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18 April 1980

Latin America Report

(FOUO 8/80)



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LATIN AMERICA REPORT

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INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

SALVADORAN YOUTH DELEGATION IN CUBA DENOUNCES REPRESSION

PA300303 Havana PRELA in Spanish 1845 GMT 29 Mar 80 PA

[Text] Havana, 29 Mar (PL)--A delegation of young members of the Salvadoran Revolutionary Coordinating Board of the Masses has denounced here the repression of the Salvadoran people by the fascist dictatorship with U.S. Government support.

The delegation is in Cuba at the invitation of the Union of Young Communists to visit various historical sites and to participate in several events of solidarity with the Salvadoran people in their struggle against the ruling civilian-military regime.

According to the Coordinating Board members, the country is in the midst of a political and socioeconomic crisis of such proportions, that the number of mass crimes, tortures and massacres in cities and rural areas is continually on the rise.

An example of this, they stressed, is the recent killing of Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, with the complicity and support of the United States.

According to the youths, the government's international campaign to distort the objectives of the liberation movement led by the Revolutionary Coordinating Board is another attempt to curb the Salvadoran people's revolutionary struggle.

This campaign, they explained, seeks to make world public opinion believe that the struggle is between the country's leftist and rightist sectors.

The truth is that after 50 years of dictatorship, the government is totally corrupt and has practically reached a dead end, they stated.

The Salvadoran youths also charged that over 6,000 mercenaries are being trained in Guatemala, with the advise of U.S. officials, allegedly to safeguard the Salvadoran Government's interests.

As vanguard of the Salvadoran struggle, the Revolutionary Coordinating Board trusts in the people's support in order to overthrow the dictatorship, the youths said in conclusion.

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INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

LATIN AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS VOICE SOLIDARITY WITH SALVADORANS

PA060357 Havana PRELA in Spanish 2330 GMT 5 Apr 80 PA

[Text] Havana, 5 Apr (PL)--Several Latin American organizations here have expressed their repudiation of the repression suffered by the Salvadoran people and demanded a halt to U.S. intervention in that country.

The Latin American students of the "Lazaro Pena" School of Labor Union Cadres urged all progressive and democratic governments to break relations with the Salvadoran Government junta. They also urged its crimes be revealed at all international forums.

The document [as received] says the murder of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero reveals the deceit in the campaign for the defense of human rights organized in Washington, the main defender of Salvadoran reactionaries.

Meanwhile Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Chilean Communist Party Political Commission, has said the situation in El Salvador is a lesson for those Latin American sectors who still hope for changes in this continent based on Washington's good will. All this, they said, was revealed by the failure of the reformist formula implemented in El Salvador by the United States. In an interview for Radio Havana Cuba, Teitelboim added that the situation in El Salvador is unmistakable evidence that Central America lives atop an erupting volcano, and that the Latin American peoples carry the love of freedom in their veins.

Felipe Cirino speaking for the Puerto Rican Socialist Party Central Committee said a committee to support the Salvadoran people's revolutionary struggle had been created in his country. Cirino said a revolutionary situation exists in El Salvador which can only conclude in the most absolute people's victory. The Puerto Rican leader condemned the constant massacres committed by the Salvadoran junta.

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CUBA

U.S. THREAT TO LATIN AMERICA, CARIBBEAN SCORED

PA221628 Havana PRELA in English 1555 GMT 22 Mar 80 PA

[Commentary by Ivonne Pastor Parra: "Threat to Caribbean and Latin America"]

[Text] [No dateline given] The stepping up of the United States military expansion in the Caribbean and Latin America forms part of the "Carter doctrine" aimed at favoring and reinforcing military dictatorships and stabilizing progressive governments in the region.

Within this context stand out, among others, the visits of U.S. military representatives to Bolivia, Brazil, Dominican Republic and Martinique, as well as the tour by a delegation of the Inter-American Defense College (IDC) of several Latin American countries.

At the same time, the U.S. Government is intervening in the domestic affairs of the Salvadoran people and is stepping up its economic and military aid to the military junta of that Central American country under the pretext of it being a precaution against El Salvador becoming "a second Nicaragua."

For his part, the Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega, member of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, denounced recently the destabilization campaign which the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is promoting against his country, Jamaica and Grenada. Ortega said that the CIA actions are aimed at overthrowing the government of Michael Manley in Jamaica, drowning the revolution in Grenada, and strangling Nicaragua economically.

Meanwhile, the United States presidential adviser for national security affairs, Zbigniew Brzezinski said recently that if a problem should arise in any other area of the world, the United States would arrogate the right to chose the most convenient way to respond to this action. Washington observers inferred that Brzezinski was referring to Cuba and on that occasion, as the president of the Councils of State and Ministers of Cuba and president of the movement of non-aligned countries, Fidel Castro, recalled, no representative of the U.S. Government denied this statement which constituted a clear threat against the Cuban people.

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Other sources recall that the United States, at the very moment when the sixth summit conference of the non-aligned movement was being held in Havana, launched a vast propaganda campaign on the alleged presence of Soviet combat units in Cuba. This was used, they add, by the U.S. President James Carter to justify the policy of hostility towards Cuba and that country's interventionist measures in the Caribbean and Latin America.

The measures decreed by Carter included the creation of a military command for the Caribbean, based in Key West, Florida, 90 miles from the Cuban coast and the staging of a troop landing by 2,000 U.S. Marines in Guantanamo, Cuban territory occupied illegally by the United States. The U.S. President ordered the renewal of spy flights over Cuba at the same time as a series of military maneuvers were held by the United States and member countries of NATO, measures which were repudiated by progressive Caribbean and Latin American governments and rated as political adventurism.

Meanwhile, the U.S. journalist Jack Anderson, affirmed, in his column in the daily "The Washington Post", that the United States would step up even more its vigilance over Cuba. Cuba, 90 miles from the Florida coast, has become, in the minds of the U.S. espionage community, which the CIA forms part of, an area which merits concentrated and extensive vigilance, Anderson said.

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CUBA

HAVANA SAYS CARTER 'REVIVING MILITARY ADVENTURISM'

PA261259 Havana PRELA in English 1230 GMT 26 Mar 80 PA

[Article by Pedro Atienza Simarro]

[Text] The flight of the ex-shah of Iran from Panama, plotted by the United States and carried out with its decisive aid, constitutes new proof of President James Carter's deliberate intention of halting detente and reviving military adventurism.

Washington has shown no interest in concealing its complicity in the flight. On the contrary, shortly after the U.S. DC-8 military plane had taken off from Panama for Egypt, the President's chief adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Presidential Secretary Jody Powell hastened to admit to the press the White House's participation in the preparation and organization of the flight.

Even the U.S. new agencies, when informing from Lisbon that the Portuguese Government announced that it had authorized the landing of the plane "for humanitarian reasons and with the demand that it would not stay longer than the time necessary for its refuelling," underlined that "U.S. troops stationed in the Azores guarded the plane while functionaries from the base boarded the plane."

In the light of the analysis of this fact, the same as of important events related to Iranian-U.S. relations, the conclusion can be arrived at that President James Carter, driven by his re-election plans and his commitment to the U.S. industrial-military complex, when not finding a pretext for stirring up the policy of the so-called "cold war," invents or provokes them.

There is no doubt that, when at the beginning of last November they allowed the ex-shah to enter the United States, Carter knew very well that that decision was going to provoke the justified indignation and wrath of the people and the authorities of Iran. It was later confirmed from Tehran that Washington had even been given a warning.

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But Carter waited--as rightly happened--for the Iranian reaction to give him an opportunity to use his demagogy for electoral purposes and as a pretext for deploying in the Arabian gulf, main source of oil supplies, the largest war fleet ever concentrated there, and to raise war hysteria to the maximum.

Neither can it now be ignored that when organizing the flight of the ex-shah right when Iran was going to present to the Panamanian Government the demand for his extradition and documents testifying to his crimes and abuses, the sharpening of that justified indignation and explicable wrath is being provoked once again.

But Carter demonstrates with that fact that he is prepared to go to any lengths to prevent, if his protege should be tried, the United States complicity in the monstrous crimes and abuses which he committed from being made public.

The President of the United States, since last November 4 when the Iranian students occupied the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, has been speculating demagogically with the fate of the hostages which are being held there.

Sometimes, like a thunderous god, he has demanded with rantings and ravings that they must be released, which has stopped the undiscerning from seeing that those words were a pretext for assembling, seriously threatening peace, an extremely powerful fleet, a huge number of troops and the most up-to-date equipment and armaments in one of the hottest spots in the world.

On other occasions, without abandoning the military path, but always wrapped in an alleged re-election cloak, he has spoken hyp critically of a "display of patience," of his preoccupation with the fate of the hostages." [quotation marks as received]

When provoking repeatedly and deliberately the indignation and wrath of the Iranian people and government, has Carter demonstrated that he is "displaying patience? Is he thus fulfilling his promise to always keep in mind the U.S. hostages."

But what is most serious and dangerous is not that the President of the United States has made evident that, with the aim of attaining his electoral aims and serving the interests of the industrial-military complex, he is interested in the fate of his 49 fellow Americans. What is more serious, what must put on the alert all lovers of peace, is that he has demonstrated once again, that to attain those ends, he is playing dangerously with the future of humanity, whose fate is also involved in that adventurous warlike provocation.

