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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
September 9, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

THROUGH: MORTON BLACKWELL  
FROM: DOLF DROGE  
SUBJECT: Briefings Schedule (1 August 27 - November 25)

AUGUST

27 - American Security Council Speakers Bureau Workshop, Boston, VA  
Briefer: Jacqueline Tillman  
Dolf Droge

SEPTEMBER

- 2 - Naval Reserve National Convention, Phoenix, AZ  
Briefer: Assistant Secretary Cox
- 8 - Washington Semester Program American University, OEOB Room 194  
Briefer: Dolf Droge
- 9 - Kiwanis Club Leisure World, Maryland  
Briefer: Dolf Droge
- University of Virginia Literary Debating Society  
Charlottesville, VA  
Briefer: Colonel Lawrence Tracy
- 13 - National Hispanic Assembly  
Hyatt Regency Crystal City, VA  
Briefers: Ambassador Joane Kirkpatrick - 12:00 noon  
Ambassador Anthony Motley 2:00 p.m.  
Ambassador Otto Reich 3:00 p.m.  
Administrator M. Peter McPherson  
Colonel Lawrence Tracy
- 14 - Hispanic Evangelicals, Room 450, OEOB  
Briefers: Ambassador Otto Reich  
Major Oliver North  
Kerry Placek (Institute of Religion and Democracy)
- 15 - Metat Bellows Corporation, Sharon, MA  
Briefer: Dolf Droge
- 16 - State Farm Bureau Federation of Utah  
Briefer: Nestor Sanchez, Dep. Sec. of Defense for Inter-  
American Affairs

SEPTEMBER (continued)

- 17 - Veteran of Foreign Wars Executive Board, Washington, D.C.  
Briefer: Dolf Droge
- 18 - American Legislative Exchange Council (State Legislators)  
Annual Convention, Philadelphia, PA  
Briefer: Ambassador Eugene Douglas
- 19 - Phyllis Schlafly Save the Eagle Forum Speakers Workshop,  
Capitol Hilton, Washington, DC  
Briefer: Dolf Droge
- 20 - Rotary Club, Alexandria, VA  
Briefer: Dolf Droge

American Lutheran Church Bishops (Tentative - Request via DOD)  
Plans being worked out as to location and briefers.

- 21 - Robert Morris College, Pittsburgh, PA  
Briefer: Colonel Lawrence Tracy
- Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.  
Briefer: Colonel Lawrence Tracy
- 27 - El Salvador - American Foundation Luncheon  
Briefer: Ambassador William Middendorf

OCTOBER

- 4 - American Legion Quarterly Meeting, Washington, D.C.  
Briefer: Dr. Roger Fontaine
- 5 - Prince William County Republican Banquet, Haymarket, VA  
Briefer: Ambassador William Middendorf
- 8 - Michigan Conservative Union, Detroit, MI  
Briefer: Rep. Mark Siljander
- 13 - Conference on Central America (Accuracy in Media) Luncheon  
Houston, TX  
Briefer: Dolf Droge
- 14 - Conference on Central American (Accuracy in Media) Banquet  
Briefer: Ambassador Vernon Walters Houston, TX
- Conference on Central American, Concord Country Club, Concord, NH  
Briefer: Dolf Droge
- 19 - Concord Century Club, Concord, CA  
Briefer: Dr. Fred Ikle (Tentative)
- New Jersey Manufactured Housing Association Convention  
Atlantic City, NJ  
Briefer: Dolf Droge
- 22 - American Legion Fall Meeting, Charlotte, NC  
Briefer: Colonel Heyward Hutson (IAA/DOD)

OCTOBER (continued)

- 22 - Southwest Cattlemen's Association Convention, Laredo, TX  
Briefer: Ambassador Eugene Douglas
- 24 - Austin World Affairs Council, Austin, TX  
Briefer: Ambassador Eugene Douglas
- U.S. Latin - Americas Economic and Trade Development Conference  
Hyatt Regency, Baltimore, MD  
Briefers: President Ronald Reagan (Requested - Decision Pending)  
Ambassador Otto Reich  
Ambassador Anthony Motley
- 25 - Corpus Christi State University, Corpus Christi, TX  
Briefer: Ambassador Eugene Douglas (Plus 2 TV shows, press conference, Hispanic Luncheon, Editorial Board Backgrounder)
- 26 - San Antonio, TX (Similar schedule as Corpus Christi)  
Briefer: Ambassador Eugene Douglas (being developed via State GOP)
- 27 - Dallas, TX, (Same schedule development two previous)  
Briefer: Ambassador Eugene Douglas (i.e. World Affairs Council, T.V., Radio)  
Century Club Banquet Salt Lake City, Utah Briefer: TBA
- 28 - El Paso, TX (Same full schedule under development)  
Briefer: Ambassador Eugene Douglas  
Foundation of American Communication Conference, Dallas, TX  
Briefer: Ambassador Anthony Motley
- 29 - Faith United Methodist Church, Fort Wayne, IN  
Briefer: Jacqueline Tillman (Requested by Rep. Dan Coats)  
(The date is tentative)

NOVEMBER

- Early November Tour of 10 Colleges Washington, Oregon, Idaho  
Briefer: TBA
- 5 - South Carolina American Legion Fall Meeting, Greenwood, SC  
Briefer: Colonel Hayward Hutson  
Virginia American Legion Fall Conference, Norfolk, VA  
Briefer: Ambassador William Middendorf
- 10 - St. Pauls School (Tentative date - firm booking)  
Sponsor: Henry Whittlesey  
Briefer: Dolf Droge
- 11 - St. Blas College  
Northfield, MN  
Briefer: TBA

NOVEMBER (continued)

- 16 - Daughter of the American Revolution Banquet  
Washington, D.C.  
Briefer: Ambassador Vernon Walters (Tentative)
- 17 - University of Oregon Association of Students Symposium on Central  
America.
- 18 Briefer: Colonel Lawrence Tracy
- 19 - Princeton International Relations Council  
(Contact: James Luceir, Jr.) Request sent to Judge Clark  
Tentative Date - Firm Booking  
Briefer: TBA  
(Special spin-off: Radio Interview (23 minutes) syndicated to  
450 college stations)

NEW SURROGATE SPEAKERS: Coordination for Bookings being developed  
Eldridge Cleaver, Jacqueline Miner, GOP New York State,  
Arnaud de Borchgrave

**WHITE HOUSE TALKING POINTS**

October 26, 1983

GRENADA

- o The President gave three reasons for yesterday's U.S. action in Grenada:
  - to protect innocent lives, particularly the 1000 Americans on the island;
  - to prevent further violence and help restore order;
  - to assist in restoration of democratic institutions in Grenada.
- o The United States acted at the urgent request of five democratic nations of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States.
- o Since the October 12th coup, which ousted Grenadan Prime Minister Bishop (he and five members of his Cabinet were killed by the new regime) the situation in Grenada has been marked by a potential for increased violence.
- o After the coup, the new regime murdered officials of the ousted government, killed innocent civilians, and imposed a curfew with authorization to shoot on sight any who violated it.
- o There could be no guarantee of the safety of Americans. President Reagan refused to risk a repeat of the Iranian hostage tragedy. He chose to act to ensure nothing like it would happen, rather than to wait and see if it did.
- o The other small island nations in the area which asked for U.S. help were urgently concerned that the chaos in Grenada not only denied the people there the freedom to choose their own government but also was a threat to peace and democracy in neighboring nations.
- o Cuban and Soviet involvement with Grenada had been well-known. U.S. and Caribbean troops encountered heavily armed resistance from Cuban personnel, erasing any doubts that the Cubans on the island were not benign construction crews but military and para-military personnel.


o The U.S. intends to withdraw as soon as law and order are restored. Results will be:

- Safety for Americans in Grenada;
- Grenadan participation in the region as a democratic partner, not a subversive element;
- On the international scene, recognition that America accepts its responsibilities and can be counted on to respond to violence firmly, if required to do so.

*file Central  
America*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 25, 1983

FOR: WALT RAYMOND  
AL SAPIA-BOSCH  
ROGER FONTAINE  
OLIVER NORTH  
 MORTON BLACKWELL

FROM: BOB SIMS



# Red Star Over Central America

## PAX CUBANA

by Jay Mallin

Nicaraguan Sandinistas are supplied and trained by Cuban communists, who are using Nicaragua as a launching base from which to spread Marxist subversion to other Central American countries. The fall of Nicaragua to the communist Sandinistas was Fidel Castro's first success in his gameplan. Photo: J.L. Atlan/Sygm

**E**ARLY in 1959, right after Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba, Nicaraguan exiles were given military training in Cuba; in May '59, Cuban Air Force plane 508 flew weapons to Nicaraguan communists.

Some 20 years later, in the summer of 1979, Castro declared, "Within 10 years all of Central America will be under the control of revolutionaries."

Today, at the midway point in that prediction, what may have seemed like a mere boast has become a grave danger. One Central American country — Nicaragua — is already controlled by "revolutionaries" allied with Castro and four of the six others — El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica — are under attack. That leaves just Belize, formerly British Honduras, and Panama unthreatened in the Central American isthmus.

Belize, which President Reagan recently referred to as a "model of peace and stability in an area wracked by political turmoil," gained independence from Britain in 1981, but retains British SAS troops, primarily there to prevent Guatemala from trying to enforce its claim to sovereignty by armed force. This British military presence, enhanced by the Falklands lesson, and Belize's topography and humid, hurricane-prone climate, which isolate and keep it economically undeveloped, account for Castro's inattention to this small country.

Panama, on the other hand, is a different story. Here, American interests and military presence have staved off external political subversion — at least until recently. For more information about Panama, see "Problems in Panama," on p. 82.

Hardly had Castro taken over in Cuba when he set in motion a campaign to extend

Cuban influence and hegemony in various parts of the world. Beginning with a seaborne expedition against Panama in April 1959, and right through the clandestine shipment of weapons to guerrillas in Central America in the '80s, Castro has never ceased in his efforts to export the Cuban revolution to the rest of Central America.

The first attempts at subversion were crude. Exiles from a number of countries flooded into Cuba in 1959 and many were given training. Then expeditions were organized and dispatched against other nations.



Sandinista stands guard with AK-47 at Nicaraguan-Honduran border in Nueva Segovia Province, where frequent clashes between Contras and Sandinistas have occurred. Photo: J.L. Atlan/Sygm

These inept filibustering attempts were quickly wrapped up by national defense forces. Cuba turned to more sophisticated methods of subversion, including the use of propaganda and financial support to assist individuals and groups sympathetic to *Fidelismo*. Cuba also continued to provide training for revolutionary exiles; as many as 1,500 were brought to the island annually for that purpose in the early '60s.

Castro's agents operated throughout Latin America, but they were not confined to even that huge area. They also supported leftist groups in Africa and were in touch with subversive groups in Canada and the United States. Castro's ambitions — and the work of his agents — had few geographical limitations.

It was not until July 1979, however, that Castro finally scored a major victory. Anastasio Somoza, long one of Castro's prime targets, was overthrown as dictator of Nicaragua after a bloody civil conflict. Many different groups of Nicaraguans fought against Somoza, but the leadership and military strength were provided by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), which had been supported by Cuba since the '60s.

In 1977, Castro decided to concentrate his Central American efforts in Nicaragua, to fell the first domino. Opposition to Somoza was growing, and it was fueled further by the 1978 killing of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, a newspaper publisher and outspoken opponent of Somoza. (It is an interesting coincidence that in communist-directed insurrections, prominent anti-government figures are murdered — and governments get the blame.)

FSLN was split into three major factions



Sandinista troops patrol wooded area southeast of Jalapa, Nicaragua, in an attempt to stop Contra raids from Honduran-based camps. Photo: J.L. Atlan/Sygma

at the time, but Armando Ulises Estrada Fernandez, a high-ranking official of Cuba's America Department, began meeting secretly outside Cuba with faction leaders. Although Cuba had a "traditional" intelligence service, the *Direccion General de Inteligencia* (DGI), the *Departamento America* was set up in 1974 as a separate intelligence organization with the specific responsibility of conducting subversion in the Western Hemisphere.

Ulises Estrada told FSLN leaders that Cuban assistance would be forthcoming if the factions united. The Cuban agent's efforts were successful: In July 1978, Cuba announced the unification of Nicaraguan rebel groups and asked leftist movements in other Latin American countries to support the FSLN.

Ulises Estrada then put together a network for channeling weapons and other supplies to Nicaraguan guerrillas. In preparation for a rebel offensive in late 1978, weapons were flown from Cuba to Panama, and then sent on smaller aircraft to Costa Rica, where they were distributed to Nicaraguan guerrillas based in northern Costa Rica. To oversee the flow of arms, the America Department installed a secret op-

erations center in San Jose, Costa Rica's capital. It was headed by Julian Lopez Diaz, and one of his assistants was Andres Barahona. After the Sandinistan victory, Lopez Diaz became Cuban ambassador to Nicaragua and Barahona set up a new Nicaraguan security/intelligence service, which he now heads *de facto*, although not in title. These two men play key roles in the Cuban/Nicaraguan drive against other Central American countries.

