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JPRS L/9081

8 May 1980

Latin America Report

(FOUO 10/80)

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LATIN AMERICA REPORT

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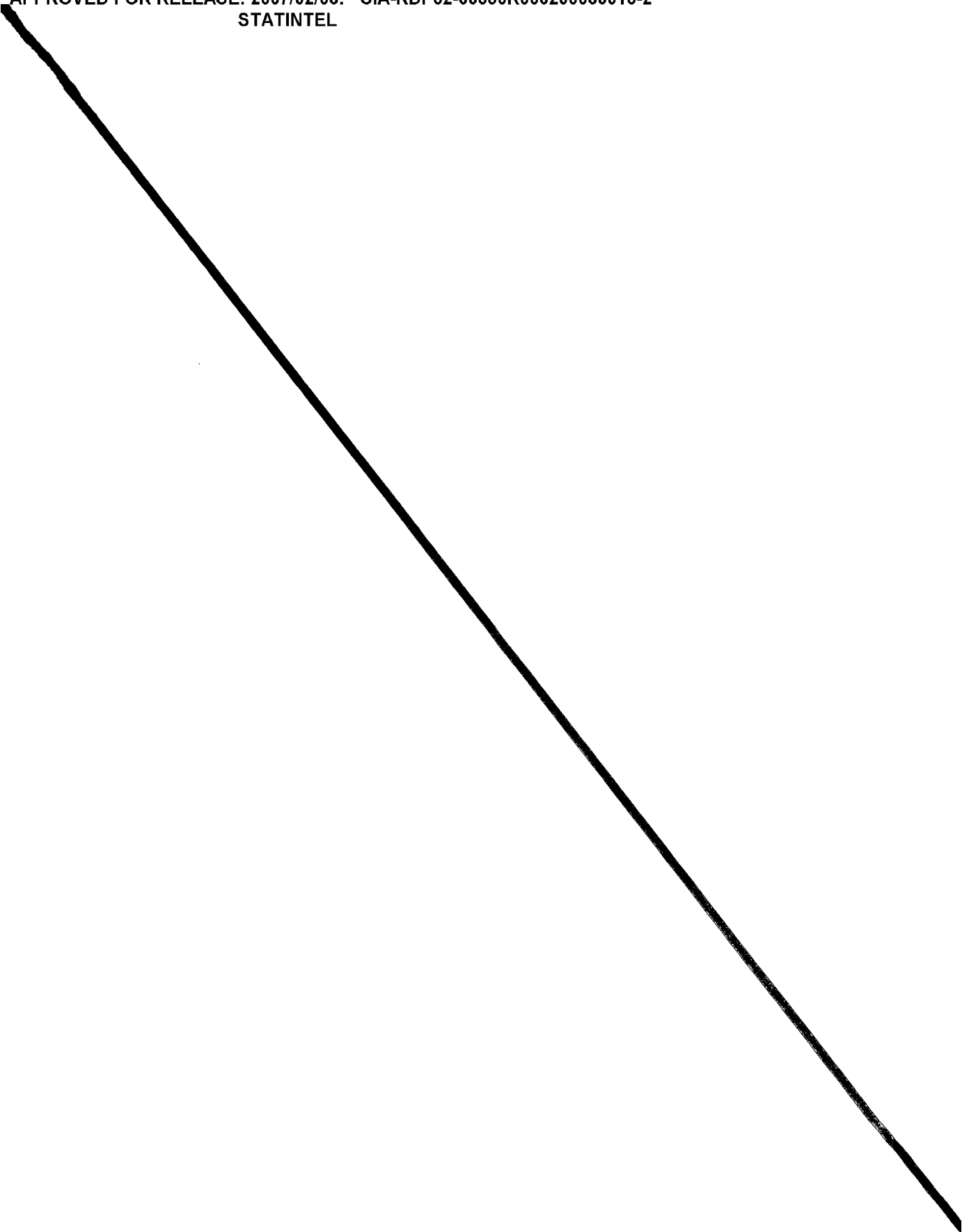
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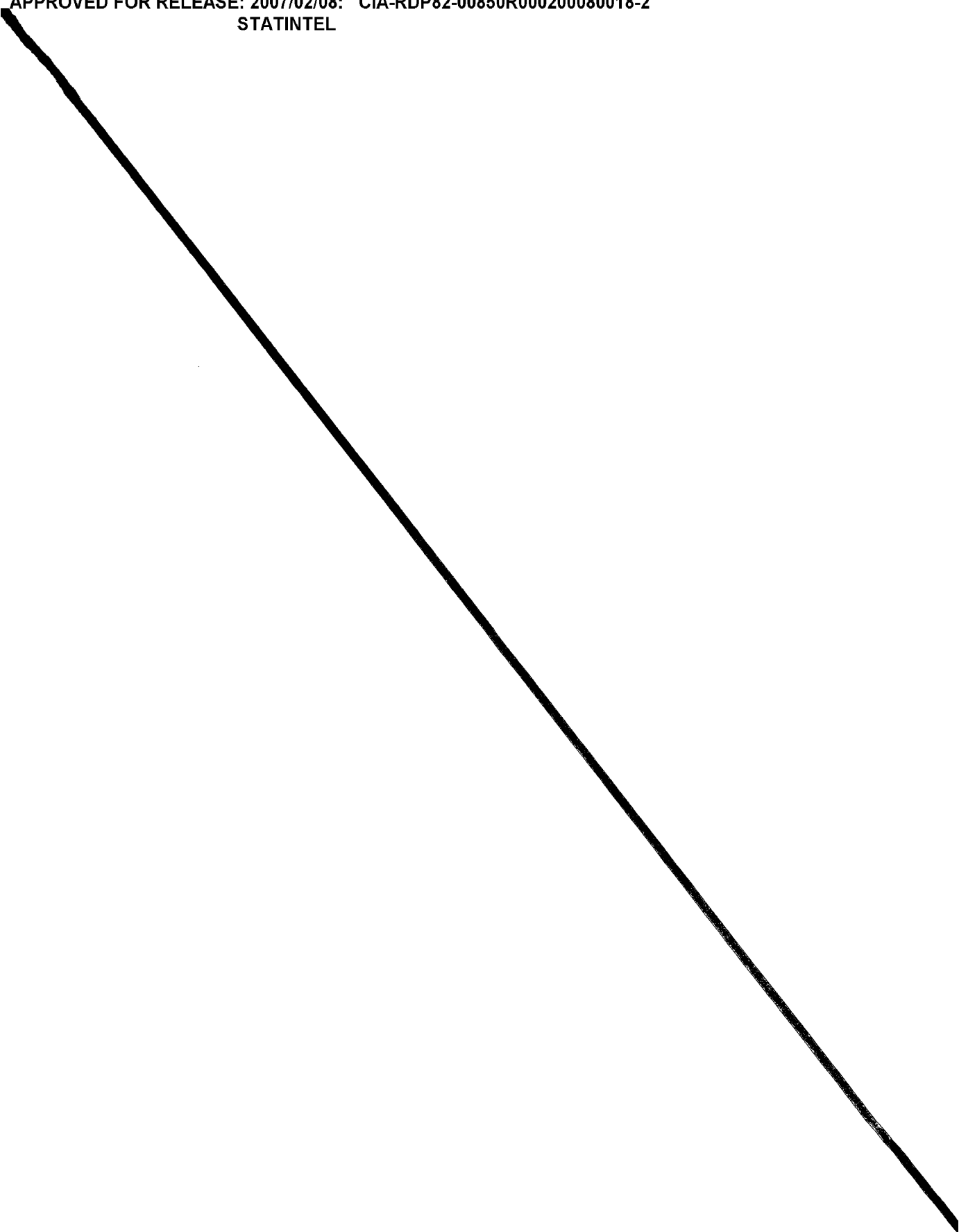
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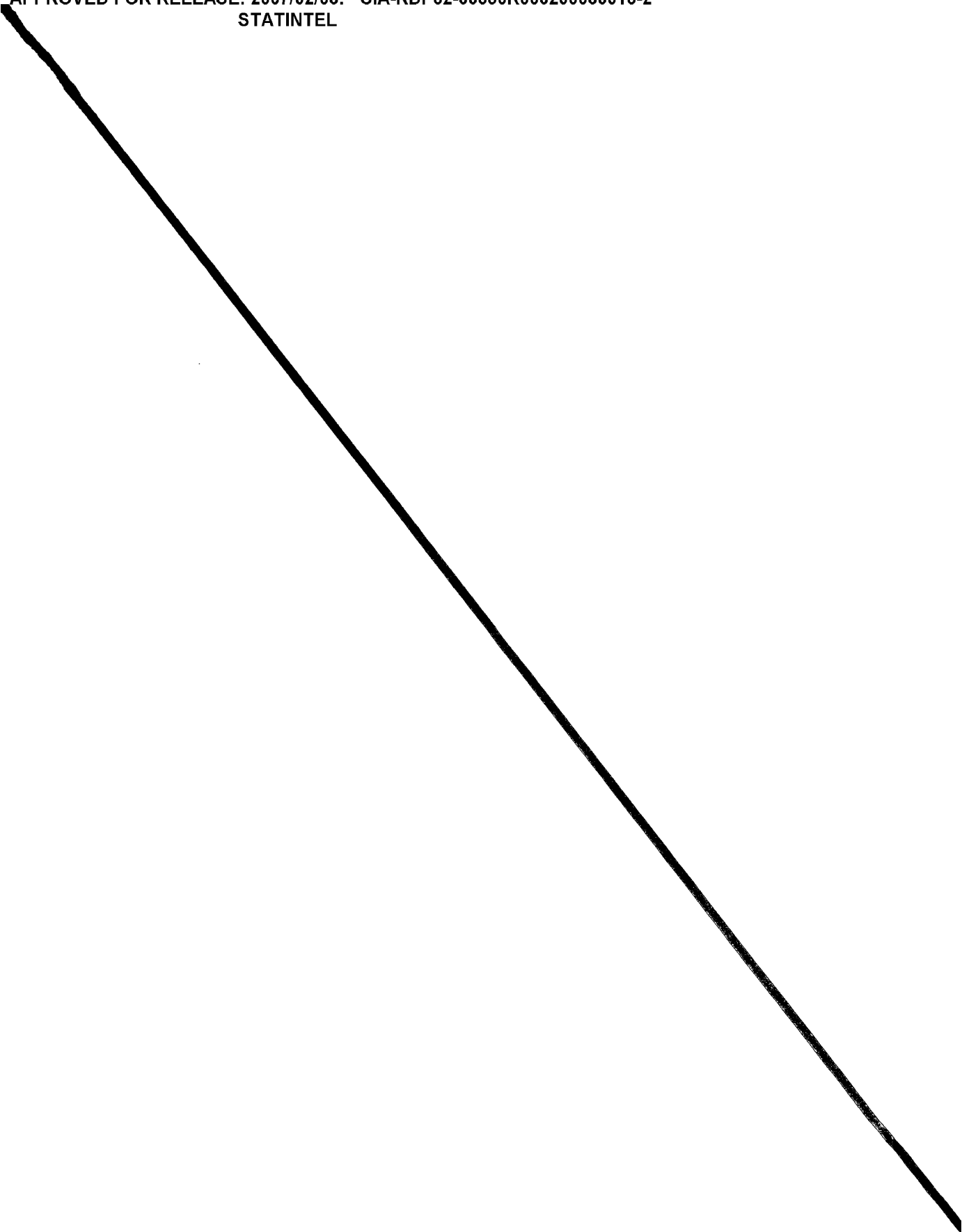