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CUBA

'PRELA' REFUSED ENTRY TO SENEGAL NEWS MEETING

PA310058 Havana PRELA in Spanish 1743 GMT 30 Mar 80 PA

[Text] Paris, 30 Mar (PL)--The Senegalese Government opposed the participation of a PRENSA LATINA representative in a seminar on the new international information system to begin on Monday at the Senegalese capital.

The meeting is being promoted by the Laval University of Canada, the Pan-african Information Agency established in Dakar and the Dakar University Center for the Study of the Science and Technology of Information.

The Senegalese interior minister, without any further explanation, informed Roger de la Garde of the Laval University of his refusal to allow the entry into Senegal of a PRENSA LATINA representative, as well as a representative of the International Organization of Journalists [IOJ].

The Latin American news agency and the IOJ have attended many meetings held throughout the world to discuss the need to decolonialize information services and to protest the existing imbalance in the news contents of the information transmitted by large transnational agencies to and from developing countries.

Newspaper circles here said the Senegalese refusal, which places some of the meeting's organizers in a difficult position, was caused by the well-known Senegalese opposition to criticism of the great transnational news agencies.

The Senegalese Government's attitude has been reflected in the various debates held at UNESCO on the new international information order. This UN organization, together with the nonaligned country movement, is making great efforts to balance the dissemination of information in the world.

The Dakar meeting agenda also includes the analysis of the difficulties confronted by developing countries in organizing national news agencies and the social, political, economic and technological limitations.

PRENSA LATINA had been invited by the Laval University of Quebec, so that its representative could speak on the contents of information, a matter that would necessarily involve the right of peoples to disseminate and receive information in a balanced and objective manner.

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CUBA

'VERDE OLIVO' PUBLISHES POLICE RECORDS OF SIX REFUGEES

PA100144 Havana PRELA in Spanish 0030 GMT 10 Apr 80 PA

[Text] Havana, 9 Apr (PL)--The magazine VERDE OLIVO today publishes the police records of six persons who on 1 April forced their way into the Peruvian Embassy and provoked the death of soldier Pedro Ortiz Cabrera.

The publication notes that incidents such as that, previously reported by the Cuban Government, have recently taken place under the acquiescence of several governments, particularly Peru and Venezuela.

"In every case, the promoters (of the entry by force in the embassy of these two countries) are persons with bad social conduct, most of them punished for common crimes," the magazine adds.

The permissive attitude, it states, of these governments has allowed anti-social elements to successfully violate diplomatic immunity.

The persons promptly admitted by the Peruvian authorities are:

Radamez de la Caridad Gomez Fuentes: Linked to antisocial elements.

Francisco Raul Diaz Molina: Punished in 1975 for theft and later for undisciplined behavior at work.

Hector Damian Sanyustiz: Punished for theft and marihuana trafficking. Expelled from his job for theft and the sale of stolen goods.

Maria Antonio Martinez Gonzalez: Punished for theft and forging of documents.

Arturo Quevedo Martinez: Engaged in selling articles and clothes of unknown origin.

Lazaro Vega Martinez (son of Maria Antonio): Despite his 12 years of age, he was linked to antisocial elements and delinquents.

VERDE OLIVO claims that such individuals are excluded from the right of diplomatic asylum anywhere in the world.

The people of Cuba, it adds, reject these incidents where the life of a young man with good human and revolutionary qualities was snuffed out.

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EL SALVADOR

EXCLUSIVE 'PRELA' INTERVIEW WITH SALVADORAN ARCHBISHOP ROMERO

PA280155 Havana PRELA in Spanish 0040 GMT 27 Mar 80 PA

[Interview with Salvadoran Archbishop Arnulfo Romero for PRENSA LATINA by Mario Menendez Rodriguez: "Salvadoran Archbishop Arnulfo Romero Accuses the Oligarchy of Being the Common Enemy of the People"]

[Text] San Salvador, 15 Feb--"Christians are (?not) afraid to fight. They know how to fight but they prefer to speak the language of peace. However, when a dictatorship makes a serious attack on human rights and the common good of the nation, when it becomes unbearable and the route to dialog, rationality and understanding is closed, when this happens, then the church speaks of the legitimate right to insurrectional violence," Dr Oscar Arnulfo Romero, archbishop of San Salvador for the past 2 years, said during an exclusive interview with PRENSA LATINA.

Deeply worried about the unabated spiraling violence, the spiritual guide of Salvadoran Catholics said "The common enemy of our people is the oligarchy-- that is, the 14 families--which is becoming ever more insatiable and to which I cry out: 'Open your hands full of rings because a time will come when they will cut off your hands.'"

A man of his people, simple and modest, Monsignor Romero unreservedly defended the interests of the dispossessed whom he urged to organize themselves better "to struggle effectively for a genuine society with social justice and freedom." His words are also like an implacable whip which hits not only those who monopolize wealth and oppose structural change but also the military elite who have turned the immense wealth of 14 families into a national security issue and institutionalized the insecurity of the majority.

Archbishop Romero, 62, has turned Sunday mass at the cathedral in San Salvador into an obligatory focus of political attention for the faithful, the national and international press and, of course, for those who never go to it but always find out the content of his messages, those responsible for violence.

Thus murders, kidnapings, arbitrary imprisonments, torture, terrorist activities, anything detrimental to human dignity happening during the week is denounced by this Catholic Church aware that change will be made with or

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without it but that by its very nature it must be committed with the Salvadoran people. It interprets and accompanies them in their efforts to achieve social liberation.

That "voice of those who have no voice" is heard clearly and it is to the joint: it accuses criminals by their name and surname and from the pulpit of the cathedral Monsignor Romero recently demanded the resignation of none other than Col Jose Guillermo Garcia, the key man in the first military junta and the current one and its minister of defense and public security.

Due to his "upright evangelical stand," the archbishop of San Salvador has not escaped the viciousness of the extreme rightwing even though up to now he has been able to escape death. In fact, he has been attacked several times. He refers to those attacks as "crowns of thorns which are sometimes very hard" but he prefers not to talk about them because "it is the duty of the church to be with the poor with whom it must maintain solidarity even in their risks and in their destiny to be persecuted. The church must be ready to give the maximum testimony of love for defending and promoting those whom Jesus preferentially loved."

A priest for 38 years, Msgr Oscar Arnulfo Romero in the past few days received two European awards which are a telling token of international solidarity with his work as a "column of truth" in a nation where a corrupt press has forced the people to air their views by means of stones and on the walls of houses and public office buildings. Furthermore, the objective of the occupation of churches and embassies--and some kidnapings--is none other than to draw international attention to the Salvadoran drama.

In his residence at the Divine Providence Cancer Hospital, far from his native Ciudad Barrios, a town in eastern San Miguel Department, Archbishop Romero made an exception and held an exclusive interview with us. Here is the gist of it:

[Question] What do you think is the cause of violence in El Salvador?

[Answer] "The cause of all our ills is the oligarchy, that small number of families who don't care about the hunger of the people but need them to have a lot of cheap labor available to collect and export their crops...national and international industries base their competition on the international market and their hunger wages and this explains their firm opposition to any type of reforms or union organizations that seek to improve the standard of living of the people...the oligarchy won't have peasant or labor unionism because it considers that dangerous to its economic interests and repression against the people has become for that group of families a kind of need to maintain and increase their profit margin even at the expense of the growing poverty of the working classes... Now then, the absolutist nature of wealth and ownership entails absolute political, economic and social power without which it is not possible to retain its privileges even at the expense of human dignity itself. That is the root of repressive violence in

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our country and in the final analysis it is the main cause of our economic, political and social underdevelopment.... The armed forces are in charge of watching over the interests of the oligarchy, of watching over the economic and political structure with the pretext that it is the national interest and national security. Anyone who disagrees with the state is declared an enemy of the nation and the most heinous activities are justified as a requirement of national security...everything serves the interests of the oligarchy, an omnipotent oligarchy which feels total contempt for the people and their rights...thus the interests and profit of a few becomes an absolute. That absolute becomes a myth as if the regime of national security--which seeks to protect itself 'with a subjective Christian vow'--were the only or the best 'defender of Christian civilization' and 'the democratic ideals of the West.' The noble function of the armed forces has been twisted. Instead of serving the real, genuine national interests, it has become the guardian of the interests of the oligarchy, thus fomenting its own economic and ideological corruption. The same thing has happened with the security corps which instead of guarding over civil order are repressing those who oppose the oligarchy...."

[Question] Msgr Romero, what is your opinion of the People's Revolutionary Bloc, the 28 February Peoples Leagues, the United Popular Action Front, the Nationalist Democratic Union Party and other mass organizations, which certainly talk about you with great respect and praise your work as head of the church?