During the Nicaraguan civil war, Cuban-trained FSLN members continued to return to Nicaragua via Panama. In addition, Cuba's Department of Special Operations (similar to U.S. Special Forces) dispatched personnel to northern Costa Rica to train and advise the Nicaraguan guerrillas operating from there. These military advisers accompanied the Nicaraguans on operations inside Nicaragua. Some were wounded and were evacuated back to Cuba via Panama. Not only did Cuba provide weapons, training and advice for the guerrillas, it also helped organize, equip and transport an "internationalist brigade" to fight alongside the rebels. Its members came from leftist Latin American groups.

The toppling of Somoza provided Cuba

with a friendly allied country in Central America. The Sandinistas quickly asserted their dominance over the revolution-spawned rebel political alliance. Now Cuba had a vitally important base — an entire country — from which it could conduct operations throughout the area.

The Cuban/Sandinistan victory in Nicaragua, beyond its regional ramifications, has had broad strategic repercussions which directly and significantly concern the United States. What had happened in Nicaragua was not lost on the Kremlin. For two decades, Cuba had been a handy satellite for the Soviet Union, a thorn in the United States' underside, a place which could generate continuous mischief in the Western Hemisphere's democratic countries.

Since Nikita Khrushchev's abortive effort to install ICBMs in Cuba in 1962, however, Cuba had not played an important role in Soviet strategic planning. It served as a good place to send Russian warships and aircraft on long-range training exercises, and as a base, it was conveniently close to the States, for the monitoring of American electronic communications, including military transmissions.

But, the Kremlin noted, Castro had done

what he had been trying to do for 20 years: He had virtually taken over another country, a country in a region considered to be completely under American influence.

The Kremlin saw Cuba in a new light. In 1981, a massive arms buildup began on the island. Ship after Russian ship pulled into Mariel harbor and unloaded huge crates. The crates contained machine guns, ammunition, assault rifles, shoulder-fired antitank and anti-aircraft rockets, tanks, military trucks, SA-6 ground-to-air missile launchers and associated radar, and disassembled MiG-27 fighter-bombers. The Russians also provided Cuba with a Koni-class frigate (2,000-mile range) and about a dozen Mi-24 Hind-D helicopters, heavily armed gunships that can each transport eight to 10 fully armed troops.

In a report to Congress in 1983, U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger stated: "Castro's Cuba has abandoned the attempt to become a model of progress and has become one more instrument of Soviet imperialism, as well as a direct military threat to the region. It serves as an arms depot, a supplier of expeditionary forces for Soviet arms and a logistics base for Soviet-supported intervention in Central America and elsewhere."

Weinberger reported: "During 1981, Cuba received 63,000 metric tons of arms — the highest yearly total since the massive buildup in 1962, the year of the missile crisis." The buildup continued at about the same pace throughout 1982.

Two decisions had been made by Moscow and Havana:



1. To strengthen Cuba militarily, upgrading its strategic importance and making it a country more difficult for the United States to conquer, should there ever be a military showdown.

2. To launch an all-out drive against Central America, sparing none of the remaining non-communist countries.

Country by country, this is what the Cubans did and are doing:

**El Salvador** — Social and economic inequities in El Salvador seemed to hold particular promise for a *Fidelista*-supported insurgency. Prior to 1979 Cuban assistance to Salvadoran leftists consisted mainly of providing a little financial assistance and training small numbers of guerrillas. As had been the case in Nicaragua, the Salvadoran left was fragmented. Cuba set about uniting

the factions, and the various elements were told that increased Cuban assistance was dependent on unification. In December 1979, a meeting was held in Havana that resulted in an agreement on unity by three significant Salvadoran guerrilla groups: the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), and the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES), which had established its own armed branch. In May 1980, the Popular Revolutionary Army (ERP) joined the guerrilla coalition. The coalition called itself the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU).

The unification process was in the hands of the America Department, which, even while it was doing this, was also developing a clandestine network through which weapons could be funneled to the guerrillas. Part of this network consisted of the same mechanisms and channels that had been utilized during the Nicaraguan conflict. Arms from Cuba would go to Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and then would be sent by sea, or secretly overland through Honduras, to the rebels in El Salvador. The weapons did not come from Cuba's own stocks — such arms would be traceable and blame could be placed on Castro. Rather, Cuba coordinated the acquisition of weapons from Vietnam (which had an amplitude of captured U.S. weapons), Ethiopia and Eastern Europe. Honduras stepped up measures to prevent the flow of weapons through its territory. Today, therefore, most of the traffic to El Salvador is from Nicaragua in small aircraft and small boats in the Gulf of Fonseca, whose waters lap onto the shores of Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador.

The number of Salvadoran guerrillas trained in Cuba increased considerably in 1980. A typical three-month training program included courses in guerrilla tactics, weapons use and marksmanship, demolition, field engineering, construction of fortified positions, land navigation, and the use of mines and artillery. Reportedly, groups up to battalion size (250 to 500 men) re-

Sandinista militia members in village of El Jicano sing and play guitar to keep up their spirits during April '83 Contra raids. Photo: J.L. Atlan/Sygma



ceived instruction, indicating that the Cubans were training integral units.

The Cubans assisted the guerrillas in formulating their military strategy, and evidently influenced them to launch their unsuccessful offensive of January 1981. When this failed, guerrilla leaders traveled to Havana to work out future strategies. Today, the rebels are conducting an insurgency similar to that of Cuba in 1956-58: maintenance of sizable guerrilla groups in the field, coupled with terrorism in urban areas and attacks on the country's economic system by blowing up bridges, destroying power lines and similar tactics.

**Guatemala** — Guatemala has been a target of the Castro regime since its early days. This may have been due to the fact that the late Ernesto "Che" Guevara, former mastermind and director of Cuba's subversive program, had been a minor official in Guatemala when a leftist government was in power (it was overthrown in 1954). Guevara probably maintained a personal interest in Guatemala. A Guatemalan friend of his, Julio Roberto Caceres Valle, who became an official of the Castro government, returned to Guatemala to fight and was killed while with guerrillas in the early '60s.

As in Nicaragua and El Salvador, Cuba made its aid to Guatemalan guerrillas conditional to their unification. Talks aimed at



Sandinista reserves, who reinforced Nicaraguan militia in Las Uvas and Las Mercedes hills, five kilometers southeast of Jalapa, train near Jalapa with U.S. M29A1 81mm M29A1 mortar. Some of the reservists are as young as 13. Photo: J.L. Atlan/Sygma

this were held in Guatemala in 1980 by leaders of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), the Organization of People in Arms (ORPA) and a dissident faction of the Guatemalan Communist Party (PGT/D). Nicaragua could now play a surrogate role for Cuba, and the Guatemalan guerrilla leaders were

invited to Managua to continue their discussions. Unity was achieved and an agreement was signed in Managua in November 1980 which established the National Revolutionary Union (URN). Present at the signing ceremony were the chief of the American Department, Manuel Pineiro Losada, and the head of its Central American section,

## CASTRO'S MILITARY MIGHT

by Jay Mallin

Fidel Castro Ruz is commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) of Cuba. Actual command is in the hands of his brother, General of the Army Raul Castro Ruz, who is Minister of the FAR (as well as being number-two man in the government and Communist Party). With Soviet assistance, Raul Castro built Cuba's military establishment from a small guerrilla army into the most powerful military force in Latin America.

Cuba has an army of more than 225,000 men, a navy of about 11,000 and air defense forces of 16,000. In May 1981, a territorial militia was set up. To date some half million men and women have been incorporated into it, and the eventual goal is 1,000,000 persons. The regular army is divided regionally into the Eastern, Central and Western Armies, each commanded by a division general. The army includes nine active and 18 reserve divisions. (Of approximately 190,000 reservists, about 60,000 are on active duty at any given time and have been included in the 225,000 figure.)

The army is equipped with approximately 650 tanks, including IS-2 heavy tanks, T-34, T-54/55 medium tanks, and PT-76 light tanks. The army has some 120 helicopters, including *Hind* attack craft. It also has BRDM-1 armored cars, BMP mechanized infantry vehicles and BTR armored personnel carriers. Weaponry includes M-116 pack howitzers, 76, 85, 122, 130 and 152mm guns, SU-100 self-propelled guns, *Frog-4* surface-to-surface and SAM-7 surface-to-air missiles, 57mm recoilless launchers, *Sagger* and *Snapper* antitank guided weapons and ZU-23 towed and ZSU-23-4 self-propelled antiaircraft guns.

The air force has some 250 MiG fighter aircraft, including two and possibly three MiG-23 *Flogger* planes which may be able to carry nuclear weapons. Cuba has some 20 AN-26 transport planes with a range that would enable them to fly to Central America (say, to drop paratroops) and return without refueling.

Cuba's air-ferrying capability has been bolstered further by aircraft acquired by its commercial air fleet. Since 1975, this fleet has added seven IL-62 long-range jet transport aircraft and a number of TU-154 medium-to-long-range transport planes. Each of these aircraft can carry 150 to 200 combat-equipped troops.

The air defense force is equipped with SA-2/3 and SA-6 surface-to-air missiles.

The navy is equipped with *Samlet* coast-defense missiles, mine-sweepers, landing craft, coast-patrol vessels and about 50 torpedo and missile attack boats. With Soviet assistance, Cuba is acquiring a blue-water navy: Since 1978 a *Koni* frigate and two *Foxtrot* attack submarines have been added (a third submarine is used for training).

The Cuban warships and aircraft are a threat to the United States' vital sea lanes in the Gulf of Mexico. They also provide Castro with a capability to conduct air-sea military operations in Central America and anywhere in the Caribbean. Years ago Castro stated, "The Caribbean is ours."

For two years now the Soviet Union has been pouring armaments into Cuba. Some 66,000 metric tons of military equipment entered Cuba in 1981, the greatest amount since 1962, when the Russians attempted to emplace ICBMs in Cuba. Approximately the same amount of equipment was sent in 1982. The military hardware is estimated to have cost Moscow one billion dollars.

Cuba's activities are not limited to the Caribbean/Central American area. Although a relatively small country

Ramiro Jesus Abreu Quintana.

With accord reached, Cuba stepped up the sending of weapons and the training of Guatemalan guerrillas. Most of the weapons have traveled overland clandestinely from Nicaragua through Honduras. Lately, however, due to increased Honduran vigilance, arms are flown into Guatemala in small planes. Some weapons have come from El Salvador. In June 1981, Paulino Castillo, a captured guerrilla, related to newspapermen that he was part of a 23-man group of Guatemalans that had undergone seven months of training in Cuba.

Castillo had traveled to Costa Rica from Guatemala by bus, been provided with a Panamanian passport so he could enter Panama, and in Panama had been given a Cuban passport so he could continue to Cuba. There he received training and then returned via Nicaragua to the guerrillas in Guatemala, where he later surrendered to an army patrol. A large percentage of the 2,000 or more guerrillas in Guatemala are believed to have been trained in Cuba, transported to and from the island through the extensive network set up by the America Department.

**Honduras** — Here also Cuba has worked toward getting the fragmented left to unite. It has increased the training of Honduran leftists. Honduras has been used as a clan-

destine conduit for weapons going to El Salvador and Guatemala, but some weapons also evidently are going to Honduran militants. There have been a number of terrorist acts, including the dynamiting of two power plants in July 1982 that blacked out most of the capital city of Tegucigalpa for two days. A few days later, 12 rebels and two policemen were killed in a shootout in

Tegucigalpa. Police reported that one of the rebels had been identified as a member of Nicaragua's FSLN. In September, a dozen members of the Cinchonero Popular Liberation Movement seized the Chamber of Commerce building in San Pedro Sula and took hostage 105 business and government leaders. The terrorists made a number of demands which apparently were not met.

Two Nicaraguan militia members are part of permanent watch patrol on frontier between Nicaragua and Honduras. Photo: J.L. Atlan/Sygma



(44,000 square miles, population just under 10 million), Cuba is involved globally. It provides military and technical assistance and advisers to countries in Africa and the Middle East and even as far away as Vietnam (300 civilian advisers). At present, there are some 65,000 Cuban military and civilian personnel overseas. There are about 25,000 Cuban troops in Angola, some 12,000 in Ethiopia and about 3,000 military personnel in other countries.

To support Fidel Castro's military organization, the Soviet Union not only sends weaponry but also maintains a significant military presence on the island. This includes:

- An army brigade of 2,600 to 3,000 men based outside Havana. This consists of one tank and three motorized rifle battalions plus support units. The brigade symbolizes Russia's military commitment to Cuba and also provides security for Soviet personnel and installation.
- A military advisory group consisting of at least 2,000 personnel. These provide technical advice for Cuba's sophisticated air, sea and ground equipment. (In addition to the military personnel, there are 6,000 to 8,000 Soviet civilian advisers in Cuba, including intelligence personnel.)

- In 1969 Soviet warships began visit-Cuba. Since then at least 21 Soviet naval task forces have sailed to the Caribbean, and in almost every case, they visited Cuban ports. Soviet intelligence-gathering ships operating off the U.S. East Coast call at Cuban ports.

- Since 1975, pairs of TU-95 Bear-D reconnaissance aircraft have been flying to Cuba and remaining for weeks at a time. The planes support Soviet naval maneuvers in the Atlantic and spy on U.S. and NATO naval maneuvers and sea trials. It is believed that the TU-95s can be modified to carry nuclear payloads.

- Early in 1976 and during 1978, when Cuban pilots were used in Angola and Ethiopia, Soviet fliers filled in for them in Cuba so that the country's air strength would not be diminished — and it enabled the Russians to become familiar with flying on the island.

