionary martyrs.

But the economic impact of the

war is still harshly felt.

If unemployment, illiteracy, disease and poor housing were chronic features of the dictatorship, 18 months of sporadic bombardment and looting further aggravated Nicaragua's perennial social crisis.

Physical damage from the war is put at some \$1.3 billion, and the gov-munes and give possession of the ernment estimates that \$2.5 billion farms to landless peasants.

the next three years.

"The situation is really serious one community leader explained. "Almost everyone is unemployed. People know that this is part of the struggle, but they just don't have enough to eat."

Throughout the country, in fact, some 750,000 people — more than 30 percent of the population — are depending on government food han-

But, with insufficient aid coming from abroad, frequently only halfrations are available.

The new government was stunned by the disaster it inherited. The corruption of the Somoza group was no secret.

But in his final months the dictator looted not only the government but also his own companies, leaving the new regime little more to nationalize than debts.

According to papers left scattered in homes and offices, workers at Somoza's Langostinos shrimp factory were paid by the Labor Ministry.

Somoza also routinely mortgaged his properties to government banks, and then sent the resulting credit to numbered bank accounts abroad.

At the time of his ouster, he owed

the government \$25 million.

Despairing of survival, Somoza borrowed heavily abroad during his last two years, but he could do so only in short-term notes and at high interest rates.

As a result, of Nicaragua's \$1.5 billion foreign debt, 40 percent — or \$618.7 million — is due for payment this year. On July 19, the new government found just \$3.5 million in the Central Bank.

The country's economic crisis remains acute.

Foreign aid has been slow in arriving; the export earnings this year will be half that of a normal year, and the foreign debt must still be renegotiated.

Today, 380,000 people — 40 percent of the work force - are out of jobs, with little prospect of finding

work in the coming months.

The expropriation of more than 170 companies owned by the Somoza group and the nationalization of private banks, insurance companies and foreign-owned mines were revolutionary acts that created no new employment.

By early next year, the government hopes to have the resources to hire thousands of workers for reconstruction and food-for-work pro-

grams.

In the countryside, where 60 percent of Nicaraguans live, the revolution has brought more immediate results.

The seizure of the vast estates owned by the Somoza group suddenly brought 55 percent of the country's cultivable land under the control of the new government.

With three-quarters of Nicaragua's foreign exchange coming from agricultural exports, the govern-ment worked quickly to form comnow working their "own" land, and the cheerful mood in the countryside contrasts sharply with that of the cities.

Organized into communities instead of dispersed in roadside shacks, the rural poor can also now begin to receive health and educational attention.

The revolution has come as a shock even to the middle and upper classes that opposed the Somoza dic-

They knew that when Gen. Somoza survived their strikes and protests, the political initiative would pass from the bourgeoisie to the poor, from reformists to guerrillas.

They also knew that, while willing to form an alliance with moderate opponents of the regime, the top Sandinists were committed revolutionaries, influenced by Marxist thought.

Yet, somehow, they were unprepared for the profound revolution that the outright Sandinist military victory has brought.

As a result, most of the wealthy who fled the country before the war

have chosen not to return.

In addition, the wealthy strongly resent being pressured into joining the CDS's which they regard, since they are in need of no government or community assistance, exclusively as instruments of political vigilance.

Even more crucial, the private sector as a whole has been slow to respond to the challenge of reconstruction, partly for lack of working capital, but also through sheer nervousness over the country's political direction.

But perhaps the main - though so far unfounded - fear of businessmen is that the government will slowly take over the entire private sector.

The government remains committed to holding full elections within perhaps four years, although it seems inconceivable that they will involve more than a legitimization of the Sandinists' power.

Formal creation of the Sandinist Party has been postponed, but it is effectively being constructed informally through its labor and peasant sectors and the CDS's.

No doubt, by 1983 it will have an unbeatable machine.

At that time, the national directorate will probably pick one of its number as its presidential candidate, but he will not be allowed to accumulate excessive power and will be answerable to the director-

Other parties would likely be given seats in Congress.

If such an arrangement comes about, it will be more analogous to Mexico's system, where the longruling Institutional Revolutionary Party permits opposition parties and media, than to Cuba's one-man

Amid the complexity of the revolutionary process, there are still simple moments which seem to capture the surprised delight of Nicara-

lhe United Natio

The Third World dominates

By JANE ROSEN

New York Times Special Features

The hostage crisis in Iran once again focused atten-

tion on the United Nations.