[Answer] I am glad that all those organizations which are sincerely seeking a transformation of our society and just relations recognize the sincerity with which I try to serve my diocese. When repression against those organizations has been most violent, it is then I have stood for them. In my third pastoral letter I defended the right to organize and I promised on the gospel to support their just demands and to denounce any attempt to destroy them. Now more than ever I believe in mass organizations as things stand in our country now. I believe that the Salvadoran people must organize, because mass organizations are the social forces which are going to push, to exert pressure, to obtain a society in which social justice and freedom are genuinely represented. One must organize to carry out an efficient struggle. I have also been sincere with the mass organizations and that is a mission of the church: to point out possible mistakes and injustices. And I do, because it is necessary for the liberation process. Social force for the good of the people cannot and should not destroy its purpose. Fanaticism and sectarianism which prevents the establishment of a dialog and alliances must be prevented. My role in politics is that of a pastor, to guide, to point out more efficient objectives. Because I sympathize with mass organizations I feel great satisfaction at their spirit of unity which has already been put into practice. We must all try to work for our common good.

[Question] Monsignor Romero, the majority of the population in El Salvador is Catholic, nevertheless, priests who are promoting man's total freedom are kidnaped, tortured and murdered. We have among others, the case of the priests Grande, Barrera Mato, Navarro Oviedo, Octavio Ortiz. What is your opinion about this?

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[Answer] Yes, there is a big contradiction. I have thought about it often and I have reached the conclusion that the situation of social injustice is so serious, it has reached such a point, that faith has been distorted. It has been made into a crime in order to defend economic interests, material interests. Now, if we have a state of perversion to the extent that priests are tortured and murdered, as you have pointed out, these actions have been carried out against those who committed themselves to the liberation of the Salvadoran people. Therefore, the explanation is obvious: those priests were demanding a change, they were promoting it and were organizing workers and peasants, but the oligarchy is opposed to any type of transformation, to all organizations and does not want to hear the words agrarian reform nor anything which modifies in the least the present situation. Their wealth, their properties and ideas are and represent the nation. Therefore, it is something which concerns El Salvador's security and anything that threatens this security must be eliminated. The priests whom you mentioned, "were attempting to change El Salvador's social structure." This made them subversive and communist elements and as such they were persecuted and murdered. Those priests who serve as examples, worthy of all respect and admiration, were the victims of those trying to maintain an unjust order. This is because Barrera Mato, Rutilio Grande, Navarro Oviedo, Ortiz and others were looking far ahead. They clearly understood the situation and realized that the oligarchy is our people's common enemy. For this reason they were hated and persecuted to death by the oligarchy and by the guardians of their wealth.

[Question] In your opinion, what is going to be the role of the church in the liberation process of the Salvadoran people?

[Answer] In the first place, the church must identify itself with these problems and genuinely face a situation of falsehood and lack of sincerity, in which truth is subjected to the interests of wealth and power. It is necessary to denounce injustice and serve only the truth. We must denounce the exploitation of man by man, discrimination, violence imposed by man against the people, their spirit, their conscience and beliefs. We must promote the total liberation of man. We must carry out the structural changes and support the people in their struggle for their liberation. It is the duty of a genuine church to be with the poor, to support them even at its own risk and be willing to give the utmost testimony of love to defend and help those whom Jesus loved with preference.

[Question] On many occasions you have referred to the work that Christian communities are carrying out in El Salvador. However, leaders of these organizations, such as Apolinario Serrano and Felipe de Jesus Chacon, father of the People's Revolutionary Bloc general secretariat, were brutally murdered; the skin of their faces peeled off, their eyes pulled out and their tongues cut. The same has happened to catechists and missionaries. They were men of peace and were acting according with guidelines established by the church. Then I must ask, Monsignor Romero, what alternative there is for the people who are being murdered by using peaceful means in their search for social justice?

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[Answer] I appreciate very much the fact that you have mentioned those names, because they were very dear to me: Felipe de Jesus Chacon and Polin, the name we used to call Apolinario. I have really cried for them and for many other catechists who worked in our communities, who were truly Christians. One of them who was murdered in Aguilares, they used to call the man of the gospel. The fact is that a church that is deeply committed must assume political responsibilities resulting in conflicts as is the case in our country, in which social injustice prevails. The same happened to the priests we mentioned before. These men were basically good, beloved by the people. These were men who put their fingers on the sore of social injustice. These were men who defended man's dignity, and that of the peasants, workers and all those who had been dispossessed by the oligarchy. These were men who organized the people and helped them in their organizations because it is fundamental to carry out an efficient struggle. The service they rendered has no price. For this reason they were murdered by the oligarchy supported by soldiers, policemen, national guardsmen and paramilitary gangs. These crimes are evidence of the extent of perversion that the worshippers of the insatiable Moloch have reached. This has also been denounced in the Populorum Progressio. The Christians are not afraid of combat. They know how to fight, but they prefer the language of peace. However, when a dictatorship seriously threatens human rights and the common welfare of a nation, when it becomes unbearable and all possibilities for a dialog, understanding and reasoning are closed, when this occurs, then the church refers to the legitimate right of insurrectional violence. It is not up to the church to determine when all channels for a dialog have been closed nor the time to start an insurrection. As for the oligarchy, I am asking at the top of my voice: Open your hands, give away your rings, because the time will come when your hands will be cut off.

[Question] Christmas and New Years Eve were tragic in El Salvador. Hundreds of people were murdered, victims of the repressive corps. It seems as if their sadistic minds had chosen those dates to bring sorrow to more Salvadoran homes. The newspapers and radio stations--except for some exceptions that confirm the rule--lied about the events and distorted reality. They also revealed a degree of corruption that is hard to surpass. Monsignor Romero, what should be, in your opinion, the role of the press?

[Answer] Yes. The corruption of the press is part of our sad reality. It reveals its complicity with the oligarchy...the press should be a vehicle for reporting the truth...its mission consists of preaching the truth.... Unfortunately, as you put it, the exact opposite is occurring here: News is manipulated; serious cases which compromise the oligarchy are covered up; news related to repression is distorted and the victim is depicted as the culprit; photographs are doctored and compositions are mounted to deceive readers...one need not say more. Truth is hidden, not reported in El Salvador...I have denounced the fact many times...I have stressed that the press should be an instrument at the service of the people, helping to transform society..what a great power is wasted and placed at the service of oppression and repression!

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[Question] A few days ago Salvador Samayoa, who served as education minister during the scant 2 months the first government junta was in power, outlined the real reasons for his resignation. He warned that El Salvador's problems could not be solved through peaceful means and announced that he was joining the Farabundo Marti Popular Liberation Forces. What do you think, Monsignor Romero, about Samayoa's decision?

[Answer] In these cases, more than anything, I respect the decision a man adopts and more so if the person is as intelligent as Samayoa is. I am sure he obeyed the mandate of his conscience. Moreover, every conscience is worthy of respect and God will judge us according to each one's conscience, according to our conscience.... Now then, as a pastor of the church, I cannot advise anyone to choose the path of violence...however, the lesson Samayoa has given us is that of stating, once more, that the true culprits of the violence in our country are the families which form the oligarchy and that those who are closing the door to a peaceful solution of problems are those who idolize wealth...Samayoa's resignation is a grave denunciation. It is an accusation of great current interest and it should be an invitation to the people to reflect....

[Question] Monsignor Romero, as the archbishop of San Salvador, do you have a chance to talk with the high military commands?

[Answer] Yes. I always use the same language: I tell the truth and provide orientation under the framework of my pastoral mission...I am in favor of anything that can help the people and if it is said that there is a conflict between the government and my archdiocese the assertion is wrong, because what actually exists is a conflict between the government and the people, and the church is always on the side of the people...the oligarchy and the military elite neither want nor are they prepared for dialog....

[Question] What future do you foresee for the present government of military-men and Christian Democrats?

[Answer] Rather than give an opinion, I prefer to wait for the language of deeds...changes are urgently required...the people are no longer willing to wait...they feel frustrated and disillusioned and do not believe in promises or harbor any hopes...consequently, the changes must be spectacular, I would say....

[Question] During my tour of the country, I gathered the impression that a civil war is underway in El Salvador; that it is less informal and intermittent each day and that it is an increasingly ruthless war without quarter. What is your opinion in that connection?

[Answer] I am alarmed at the situation. However, the oligarchy's struggle to defend the indefensible has no future, and much less if one takes into consideration the fighting spirit of our people. The forces at the service of the oligarchy may achieve victory, but it would be a passing one. Our

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people's cry for justice would be heard again, and, sooner or later, they would overcome. The new society is coming, and at a fast pace...the peace of the cemeteries is a consequence: rather, it is due to the fact that there are only dead people in the tombs. [sentence as received] That type of peace cannot be achieved by the oligarchy in face of a people like the Salvadoran people.

[Question] Will you be on the side of the people in that war, Monsignor Romero?

[Answer] That is my intention and I ask God to help me be strong enough because I fear the weakness of the flesh...we all feel afraid during difficult times. The conservation instinct is very strong and I ask for help for that reason...not only help for myself but for all of us who are carrying out this pastoral work. I ask that all of us remain at our posts because we have much to do, even if it is only to pick up the dead and give absolution to the dying...the fire of social justice will always burn in the hearts of the Salvadoran people....