- One of the most important aspects of the Soviet military presence in Cuba is a massive intelligence-gathering (monitoring) installation near Havana. This facility, the largest such Soviet facility outside Russia, listens in on all military and civilian radio communications in the southeastern and eastern United States — including Washington. The installation is so secret and important that no

Cubans are allowed to enter it.

What does this expanding communist military might in the Caribbean portend?

Nestor D. Sanchez, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of defense for inter-American affairs and the Pentagon's top hand on Latin America, warned in a speech: "... Communist expansion could lead to an extensive Soviet permanent presence in the region with significant military consequences. It could literally place hostile forces and weapon systems capable of striking targets deep in the United States on our borders and adjacent waters. Soviet strategic capabilities — already substantial — would be increased significantly. It could provide air and naval bases — such as those under construction in [Cuba's ally] Grenada — for the recovery of Soviet aircraft after strategic missions. Both the Soviet Pacific and Atlantic fleets could operate near our shores without having to return to the USSR for maintenance...."

"Soviet/Cuban expansion in Latin America would require significant alteration in current U.S. forward deployment since a major threat would now exist in an area previously considered militarily secure." ❖

## CUBA



**ABOVE:** Sandinista soldiers, reservists and militia returning from patrol near Rancho Grande, 24 hours after an attack from Contras in March '83. Photo: Diego Goldberg/Syigma **BELOW:** Body of Contra killed near Rancho Grande on 26 March 1983. Photo: Claude Urraca/Syigma

Some hostages escaped, others were released. The terrorists were offered safe passage out of the country. The last of the hostages were freed and the rebels flew to Panama and then went to Cuba.

**Costa Rica** — Costa Rica is the most peaceful and democratic country in Central America; indeed it has the most stable democracy in all Latin America. This, however, has not made it immune to attack by *Fidelista* followers. There have been bombings, shootings and kidnappings by terrorists. Most of the terrorist activities have been conducted not by Costa Ricans but by foreigners, making it apparent that Costa Rica is under attack from abroad (see "Costa Rica: A Domino in Line," SOF, August '83).

When they uncovered a terror cell in San Jose, Costa Rican police arrested one Chilean, one Argentine, two Nicaraguans, two Costa Ricans and three Salvadorans. Three officials of the Nicaraguan Embassy in San Jose were found to be implicated in a bombing and were expelled from the country. Also known to have operated in Costa Rica are members of El Salvador's Farabundo Marti Front, the current name for that country's guerrilla organizations.

Even as it sought to subvert four Central American countries, Cuba was militarily building up its ally, Nicaragua. Russia strengthened Cuba; Cuba strengthened Nicaragua. Cuba has about 5,000 civilian and 3,000 military and security advisers in Nicaragua. (There are also advisers from the Soviet Union, East Germany, Bulgaria, North Korea and the PLO). The Nicaraguan armed forces are being increased from a currently estimated strength of 138,000



**BELOW:** Honduran Army troop patrols border with FN FAL rifle to keep Sandinistas from making cross-border operations into Honduras in search of Contras. Photo: Randy Taylor/Syigma



men to 250,000, with 50,000 in active forces and 200,000 in the militia and reserves. Even at its present level, the Sandinista army is the largest force any Central American country has ever had.

Approximately 70 Nicaraguans are being trained as jet pilots and mechanics in Bulgaria. Existing landing strips in Nicaragua are being lengthened and will be able to accommodate the most sophisticated Soviet aircraft. Although there are presently no MiGs in Nicaragua, they could be flown in quickly from Cuba.

The Nicaraguans have received about 100 anti-aircraft guns, almost 1,000 East German trucks and Soviet howitzers with ranges of more than 27 kilometers. They have received Soviet T/54-T/55 tanks, possibly enough (close to 50) to form two battalions. The Nicaraguans have also been equipped with anti-tank guns, howitzers, helicopters, amphibious ferries and armored personnel carriers.

Nicaragua's naval force consists of 15 patrol boats. Their intrusions into Costa Rican waters have been a constant source of friction with that country.

The long-range plan being pursued by Moscow and Havana is plain to see. These are the goals:

1. To build up Nicaragua militarily, so that it will be increasingly difficult for anti-communists — inside or outside the country — to destroy the Sandinista government. At the same time, Nicaragua serves as the base for the subversion of the rest of Central

America.

2. Once Central America, or a good part of it, is conquered, the next major target will be the Mexican oil fields. These lie a little more than 100 miles north of the Guatemala-Mexican border. Having these wells under communist control would relieve the Soviet Union of the huge burden of supporting Cuba with a continuous flow of oil — and it would deprive the United States of an important petroleum source. Mexico's growing instability may prove a fertile ground for Cuban agitation.

3. Once these initial goals are achieved, to turn south. The Panama Canal and the huge, vital Venezuelan oilfields are probable targets for communist subversion.

4. To build up Cuba militarily. Initially, the Soviet/Cuban goal was to give Cuba adequate defenses to protect the government against internal insurrection and attacks by Cuban exiles and discourage the United States from any thought of quick victory should it decide to try to overthrow Castro by force.

The extent and nature of the buildup of the past two years, however, has significantly changed the strategic picture. Cuba has been equipped with troop-carrying helicopters and recently with two landing craft, and the country has some 4,000 airborne troops. This means that Cuba now has the capability of sending a military force anywhere in the Caribbean area (and anywhere in Central America if Nicaragua serves as a base). Furthermore, Cuba can support such a force with warships and aircraft.

Within the global context, too, Cuba has assumed strategic importance. If there were to be a war between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, the United States would have to use a considerable portion of its forces to conquer Cuba before it could come fully to Europe's rescue. Today, 44 percent of all foreign tonnage entering the United States and 45 percent of the crude oil coming from abroad pass through the Caribbean. It is estimated that in the event of war, half of NATO's supplies from the United States would be shipped from Gulf ports. Cuba, now armed with MiGs, submarines and fast surface craft, is in a position to cause serious damage to these sea lines. The Russians, having conducted numerous aircraft and warship training missions to Cuba, are now familiar with the area and could bolster the Cuban striking capability with their own ships and planes.

Thus, it becomes clear that what is happening in Cuba and in Central America is not a localized affair of minimal interest to the United States. It is not a simple matter of a few more banana-republic uprisings.

A major strategic problem is underway. Fidel Castro — and the Kremlin — mean to win. The Central American guerrillas, Castro boasted early in 1983, "are in-



ABOVE: Honduran Army soldier keeps close watch on frontier shared with Nicaragua, an unstable area due to repeated clashes between Nicaraguan Sandinista and Contra forces. Government sources in Tegucigalpa report that they are "ready at any time" to defend Honduran sovereignty. Photo: Randy Taylor/Sygma BELOW: Photo: Courtesy of Department of Defense



Continued on page 82

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## PAX CUBANA

Continued from page 47

vincible." Whether this is true will depend on the Central Americans — and the determination of the United States to help them. ✕

### PROBLEMS IN PANAMA

by Donna DuVall

The Panama Canal is operating splendidly under joint Panama-United States administration. In fact, revenue is up, and more ships than ever transit through the canal daily. The dark lining of the silver cloud, however, may be the crumbling political stability of the Panamanian government, according to a recent copyrighted *U.S. News & World Report* story.

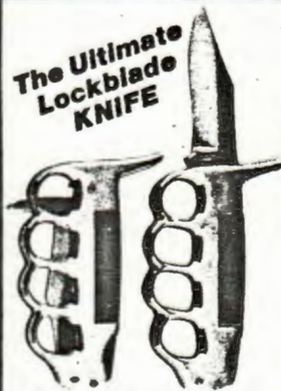
Panama's fragile political climate, which many believe to be worsened by Cuban-supplied terrorism, threatens both the security of the canal and a newly operational American oil pipeline across western Panama that transports Alaskan oil to the eastern United States.

Until recently, Panama's future was promising. The canal was operating much better than anyone had predicted in 1978 when Panama assumed joint control. The country of two million appeared headed toward a functioning democracy. Chances of avoiding the economic hard times and ensuing political turbulence that have rocked Central America seemed good as long as Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos, the strongman who seized power in a 1968 military coup, was at the helm. His untimely death in a 1981 plane crash, coupled with an increasingly unhealthy economy, were factors leading to the current tense conditions.

Panama's unemployment rate now exceeds 20 percent and inflation has driven prices of necessities, particularly food and electricity, to an all-time high. With these, a concomitant rise in the number of communists and leftists has occurred. The official membership in the People's Party, the Panamanian communist political party, exceeds 30,000. But many experts believe that the number of sympathizers exceeds 100,000 — five percent of the total population.

There is valid reason to fear that Cuba will take advantage of the internal support to foment more political strife in Panama — if it hasn't already. Fidel Castro has warned that he would use violence if Panama continued to support U.S. efforts to stabilize El Salvador, a country suffering from imported Sandinista- and Cuban-sponsored subversion.

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CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES  
MEDIA RELATIONS DIVISION

8/4/83

Joyce

It was a pleasure talking with you today concerning Central America and the opportunity to get speakers for BizNet. I will leave a note for Milt and discuss it with him when he returns next week.

Enclosed are several items we discussed. I hope you'll find them useful.

If I can be of further assistance please call.

  
Windy



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
Friday, July 29, 1983

Contact: Ted Princiotto  
(202) 463-5682

LEVITAS, CHAMPION OF LEGISLATIVE VETO, BELIEVES PRESIDENT  
NOW IS FREER TO ACT UNDER WAR POWERS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

WASHINGTON, July 29 -- President Reagan has a freer hand in military situations, such as the current hostilities in Central America, as a result of the recent Supreme Court decision which declared the legislative veto unconstitutional, according to a leading exponent of the veto procedure.

The Supreme Court ruled the legislative veto, which is part of some 200 federal statutes, was illegal on the ground it excluded the President from the process of making laws. Congress has used the veto power primarily as a check on regulatory agencies which implement new laws with regulations.

Rep. Elliott H. Levitas (D-Ga.), perhaps the leading proponent of the legislative veto in Congress, expressed his views on the possible impact of the court's decision in Central America when he appeared on a Washington television program, "BizNet's Ask Washington," which is telecast by satellite by the American Business Network of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

"There are a number of things in Central America the President would be capable of doing that previously would have been subject to a legislative veto by Congress," Rep. Levitas said. "The first thing is the deployment of troops. The War Powers Act gave the President the right to deploy troops for a period of time and report to the Congress, and Congress had the power to say, 'Wait a minute, we don't want to get involved in a war like that, or an action of that sort. You will have to bring those troops back after, I think, it is 60 days.'"

"That legislative veto is very clearly affected by the Supreme Court decision as unconstitutional. But it is severed out of the law so that the President can still send the troops (but) Congress would not be able to exercise a legislative veto."

The Congressman also cited current laws under which Congress has the right to stop sales of more than \$25 million in military arms to foreign nations.

"If the President wants to sell F16s to Jordan, or sell tanks to Israel -- anything that is more than \$25 million -- there has to be legislative approval," the Congressman said.

"Right now, in Central America, because of the Supreme Court decision, the President could sell military arms without (being subject) to the legislative veto."

He previously has proposed an omnibus measure covering a broader range of possible veto actions. He now favors legislation that would delay the effective date of any new agency regulations issued by the government until both houses of Congress act "legislatively" to enact them into law with the President's concurrence.

He also favors a national conference or convention to review the court decision and to arrive at a balancing of powers between Congress and the executive branch.

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Chamber of Commerce  
of the United States

1615 H Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20062

# NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
February 24, 1982

Contact: Jim Bryant  
(202) 659-6230 -

U.S. CHAMBER SAYS REAGAN'S CARIBBEAN BASIN PLAN  
IS MAJOR CHALLENGE TO BUSINESS COMMUNITY

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24 -- The U.S. Chamber of Commerce responded favorably today to President Reagan's invitation to the business community to participate actively in assisting countries in the Caribbean Basin to further their economic interests.

Dr. Michael A. Samuels, International Vice President for the Chamber, said: "The long-awaited unveiling of the Caribbean Basin Initiative poses a major challenge to the U.S. private sector. We are impressed with the Administration's efforts to develop a comprehensive package of measures to help these strategically important countries help themselves.

"We applaud the decision by the United States and its Hemispheric partners to devote new resources to these important countries in Central America and the Caribbean. Additional economic assistance, technical training, tax incentives and the proposed establishment of a 'Free Trade Area (FTA)' are all important measures that deserve our careful review.

"The U.S. Chamber welcomes the opportunity to play our role in pursuit of this novel approach. We intend to work closely with our counterpart business organizations in those countries participating as well as benefitting from this program."

(82-51)

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## Chamber of Commerce of the United States

1615 H Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20062

# NEWS RELEASE

For immediate release  
Wednesday, July 27

Contact: Gordon Cloney  
(202) 463-5480

### TURBULENT CONDITIONS IN LATIN AMERICA POSE CHALLENGES FOR INTERNATIONAL INSURANCE LEADERS AT NOVEMBER MEETING

Washington, D.C. -- Responding to the challenges of managing insurance businesses amid the turbulent fiscal and political trends that have rocked Latin America in recent years will be the main focus of the 19th Hemispheric Insurance Conference, November 28-December 1 at the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco.