For years, Americans have discounted the United Nations as an inconsequential talk shop, the more so because its talk is usually directed against the United

But the U.N.'s views help shape attitudes in the real world and its decisions have a cumulative impact.

When the General Assembly endorses Marxist liberation organizations in Africa and the Middle East, that helps them ultimately to achieve power. When the Assembly decrees that Zionism is racism, Israel — and Jews elsewhere - suffers a significant erosion of support among the nations of the world. When the United Nations demands a new international economic order, the industrialized countries are forced eventually to respond to the pressure.

The central focus of the United Nations has become the collection of brash young nations known as the Third World (the West and the Soviet bloc being the other two). It has become their major platform where they express their aspirations and frustrations and where they mobilize world opinion. In many instances they are using the United Nations to achieve objectives that dispatch the posters of the content of t rectly threaten American interests and challenge

American power.

an analysis

Many Americans would like to march out of this provocative United Nations. But it can't be done. The United States needs the United Nations and the most recent example was its call for help to release the American hostages in Iran. The Security Council responded with unanimous concern because the issue involved the safe-

ty of all U.N. diplomats.

Moreover, the United States needs the Third World, for the postwar Eurocentric era is over now and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are becoming a vital force. In addition to the oil and other vital raw materials the United States buys from them, it already sells more to them (mostly foodstuffs) than to the European Common Market, Japan and the Soviet bloc combined, and by the end of the century they will have 85 percent of the world's population.

So like it or not, Americans must work with the nations of the Third World, and the place to begin is in their capital—the United Nations.

The year 1960 was the beginning of the end of U.S. domination in the United Nations. That year, 17 newly independent nations were admitted to the world organization and with the backing of the other new countries and the Soviet bloc, and in the face of U.S. disapproval, they pushed through a historic resolution calling for an end to colonialism.

In fact, the most significant U.N. achievement was lancing the boil of colonialism and this it did relatively painlessly. It has moved some 80 million people to independence, creating more than 70 new nations and effecting a dramatic transformation in international pow-

Today, the 120 or so Third World nations, mainly for-mer colonies of Britain, France, Belgium, the Nether-lands and Portugal, constitute well over two-thirds of the 152 U.N. members. They hold 39 percent of the jobs in the U.N. administrative body, the Secretariat, and 42 percent of its high-level positions, and their leverage is greater than those figures suggest because many non-Third World Secretariat members, including Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, tend to be sympathetic to their concerns.

It is astonishing that all these disparate countries,

Southeast Asians and Latin Americans on the far right, whose economic and regional interests often clash and who often distrust one another, can nonetheless unite.

The new U.S. chief delegate, Donald McHenry, who succeeded Andrew Young, points to one facet of their unity. "All of them agree on the philosophy of change," he said. "They want to change world economic, political and social patterns which were built up at a time when they could not participate because they were colonies. They are asking for a fairer allocation of resources and a fairer return. ... Unfortunately for us, most of the Third World sees the United States as the status quo power, fighting change and trying to hang on to everything we have.

The image of the United States as the status quo power is not entirely misplaced. The United States and the other Western powers are indeed trying to preserve their economic and political interests in Africa, Asia and Latin America and this has put the West on the losing side of many U.N. debates.

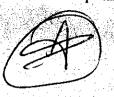
In contrast, the Soviet Union is almost always on the In contrast, the Soviet Union is almost always on the winning side. Russia never colonized the Third World countries and so, unlike the West, Moscow has no interests to defend — only to acquire. "I'll tell you something," said Tanzania's Salim Ahmed Salim, who is this year's president of the General Assembly. "For as long as colonialism and racism continue, for as long as a threat to the sovereignty of small countries continues, and for as long as the Soviet Union is perceived to be supporting peoples' rights to self-determination supporting peoples' rights to self-determination whatever its reasons, whatever its motives — we bound to have an identity of views.

This Third World-Soviet identity leads to a U.N. double standard infuriating to many Americans. If you spend a few days listening to the Assembly and its committees, you will hear the United States called on to free Puerto Rico - even though the Puerto Rican people have voted consistently to keep their commonwealth status as part of the United States. But nobody talks

about freedom for Eastern Europe. You will hear bitter attacks on the United States for

"The United Nations is like Adam and Eve. Adam kept trying and trying to kiss Eve and she kept pushing him away. Finally he said, 'Listen, Eve, is there anyone else?' The reality is that 🧽 there isn't anything else but the United Nations."