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EL SALVADOR

STATEMENTS BY ARCHBISHOP ROMERO REVEALED

PA020304 Havana PRELA in Spanish 0034 GMT 2 Apr 80 PA

[Article by Mario Menendez]

[Text] [no dateline] "Only crimes can be expected from the Salvadoran military hierarchy.... Yes, it is sad, but nothing good can come from military officers like Col Jose Guiofermo Garcia. They are faithful servants of the oligarchy and bitter enemies of the Salvadoran people.... They are arrogant and, confidentially, I can say this because, as a mediator in an attempt to resolve the government crisis, I was a witness to lamentable scenes inside the seminary of San Jose de La Montana, scenes in which the colonels demonstrated their profound scorn for the civilian members of the first government junta and the cabinet and humiliated them. For this reason I understand, I comprehend and I consider justified taking the path of arms to solve the problems afflicting this country. However, you must understand that as a pastor and head of the Catholic Church, I cannot be the leader of the people on the path of revolutionary violence..." Msgr Oscar Arnulfo Romero told PRENSA LATINA this in confidence during his only, and lamentably last, exclusive interview as Archbishop of San Salvador.

The spiritual guide of the Salvadoran Catholics and now martyr of the true church made this confidential statement to allow the newsmen to form the most complete idea possible of what the Salvadoran military hierarchy is like--brutal, bloody, stupid, insolent, rapacious and at the same time servile. Yes, their doglike devotion to the 14 families and to imperialism is interesting, and they demonstrated this again on Palm Sunday when their genocidal bullets interrupted Monsignor Romero's funeral, killing over 100 parishioners and injuring a large number of the 300,000 persons, who were not even allowed to accompany the extraordinary vicar of Christ to his final resting place.

Monsignor Romero was referring to the events that took place at a meeting on 2 January at which he presided and that was held at the request of the civilian members of the short-lived government which emerged after the military uprising that overthrew Gen Carlos Humberto Romero. The presence of colonels Jose Guillermo Garcia, Jaime Abdul Gutierrez and Adolfo Arnaldo Majano had been required at that meeting.

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The newsman complied with the commitment made at La Divina Providencia Cancer Hospital, but today, after the barbarous crime, he considers it necessary to reveal the statements made by Monsignor Romero, which point with tongues of flame at the executioners of the Salvadoran people.

During the meeting at the San Jose De La Montana seminary, Education Minister Salvador Samyoa demanded that the colonels take an unequivocal stand--"either with the people or with the oligarchy."

Maj [as received] Adolfo Arnaldo Majano, a command and staff college graduate who did higher studies at the School of the Americas in the Panama Canal Zone and who in 1978 attended the 31st special Yuang Peng Course on Taiwan, where he also studied other subjects related to national security, immediately gave vent to the insolence of the typical Central American military officer. He said: "Just a moment... We are neither with the people nor with the oligarchy, because the enemy is to be found in many places... He is in those so-called popular organizations. Moreover, you [civilians] are to blame for this crisis..."

Samyoa stood up, then Col Jose Guillermo Garcia, minister of defense and public security and a known collaborator with the CIA and the Pentagon, rebuked the former professor of philosophy at the Central American Catholic University. He said: "Who do you people think you are? Never forget that you are seated in the government because we put you there, and that you remain there also thanks to us. We do not need you to do what must be done in the country..."

Samyoa left the seminary. Up to that date, he had been minister of education but less than 1 week later, on 8 January, he announced that he had chosen the path of armed struggle and had joined the Farabundo Marti Popular Liberation Forces.

"I believe," he told PRENSA LATINA when asked the reasons for his decision, "that the determining factor was my having realized so clearly that the Salvadoran army is firmly committed to defending the interests of the oligarchic power and that it defends those interests with weapons in hand..."

Dr Guillermo Manuel Ungo, secretary general of the Social Democratic National Revolutionary Movement, and Roman Mayorga Quiros, an engineer and former rector of the Central American Catholic University, who firmly opposed military repression of the people, were "disregarded" by colonels Garcia, Gutierrez and Majano.

The Archbishop of San Salvador, whose participation was requested, was not even noticed. Moreover, he was discreetly warned not to continue "along political paths." There the meeting ended.

Then, from the Cathedral of San Salvador, Msgr Oscar Arnulfo Romero publicly demanded the resignation of Col Jose Guillermo Garcia, but the defense and

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public security minister answered with the cynicism characteristic of the fascist criminals: "The armed forces have not asked this of me and the game is too difficult for me to get out."

Some weeks later, as he was saying a mass for those fallen during the repression, the archbishop was brutally assassinated. The night of Saint Bartholemew grew darker.... The beasts are on the loose in El Salvador.

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EL SALVADOR

SECOND 'PRELA' INTERVIEW WITH FARN'S JOVEL

PA300121 Havana PRELA in Spanish 1731 GMT 25 Mar 80 PA

[Second interview with Secretary General of the Armed Forces of National Resistance Ernesto Jovel by PRELA Correspondent Mario Menendez Rodriguez]

[Text] "Every effort was made to find an economic and political solution to the national crisis. We have tried all means of avoiding bloodshed in the country, but the Salvadoran people have been denied institutional means and methods and its patience is exhausted...we have been forced to pass to the higher stage of the armed struggle and we are prepared for massive encounters," top leader of the National Resistance Ernesto Jovel said.

"At this moment, a call to general rebellion would immediately incorporate 100,000 Salvadorans into combat and this figure will be tripled in the following days," Ferman Cienfuegos, second in command of the political-military organization said.

Meanwhile, many U.S. officers, assigned to the country's main army posts, train Salvadoran reactionary forces in operations which have a clear-cut and precise purpose: the elimination of the population in peasant communities organized by the people's revolutionary bloc, the 28 February People's Leagues, the Nationalist Democratic Union and the United Popular Action Front.

Precisely as part of this "war of extermination" the armed forces engineering instruction center at Zacatecoluca, La Paz Department, in the middle part of El Salvador, has been turned, by U.S. trainers, into a strategic base with helicopters, tanks and armor of various kinds, heavy artillery, and special troops. Not long ago these troops razed Suchitoto cantons and broad areas in Chalatenango, San Vicente and Cojutepeque as well as others. Incendiary bombs, deadly chemicals and machinegunnings have caused hundreds of dead and wounded.

This was the way in which the United States began its intervention in the Vietnam war in Southeast Asia.

It is no secret that the Guatemalan Government, army and extreme right paramilitary hordes actively support their Salvadoran colleagues.

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In Guatemala, turned by the United States and Israel into a counterrevolutionary base in Central America, are located the main logistic support, training and deployment of mercenaries bases to fight the Salvadoran peoples' movement.

Former Somozist national guard members, Americans, Cuban counterrevolutionaries and members of the fascist, nationalist democratic organizations are trained in counterinsurgency combat by specialists from the United States, Israel and the old and corrupt [word indistinct].

The Israeli industrial-military complex and the Israeli aircraft industries, have an attractive market in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, whose governments have purchased many Arava-201 aircraft, some Mysteres and Dabur patrol boats supplied with computer guidance systems, Gabriel rockets, Galil and M-16 rifles, Uzi submachineguns, several hundred long-range cannons, mortars, armored transports and various weapons valued at millions of dollars. Israeli ships arrive at the western port of Acavulta with large arms shipments for Salvadoran repressive corps while Israeli instructors are in charge of training the Salvadoran national guard.

The United States, meanwhile, is increasing and accelerating the shipment of weapons of all kinds to Central American military regimes and Policarpo Paz Garcia's Honduran regime is serving as middleman for war material between U.S. corporations, such as the presided by Gen Alexander Haig, former NATO commander, and the Salvadoran National Association of Private Enterprise headed by Eduardo Palomo. [sentence as printed]

In the southern Guatemala Litoral, precisely in the "Africa" ranch owned by Col Miguel Angel Ponciano's family and in another ranch owned by former Vice President Mario Sandoval Alarcon, located on the border with El Salvador, in San Jose Acatempa, Jutiapa Department, there are large numbers of mercenaries undergoing training.

Ponciano and Sandoval Alarcon, chiefs of the extreme right "National Liberation" movement and of the Guatemalan institutionalized gang of murderers, maintain active relations with Gen Jose Alberto Medrano and Maj Roberto Dabuisson, leaders of the new order mercenary army.

The United States heads the intervention against El Salvador from Guatemala and Venezuela because its goals are not limited to El Salvador, but extend toward Nicaragua.

During the present stage, the Pentagon, large transnational corporations and the more reactionary sectors of the Christian Democratic Party [PDC] in connivance with the oligarchies and the Central American Defense Council believe that the social liberation process developing rapidly in Central America must be halted by "blood and fire" in El Salvador, Guatemala and in the immortal land of Augusto Cesar Sandino.

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In view of that, the realistic and visionary faction of the PDC renounced that political [words indistinct] and chose to go into exile instead.

Meanwhile, the rightwing sector led by Jose Napoleon Duarte is strengthening its ties with the 14 families and the guardians of their wealth and sweeping its Venezuelan Christian Democratic counterparts along in the project of "killings and reforms." The Venezuelans are providing weapons, money, advisers and training to another mercenary army, according to a denunciation made by the Farabundo Marti People's Liberation Forces, the Communist Party of El Salvador, National Resistance and the Salvadoran Revolutionary Party-People's Revolutionary Army. For the most part the mercenary forces training to attack insurgent Central America from the south are Puerto Rican and Venezuelan soldiers. Venezuelan Gen Hilarion Carza is one of those in charge of coordinating plans with Col Jose Guillermo Garcia, minister of defense and public security.

National Resistance Structure

In what stage of development is the national resistance?