The Conference, the biennial gathering of the Interamerican Federation of Insurance Companies (FIDES) and one of the oldest continuing international insurance meetings, brings together senior executives of private insurance companies from Western Hemisphere markets. This year's event, the first hosted by the United States since 1967, is sponsored by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's International Insurance Advisory Council (IIAC), an organization comprised of U.S. insurance and reinsurance companies active in international markets.

"The Conference theme, Management of Insurance Companies in the 1980's, has been specially tailored for senior executives who have to be on the leading edge of international industry issues," said J. M. Campbell, vice president, international operations, of Allstate Insurance Company and chairman of the Conference's organizing committee. "The program will address the problems upon which the firm's success and profitability depend," said Campbell.

"The agenda of this Conference is particularly timely, in light of the present state of many volatile issues surrounding the Latin American market," said Henry G. Parker, III, senior vice president and director, of Chubb & Son Inc. and a member of the IIAC executive committee.

"For example," continued Parker, "there needs to be refinement in the definition of terrorist acts referred to in property insurance contracts. That is an enormously important aspect about which there needs to be far more agreement than currently exists. It is our hope that the Conference will lead to the formation of a significant consensus in that area."

According to Parker, another topical issued covered within the agenda of the Conference will be methods of creating special purpose underwriting pools. "Such pools could deal with coverage of fortuitous natural or political acts of loss or damage, an

(83-218)

area where many markets are already severely overexposed," said Parker. "The Conference will provide a useful forum for discussing ideas such as this."

Recent current devaluations in Latin American countries have had a significant impact on both the insurance and reinsurance markets. Said Dewey P. Clark, a member of the Conference organizing committee and vice president, international, of Prudential Reinsurance Company: "The Conference is expected to explore the effect of devaluation on a foreign reinsurer's technical reserves and offer regulatory steps that can be taken to remedy related problems and which should lead to an increase in the participation of foreign reinsurers."

Approximately 600 underwriters, brokers, insurance service specialists and guests from the Western Hemisphere, Europe and Asia are expected to attend the Conference, which is the only event of its kind held in the Western Hemisphere. "Registrations are being received in large numbers" said Gordon Cloney, IIAC chief executive and conference secretary. "In addition to the strong underwriting delegations of top company people, there is a large European broker contingency forming. We are a little surprised at a relatively smaller representation from the United States' brokerage and insurance service firms -- these companies could easily develop valuable continent-wide Latin American contacts through the event" he added.

The Conference will begin on Monday, November 28, with a new feature -- a series of four colloquies for delegates designed to address key technical issues of interest to delegates from private insurance companies in Mexico, Central and South America and the Caribbean. Subjects covered by the colloquies are: new life products, computer applications, strategic planning and the global reinsurance market.

Beginning on November 29, formal work sessions will cover the following:

- o Management of marketing and new products
- o Information management, control and use within the company
- o Financial management and creation of capacity
- o Management of relations with the public and government

The Conference will also feature a full social program and a special ladies program.

For more information on registration, which closes August 31, contact Conference Secretary Gordon Cloney, executive secretary of the International Insurance Advisory Council, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 1615 H Street, N.W.; Washington, D.C. 20062.

(83-218)

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## Mexico Report

- Mexico Still Immersed in Economic Crisis
- The Peso Plunges, Foreign Exchange Scarce
- Business Beset by Inflation, High Interest
- Foreign Debt and Oil, a Precarious Relationship
- Crisis Inhibits Foreign Trade, Investment

### THE 1982 COLLAPSE

After faltering through the first half of 1982, the Mexican economy disintegrated in the third quarter of the year. It was an end to what,

until mid-1981, had been a steady pattern of growth and development.

At that time, world oil prices had been rising, and almost daily announcements of new reserves gave promise of an inexhaustible economic "gusher." Banks all over the world extended short-term loans, with oil as collateral. Expanding oil reserves and virtually unlimited credit induced the Mexican government to embark on ambitious spending programs. At the same time, Mexican private industry scorned prudence and accumulated huge dollar debts for expansion and current expenses.

The collapse was swift and complete. Petroleum prices plunged as world markets became glutted, short-circuiting Mexico's income projections. Prices of commodities and minerals dropped. Mexico's little exportable surplus of manufactured products was placed out of phase in world markets as a result of domestic inflation. Interest rates on foreign credits soared, virtually doubling the cost of service.

Pent-up inflationary pressures broke loose, paced by the example of costs of government-produced goods and services. Mexican workers, beset by surging living costs, demanded and obtained wage increases. Domestic interest rates for peso financing vaulted above the 60% level, signalling the beginning of what Mexican economists have called "institutionalized inflation."

Wary of the social consequences of retrenchment, the government continued to borrow and continued to spend. The public sector debt left by the Luis Echeverria administration in 1972 was \$ 19.6 billion dollars. At the end of the José López Portillo administration, it had reached almost \$59 billion.

### EXCHANGE AND THE PESO

It was principally the weight of this enormous indebtedness that caused the peso to collapse. The effect of the 1976 devaluation, which had

reduced the peso's value from 12.50 to almost 25 to the dollar, had long since worn off. Obviously overvalued in 1980 and 1981, it was allowed to slip — but far too gradually. That it was in deep trouble was apparent, and thousands converted pesos into dollars, taken from Mexico's shrinking exchange reserves. Some of the funds stayed in Mexico, and later became "Mex-dollars." Billions, however, went into foreign accounts or into real estate investments in the U.S. and abroad. Official figures place "capital flight" in 1981 and 1982 at a combined \$14.95 billion dollars.

It was too much for an already flaccid peso. It was first devalued in February to almost 50-to-one, then in mid-year to almost 70-to-one, and again in December to a "free" exchange rate of about 150-to-one. It has held, surprisingly, to that level for the past six months.

With no exchange reserves to cover the estimated \$12 bil-

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*Message from the AACCLA President. . . 2*

lion dollars of obligations in dollar deposits in Mexico, the outgoing administration froze all dollar deposits in Mexican banks. Then in his September 1 message to Congress, President López Portillo announced the nationalization of all Mexican banks and the imposition of exchange controls.

Dollar deposits were arbitrarily converted into pesos at maturity, starting with the exchange rate of 70-to-one. The new administration dropped the exchange rate to 150-to-one in December, resulting in a loss of well over 50% for holders of "Mex-dollar" accounts who wanted to buy back their original dollars.

Hundreds of industrial firms wholly or partially owned by the banks were also caught up in the bank nationalization. The new administration of Miguel de la Madrid ratified the expropriation, calling it "irreversible." A half-hearted intention was expressed to make public sale of stock in the Mexican firms acquired by the government along with the banks and their assets. Nothing has yet been done about this, or about compensation for the expropriated banks.

Exchange control during the final three months of the López Portillo administration did not achieve its purpose, which was to conserve and capture dollars. It frightened away dollars, and caused pesos to leave Mexico in incalculable amounts. Exchange houses proliferated at the border,

and Mexican exporters who had expected to receive dollars for their products found to their dismay that their customers had acquired pesos with which to make payment. Incoming tourists quickly discovered they could buy pesos at many U.S. departure points at far better exchange rates than in Mexico itself.

The system was modified in December by the De la Madrid administration, and a certain amount of tinkering has gone on ever since. The change established multi-tiered parities, including a sliding conversion rate starting at 70-to-one for maturing "Mex-dollar" accounts (this was later made equal to the higher "controlled" rate). It set a controlled and also slipping rate that started at 95-to-one for priority operations; this is now approaching the 120-to-one mark. And the so-called "free" exchange rate was set at just under 150-to-one, applicable for all other transactions. It is "free" only in a restricted sense; limited quantities of dollars are sold only in the form of travelers checks or bank drafts payable abroad, and then only in the amount a given bank may have available and only in a few designated branches.

A recent concession was to permit Mexican companies to establish dollar accounts, under certain conditions: The accounts can be used only to pay foreign debts and finance im-

### *From the AACCLA President:*

"To foster trade and investment relationships between Latin America and the United States" is given "Immediate Priority" in the basic statement of AACCLA objectives.

Member chambers of AACCLA are made up of those who do the trading and make and manage the investments. Most of these people have had dual business experience, on the one hand in the U.S. and on the other in their host countries. Many others have participated in AACCLA forums and have had frequent contact with officials in the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government.

Our member chambers have been effective in explaining the United States to the governments and people of their host nations. There is, however, much more we can do in this respect. Frequently, action or non-action by the U.S. is interpreted as being anti-Latin American, when the true motives and reasons are quite different. Often they grow out of political pressures on the U.S. government from its own citizens. Because we in AACCLA have some understanding of the complexity of government processes in the U.S., we can interpret and explain these to our fellow businessmen in Latin America.

A case in point is U.S. legislation that gives preferential treatment to developing countries in trade matters. The Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) permits duty-free entry into the U.S.

of numerous imports from developing countries, but only Brazil and Mexico in Latin America have made much use of this law. Sections 806 and 807 of the U.S. Customs Code give preferential treatment for the return of U.S. goods sent abroad for processing or assembly, but of Latin American nations only Mexico has built up a sizable in-bond industry based on these provisions.

At a time when Latin American nations need desperately to strengthen their export markets, it behooves AACCLA members to explain these opportunities to fellow businessmen in their host countries.

**John T. Plunket**  
President,  
Association of American  
Chambers of Commerce in  
Latin America.

John T. Plunket, member of the Board of Directors of IEM, S.A., Tremec, S.A., and Fomento Educacional, S.A., and a former president of the American Chamber of Commerce of Mexico, A.C., was elected AACCLA president during the association's meeting in Washington, D.C., in May 1983. The new president was born in Greenville, Texas, and is a graduate in law from the University of Texas. He has broad experience in Latin American affairs, having been active in various business enterprises in Cuba, Argentina, Venezuela, Ecuador, Costa Rica and Mexico since 1942.



ports; dollars drawn on the accounts must be payable abroad; deposits must be in U.S. dollars through transfer of documents in foreign currency, payable abroad. With the exception of diplomatic personnel and foreign correspondents, private individuals cannot hold dollar accounts in Mexico.

The measure was one of several devices to ease the plight of Mexican companies with exchange obligations. Another was the establishment of an exchange protection program, operating through futures exchange risk coverage.

The future status of the peso remains uncertain. No one expected it to hold at 150-to-one for as long as it has, and the feeling is that it will fall eventually to the "futures" levels of 200 or more. But opinions vary. Some economists insist, with considerable justification, that the true exchange value of the peso at this moment is about the same as the controlled rate — 115-to-120-to-one. For most consumer purposes, 150 pesos will buy much more in Mexico than a dollar will buy in the U.S. In that sense, the peso is undervalued, and should stay under-valued unless domestic inflation is allowed to eat up the margin.

The difficulty is in reconciling the fact that the peso is under-valued in its buying power, with general expectations

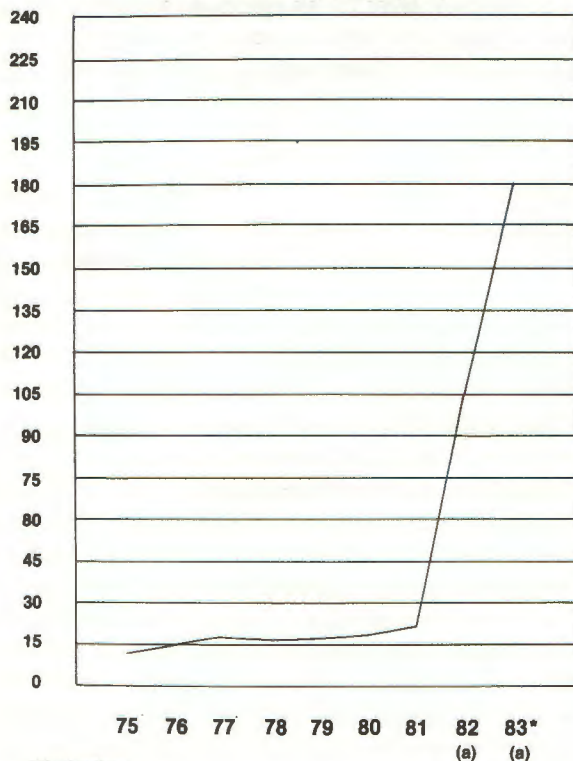
of further devaluation. In truth, the peso has two values — its economic value and its psychological value, the former based on its capacity in the domestic consumer market and the latter depending on the confidence the Mexican people have in its performance now and in the future.

Confidence in the Mexican currency system, unfortunately, has been seriously damaged. If it were not for restrictions, inconveniences and limited availability, Mexicans would be buying all the dollars they could obtain at just about any reasonable exchange rate. Their eroded faith in their currency keeps it weak. Except for purposes of travel abroad, exchange regulations prevent them from acquiring dollars, unless they have accounts abroad to which they can be sent, incurring in the process the disadvantage of not having their funds liquid or at hand if they should be needed. To allow free and unlimited exchange while confidence in the peso is so low would be to invite another massive run on the nation's already scarce dollar supply.

There are other psychological factors. Never before in their history have the Mexican people been so conscious of and outraged at official corruption, at all levels. Outgoing President López Portillo wept that Mexico had been "looted" — referring to those who had drained the nation's reserves and sent billions of dollars abroad. The Mexican people are convinced that the looting took still another form: That of unexplained and almost unbelievable enrichment of public officials. Investigations have already turned up numerous frauds involving relatively minor officials, leaving open to conjecture the alleged amounts skimmed off by higher-level "untouchables."