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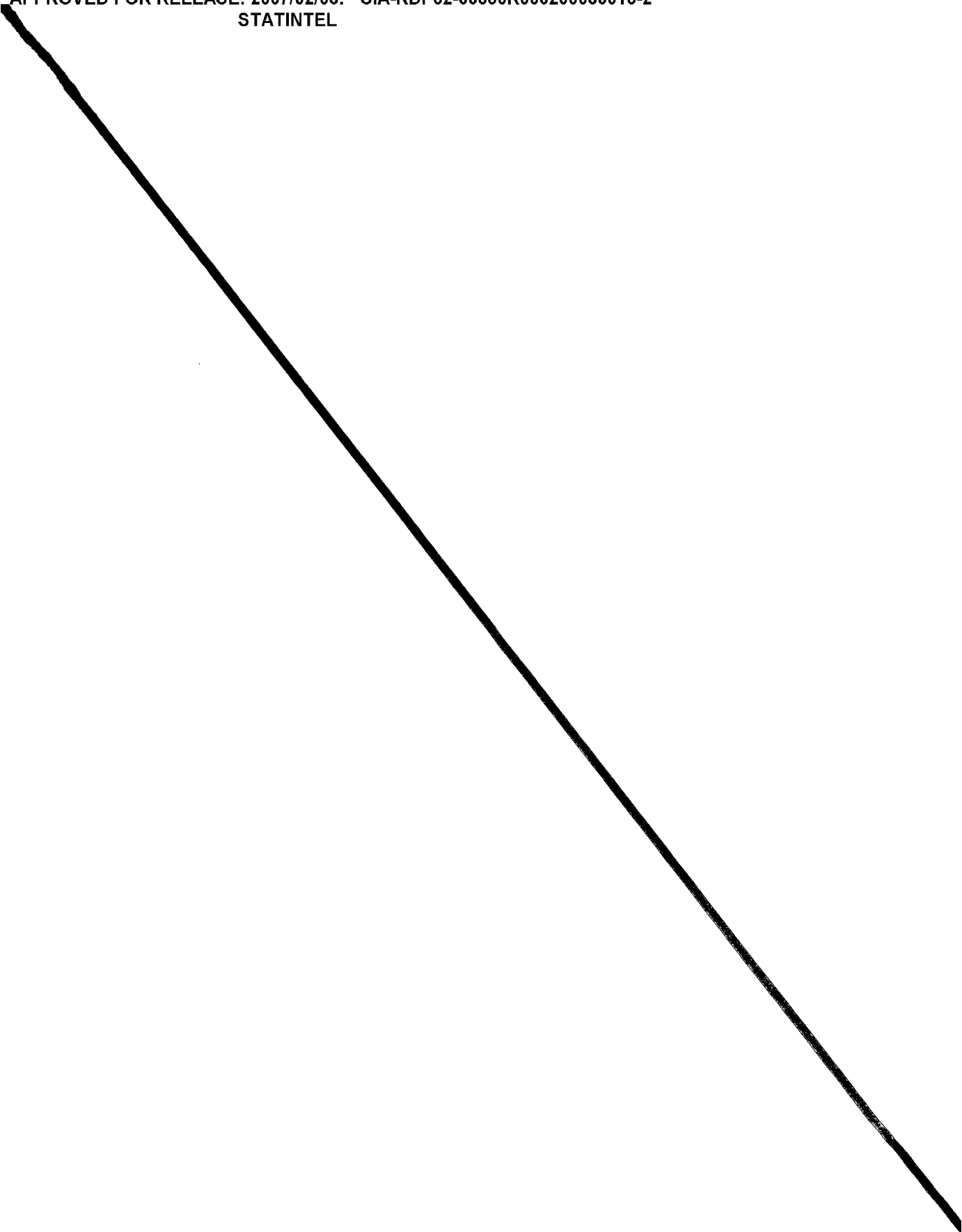
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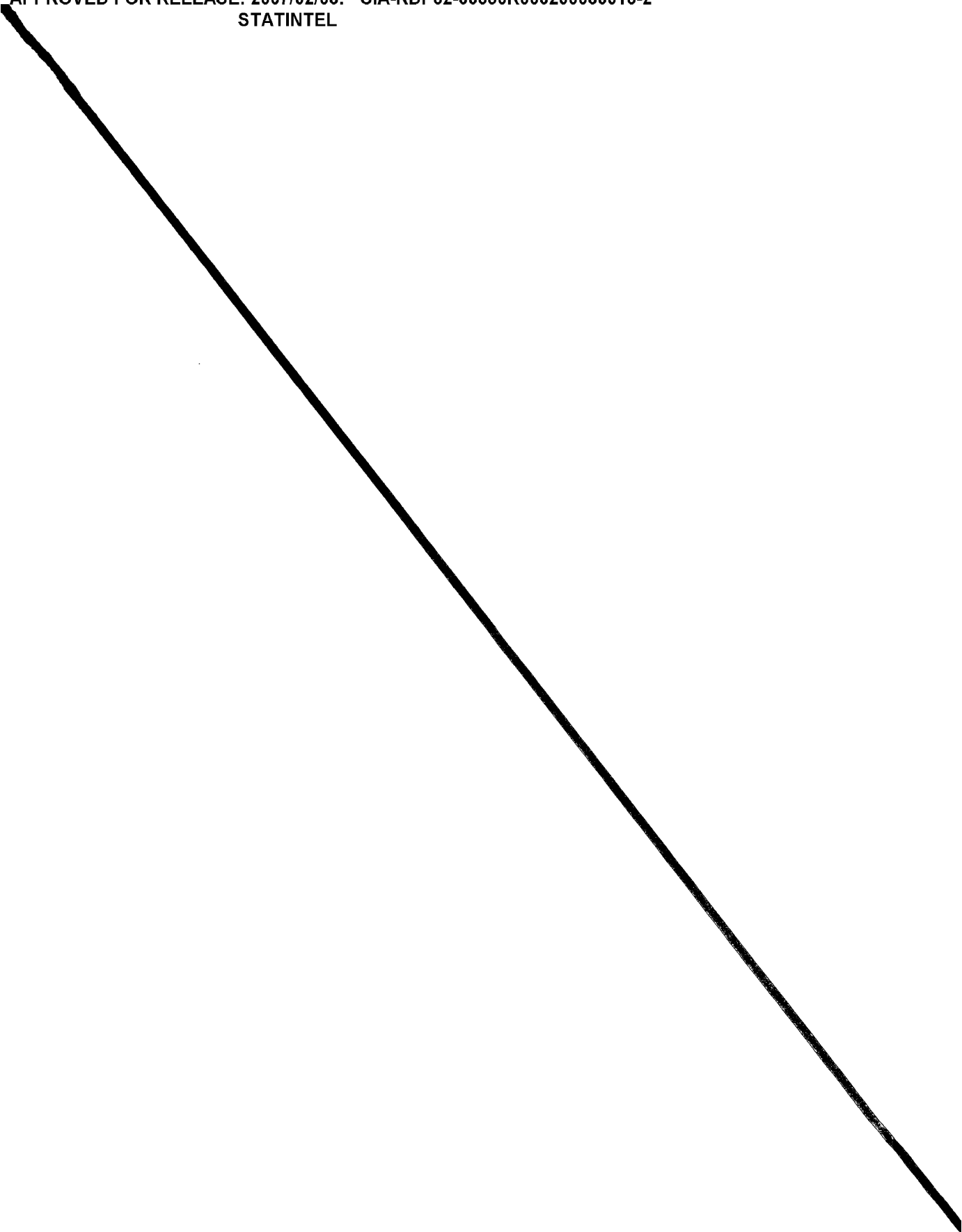
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ARGENTINA