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it, but the U.S. can't leave it



subverting Chile, but not a word about Soviet subversion in Afghanistan or any place else.

American bases in the Caribbean are attacked as a matter of course, but most Third World delegates do not mention the Soviet troops in Cuba.

The United States is criticized for offering arms to Morocco; the Cubans are praised for sending troops to Africa.

A double standard is also applied in U.N. debates on human rights. The Assembly has condemned South Africa's violations, but when Idi Amin of Uganda massacred hundreds of thousands of people, the Assembly did noth-

The most appalling assault on human rights since the Nazi era is now taking place in Cambodia, where the

Soviet-backed regime is allowing several million bodian people to die of famine and disease. Wal called a humanitarian, non-political session for an national relief effort. The Western powers ar Southeast Asian nations pledged more than \$20 lion. The Arabs, Africans and the other Asian n contributed together less than \$1 million.

"We feel this is not our responsibility," an Aral gate said.

When President Fidel Castro came to the Assert October, many of the moderate Third World me were prepared to cold-shoulder him because resented the way he had manipulated them during Havana summit meeting of the so-called non-al group. But Castro enthralled them with his soa Americans rhetoric, and when he demanded \$300 I

from the rich nations to aid the poor they cheere Basically, the United Nations spends its time on major issues which are of overriding concern t Third World. First and foremost is southern Africa U.N. objective there is to achieve majority rule i last of the so-called colonial territories, Zimbabwe desia, Namibia and South Africa, and to force

Africa to end its system of apartheid, or racial se tion. Most of the Third World and Soviet bloc follow lead of the more influential Africans, which means a handful of countries decide the Assembly's polic recent years, in fact, the United Nations has had a indirectly in choosing the governments of the fo Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissat

Cape Verde. In the vast, rich territory known as Namibia South-West Africa, which is struggling for its inder ence from South Africa, an organization of Nami guerrillas - a Marxist group called the South-Wes rica People's Organization or SWAPO - has been

ignated by the Assembly as the "sole legitimate re sentative" of the Namibian people.

(Continued on page 6)

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SWAPO, however, is only one of several groups fighting for Namibia's freedom, although it is the strongest, and its rivals are furious with the United Nations for favoring it.

In the case of South Africa, the United Nations strongly supports majority rule — that is, black rule. The Assembly has declared that the South African government is illegal and that the black liberation organizations which are fighting it are the "authentic representatives" of the "overwhelming majority of the South

African people. What the Africans really want now is a U.N. economic boycott of South Africa, which they believe would force the Pretoria government to end its racist policies. Although the General Assembly has recommended economic sanctions time and again, only the Security Coun-

cil has the power to invoke them. U.S. opposition to economic sanctions and Washington's refusal to halt trade with South Africa have been

major factors in the Third World's anger at the United States.

In the long run, the West will benefit increased prosperity in the Third World. And now for the first time, some of the militants are needling the Soviets.

The second overriding U.N. concern is the Middle East. Each year the Arabs ram through 20 or 25 resolutions attacking Israel and Zionism and promoting the Palestine Liberation Organization and a Palestinian state. While this has no practical effect on Israel's policies, it helps to ignite anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish feelings in the international community In part, Arab successes at the United Nations are due

In addition, Israel has alienated the great majority of U.N. members with its refusal to talk to the PLO, its attacks on Lebanon and its insistence on expanding the West Bank settlements. But beyond all those factors, the Arabs have skillfully

convinced many Africans that the Middle East is a colonial issue and that Israel is a nation of white settlers

suppressing an independence movement.

The United Nations, which recognized the PLO five years ago, has established a Palestine committee within the Secretariat that spends about half a million dollars the Secretariat that spends about hair a million dollars a year on promotional activities for the Palestinian cause. The United Nations observes an annual "Palestine Day." The Assembly marked it this year by condemning the Camp David peace agreements between Egypt and Israel, 75 to 33, with 31 abstentions.

Since the PLO received U.N. recognition, its terrorist activities have decreased. On the other hand, some Western delegates believe its intransigence has increased because it has been encouraged by the United

Western delegates believe its intransigence has increased, because it has been encouraged by the United Nations to believe it will get everything it wants with-

out any need to compromise.