To the credit of the new administration, its monetary and exchange policies have been at least partially successful. The peso today is stronger than anyone expected it to be at the beginning of the year. This is seen at the border and in major U.S. exchange markets, where current quotations are practically equal to the free rate in Mexico, as well as in the slight gains registered by the peso in the Chicago futures market. With the daily decline (13 centavos) of the "controlled" peso, the gap is narrowing between that peso and the "free" peso, mitigating the plight of Mexican exporters who complain that their costs are in "free" pesos and their dollar income must be converted at the lower "controlled" rate.

**PESO/DOLLAR PARITY RATE**  
(as of December, each year)



\*Projection.  
(a) controlled rate

Sources: Banco de México, AMCHAM Mexico.

#### **INFLATION: NO IMMEDIATE ABATEMENT**

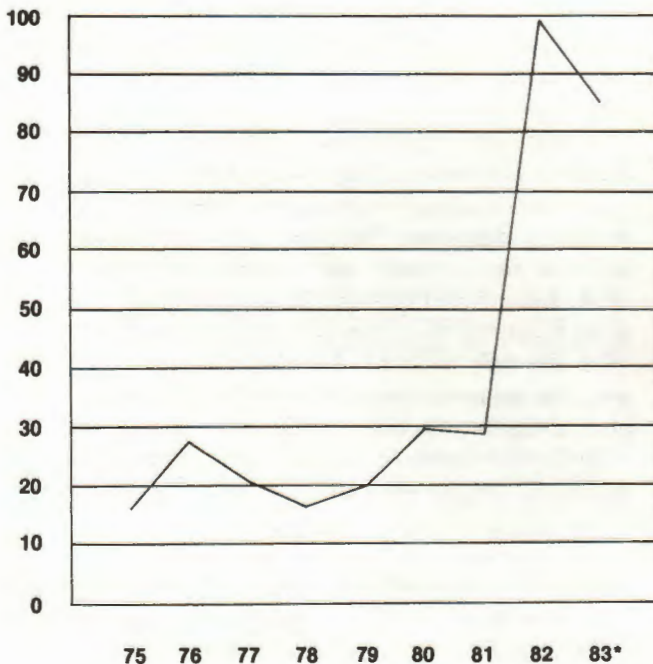
Official figures, disputed by many labor spokesmen, placed inflation during 1982 at slightly under 100%. With an announced increase of 30% for the first four months of 1983, the projections for the year

are for at best only a modest reduction, and at worst for an increase as high as 120%.

What happens will depend on the interaction of numerous imponderables, the weightiest of which is the prospect for further devaluation of the peso.

Given the government's strong participation in production and distribution, its pricing policies permeate the entire economic system and set the pace for private industry, which in many instances is hedged with price controls, a millstone the official sector does not bear. The government is still in the process of "adjusting" prices for its goods and services — gasoline, electricity, telephones, transportation. Furthermore, it is in a deep dilemma represented by the numerous subsidies it provides for basic foodstuffs, all along the line from producer to consumer — a system that has been called socially motivated self-deception. It recently boosted guaranteed prices to producers of basic crops by more than 80% (without really satisfying any of them), promising at the same time not to permit price rises for things like bread and tortillas. There is only one way to do this: Resell the basic foodstuffs at a huge loss to processors.

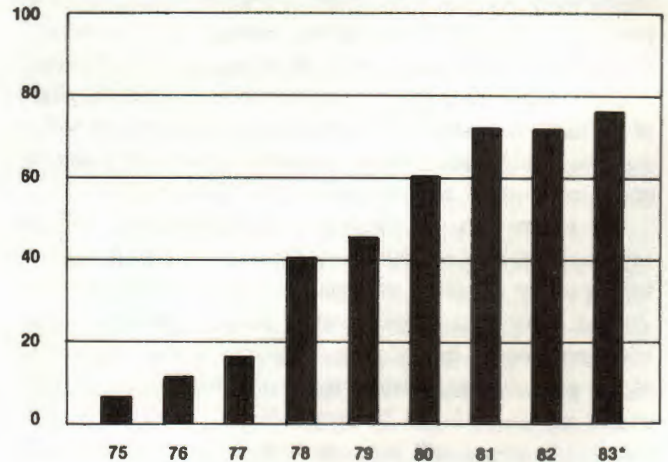
**RETAIL INFLATION**  
(% change as of December of each year)



\*Projection.

Source: Banco de México, S.A.

**PROVEN OIL RESERVES**  
(billions of barrels)



\*Projection.

Source: Petróleos Mexicanos.

Unfortunately, the social repercussions of any other policy are readily imaginable. It is anybody's guess what would happen not only to inflation indices but to social stability if the government were to discard its pricing policy for state-provided goods and services, and allow all goods to reach their real value, regulated only by market demand.

**DEBT AND PETROLEUM**

There are no precise official figures on how much Mexico owes abroad, although the \$85 billion dollars total that was mentioned at

the end of 1982 will probably rise to almost \$95 billion by the end of 1983, as a result of new bail-out credits to be made available through November. This is a debt exceeded only by that of Brazil. The figure, by the way, includes not only government debt, but also private sector and bank debt.

An analysis of the debt size in relation to GDP and export income is revealing. Mexico's indebtedness in 1970 represented 12% of its gross domestic product; it rose to 22% by 1976, and by the end of 1982 was up to 50%. Debt service of interest and principal, which in 1970 absorbed 30 cents of every dollar of export income, went to 64 cents in 1976, and by 1982 it had gone well over the 100% mark. If Mexico's short-term foreign debt had not been renegotiated, it would have required an outlay of almost \$36 billion dollars in 1983 — far more than total income from merchandise exports, petroleum sales and tourism.

With restructuring, the burden eases considerably. Interest payments will amount to close to \$12 billion, plus about another \$1.5 billion against principal.

Where is the money coming from? Total public and private sector export income has been projected at between \$22 billion and \$23 billion for 1983, almost \$15 billion of which will come from oil sector exports. Another \$1.7 billion is expected from tourism which, added to new financing and credits, should bring total earnings up to the \$28 billion or \$29 billion the country is estimated to require for 1983.

The role of oil is dominant, if somewhat unpredictable. Mexico remains uncomfortably vulnerable to the fluctuations of the international oil market. The last announcement of reserves, in late 1981, put Mexico in fifth place worldwide, with 50.4 billion barrels. Its production "platform" is about 2.75 million barrels a day, of which about 1.5 million barrels are earmarked for export (almost 55% going to the United States in recent months). Production is expected to be about 3.4 million barrels a day by 1985 and 5 million by 1990.

Mexico's export oil is now about a 44-56% mix of the light high-grade "Isthmus" oil and the heavier "Maya" crude, more expensive to refine. Any increase in the percentage of the "Isthmus" crude, not an improbable measure in a strengthening "buyer's" market, would mean a corresponding increase in the average price and in the total revenue, assuming export volumes and price levels are maintained.

### FOREIGN INVESTMENT FALLS

Almost without exception, companies responding to the AACCLA questionnaire report sharp cutbacks in new investment, domestic as well

as foreign. Projects already begun are being completed, but what little future investment is planned will be limited to essential outlays to maintain plant and production and certain selective categories largely geared to export markets.

Responding companies regard foreign investment prospects as uncertain-to-poor under present circumstances, and feel that liberalization in application of the foreign investment law will have only limited effect, and that the announced "flexibility" will probably apply only during the next two or three years while Mexico needs the new income.

The dearth of venture capital for domestic Mexican companies is so serious that there has been a reappraisal of the role of foreign investment and the incentives it should receive. Accumulated foreign investment in Mexico rose from

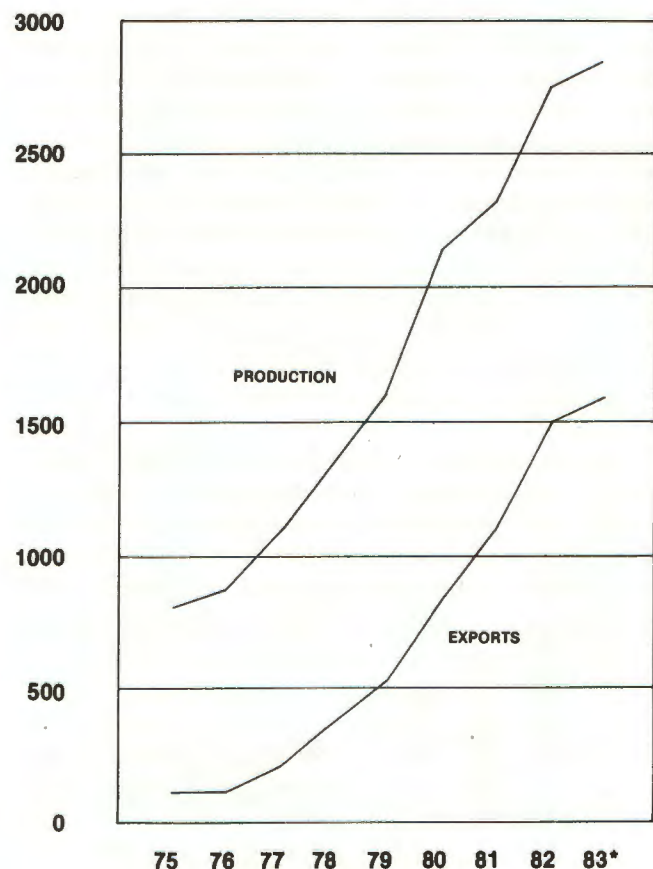
\$2.5 billion in 1970 to approximately \$11 billion by 1982, of which slightly more than \$8 billion is of U.S. origin.

Under existing economic conditions, however, there is no possibility of matching or even approaching the record inflows of 1980 and 1981 (more than \$1 billion in each year). New foreign investment for 1983 is optimistically projected at half the 1982 figures, which were in turn 49% under those of 1981.

The economic reasons for the diminished flow hardly need explanation. Apart from the obvious economic factors, however, is the general feeling that the existing foreign investment law is a stumbling block rather than an incentive, and that unless it is modified, new private direct investment will remain limited for at least the next two or three years.

Official assurances of greater flexibility in applying the existing law are hardly likely to dispel misgivings of investors

**OIL PRODUCTION AND EXPORTS**  
(annual average = 000 barrels/day)



\*Projection.

Source: Petróleos Mexicanos.

who have other attractive alternatives and prefer clear rules of the game. The prospects for any change in the law itself are slight, despite strong urging by organizations such as the Employers Confederation.

**IMPORTS AND EXPORTS**

Serious restraints to Mexico's foreign trade include lack of adequate industrial capacity, lack of foreign exchange with which to boost that capacity,

lack of liquidity, and shortage of imported raw materials. These factors are offsetting the enhanced price competitiveness of many manufactured goods.

There is scant cheer in the fact that exports during the first two months of 1983 were 11.1% higher than those of the same period in 1982, inasmuch as oil and gas accounted for more than 78% of the total. Non-oil exports showed a 14.5% decline.

Equally significant is the pattern of private and public sector imports, which dropped almost 40% from 1981 to 1982, from \$23.9 billion to \$14.4 billion. Total imports during the first two months of 1983 were down 74% from the same period in 1982, and private sector imports taken alone plunged by more than 85%. Where ordinarily a trade surplus is motive for rejoicing, the fact that there was a surplus of 2.3 billion dollars in the first two months of 1983, against a \$385 million deficit in the comparable period of 1982, must be given a negative interpretation — since it is a clear indication of the foreign exchange plight of Mexican firms. And a projected \$7 billion foreign trade surplus for the year means simply that Mexican industry is unable to import the capital goods and raw materials it needs to sustain production levels.

The relatively bright area is tourism, as bargain dollar rates for accommodations and services are expected to bring in 4,350,000 visitors in 1983, for an increase of 15% over 1982, with a total expenditure 21% higher at 1.7 billion dollars. While beach resorts report almost full bookings for the rest of the year, interior destinations are not sharing the boom, especially with a reduction in domestic travel.

**LABOR AND AGRICULTURE**

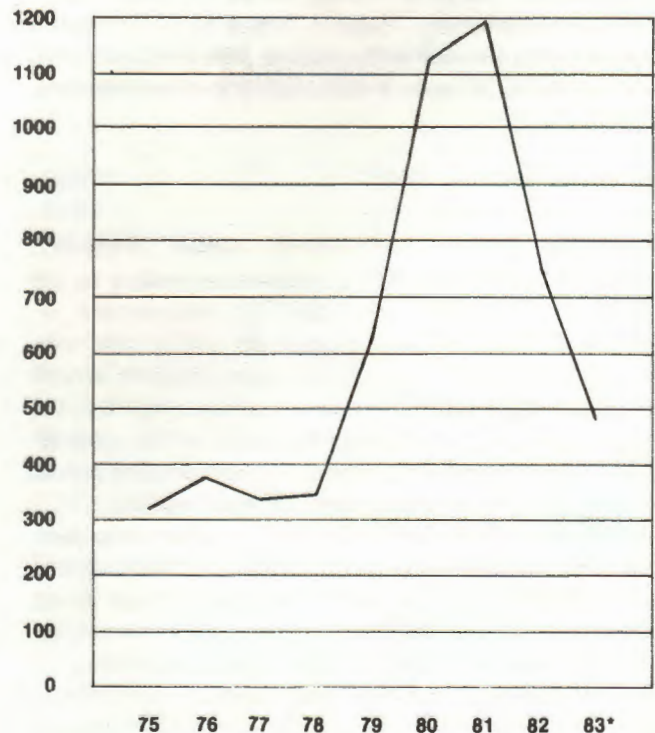
The rising demands of organized labor became shriller in early May as living costs soared and no decision was forthcoming from the Na-

tional Minimum Wage Commission on a boost in the country's minimum wage levels. The Mexican Workers Fed-

eration (CTM), by far the largest of the labor unions, announced "non-negotiable" demands for a 50% emergency wage increase, and threatened a general strike if demands were not met. Its strike call would have involved some 170,000 Mexican firms, including the parastate giants Pemex, the Federal Electricity Commission, and possibly Teléfonos de México.