COLUMNIST DEFINES COHERENT FOREIGN POLICY AS SIGN OF MATURITY

Buenos Aires LA OPINION in Spanish 6 Apr 80 p 12

[Article by Sergio Ceron]

[Text] In his message of Monday, 31 March, the president pointed out to the nation the unique outlines Argentine foreign policy has acquired and described what took place in that domain before 24 March 1976 as "an erratic, limping international policy without objectives..."

This lack of coherence and continuity in the conduct of Argentine foreign policy was not — let it be clearly understood — the exclusive responsibility of the legal government, although the disorder and power vacuum that marked it contributed toward a heightening of the crisis. For practically decades, our country, having abandoned the protection afforded by Great Britain to whose political program it was bound up until World War II, wandered in search of its international personality. Or, if you prefer, to use an expression more in accord with current usage, it undertook the task of defining its angle of insertion into the world of today and of assigning itself a role in the concert of nations.

This task has not yet been completed but the outlines of a foreign policy conducted to assert our national presence in the region (Latin America) and the world have begun to emerge. And this has been made possible because the military government has succeeded in consolidating an image of coherence and continuity in its domestic activities. Argentina in 1980 is an ordered nation, with defined objectives (these may or may not be shared but they are public knowledge), one which has succeeded in uniting the majority of its people in defense of its dignity and its sovereignty.

Argentina on the Continent

For a long time we Argentines spoke out against Latin-Americanism while in reality our interests and our hopes lay in Old Europe and the United States. During that period we went from an attitude of superiority (we claimed to be a direct transplant of Europeans on a continent full of half-breeds and blacks) to a position of inferiority (discriminated against by our supposed parents, stagnating in the economic, technological and

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scientific development of the turn of the century, we felt ourselves cast out and diminished in stature). In anger, we claimed to belong to the "Third World" without really ever managing to convince ourselves at all of this association.

Argentina is going through a phase of maturity in which it must assert its personality. A contradictory personality into which European and American elements are woven since our culture is predominantly transatlantic and our historical, geopolitical and economic interests, as well as our plan for the future, indissolubly tie us to Latin America.

To overcome this schizophrenia is the great undertaking we are confronted with.

The world of today is moving toward ever broader and more integrated geopolitical and geoeconomic domains. For each Latin-American country to be able to cut a path through the jungle of interests vying with one another to attain the best standing among the nations of the world, it will unfailingly have to unite itself with its neighbors. Despite the multiplicity of world power, the small nations, and the medium-sized powers too, cannot now successfully compete on their own.

Thus Latin-American complementation and integration form an objective which, clearly established by the military government, is shared by the rest of the community. The approach to membership in the Andean Pact community is a big step that was taken about mid-March by Foreign Affairs Minister Carlos Washington Pastor. Seventy million people comprise the market provided by Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, which brings with it promising possibilities for stepping up commercial, financial, scientific, technological and cultural relations.

But it means even more than this. An agreement with this group of countries, which would certainly be joined by Brazil, would prompt all of Latin America to a thorough revision of the Montevideo Treaty, which created the Latin-American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) to turn it into an effective tool for the overall development of the region.

Washington Herrera, an Ecuadorean and member of the Andean Group Council, publicly confirmed that organization's decision to expand its relations with Argentina as part of its foreign policy. Conversations held among the members indicate that there are important areas of convergence that will enable us to progress in terms of common goals. Overall Andean-Argentine trade evolved from \$171 million in 1969 to over \$760 million in 1978, but the possibilities for the future are much greater.

But there is something that Argentina must not lose sight of. The Andean countries assign particular importance to the main artery of Andean highway traffic which strengthens Buenos Aires' geopolitical decision to reinforce its historic link with Lima over the Bolivian plateau, thus establishing a connection with Argentina through realization of the potential

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of its northwestern region (Salta, Jujuy, Tucuman, La Rioja).

This joint strategy directive will, moreover, block the old Brazilian dream of expanding its economic and political influence through the creation of an east-west overland artery that would link up with its Atlantic ports.

Agreement With Brazil

So, as history seems to have condemned Argentina and Brazil to confront one another, the future, on the other hand, will tend to impose on them the necessity for mutual cooperation in order to face the challenge of world centers of power. The dynamics of scientific and technological evolution, which the central powers jealously keep to themselves, requires ever greater economic and human resources to keep the gap between them and those countries on the periphery from widening.