Ernesto Jovel, top leader responsible for the revolutionary political-military organization, replied: "The current structure of the National Resistance Party can be indicative of our development.... Thus, we can say that the top political and military guidance organization is the Council of Delegates--something similar to a congress--composed of the most vanguard militants in the country...the council is chaired by the secretary general of the party and the second in command who, in turn, belongs to the military general command and thus the political and military [leadership] is merged. There is a specific number of companeros in this higher executive structure who are in charge of mass organization, military, propaganda, ideological training, international relations and other specific activities including agitation...also in order to have internal democracy in the party and in view of the difficulty of gathering the council delegates when solutions to various situations are needed, the national resistance holds what are called "expanded directorate meetings," a nonstatutory body which so far has made for more dynamic debates and given more effective responses to political situations. In other words, the "expanding meeting" is a means of consultation not a decisionmaking body available to the National Executive Directorate. The national resistance operates through regional chapters with their own executive board which divides work into sectors including labor, peasants and the medium level. Each of these sectors has a coordinator and each coordinator has his grassroots cell structure...the grassroots cells are the links between the party and the masses."

And what about the revolutionary armed forces?

Ferman Cienfuegos responds: "Well, we have built the structure of the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN) over the party structure. This means that the military structure is linked to, intertwined with and at

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times parallel to the party structure. This can be explained in light of an objective fact: Many operatives perform military functions. After all, one cannot forget that El Salvador is a nation at war.... The following is the FARN structure: the military general command--comprised of Ernesto Jovel and Ferman Cienfuegos--leads the general staff nationwide and each specific region has its own general staff which, through the division of labor, has an operative or military commission responsible for the guerrillas and the militia...as concerns the militia, the national resistance operates by columns. Each column includes 50 combatants and they, in turn, act in squads. There are five squads to every column. In turn, the masses have created their own armed self-defense brigades to protect the demonstrations, rallies and any other popular activities. In our country the mass political movement is armed because it has made the firm and indisputable decision to defend itself from continuous acts of aggression. The Salvadoran people are an armed people; the FARN militias are actively working alongside the people: they are a sort of irregular army; sometimes it is completely guerrilla and at other times it acts as a shock and vanguard corps. Now then, in the guerrillas, our basic operation unit is the section, composed of 25 combatants, and the FARN has carried out urban operations of a military nature in which 150 to 200 companeros have participated. For instance, in September 1979, we occupied the cities of Soyapango, Armenia and El Transito of 40,000, 15,000 and 10,000 inhabitants respectively....

Adopts Insurrectional Methods

What objectives does the RN seek with the military occupation of various types of communities? Ernesto Jovel, the textile industry worker says:

"The fundamental objective is to prepare the masses for their incorporation into the insurrectional process....

When we occupy a city, a town, a ranch, a district and so on, we create confidence among the people who open their homes and enthusiastically help in the development and success of the operation. During the time that we remain there, we give training on political-military organization and the handling and manufacture of weapons. Confronted by a corrupt press in connivance with the oligarchy, we play the role of being the true spreaders of information, we explain the general situation and we dispell doubts. The people are convinced that there is no way open to them but the armed struggle in order to attain a true social liberation. This is also why today, operations by guerrillas and militia, are to prove the existence of the masses armed movement which is rapidly acquiring an improved technical level and discipline. The time for rebellion is here, but we want international public opinion to be convinced that we have resorted to the armed struggle because there is no alternative. We did everything possible to try to find some economic or political solution to the national crisis. We tried by all means to avoid general bloodshed in the country, but the Salvadoran people were denied institutional means and its patience also came to an end. We have been compelled to consider the armed struggle and we are ready for a massive insurrection."

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What does national resistance think about a massive conflict?

Ferman Cienfuegos replies: "At this moment a call by the revolutionary coordinator would mean the immediate incorporation of 100,000 Salvadorans into the struggle and this figure would be tripled in a few days...This was made evident during the military occupations we have carried out during the past months. These have been revolutionary occupations which have served also to train our fighters and to show the enemy that the people have their own fighting force..."

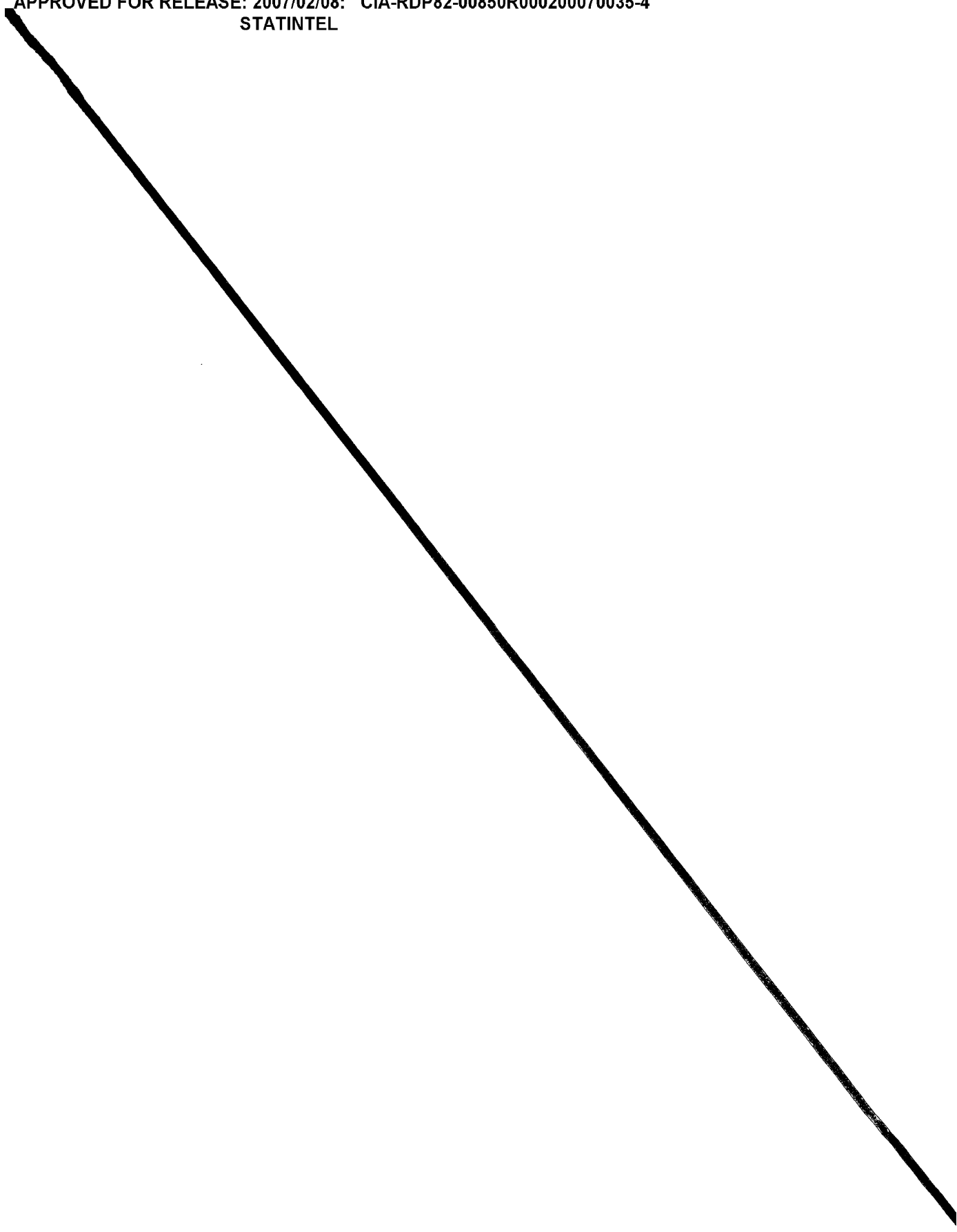
What are the perspectives for the union of revolutionary and democratic forces in El Salvador?

The second in command of the national resistance leaders replies: "Without union there can be no victory. What we have done so far will create the future people's power. That is to say: the broad union of the peoples' movements will lead to real power by the Salvadoran people, a power which is within our reach and which will lead our nation's destiny..."

Note: Last night as we completed writing the present report San Salvador's archbishop, Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero was brutally murdered by extreme rightwing hordes while saying mass for those who have fallen in these days of intensive repression. The Salvadoran church leader was killed at the chapel of the Divine Providence Hospital where he granted the only and, unfortunately, last exclusive interview to our special envoy.