Long before the Minimum Wage Commission announced its new minimum wage rates, clamor from the unions had started to subside, and CTM leader Fidel Velázquez was talking in terms of a 25% increase and thousands of firms had come to terms with the unions more or less on this basis. On June 10, the Commission made public the minimum wage agreement reached with relatively little dissent from the labor sector participants. The increase was relatively modest at about 15% average, well under the loss of purchasing power of the working class. Shortly thereafter, the threat to Teléfonos de México was eliminated when agreement was reached between the company and the union for a 20% wage hike.

**DIRECT U.S. INVESTMENT**  
(in millions of dollars)



\*Projection.

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Banco de México, S.A., AMCHAM México.

Labor leaders simply do not accept official inflation figures and insist that workers have lost between 50% and 60% of their purchasing power since the turn of the year. The new demands effectively scuttled the "gentlemen's agreement" to boost wages by 12.5% in July.

What is clear is that annual contract negotiations belong to history, and employers are being advised to reconcile themselves to and plan for increases two or three times a year.

The job situation is somewhat blurred. The Programming and Budget Ministry reported that unemployment has been less than expected, basing the appraisal on Social Security records that indicate only a minimal number of workers being dropped from Social Security rolls. Many affected persons are not covered by Social Security, however, and the report is difficult to square with frequent announcements of layoffs in a wide range of industries. With an estimated 800,000 new entrants into the job market each year, any reduction in employment — and in fact any failure to generate new employment — produces serious social consequences. In many instances, non-union personnel have been known to accept wage reductions as a condition for preserving their jobs.

In sharp contrast with the aggressive stance of leading labor spokesmen, reports from a cross-section of industries show a rather high degree of understanding and generally good labor relations — indicating that labor statements may represent "talking for Buncombe" and that there is far less intractability in contract negotiations than press reports would indicate. Employers detect less concern with wages

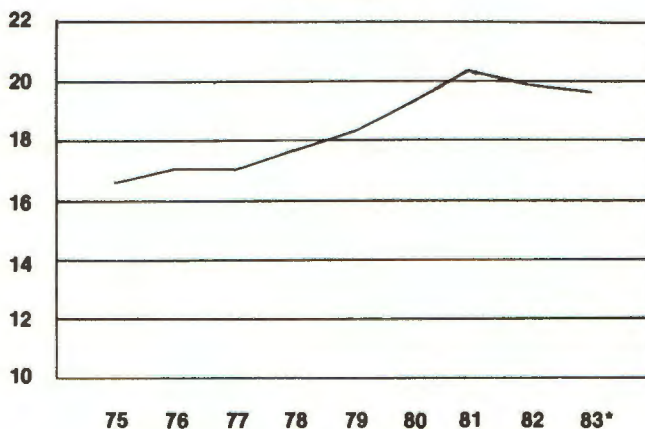
and more interest in holding on to jobs in the face of spreading layoffs. Also evident is a realization on the part of employers that reasonable wage increases are not only inevitable but just.

Reports of satisfactory-to-excellent labor relations are consistent with the pattern of these same companies over the past two or three years. Most of those responding to the AACCLA questionnaire are U.S. affiliates with a good history of labor relations, and it could be questioned whether their current experience is really representative of the situation in Mexican industry as a whole.

The farm situation is still unstable, although 1983 harvests are almost certain to be far better than those of 1982, when a dismal performance forced Mexico to import some \$1.32 billion worth of basic feedgrains, sugar, milk products and oil seeds. Continued high imports, perhaps double these figures, are anticipated for 1983.

Better harvest prospects and substantially increased acreage under cultivation, however, cannot fully compensate for the adverse conditions under which Mexican agriculture continues to operate: Decapitalization, severe underemployment, inefficient land use, and a chronic disposition to apply political rather than economic solutions to problems. The ambitious, all-encompassing agricultural program known as the Mexican Farm System (SAM), whose "success" was so prematurely proclaimed by the López Portillo administration, met a quiet and unlamented demise early in the De la Madrid administration, representing at least a measure of return to realism in government agricultural policy.

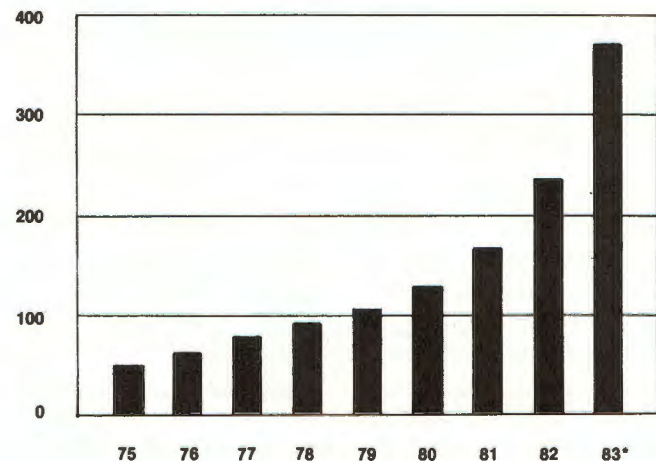
**EMPLOYMENT**  
(millions)



\*Projection.

Sources: Economic Studies Center of the Private Sector (CEESP), AMCHAM Mexico.

**MINIMUM WAGE**  
(pesos per day/national average, urban areas)



\*As of January 1, 1983

Source: National Minimum Wage Commission.

**GRIM BUSINESS OUTLOOK**

Appraisal of the current business situation and future prospects is understandably pessimistic. One of the factors mentioned most frequently is

the availability and the cost of financing both in the domestic and foreign money markets. High-cost pesos (with real interest rates approaching 100%) are obtainable, usually in adequate amounts. Dollar financing is reported as difficult to come by, except with home office guarantees. Certain priority industries (pharmaceuticals, for example) are receiving the necessary "controlled" dollars for imports. In general, however, foreign financing is either too difficult or too risky. As one company head puts it, "Foreign banks now want out as badly as they once wanted in, and it appears that concerns about country risk will close foreign financing sources to even the strongest firms for the foreseeable future."

Current exports are reported as poor-to-modest, although in many instances companies are organizing to take better advantage of existing cost competitiveness, and improvement is anticipated in the medium and long term. A few selected industries, such as automotive and industrial chemicals, report substantial increases in export volumes, with an outlook for further improvement.

Most business complaints center on the impact of inflation not only on their costs of operation but on the purchasing power of consumers, the high cost of financing, price controls, government red tape and disorganization, and general uncertainty about the future. A spokesman for a financial institution feels that "most customers are over-leveraged in foreign debt and will have difficulties meeting loan payments on schedule."

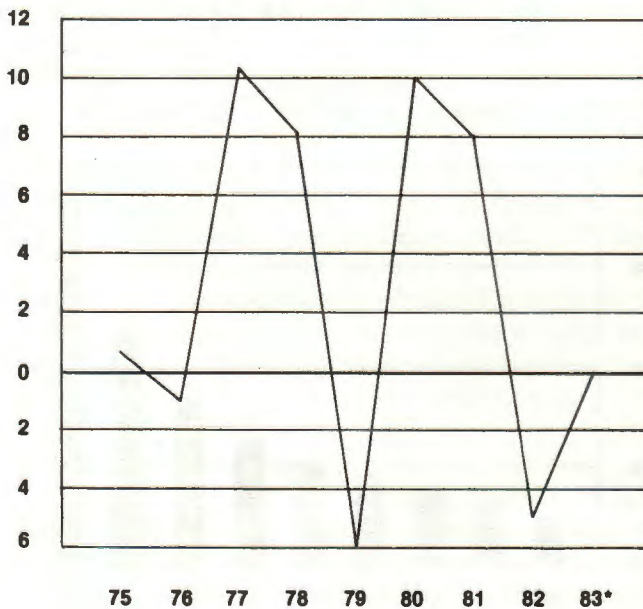
It is curious, and subject to varying interpretations, that only one respondent mentioned — and then only in passing — the impact of petroleum and its international prices on the Mexican economy.

**SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SITUATION**

The austerity measures put into effect by the De la Madrid administration, in part as a result of insistence by the International Monetary Fund,

are affecting not only the private and public sectors but the entire social spectrum. Cruelly caught are low-income groups and the middle class, especially those on incomes not

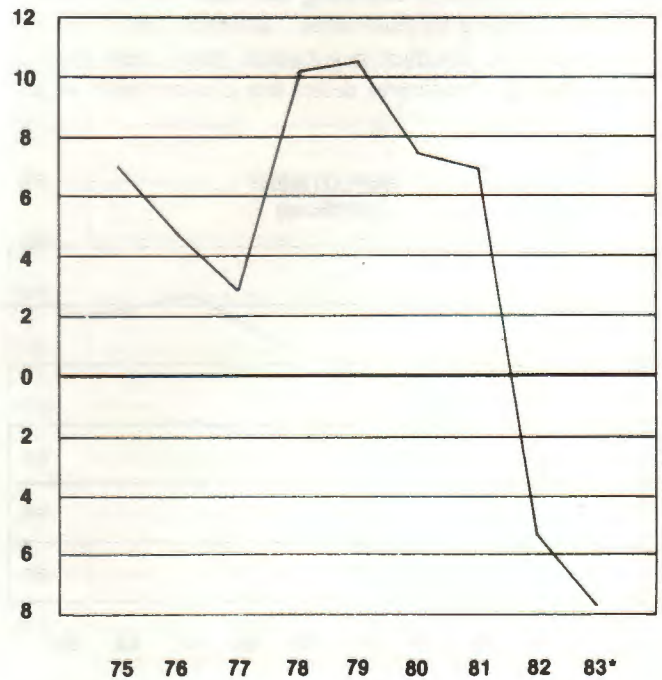
**AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION**  
(real - % change per year)



\*Projection.

Sources: Banco de México, Banco Nacional de México.

**MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION INDEX**  
(% change per year)



\*Projection.

Source: Banco de México, S.A.

readily adjusted to inflation. Much was made by the government of the elevation to Constitutional status of the "social sector," but the measure's strong statist implications frightened as many people as it appeased.

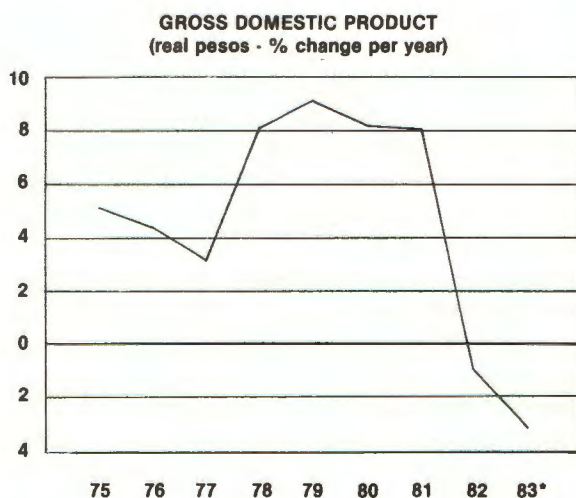
The general temper of the nation, however, remains relatively tranquil, and except for isolated incidents there has been no public outpouring of citizen indignation. There were veiled reports of an unpleasant confrontation during the May Day parade, and leftist agitation among miners and squatters in Northern Mexico has caused sporadic headaches for local authorities. Beyond this, at present there appears to be no unified movement that threatens social stability, and the De la Madrid administration appears to have a firm grip on internal order. The bitterness, quite openly expressed, is directed principally at the former administration, for imputed sins ranging from mismanagement to outright venality.

Politically, the calm is almost absolute, as there are no pending elections to stir passions or present any challenge to the government party, which has a comfortable period in which to mend the fissures created during the final months of the López Portillo administration.

## BUSINESS INDICATORS

Replies to the AACCLA questionnaire on the general business situation are void of surprises. They indicate precisely the conditions that are,

unfortunately, a matter of common knowledge. And in view of the fact that they represent the experience of some of the



\*Projection.

Sources: Banco de México, S.A.  
Secretariat of Programming and Budget (National Accounts)

largest and strongest firms in Mexico, most of them U.S. affiliates which would be expected to be somewhat less vulnerable to economic adversity, it becomes apparent that the current crisis is not only deep but widespread and probably lasting.

**Sales.** Sales are almost invariably reported as either soft, slow or declining. The only areas in which sales are holding or growing involve essential products and foods. In most instances there has been a general volume decline in response to price increases, with the automotive industry showing the most drastic reductions (about 50%). Chemicals and pharmaceuticals are also strongly affected, with one of the largest firms reporting 1982 levels as "the lowest in several years."