Quite a few observers consider a short or medium-term agreement between Argentina and Brazil to be indispensable. The development of joint programs seems to be the only way that both countries can gain access to the technology of the postindustrial era and, furthermore, head a movement in Latin America to integrate the region into a market of vast design. Ultimately, to in the space of a few decades create a new power factor of international dimensions.

Otherwise, Latin America will always be a hunting preserve for transnational interests that will relegate it to the role of supplier of raw materials and cheap labor.

No doubt, President Figueiredo's visit this coming May will open the way to a tough debate, perhaps an impassioned debate, between partisans of confrontation and of almost unconditional approach toward one another. Between the two groups, at their center of balance, an appropriate solution will be found for an undertaking that can mobilize an entire continent.

Decline of the Stick

During the 20th century, American forces have invaded Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico and Cuba. They did so serving the "big stick" policy advocated by Theodore Roosevelt. Fortunately, that era is past. But now, at the beginning of the 1980's, we are witness to a paradoxical situation. While American interests in Latin America are greater than ever, the usual instruments of power of the dominant continental power are ever less effective.

The proliferation of political centers throughout the world — China, the EEC, OPEC, the Movement of Nonaligned Nations — has marked the end of the Union's geopolitical protectorate in the Caribbean and Central America. But, simultaneously, American dependence on Venezuelan and Mexican oil is increasing and Latin America absorbs 80 percent of U.S. trade with the developing countries.

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The fall of Anastasio Somoza and enthronement of the Sandinist Front in Nicaragua, the almost certain possibility that the left will assume power in El Salvador, the threat of imminent disintegration in Guatemala and Honduras, added to the irritating presence of Cuba, to the explosive situation of the microstates of the former West Indies and Washington's difficult relations with Jamaica and Guyana threaten to turn the old Yankee "mare nostrum" into a socialist lake. Against this canvas of political disintegration, it is not utopian to suppose that the pressure of the leftist forces will attempt to repeat its march to the south. The Bogota episode (the capture of the Dominican Embassy) may be an isolated instance or a symptom of the fact that, faced with the failure of subversion in the Southern Hemisphere, the extremist offensive is choosing another battlefield.

It is obvious that the United States can no longer by itself set the correct or incorrect pace on the continent. Only the existence of another power center can assure us the minimal conditions for political stability south of Mexico, but basically from the Caribbean coastline to Cape Horn. This is the role Argentina and Brazil could jointly play, to the extent that their collaboration within the Andean Pact community supersedes merely economic interests to form the outlines of a dynamic policy of technological and scientific integration. The result will of necessity be an approximation of their respective points of view on the political equilibrium of the continent, as a reassurance that they will not misapply those achievements.

An alliance of this sort between the Cartagena Pact nations and the two top South American powers would bring in behind it all of South America and have a decisive influence on the future destiny of the Caribbean and Central America.

Gray Area

Now, at a critical moment in reaching agreement with Brazil and with the opening of a new phase in our relations with the United States, with Argentine nuclear policy victorious through the signing of the contract with Switzerland for the heavy water plant and confirmation of the sale of the German reactor for Atucha II, our ties with Peru (nuclear complex built by CNEA [National Atomic Energy Commission]), Bolivia (extension of the Yacuiba-Santa Cruz Railroad to Trinidad) and Uruguay (international bridges and Salto Grande) strengthened, there is still a "gray area" in our foreign policy.

Obviously, this is the conflict with Chile. The latest, carefully ambiguous, tripartite communique concerning Vatican mediation seems more calculated to allay fears than to reveal any real progress in the negotiations.

Any other commentary would be premature and risky. We will have to go on waiting. At any rate, time seems to be working in favor of Argentina.

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In the bright period since the Holy See began to take an active part in the matter, our country has acquired unexpected relevance in terms of world opinion, is trying to normalize its relations with the United States and to establish a historic accord with Brazil. The Chilean Government, on the other hand, is totally isolated. Despised by the Americans because of the "Letelier affair," it has lost all hope of counting on the Brazilian peso to counterbalance greater Argentine potential. The slap in the face Augusto Pinochet received during his disastrous trip to the Philippines dramatically emphasizes this isolation.

From whom would Chile receive aid in the event of a possible armed conflict with Argentina? Only a suicidal attitude could carry such intransigence to an extreme in the face of Buenos Aires' legitimate demands to once and for all define each nation's geopolitical influence: the Pacific for Chile and the Atlantic for Argentina. In this context, any solution may be forthcoming. Even the one most to be desired: agreeing with Chile on a policy of cooperation in terms of which their common interests -- there are many more of these than opposed interests -- could be realized, one which would at the same time facilitate the incorporation of that nation into continental integration.

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CUBA

WORLD OPPOSITION TO U. S. MANEUVERS CITED

PA262248 Havana PRELA in English 1745 GMT 26 Apr 80

[Text] United Nations, Apr 26 (PL)--The ambassador of Vietnam, Ha Van Lau, stated yesterday that the military maneuvers of the United States in the Caribbean and the landing of troops in Guantanamo threaten the sovereignty of the independent states of the region.

In statements to PRENSA LATINA, Ha Van Lau expressed that these activities of U.S. imperialism are part of its counterrevolutionary global strategy to increase its military presence and provocations in different parts of the world, fundamentally in strategic areas.

The maneuvers, he added, threaten the peace and security of the region and the United States will have to assume the responsibility for the consequences of its actions.

"The time has now passed when U.S. imperialism can impose its will without paying the price," explained the Vietnamese diplomat.

On the other hand, functionaries of the Afghan mission classified the maneuvers scheduled by the United States for next month as a result of its defeats in several parts of the world.

The government of Washington, they said, feels the need to stage maneuvers to demonstrate its force, like this landing of troops in the naval base of Guantanamo, Cuban territory illegally occupied by the United States.

Alemayehu Seifu, of Ethiopia, reiterated the opposition of his country to the militarization of the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean, and explained that the military activities of the United States in these regions threaten the peace and security of the countries of the area.

In statements in PRENSA LATINA, Seifu affirmed that the U.S. actions will only increase the current tension in the international sphere.