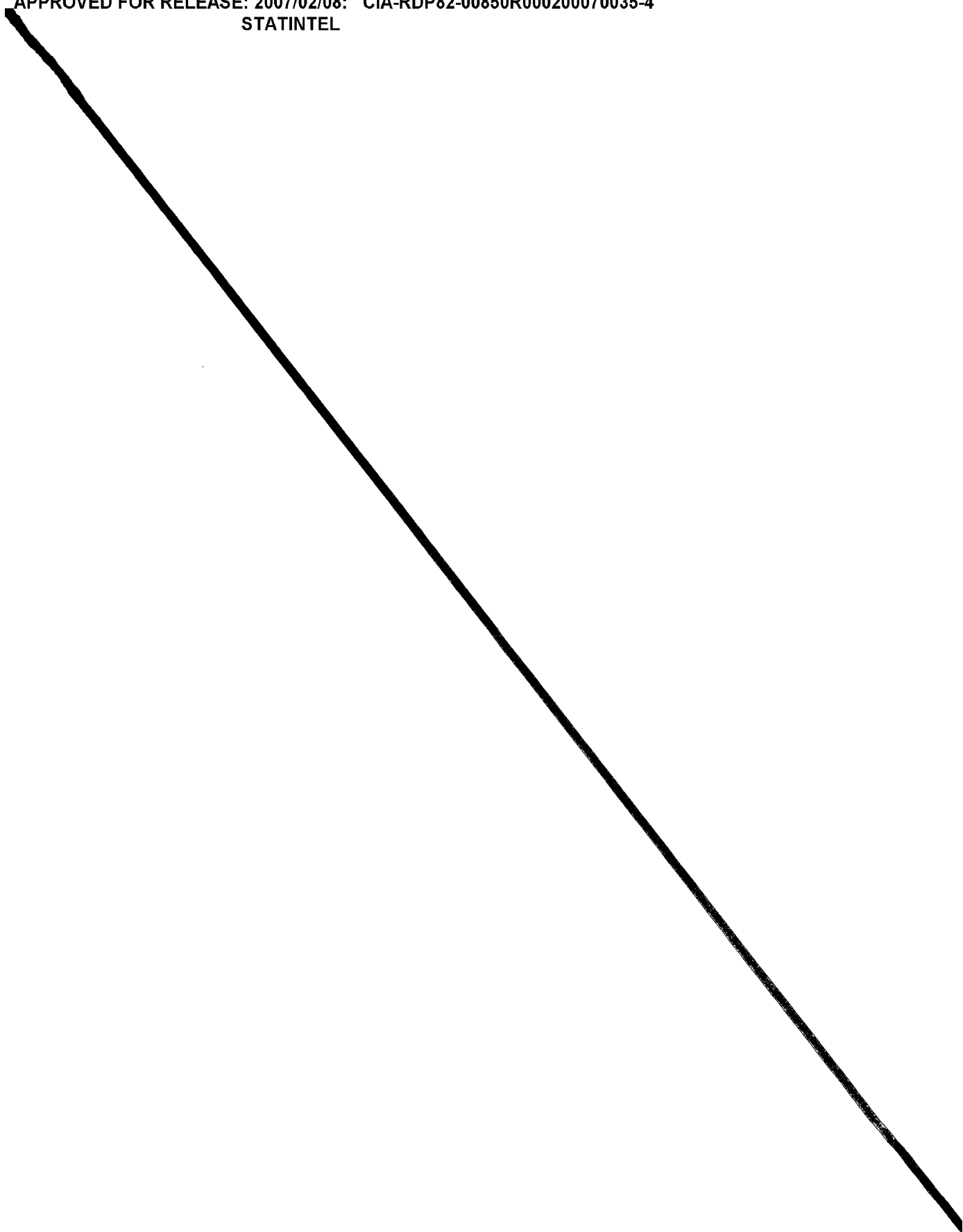
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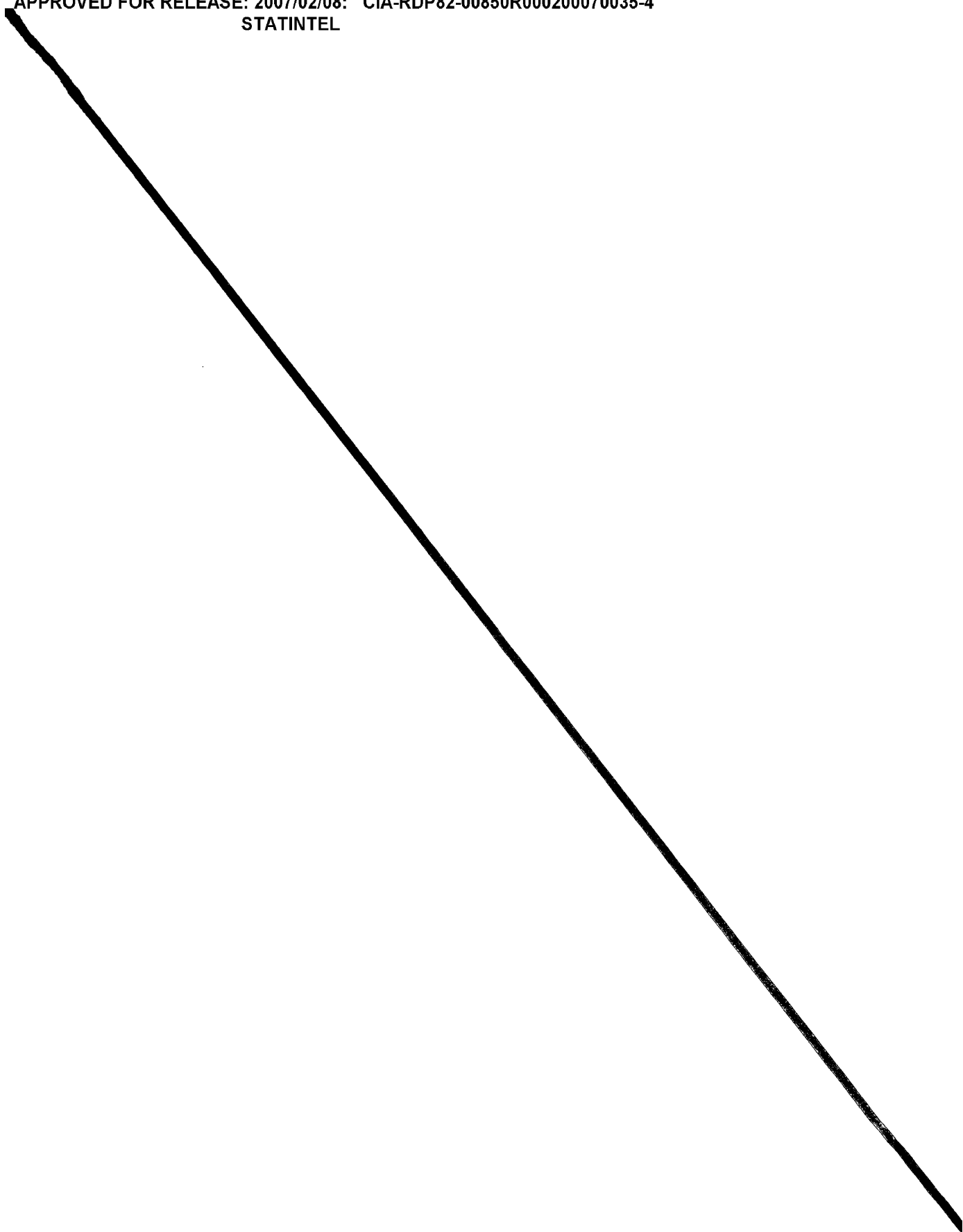
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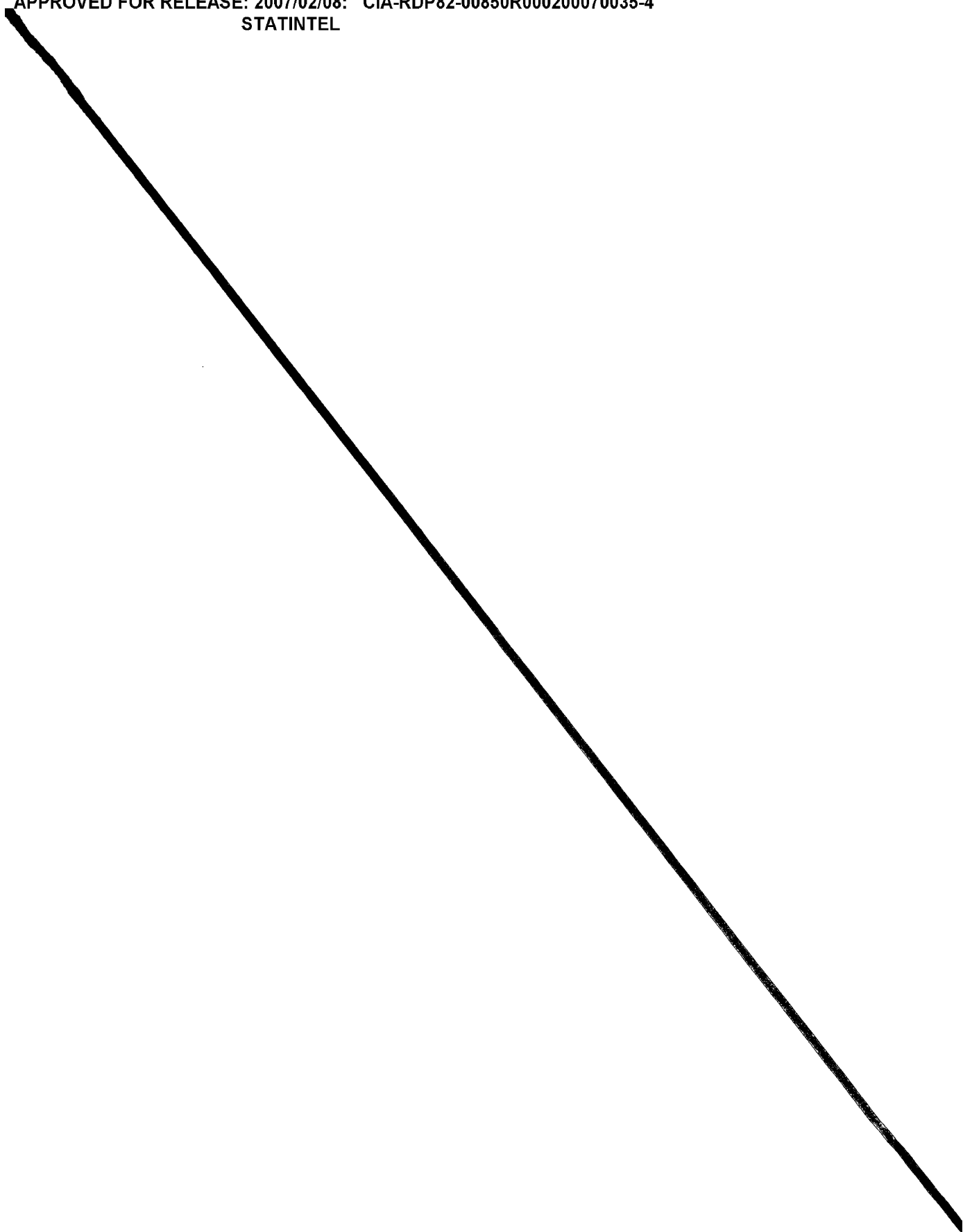
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NICARAGUA