Incipient export trends could offset some of the slackness of the domestic market, which is not expected to show any measurable recovery for the short term.

**Collections.** The one area in which there appears to be little or no problem is in accounts collections, with virtually all respondents reporting normal-to-good patterns. With the exception of a slowness on the part of government agencies (which is hardly abnormal), payments are coming in promptly. Much of the strong collections experience is the result of tighter control and more intensive effort, as terms have been reduced from 60-90 days to a limit of 30 days in many instances. This undoubtedly reflects, on the part of both seller and buyer, an awareness of the impact of inflation and the high cost of financing. The single problem area reported involves vehicle dealers, whose deteriorating financial position has resulted in some delays and a higher rate of default.

**Profits.** Many responding firms report heavy exchange losses, as well as the effect of high interest rates. Firms subject to price controls are especially hurt, although many express a feeling that there will be some easing of this problem in the months ahead. In general, the outlook is for improvement in profit patterns, especially for the long-term, and at least partial recovery in 1983 from the unfortunate 1982 experience.

**Prices.** This was almost a superfluous query under the existing circumstances, and the responses so indicate. Without exception, firms report increases in prices of inputs ranging from 50% to 250%, with the automotive industry showing increases of between 8% and 10% per month. The comment is that prices of government-provided inputs go up faster than others. A steady ascending pattern is indicated for prices of products sold, except in the case of companies affected by price controls, which "depress activity and will continue to keep prices inadequate."

**Inventories.** Whereas high inventories were reported at the end of 1981, a downward trend was evident in early

1982. This trend has continued, and at present virtually all responding companies report substantially reduced inventory levels. In a few cases, firms were surprised by a swifter-than-anticipated demand drop and were caught with high inventories they have every intention of reducing as soon as possible. Where increases are projected, these will be made only in proportion to sales increases.

**Production.** Lack of financing and a generally depressed consumer market combine to bring about lower production levels, with companies reporting drops of from 20% to 40%. Where production volumes are holding to higher levels, the outlook is for stabilization without growth.

Much of the problem with production is attributed to scarcity of raw materials and supplies, especially where imported inputs are concerned. Here again, only priority industries are receiving an adequate supply of controlled dollars for importing indispensable raw materials, and dollar availability in other areas is a serious limiting factor.

### RECOVERY PROSPECTS

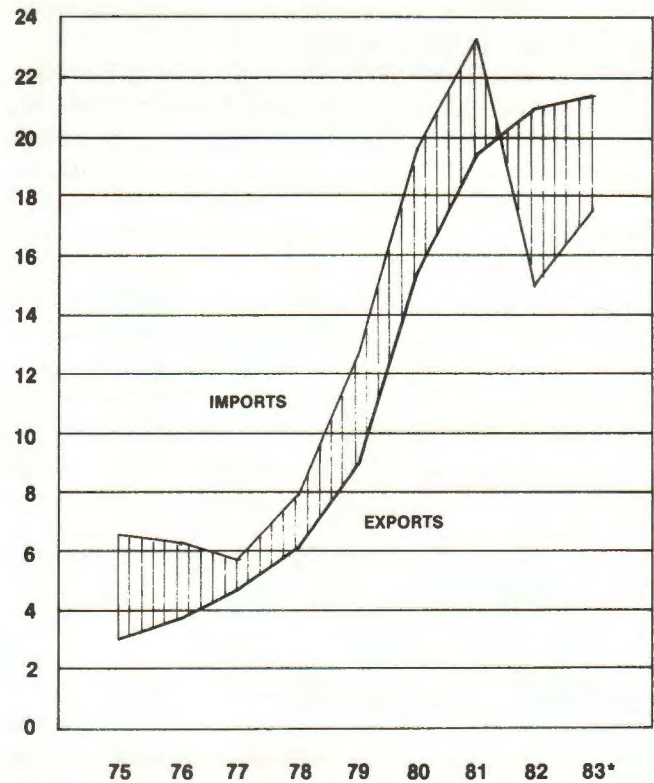
With so many business leaders chanting such a cheerless litany of problems, it would be difficult to be optimistic about the economic

and business situation for the immediate future. The austerity program adopted by the De la Madrid administration would have been necessary with or without any prodding by the IMF, and its effect is inevitably greater in an economy so dominated by the state. Cancellation or postponement of public works had its first and most direct impact on the construction industry, but the influence of contraction and stagnation spreads throughout the entire business and industrial community.

The best estimates for the duration of Mexico's economic plight are from two to three years, with some pessimists insisting the country "has not hit bottom yet" and that situations are developing that could produce "a fully socialist state by 1990."

Such a gloomy appraisal, however, fails to give proper weight not only to Mexico's enormous human and material assets but also to the resilience of the Mexican spirit. After all, the basic elements of recovery are still in place: An industrial plant of vast proportions and diversity; abundant natural resources, many of which will always be in demand

**MEXICO'S MERCHANDISE TRADE**  
(billions of dollars)



\*Projection.

Sources: Banco de México, Mexican Foreign Trade Institute.

in world markets; increasing technological competence; a highly-trainable work force; expanding internal markets; a long history of social and political stability that no present circumstances appear capable of shattering; and a geographic position giving ready access to the richest free market in the world.

The crisis is real and immediate. But the Mexican people are no strangers to crisis, and there is no valid reason to expect them to let present adversities interrupt more than momentarily the process of development begun under the administration of the late Miguel Alemán, and to which the Mexican people remain deeply committed.



# Dominican Republic Report

- Political Situation Normal
- Government Initiative to Obtain Foreign Investment
- Labor Situation Stable
- Deficit in Foreign Trade
- High Unemployment, Low Inflation
- IMF Loan to Country

## POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

Salvador Jorge Blanco has been President of the Dominican Republic since August 16, 1982, a ten-month period.

The political situation can be described as completely normal with no threats of violent opposition, and a complete absence of terrorism in any form. The government has the complete confidence and backing of the armed forces.

This government can be qualified as being middle of the road, pro-business and pro-foreign investment. Nevertheless, the government retains significant control over areas of the economy that can be construed to constitute a political safeguard.

The Dominican Republic can boast of its guarantees of civil liberties and freedom of expression, and its democratic institutions, including free elections. In proof of this we have the situation in 1982 of the tragic death of President Guzmán before finishing his term, the presidency of former Vice President Majluta for 90 days, then the inauguration of President Jorge Blanco, all without incident.

## BUSINESS CLIMATE

In this area it should be emphasized that the Dominican government, under the leadership of President Jorge Blanco, has taken the initiative

and has frequently reiterated since its inception that foreign and domestic investment are most welcome. To this end it has done the following:

1. Proposed amendments to the Dominican Foreign Investment Registration Law, which is extremely stringent

and in fact, almost prohibitive of foreign investment for domestic consumption.

2. A commission for promoting foreign investment has been formed, in which AmCham plays an active part.
3. The President has inaugurated a new industrial free zone in Puerto Plata on the north coast of the country. This makes a total of four such zones. However, the President also proposes to allow free zones in any area of the country for qualified industries engaged in manufacturing for export.
4. The President and his economic team have publicly stated, on many occasions, interest in attracting not only manufacturing for export, but also agribusiness, tourism and mining concerns.
5. The construction industry has always been a dynamic sector of the economy and for that reason a program was established in the central bank, through which resources are loaned to the savings and loan associations and to the mortgage banks in the same proportion that they increase their financing programs to the construction sector. For that program 20 million pesos have been budgeted.

This overall policy, plus the favorable political climate already discussed, permits the expectation of an increase in the gross domestic product in 1983 parallel to expected general economic improvement in the Western hemisphere.

## LABOR SITUATION

The labor situation has remained stable, with sporadic strikes in some industries, but nothing that could be termed general labor unrest.

This, in spite of a minimum wage of only .655 Dominican

pesos per hour. (The Dominican peso is officially at par with the U.S. dollar. On the parallel market, however, the dollar costs 56% more than its official value.)

## FOREIGN TRADE

At the end of 1982 foreign trade showed an unfavorable balance. Exports amounted to 767.7 million Dominican pesos, lower by 35.4% than that registered during 1981, and total imports were 1,248.8 million pesos, which represents a decline of 13.6% with regard to 1981. This balance caused a trade deficit of 480.7 million pesos, exceeding the one registered during 1981 by 223.3 million pesos.

The decline of exports was principally due to the drop in the sales of sugar, leaf tobacco, bauxite, ferronickel and dore (a combination of gold and silver).

Coffee and cocoa exports increased by 19.7 and 8.1 million pesos respectively as a result of an increase in the export quota, and because of the rise in value of these products during 1982.

On the other hand, total imports reached 1,248.2 million pesos during 1982. This figure is lower by 201.9 million pesos than that registered in 1981. The staples that most contributed to this reduction were oil and its by-products, foodstuffs imported by the Institute for the Stabilization of Prices, and other imports.

The overall result of the balance of payments in 1982 was a 136.8-million deficit, contrasting with the positive balance in 1981 which amounted to 54.0 million pesos.

With the application of the policy of incentives to non-traditional exports established by the monetary authorities, it is foreseen that for 1983 the volume of goods destined abroad will increase. Additionally, it is expected that raw material imports, capital goods and other consumption will diminish with respect to 1982, so that the commercial deficit will be reduced.

## ECONOMIC/ FINANCIAL SITUATION

Thus, with the worldwide recession of the last few years, coupled with the aforementioned low price of the Dominican Republic's basic exports, a deficit has resulted in the balance of payments, and the economy has suffered greatly.

Unemployment is approximately 30%, with 20% to 30% underemployment on top of this. There was only a 1.5% increase in the gross domestic product in 1982, the lowest in many years and less than the increase in population, which was estimated at 2.5% for the year. The rate of inflation was below 8%. This last figure is one of the best in the world. It should be made clear, however, that this rate of inflation is based on the so-called "family basic needs," including the staples of every day life for the majority of the population. On the other hand, imported goods have risen to new heights because of the increased rate on the parallel market, which has reached over 50%, while officially the peso is at par with the dollar.

The parallel market has now become so official that commercial banks, such as Chase, Citibank and Bank of America, have been authorized to change pesos to dollars and vice-versa at the unofficial rate.

The government has taken rapid measures under President Jorge Blanco to better the economy. He has initiated an austerity program in order to comply with the requirements of the International Monetary Fund, which resulted in a loan of \$450 million dollars spread over three years, and has renegotiated part of the foreign debt.

## THE IMF AGREEMENT

The Dominican Republic, like most other Latin American countries, has now entered into a credit agreement with the International Monetary Fund. In addition to supplying the country with the necessary resources with which to break the foreign debt squeeze, the IMF agreement provides two intangible assets: Self-discipline and foreign credit worthiness.

## CONCLUSION

Mr. Hugh Brache, President of the National Council of Businessmen of the Dominican Republic, stated recently: "We rely on a fundamental resource: Peace and liberty. That is the scarcest of all resources in our America." It is with this base, plus the government's initiative in promoting foreign investment, exports and tourism, that we feel optimistic for the future of the Dominican Republic.

# Haiti Report

- Agricultural Development
- Job Creation
- Commercial Trade Deficit
- Haiti's Image
- Foreign Exchange Shortage

## GENERAL BACKGROUND

Haiti is the poorest country in the Western hemisphere and one of the poorest worldwide. It has extremely limited natural resources and severe

deficiencies in infrastructure. Agriculture is the most important sector of the economy, producing about 32% of gross domestic product (GDP) and employing about 70% of the population. Manufacturing contributes 18% of GDP, commerce 18% and government 9%.

Approximately six million people live within Haiti's mountainous 10,741 square miles (about the size of Maryland). Seventy-five to eighty percent live in the countryside, many farming marginal land. While only about 30% of the land is suitable for crops, more than 40% is actually under cultivation. Coffee, sugar, rice, corn, sorghum, millet, beans, cocoa, sweet potatoes, manioc, nuts, vetiver, sisal, cotton, bananas, mangoes, plantains, oranges, limes and grapefruits are the major agricultural products.

Agriculture is primitive and there is inadequate internal distribution of goods, resulting in local shortages and wide price fluctuations. Coffee, vetiver, and mangoes are the major agricultural exports.

The World Bank estimates that 85% of the rural population exists below the absolute poverty level. Approximately 23% of the population is literate.

## DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS

Haiti faces major development problems. Bilateral and multilateral aid, which should total about \$140 million dollars in 1983, is being directed

primarily to improve agriculture, education, health, and transportation. Sanitation and health are major problems. Infant mortality, at the rate of 130 per 1,000, is second highest

in the hemisphere. Hospitals are rudimentary.

Unemployment and underemployment are broadly estimated by the government of Haiti as 14% and 65% respectively. Unemployment in the urban areas of Port-au-Prince is generally acknowledged to be more than 50% of those in the labor force. Migration to Port-au-Prince is an important aspect of the rural migrant problem.

Another is the flight of Haitians to the Bahamas, the Dominican Republic, and the United States. While illegal migration to the United States has been greatly reduced over the past year, the pressure to migrate will continue as long as the country lacks services. Job creation, therefore, must continue to be one of the economy's prime development objectives, as Port-au-Prince, a city of fewer than 300,000 people seven years ago, continues to swell from its current population of approximately one million.