For his part, a diplomat of the Lao People's Democratic Republic recalled that his country opposes this type of military maneuvers which endanger the security of the countries in different parts of the world.

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CUBA

'PRELA' CRITICIZES MOROCCO'S BREAK IN RELATIONS WITH CUBA

PA231508 Havana PRELA in Spanish 0325 GMT 23 Apr 80 PA

[Article by Ramon Martinez: "The Moroccan-Style Hallstein Doctrine"]

[Text] Following the dangerous course of the Hallstein doctrine--which in the 1950's threatened to isolate the FRG--the Kingdom of Morocco has decided to break diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Three months after Cuba recognized the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic (SDAR), King Hassan II now reacts by breaking relations with Cuba, following the campaign unleashed by U.S. imperialism against the Caribbean island.

In 1952 when he was in charge of West Germany's foreign policy, Walter Hallstein established the policy which carries his name: "The FRG will break diplomatic relations with any country that dares to recognize the non-existent GDR."

The SDAR does not exist for Morocco despite the fact that 37 countries have recognized it and that the POLISARIO Army almost daily inflicts heavy defeats on the Moroccan troops which occupy Western Sahara.

The final declaration of the 6th Nonaligned Summit in Havana in September expressed the conference participants' concern over the serious situation in Western Sahara. In that territory, the declaration stated, the process of decolonization and the granting of independence to colonial peoples and countries has not been carried out in accordance with UN General Assembly Resolution No 1514.

Confronting the OAU--whose resolutions, besides recognizing the Saharan people's right to self-determination, call for a cease-fire in Western Sahara--and in frank collusion with the United States, Morocco has insisted in internationalizing the conflict and endangering world peace.

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The U.S. Government, which is present in all conflicts that threaten the security of peoples, is getting ready to undertake dangerous military maneuvers in the Caribbean Sea in a clear attempt to intimidate Cuba and other countries of the area that have rejected its imperialist interference and policy.

At the same time, the U.S. Government is strengthening the world's most corrupt and reactionary regimes to halt the increase of the national liberation movements and to maintain its privileges in those countries.

The United States has been one of the main supporters of Morocco in the colonialist war it is waging in Western Sahara at a cost of more than \$1 million a day and to the detriment of the Moroccan people's chances to have peaceful lives.

Disregarding what the member-states of the most important international organizations believe is just and legal, Morocco apparently plans to continue to occupy Western Sahara and to further isolate itself with its current Hallstein-style policy.

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CUBA

'PRELA' REPORTS ON VICTORY OF M-19 OPERATION IN COLOMBIA

PA271622 Havana PRELA in Spanish 1542 GMT 27 Apr 80 PA

[Report by Walfredo Angulo: "M-19's Operation 'Democracy and Liberty' Triumphs"]

[Excerpts] The Jorge Marcos Zambrano commando unit departed triumphantly from the Dominican Embassy in Bogota in the company of several hostages and political prisoners [as received] following a long and tense 2-month wait and permanently threatened by a bloody end.

The guerrillas made the victory sign with their hands as they emerged from the diplomatic mission and went in the direction of the vehicles which took the party to Eldorado airport, where they boarded a Cuban plane for Havana.

The executors of the biggest kidnapping of diplomats in history departed accompanied by political prisoners freed as a result of the negotiations between 19 April Movement [M-19] guerrillas and the Colombian Government during 25 controversial dialogs. [sentences as received] In addition, several ambassadors traveled as hostages.

The commandos had initially demanded as condition for releasing the hostages the release from prison of 311 political prisoners, payment of \$50 million, the publication of organization documents and the ability to leave the country.

But the true purpose of the action was to attract world attention to Colombia "which is the negation of democracy in all of its forms" according to M-19 leaders being held prisoners in Bogota's La Picota jail.

"The world must know that we have the world's highest child death rate, illiteracy, unemployment, prostitution, traffice of marihuana and narcotics," asserted members of the movement's national leadership.

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In addition, they remarked, the operation was for the purpose of appealing to the democrats of the world to join, more actively and efficiently, the struggle for a new international economic and social order.

The guerrillas had to resist the strong pressure of the so-called "hard sector" of the Colombia Army, which wanted to seize the diplomatic mission by force without taking into account the number of casualties such a measure could cause, after the 27 February occupation by the M-19.

As details for the departure were completed yesterday, the observers agreed in saying that the victory of the M-19's "democracy and liberty" operation will have strong repercussions at this moment in which broad sectors of Colombians are seeking new political paths outside the liberal and conservative parties, which have held power for the past 22 years.

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NICARAGUA

SANDINIST LABOR LEADER ADDRESSES CNTP CONGRESS

PA230412 Havana PRELA in Spanish 0135 GMT 22 Apr 80

[Text] Panama City, 20 Apr (PL)--A leader of the Sandinist Workers Federation [CST] has thanked various countries for the unconditional support they have offered Nicaragua and has accused the United States of vetoing a loan that was to be used in benefit of the Nicaraguan people.

During a speech, which was interrupted several times by applause, Alberto Mercado told the Fifth Congress of the National Central of Panamanian Workers that Nicaragua was not going to be compromised for a handful of dollars. "We have a historic commitment and we are going to fulfill it," he said.

Mercado, a member of the organizing committee of the CST, noted that the United States vetoed the only loan to his country which was really going to be used in benefit of the people.

Mercado said in Nicaragua the main task is national reconstruction and noted that for the first time in the country's history, a planned economic effort is being carried out to benefit the majority. He said the 1980 plan has the objective of opening 90,000 new jobs to bring down the unemployment rate inherited from the dictatorship, which affects 250,000 Nicaraguans.

He added that the national reconstruction program means that the people will be given better medical attention. The reconstruction program also has the objective of securing a sound take-off toward finding solutions to the serious social problems that are hounding the people as a tragic inheritance from 40 years of Somoziism.

Mercado noted the participation of the Nicaraguan working class in the reconstruction of the country and as an example listed the incorporation of 40,000 workers in the literacy campaign being carried out throughout Nicaragua.