The third and most far-reaching U.N. concern is to achieve the "new international economic order," which the Third World called for at a special Assembly session in 1974. The developing countries are pressing the in-dustrialized countries for more aid, more trade concessions, more assurance of market stability, fairer prices for their commodities, and a bigger voice in the key financial institutions the West controls. the short-term While these demands conflict with

Western interests, in the long run the West will benefit from increased prosperity in the Third World. Although the United States and the West have begun to yield on some of the issues, progress has been so slow that the Third World is convinced the West is deliberately dragging its feet in over to preserve global inequities.

With all the Third World's clout at the United Nations, there still are certain things it can't do, however. It can't control the Security Council because of the big-power veto, for example.

In contrast to the West, the Soviet Union gives the Third World minimal aid. Moscow insists that since it never colonized these countries, it is not responsible for their lack of development. That argument has finally begun to irritate the developing countries and now for the first time even some of the militants are needling the Soviets.

With all the Third World's clout at the United Nations, there still are certain things it can't do. It can't control the Security Council because of the big-power veto. It doesn't control the key U.N. agencies.

And although the Third World's influence in the Secretariat is great, it does not control it. A number of moderates would much rather see Waldheim re-elected when his term expires in 1981 than to take the chance of

having a Third World administrator.

I once asked former Soviet delegate Jacob Malik, why the United Nations was important, and he replied that it reminded him of a joke about Adam and Eve: "Adam kept trying and trying to kiss her and she kept pushing him away. Finally he said, 'Listen, Eve, is there anyone else?"

The reality is that there isn't anything else but the

United Nations.

House panel

trims aid for brutal rulers

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Appropriations Committee approved on Thursday a \$7.1

billion foreign aid appropriation bill with restraints on aid to South Korea, Haiti and El Salvador. Approval of the appropriation for the 1981 fiscal year, which starts Oct. 1, clears the measure for House action as early as next week.

The committee approved \$75 million in military credit sales for South Korea, but said in a report it expects U.S. officials to insure that the aid is used for defense, not for enforcing martial The report said the panel shares concerns expressed by the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the current military rule in South Korea

could lead to clashes between civilians and the military. "This committee ... is deeply concerned that recent events in South Korea could endanger not only the progress toward democracy but the foundations of social order and stability necessary for economic well-being and national secur-" the report said.

The committee cut \$2 million from U.S. aid to Haiti, leaving \$5.2 million, to "demonstrate its concern for brutality and corruption" in that

"The committee is disturbed by the (Haitian) government's tragic disregard for the well-being of its people," the report said. The committee approved \$5 million in military credit sales for El Salvador, but said Congress should be consulted before the money is spent because of that country's political instabili-

The committee also approved \$1 million in military credit sales for Liberia, although the report said the panel "strongly condemns the re-cent massacres of President Tolbert and members of his family and government. "Continuation of these (human rights) violations cannot help but raise serious questions as to the future of U.S.-Liberian relations and assistance," the report said. The \$7.1 billion bill includes \$4.6 billion in U.S. economic aid, \$871 million in military aid, and a \$1.6 billion contribution to world development

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New world economic order conference set

The impact on the Northwest of Third World proposals for a new world economic order is the topic of a regional conference planned for March 29-31 at the Seattle Center. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance will be one of the major speakers to address the conference.

THE CONFERENCE will examine less developed nations' proposals for change in the share of the world's wealth and technology, according to Lou Vargha, chairperson of the conference planning commit-

Vargha said the growing interdependency of the Northwest and Third World countries is a primary reason Seattle was selected as one of five sites for a regional conference.

"The less developed countries of the world represent important export markets for the region and the source of many raw materials which are vital to our industries," he said.

The United Nations adopted a resolution on the new international economic order in 1974 Debate between the industrialized nations and the Third World has continued to grow over the past four years.

Regional community and business leaders, organizations and private citizens will have an opportunity to learn more about the issues and address their concerns at

the conference, Vargha explained.

TOP LEVEL UNITED NATIONS officials as well as national and international experts will speak at the conference. Some 700 participants are expected from the Northwest and British Columbia. Workshops will be conducted on trade and commodities, development finance, energy and industrialization, transnational corporations and the transfer of technology, the human factor, international security, world food supply, and the environment.

These same topics will be the fo-

(Continued on Page 9, Column 6)

Economic order

(Continued from Page One)

cus of a series of public forums throughout the Northwest which are being conducted now through March. Forums are to promote public debate on the changing economic order. They also will provide public input on the framework for covering the issues at the conference, Vargha said.