COUNTRY TENDING TOWARD DICTATORSHIP

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 9 Mar 80 pp 46-48, 50

[Text] "The first word all Nicaraguans must learn is Carlos," Tomas Borge, minister of interior and the strong man in Nicaragua currently, said recently in a speech.

Borge was referring to Carlos Fonseca, one of the founders of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) who died in combat against the forces of the dictator Anastasio Somoza, and the reference was a part of the literacy campaign which the National Reconstruction Government Junta will promote throughout 1980, with a view to teaching some 800,000 Nicaraguans over 10 years of age to read and write.

But Borge, of mixed origins, with a record of 20 years in the anti-Somoza guerrilla forces and a heart so tender that he weeps in public whenever he speaks of Carlos Fonseca, turned a part of the plans of the Ministry of Education topsy-turvy with this phrase, perhaps without meaning to.

Given what this leader said, it would be necessary hastily to change the primers printed so that in fact the first written word the illiterates would learn would be "Carlos."

The cost of this tempting operation was a million cordobas, \$100,000 at the official exchange rate. One hundred sixty thousand on the black market or in Costa Rica. A sizable figure, in any case, for a country with 140,000 square kilometers and a population of 2.5 million, on the edge of ruin after a costly war culminating in the overthrow of the tyrant Somoza 7 months ago (report by CAMBIO 16 special correspondent Pedro Paramo).

However, this may serve as an excellent snapshot of the present Nicaraguan society which is still experiencing, on the one hand, the enthusiasm of a triumphant rebellion, desirous of rendering homage to one of its sponsoring martyrs, within the noblest and most spectacular undertaking of the revolution--the campaign against illiteracy.

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Along with this euphoria one can also see, on the other hand, an incipient bureaucratization, ready to emerge when the leaders snap their fingers and capable of any folly provided they can win points at a time when there are more Sandinistas than Nicaraguans, all of them of course "combatants" on the Southern Front, a group which never exceeded 5,000 men.

There is, finally, in Borge's statement, the revelation that not only will the Nicaraguans learn to read, but that at the same time and above all they will be instructed in what they should read.

The shadow of a new Cuba hovers over Nicaragua like that of the buzzards which circle at dusk over the shores of the contaminated lake in Managua, precisely over what was the center of the capital city, razed by the earthquake in 1972 such that only the government offices and a few other buildings there are now habitable.

"There are people who admire the Cuban revolution so much that they want a carbon copy of it, that is the real fact visible to everyone." This was written 2 weeks ago in LA PRENSA by Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Barrios, the son of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, the newsman shot down by Somoza's hired ruffians in January of 1978, who has been named by the Sandinista revolution as one of its martyrs.

But for many, as for Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, who holds high the liberal banner for which his father was killed, the increasing imitation of the Cuban model is worrisome in addition to real. He is accused of "selling out the country" by certain sectors of the Sandinista movement because of his defense of the most elementary freedoms which are being threatened in free Nicaragua.

The fact that the security services, specifically the political police, are called the G-2 as they are in Cuba, that the people's army is being created on the basis of the structure of the Cuban armed forces, as Tomas Borge learned on Fidel Castro's island, that a militia in the Cuban style which will include some 300,000 persons and the existence of so-called Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), "the eyes and the ears of the revolution," watching each village, each block in a city, suggests to many Nicaraguans that a Cuban-style regime lurks just around the corner.

A Whiff of Gulag

There is already a sense of the gulag--press and trade union freedoms are constantly violated by the government, charges of pro-Somoza and counter-revolutionary inclinations are voiced left and right, and the punishment for disagreement with the FSLN is imprisonment. The people voice their criticisms in whispers and the Permanent Committee on Human Rights for Nicaragua has reported the disappearance of 500 individuals and a number of cases of torture.

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"Perhaps we will not become another Cuba overnight," a Managua architect explained to CAMBIO 16, "because to establish and consolidate this whole apparatus of power they have functioning cannot be done so quickly. But when all of this machinery is functioning, Tomas Borge, who is in control of the security apparatus, will only have to let his beard grow, and if he succeeds, we will have a new Fidel Castro."

The government junta which functions by decree with no control at all denies any Cubanization of Nicaragua. Alfonso Robelo, a member of the junta and the author of the reconstruction economy of the country, expressed his displeasure with those who maintain that an advance toward a Cuban model is being made to this periodical in the following words. "The Nicaraguan process has already provided sufficient evidence that it is original and to believe that we are going to copy any revolution or process of profound change is to deny its initiative. The conditions in Nicaragua in 1979 had nothing to do with those in Cuba in 1959. Not even the international conditions now resemble those then. Why then would we undertake to create a new Cuba?"

Comrade Robelo, as he is known at government headquarters, is an engineer trained in the United States, a businessman and one of the leading figures in vegetable-oil production in the Somoza era, during which he became president of the Nicaraguan Chamber of Industry. In 1978 he founded the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement, social democratic in tendency, which will now merge with the Marxist-Leninist groups in the large Sandinista Party.

As the economic brain behind reconstruction, Robelo is one of the strong men of the revolution and he does not foresee a future without a mixed economy. "The state will control certain specified areas," he explained, "such as banking, the financial sector, energy, exports, subsoil resources, forests, fishing, telecommunications, etc. But all the other areas in the farm, industrial and trade sectors will fall to private enterprise."

Plan 80, which establishes economic goals for rescuing the country from the ruin in which the war against Somoza plunged it, as a "first step toward achieving a planned economy," as it promises in its first paragraph, also recognizes that along with the public sector "there is a private sector which, although it cannot be subjected to direct planning, can indeed be motivated, relying on National Unity and its participation in the struggle against dictatorship, to join and coordinate with the state in order to orient its efforts too toward improvement of the life of all Nicaraguans."

Aid From Uncle Sam

The businessmen seem prepared to support the revolutionary government, although it has not yet won all of them over.

Last 18 February, representatives of the leading business organizations in the country traveled to Washington with a view to persuading the

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United States government that it should grant the junta \$75 million to aid in national reconstruction.

"Without this economic aid there will be nothing to prevent the government from swinging to the left, toward the Cuban model," Gilberto Solis, manager of the Nicaraguan Chamber of Industry, said in Managua, "and therefore we support any type of aid which will avoid radicalization."

Although the dialog between the businessmen and the government is constant because for the time being "the Sandinista movement is moderately leftist," according to Solis, "there are more non-Marxists than Marxists in the government and the bourgeoisie governs," investments are limited and practically all of the industry is paralyzed.

"There is concern and lack of confidence because there is a notable legal vacuum where the defense of citizens' property is concerned," Gilberto Solis complained to CAMBIO 16. "Until a few weeks ago it sufficed for a group of discontented workers or a CDS to charge that some businessman or landowner was pro-Somoza in order for his property or land to be confiscated on the basis of Decree No 38. Now they have promised us that some cases will be reviewed, but on the other hand, during the peasants' demonstration on the 17th of last month in front of the cathedral, the minister of agricultural development, Jaime Wheelock, gave assurance that not a single inch of occupied land would be given back."

The occupation and redistribution of land has been the most spectacular conquest won by the revolution. Decree No 3, in accordance with which the positions of Somoza were nationalized, made available to the junta almost half of the cultivated land in the country. This measure contributed to creating a revolutionary euphoria among the people of Nicaragua which still remains in certain sectors, particularly the young people.

The increase from \$1 to \$4 a day in minimum wage, the steady supply of goods of first necessity resulting from international aid, the calm in the streets without the provocation of Somoza's "guards," the mass mobilizations in such promising campaigns as that against illiteracy have kept alive to the present the revolutionary vision, encouraged at all hours of the day by Radio Sandino with triumphal slogans sung to a rumba rhythm.

Plan 80--Toward Utopia?