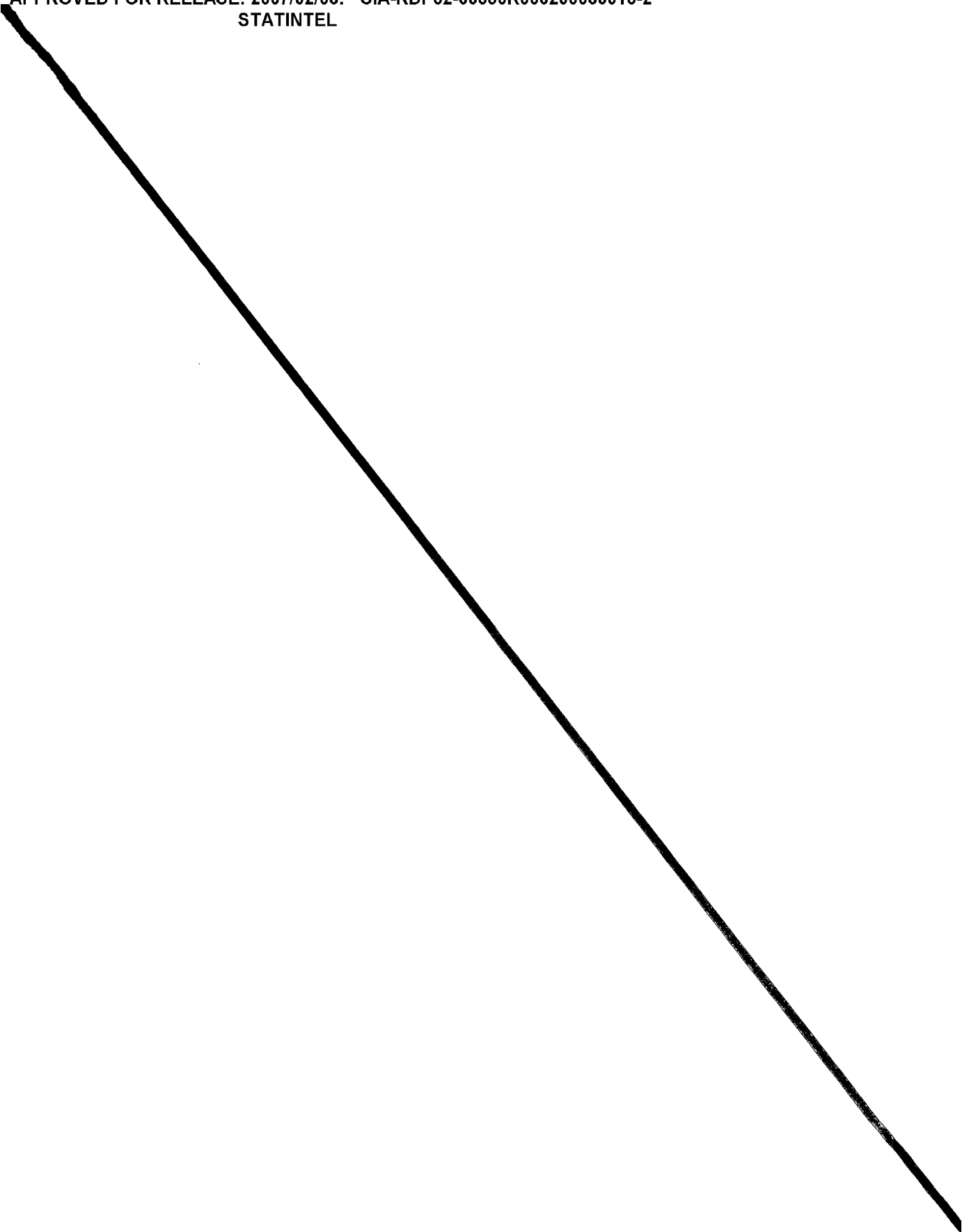
The Sandinist labor leader reiterated the gratitude of the Nicaraguan people and government for the solidary and unconditional help given by the people of the world to the revolutionary struggle and the national reconstruction. He added that the best contribution the Nicaraguan people can offer to the countries struggling for their liberation and emancipation is to consolidate their own revolution.