The forums and conference are being organized by a broad coalition of organizations and individuals from Northwest business, industry, labor and social action groups. Resource and staff support are provided, in part, by the Seattle YMCA, the National YMCA and the United Nations.

Politics Today

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THAT'S THE WAY IT IS

Valwan Gets The News From Croncive

Nationalist Chinese officials in Washington first heard about President Carter's plan to recognize mainland China not from the US State Department, but from Walter Cronkite, who had phoned their Information Office shortly before Carter's announcement. Cronkite and the other network news anchors had been briefed in advance, but Nationalist Chinese officials hadn't heard so much as a whisper.

Afterward, I Cheng Loh of the Information Office penned a mild op-ed piece for the New York Daily News expressing his hope that the people of Taiwan (or "The Republic of China" as he pointedly put it) would remain friends with the American people. The State Department promptly declared I Cheng Loh persona non grata, a fact which the Nationalists would prefer not to see in the American press.

He left the country quietly and Nationalist officials appealed successfully to columnist Robert Novak, who knew the story, not to print it. Their reasoning: if the Taipei regime avoided creating problems for the Carter administration, it would make for better nondiplomatic relations between the nongovernment of Nationalist China and the US.

TURNING BLOOD TO WINE

Castro Fiddles, Argentina Burns

US ambassador to Argentina Raul Castro has reportedly advised the military junta of President Jorge Videla that the Carter administration's criticism of human rights violations does not concern him personally or as a US official.

Although the White House has cut off military assistance to Argentina and the State Department has condemned the



junta's systematic torture and summary executions, Castro has been quoted in the government's controlled press to the opposite effect. "The issue of human rights absolutely does not interest me," he said last October. "I came to this country almost one year ago... They received me with open arms, I ate good meals and good wine. Our relations with Argentina are on the rise."

Castro's diplomacy has rendered all but ineffective the State Department's hemispheric parole program, which authorizes 500 US visas for political prisoners and refugees from Latin American countries. As of last January, eight months after the program got under way, only four Latin Americans had entered the US, though the State Department had received applications from 326 political prisoners --- the majority of whom are Argentines. "There has not been any movement at all as far as refugees and detainees coming into this country," acknowledges a State Department spokesman. The standstill is due to the Argentine government's reluctance to allow US officials to interview the detainees - a necessary step in the parole process. Ambassador Castro has been unwilling to press for Argentine compliance.

While Castro reciprocates the cordiality of the junta, over 3,000 political prisoners languish in Argentine detention centers, according to the Argentine Information Service Center, a nonpartisan organization based in New York.

—Michael Massing

REPORT FROM TEHRAN WEST

invasion of The property Smatchers

California has become the new mecca for Iranians, who are purchasing property in and around posh Beverly Hills and Bel Air at a record pace.

California now harbors the largest Iranian population in North America, with a student head count alone of 14,000. A spokesman for the Immigration and Naturalization Service hypothesized: "The number has probably doubled within this last year."

Flocking to sunny Southern California with money gleaned during the rule of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the expatriate Iranian millionaires have become dis-

erties. I can sell them as much as I can get my hands on....
These people are not political exiles. They didn't come here to hide—they came to invest their money and live,"
Ghomshei insists.

And live they do. The: Panahpours, two multimillionaire brothers, recently purchased 3.5 acres behind the famous Beverly Hills Hotel (for a rumored \$1.8 million), where they plan to build two extravagant mansions. They also have invested in high-rise condominium buildings along Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles's most important commercial street. One building has already sold out and the other still under construction; carries an estimated price tag of \$450,000 per unit.

Bruce Nelson, who sold the Panahpours much of their



criminating investors looking for only the choicest properties. Real estate sales companies anxious to earn hefty commissions from the multimillion-dollar sales now frequently employ Iranian salespeople to beat out the competition.

Farid Ghomshei, one such Iranian real estate salesman, says: "The Iranians' biggest problem now is investing their money here. They beg me to find them investment prop-

property, says, while sitting in the back seat of his chauffeured new Rolls-Royce, "About 25 percent of my sales are to Iranians lately. The homes they buy are usually in the \$1.5 million bracket."

Ex-actor turned realtor Marty Bellin estimates, "There's at least \$200 to \$300 million fresh Iranian money floating around.... Hell, I could sell 'em all of Rodeo Drive if it were for sale."

—Juliette McGrew