In this atmosphere, the government junta drafted Plan 80, the sturdiest pillar of the revolution, if its goals are achieved. Production will increase by 22 percent this year over that in 1979, the year of the war, although it will be 9 percent lower than the 1978 figure. Ninety-five thousand new jobs will be created--45,000 in industry and services, and the balance in agriculture. The 1979 inflation rate of 60 percent will be reduced to 22 percent. Some 170,000 blocks--about 125,000 hectares of

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cotton, will be planted, as compared to the 40,000 blocks in 1979, the export of which would bring income totaling \$150 million. Industry, which will import goods worth \$300 million, will increase its production by 17 percent. By 31 December 1980, the deficit will be only some \$31 million.

But in the view of many Nicaraguans this is a pipe dream. "The program is utopian because it is drafted on the basis of figures which are not true," Gilbert Solis said, "and it does not say how these goals will be achieved. There is talk of planting 170,000 blocks of cotton, but who will harvest them if there is not manpower enough now to harvest the 40,000 planted last season?"

The radio issues constant appeals for manpower for the cotton harvest, with patriotic and revolutionary slogans which apparently have little effect.

The Sandinista revolution is at low ebb. A certain disillusionment can be seen in the plains people, who see that the prices of rice, beans and gasoline have gone up 50 percent and that every day they go to the market they find that some article has gone up in price and some other has become unavailable altogether.

Many businesses have closed for lack of goods. In the large Sears Roebuck stores in Managua, nothing is available any more but remnants at luxury-goods prices. In the El Camino de Oriente shopping center the majority of the stores are empty, and only the cafeterias, bowling alleys, discotheques and second-hand-goods shops are operating. The big American cars are beginning to suffer deterioration. "It is not that there are no replacement parts," a taxi driver at the wheel of a Cadillac explained, "but the prices have been multiplied by 10 in the past 4 months."

"We are at a delicate stage," Alfonso Robelo admitted to CAMBIO 16. "There is great inflation and irregularity in the supply of rice, beans and corn." The irregularity can be seen in the lines which form outside the people's supermarkets, a chain of stores owned by foreign capital which were confiscated by the revolution, and in the rationing the managers of these state stores have sometimes had to impose to avoid hoarding.

"The shortage of goods of first necessity is more psychological than real," an official at the Ministry of Planning said, "since all that is needed is the rumor that a product will be in short supply for excessive demand to develop immediately and in the end cause a temporary shortage."

The All-Powerful Committees

In such cases radio or press campaigns do no good, for the increasing limitations on freedom are causing a climate of mistrust and fear of the government, the Sandinista Front and its vigilance and security committees which are sometimes suggestive of the Somoza methods.

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Nicaraguans are again feeling the sensation of being permanently watched, with the presence of the Sandinista Defense Committees, from which authorization to change residence or obtain a passport to leave the country must be sought.

The CDS have a list of the residents on each block. If there is a "counter-revolutionary" there--a Somoza supporter, a "milpa" (member of the Anti-Somoza People's Militia), a member of the Workers' Front (Maoist) or a Trotskyite--his house is marked on the map, a file begun and he is constantly watched.

"An CDS order distributed in Managua at the end of last September says that 'shifts must keep watch all night, noting for every passing vehicle its make, color and license number. When dogs are heard barking, it is necessary to note who is passing and where he goes. The shifts must note any resident who returns home late, and whether he is carrying packages or accompanied by friends. Those houses where there are cars at night must be watched and the data recorded. When people from outside the neighborhood are seen they must be watched and followed to find out their business. We must not let a single movement escape, since it may be that of the counter-revolutionaries.'"

"The CDS are not a state organization," Alfonso Robelo explains. "They are volunteers for civic defense in support of the revolution, which is still very fragile after only 7 months of life. In reality they are like firemen."

Journalist Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, who was recently publicly accused of being a counterrevolutionary by the CDS in the María Auxiliadora neighborhood of Managua, has reported in LA PRENSA "how many people do not dare put their names on the letters they send for fear that the CDS will start some file on them."

Blows Against the Press

The life of a journalist is not easy in free Nicaragua if he defends the right to a free press and thus clashes with the Marxist-Leninist Sandinista concepts of freedom of expression. Chamorro, for example, has had to tolerate censorship of his reports by an assistant editor of the newspaper.

The Nicaragua Journalists' Union, headed and controlled by men in the confidence of the FSLN, expelled Oscar Leonardo Montalvan, a popular radiojournalist, without a hearing a few weeks ago. Accused of being a counterrevolutionary, Montalvan has gone into exile in Costa Rica.

The owner of the daily newspaper EL PUEBLO, Melvin Wallace, managing director Carlos Cuadra and reporters Juan Alberto Enriquez and Isidro Tellez, have suffered a worse fate. They have been sentenced to two years of forced labor. EL PUEBLO, which has now been shut down, printed some 3,000 copies and maintained Trotskyite positions, thus criticizing the revolution.

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Coaction of the Free Trade Unions

"This daily was part of a rebellious conspiracy," Alfonso Robelo justified the action to this periodical, "and the tool of ultra-leftist subversion. It was found to have three caches of weapons. And in addition, the machinery had been taken from the National Printing Office."

Imprisonment, coaction and threats are also commonly used against the trade unionists who refuse to join the Sandinist Central Workers' Union (CST), despite the public announcement last October by the commander of the national leadership of the FSLN, Carlos Nunez, to the effect that repression would cease and trade-union freedom would be respected.

Currently the CST has some 100,000 members, according to the Ministry of Labor figures, since the Central Trade Union Action and Unity (CAUS) organization and the General Labor Confederation (CGT), both controlled by pro-Soviet Marxist-Leninists, merged with it, and an attempt is being made to make it into a single trade union.

Those who resist may disappear, as was the case with the Workers' Front--now on the list of leftist counterrevolutionary organizations. Its secretary general, Isidoro Teis, is serving a prison sentence of 2 years.

Or they may suffer all kinds of coaction such as that against the Union of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN), which is social-Christian, has more than 50,000 members, and participated actively in the armed rebellion against Somoza.

The pressures have ranged from imprisonment of leaders--currently there are 2 who have been in prison 2 months without any charges yet being filed against them, disruption of its meetings even by individuals of such importance as Tomas Borge and Cdr Bayardo Arce, as happened at the Tetel Cinema in Managua in the middle of February, and the machine-gunning of its headquarters for purposes of dissuasion.

"All methods are used," commented Antonio Jarquin, one of the CTN leaders, pointing to the bullet holes in the wooden roof of the social hall of the trade union. "They exert pressure on our base units to join the CST. For peasants, no land is distributed unless they jump through the hoop. The Ministry of Labor holds up the applications for authorization of new trade-union sections, as Somoza did. They lied when they said trade-union freedom would be respected. Either repression is the policy of the FSLN or anarchy reigns therein. In either case, we are the victims."

Violation of Human Rights

"You will have to disappear," Tomas Borge told Jose Esteban Gonzalez, president of the Permanent Commission on Human Rights for Nicaragua, in the presence of a group of newsmen. "The only organization with the moral authority to defend human rights in Nicaragua is the Sandinista Front."

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Jose Esteban Gonzalez, who challenged the dictator Somoza in July of 1977 with a document denouncing the isolation and torture of Tomas Borge in the prison in Tipitapa, is now accused of being a "counterrevolutionary dog" for revealing the present and continuous violations of human rights in Nicaragua.

A Social Christian militant, Jose Esteban Gonzalez revealed that there had been hundreds of summary shootings after the triumph of the Sandinists in July of 1979; that still in the month of September shootings were continuing in some of the main settlements in the country; that there were some 500 known to have disappeared, including some 60 from the Somoza era; that just this February a disappearance and a case of torture were reported; that there are children only 15 years old in Nicaragua's prisons charged with collaboration with the National Guard in torturing Sandinistas.

"There is tremendous fear among the people of reporting cases of abuse of authority, torture, or any other violation of human rights," Jose Esteban Gonzalez told CAMBIO 16. "And any effort we make to report these cases is systematically discouraged by the authorities. They have even managed to prevent LA PRENSA from carrying our reports in space paid for as advertising."

The Cuba Syndrome

The Cuba syndrome is evident. But there are also many Nicaraguans who believe that the profound Catholicism and the desire of the people for freedom will prevent the tyranny of Somoza from being followed by another.

Businessman Gilberto Solis, journalist Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, lawyer Jose Esteban Gonzalez and all the democratic sectors in Nicaragua believe that Cubanization will be impossible if the Western countries, headed by the United States, come in with all kinds of aid. "The United States has an opportunity gradually to erase the negative image it has acquired in the past by committing a series of errors in the realm of foreign policy," Chamorro is confident.

If this is the case, perhaps the political program Alfonso Robelo outlined to this periodical can be carried out. "I see the future thus: the Council of State (a kind of legislative chamber) will be installed this coming 4 May, an event which cannot be postponed. Then in 1 or 2 years, there will be municipal elections, and finally, I see the elections of a constituent assembly to draft a constitution in 2 or 3 years as the logical outcome. This will coincide with the end of the national reconstruction period the junta has established."

In all, 4 or 5 years of provisional government, tensions, struggles for power. Precisely what is needed, according to the most pessimistic commentators, for the people's army, people's militia, police, G-2 and CDS to be working like clockwork, so that Tomas Borges can then let his beard grow.

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