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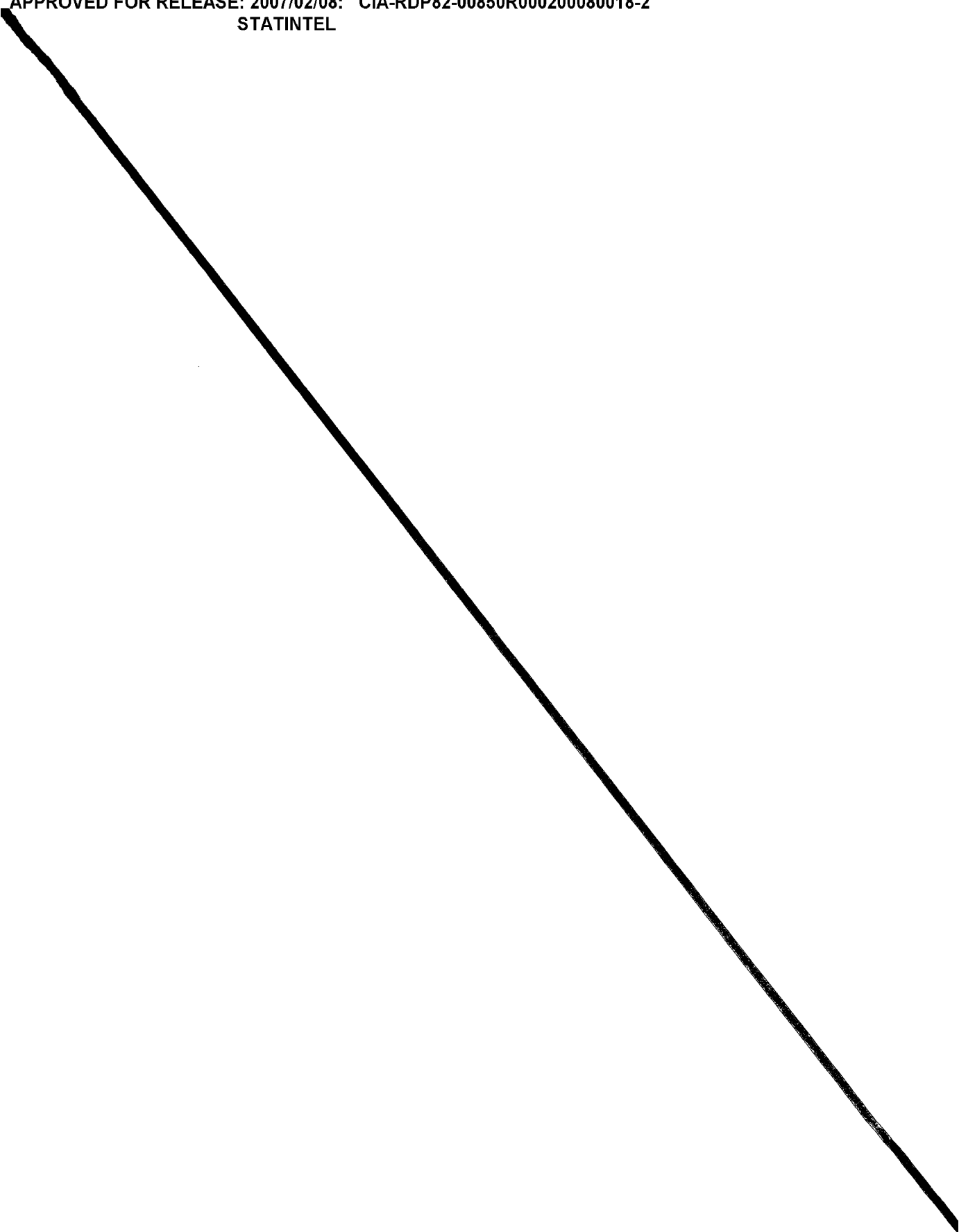
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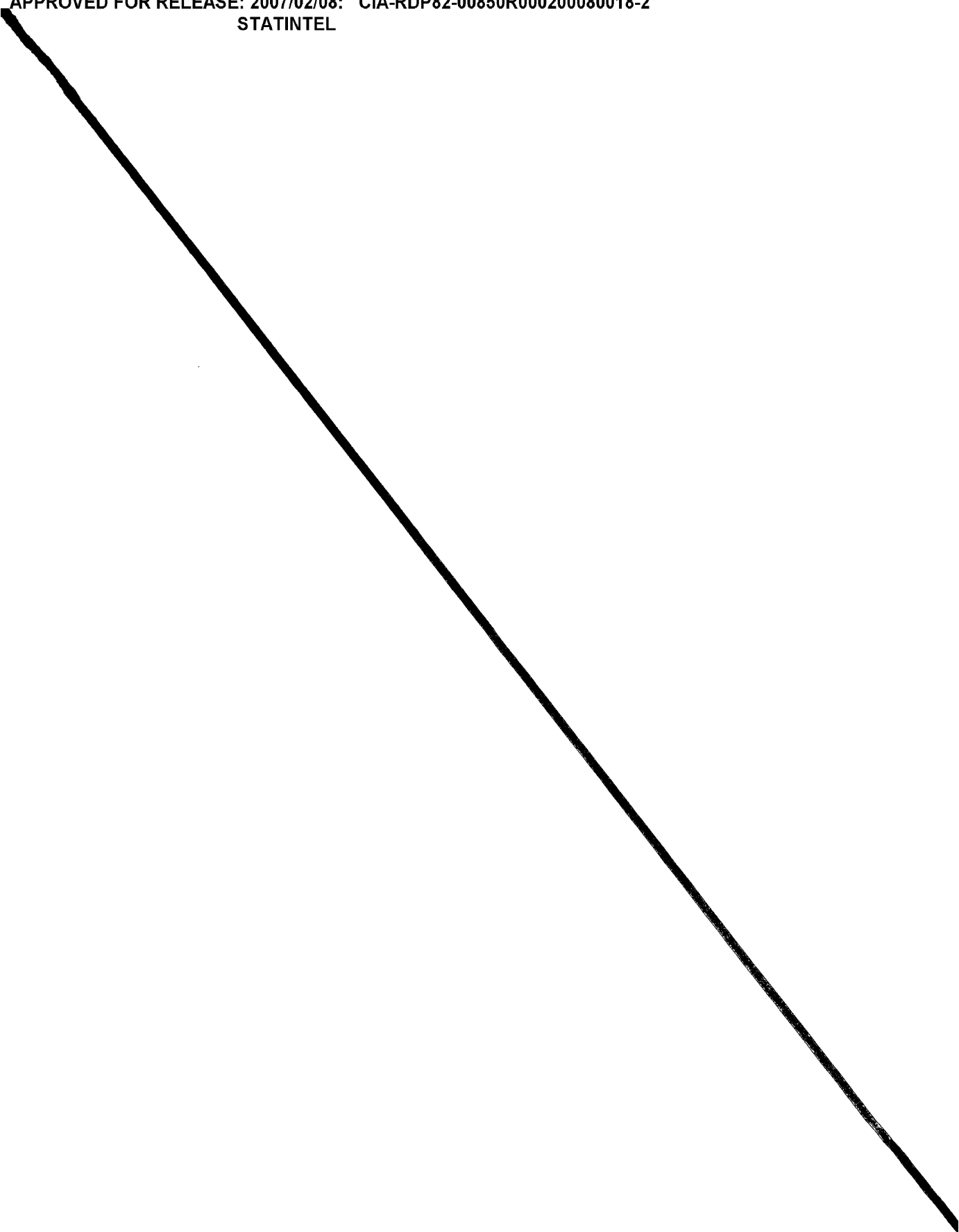
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