There are about 3,000 kilometers of roads in Haiti, of which about 600 are first class. Not all regions of the country are accessible by car, although most can be reached in a four-wheel drive vehicle. Total electric generating capacity is about 102 MW, but should increase to 123MW by the end of 1983 when the new power station at Carrefour is completed. Most of the major provincial cities as well as Port-au-Prince have electricity; however, occasional blackouts and current fluctuations cause most industries to install standby generators. The telecommunications network is limited and erratic internally, but generally adequate for international calls.

## SUMMARY

Fiscal Year 1982 (October 1, 1981 - September 30, 1982) proved to be difficult for Haiti. Earnings from coffee and bauxite exports, the major sources of foreign exchange, were below 1981 levels. Im-

ports, spurred by the continued increase in demand and prices for foodstuffs, petroleum products, and consumer goods, resulted in an estimated commercial trade deficit of \$213 million dollars.

The trade deficit, coupled with unbudgeted capital expenditures from 1981, caused the continuation of severe foreign exchange shortages. In response, the government of Haiti enacted decrees on February 6, 1981, prohibiting or restricting the import of certain products. Wholesale prices of gasoline, diesel fuel, flour and tobacco have been raised in a further attempt to increase government revenues and dampen demand for imported goods. The government also instituted a new 7% value-added tax in October 1982.

In a major policy speech on August 8, 1981, President Duvalier announced a series of fiscal reforms to be implemented in 1982. In July 1982, the government entered into a formal 15-month Standby Agreement with the International Monetary Fund that will provide approximately 38 million dollars in balance of payments financing through the end of 1983. An austerity budget and the expected increase in coffee revenues this year should help somewhat to ease the current financial squeeze by the end of 1983.

While demand for U.S. products continues to be strong,

especially for construction equipment and materials, foodstuffs, and health care products, the current financial situation makes increased U.S. exports to Haiti unlikely for the 1983 fiscal year.

### INVESTMENT POSSIBILITIES

In spite of these current financial difficulties, the attractiveness of Haiti as a site for U.S. investment in labor-intensive assembly and transformation industries remains excellent over the longer term. Haiti's greatest resource is its abundant supply of low-cost, trainable labor; the current average minimum wage rate is \$2.64 dollars per day, about one-third that of the English-speaking Caribbean. The country's proximity to the U.S. market should make Haiti relatively more attractive for U.S. firms currently engaged in offshore assembly operations. Recognition of the improving investment climate has resulted in plans for a second investment mission to Haiti in December, sponsored by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), the U.S. Agency for International Development's Private Enterprise Bureau, and the U.S. Embassy.

## Costa Rica Report

- Loan Renegotiated
- Exports Decline
- New Ministry of Exports Created
- Inflation, Unemployment Down

### CREDITS REVIEWED

Costa Rica successfully completed the first quarterly review of compliance with the terms of last December's IMF Standby Agreement.

The interbank foreign exchange rate, an integral part of the

agreement, has continued at a steady rate of 40.50 colones to the dollar, while the free rate reported last November at 45.55 colones was down to 44.10 in May 1983.

Renegotiation of 600 million dollars owed by the government to 150 private banks, the Paris Club, has been completed. Basically, Costa Rica has negotiated a four-year grace

period on principal, to mid 1987, in exchange for a commitment to have all interest payments current by the end of 1983. The rate has been set at 2-3/4% over LIBOR or 2-1/8% over prime, at the lender's discretion.

### EXPORT MARKET SHRINKS

A decline in exports, to 876 million dollars, 15% below the 1981 level, is primarily due to a shrinking in the Central American Common

Market because of economic-political problems in member nations, low commodity prices and soft demands in industrial countries, plus lack of local incentives.

A strong commitment to export is now visible with the creation of a new high level post, Minister of Exports, who is charged with formulating and carrying out an effective export stimulation program.

### INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT DOWN

Measured both by the Wholesale Price Index (WPI) and the Consumer Price Index (CPI), inflation is tapering off in Costa Rica. WPI growth for the year ending March 1983 was 50% vs. 121% for the previous year. CPI grew 57% in the same period vs. 82% a year before, with an overall inflation of less than 10% in the first quarter of 1983.

The unemployment rate has dropped to 8.9% from 9.4% in July of 1982, although higher than the reported 8.7% in November 1981. More significantly, total sub-employment plus open unemployment was 20.2% in November 1982, compared with 23.8% in July 1982.

Although the unemployment rate has dropped recently, further significant declines depend largely on the government's success in reactivating a stagnant economy. Economic reactivation will both improve employment and maintain social tranquility in Costa Rica.

## Guatemala Report

- Violence Declines
- Collections Improve
- Earnings Irregular
- New Exports Encouraged

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The level of terrorism and violence in Guatemala has been reduced dramatically. The credit for this can be attributed directly to Presi-

dent Ríos Montt's highly successful "Beans and Bullets" program. This program can be defined as "help the people to feed and house themselves and provide them with the means to protect their families and homes against the Marxist-Leninist supported guerrillas."

Response to the "Bean and Bullets" program and the "Amnesty" programs clearly shows that popular support is on the side of the Guatemalan government and not with the guerrillas. Over 11,000 Guatemalans responded to the "Amnesty" program, turned in their arms and are supporting the peaceful and tranquil life they fervently desire.

Recognition of the abatement of terrorism is seen in the

reductions in the rates of "terrorist insurance" by U.S. insurance companies.

### SALES AND COLLECTIONS

Reduction in violence has allowed the "retail marketers," such as in the pharmaceutical, cosmetic and home product industries, to resume their activities, with resulting substantial increase in sales.

Many companies now report receivables turnover, on local sales, at the best rate in years. Payments in fewer than 30 days are becoming common.

Construction in Guatemala City is in a severe depression, although a continuing program of government-financed projects in the interior has given some relief.

## PROFITS AND PRICES

Patterns of earnings are irregular, but most businesses report "satisfactory earnings."

A slight decrease in the retail price index, and only a slight increase in the wholesale price index, are healthy signs of stabilization of the economy, with inflation under control.

The retail price index showed a slight decrease in 1982 vs. 1981, whereas the wholesale price index increased slightly:

Retail Price Index		Wholesale Price Index	
1975	100	1950	100
1980	175	1980	330
1981	190	1981	340
1982 (Est.)	185	1982 (Est.)	345

## INVESTMENT AND BUSINESS CLIMATE

The international recession has had a definite negative effect on the economy of Guatemala. The major exports of Guatemala — coffee, cotton

and sugar — are still suffering from low international prices.

The upturn in the economies of the industrialized nations, led by the U.S.A., Japan and Great Britain, will have a positive effect on Guatemala's economy. International commodity prices already show signs of increasing.

The recession among neighboring countries in Central America, which are Guatemala's major trading partners, has discouraged new foreign investments. The "patient money," however, is active in the market in mergers and acquisitions, in anticipation of the expected upturn in the international economy. This money is following the axiom of buying in when the market is at its lowest level.

## IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

The government and the private financial community are actively promoting investments in new export products. Export of non-traditional products has increased substantially. This new drive

has not offset the loss of foreign exchange because of low international prices on coffee, cotton and sugar, but is definitely broadening Guatemala's export base, and this will give new strength to Guatemala's economy.

Strict controls on imports and foreign exchange are not popular, but they have definitely improved Guatemala's balance of trade.

## BALANCE OF TRADE

Year	Exports (FOB) (1,000s of U.S. dollars)	Imports (CIF) (1,000s of U.S. dollars)	Total
1979	\$1,240	\$1,505	\$(265)
1980	\$1,520	\$1,600	\$( 80)
1981	\$1,225	\$1,675	\$(450)
1982	\$1,120	\$1,390	\$(270)

Growth in the gross domestic product was negative in 1982, and 1983 does not promise any change. Recovery from the international recession promises a start of the return to the growth rates of 6-10% Guatemala enjoyed in the decades of the '60s and '70s.

## GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT

(In constant 1958 dollars)

Year	Dollars (millions)
1979	\$2,995
1980	3,105
1981	3,135
1982 (Est.)	3,025

## PROBLEM AREAS

Unemployment and under-employment, at a level of approximately 40%, is a very serious problem. Government projects are being instituted

to alleviate this, but an upswing in the economy is required to bring this down to an acceptable level. Few U.S. companies have reported any major reduction in personnel.

## EMPLOYMENT

Year	Employed (thousands)
1979	695
1980	765
1981	760
1982 (Est.)	725

Cotton acreage to be planted in Guatemala in 1983 will probably not reach 130,000 acres (approx. 52,000 hcts.), which is down from 1982 and 60% below the peak planting of the mid '70s. This will have a negative effect on employment and exports.

Tourism income is down from a peak of 82 million dollars to an estimated 15 million dollars in 1982. Promotional campaigns are in place to show that terrorism is no longer a problem, thus encouraging tourists to return to the beauty and friendship that Guatemala offers.

# Honduras Report

- Growth Rate Declines
- Credit Short, Rates High
- Export Prices Drop, Foreign Exchange Reduced
- Opportunity in Tourism Potential

## OVERVIEW

After four years of unprecedented real growth averaging more than 7.5% per year in the late 1970's, Honduras entered a period of sharp economic decline beginning in 1980. The real growth rate was 2.5% in 1980, and 0.3% in 1981. The preliminary estimate for 1982 is minus 1 percent.

Prospects for substantial improvement in 1983 are slim: significant recovery is not expected to occur until 1984. The principal reasons behind the decline are: A marked deterioration in terms of trade highlighted by soft world markets for Honduras' commodity exports; rising import costs, especially for petroleum; a severe shortage of credit; high interest rates and flagging investor confidence.

Inflation in 1982 was 9.2% and is expected to advance at about the same pace in 1983. Since 1980 the current account deficit has widened, and reduced capital account offsets have resulted in losses of net international reserves. This trend is being reversed in 1983 by reduced imports and extraordinary foreign assistance inflows.

## POLITICAL SITUATION

Honduras is set in the midst of a region of political turmoil. It is worth emphasizing that Central America comprises five distinct countries with substantially differing political situations. Honduras is not at war. On the contrary, it has been a tireless advocate for regional peace before such international forums as the United Nations and the Organization of American States. While there have been isolated acts of political violence, it has occurred at the instigation of outsiders. Such acts have been repeatedly condemned by the Hondurans.

## AGRIBUSINESS

Honduras is predominately an agricultural country. Agribusiness accounts for approximately 40% of the GDP and will continue to be the most important sector of the Honduran economy into the foreseeable future. As world commodities markets improve, this sector will again experience growth. Opportunities look good for investors in non-traditional agricultural exports, such as countercyclical crops and semi-exotic produce. Growth in the agricultural sector will generate increased demand for exports of agricultural supplies.

## BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

One result of the current worldwide recession has been a precipitous drop in world markets for major Honduran exports. This, in turn, has reduced private sector foreign exchange inflows and necessitated far-reaching controls in imports and the use of foreign exchange. In recent months there has been some evidence of import substitutions. If this trend continues, it will create a broad range of business opportunities for investors and suppliers of capital goods.

Honduras is a country of great natural beauty and has a promising potential for tourism development. The government of Honduras recognizes the value of tourism as a source of foreign exchange. Over the past year, it has worked closely with the private sector to promote tourism. As the regional political situation stabilizes, tourism should experience dynamic growth, offering a particularly attractive "window of opportunity" to investors.

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# Nicaragua Report

- New Restrictions on Dollar Purchases
- Climate for Foreign Investment is Negative
- Economic and Political Situation  
Produces Social Unrest

## DIFFICULT TIMES

Comments on the general business climate emphasize the scarcity of foreign exchange as one of the most serious problems facing the

operations of industry and business.

Apathy and pessimism are the dominant features of the business outlook. There are no indications of any improvement. Private enterprise is having a very difficult time in conducting business because of severe limitations on imports, growing control of the state in all productive areas, and competition of state-owned units.

## FOREIGN EXCHANGE

The extreme difficulty faced by importers in obtaining dollars to import goods is having an adverse impact on business. The same

situation is faced by manufacturers, who have "serious problems" in obtaining necessary imported productive inputs. As a result, most factories are operating at 50% or less of capacity, with negative effect on production levels.

An official parallel market, where the exchange rate was \$28.50 to the U.S. dollar, existed in the country until the government passed a new law closing it down on May 27. New government restrictions on dollar purchases and possession were recently announced, making acquisition of foreign exchange even more difficult.

The parallel market, designed specifically to meet dollar needs for educational expenses, health purposes, travelling, and for priority goods imported from outside the Central American region, is now totally under government control.

## DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Concerning the foreign investment issue, the situation is viewed as negative. The general business climate and the existing laws are con-

sidered adverse factors for attracting foreign investment.

From the potential investor's point of view, conditions for investment are unsatisfactory, questionable, and uninteresting because of political confusion and economic dislocation.

Local investors are few and operate mainly in the agro-industrial field.

## INFLATION

Although official figures are not available, there is agreement that the rate of inflation is high and will continue to increase. Imported product

prices are continuously increasing and are expected to rise more and more rapidly in the very near future as a result of new restrictions on dollar purchases.

Scarcity and high prices of basic food products and services are severely affecting the Nicaraguan economy and are causing social unrest.

## LABOR RELATIONS

The management picture is relatively stable. While some firms are experiencing good and even very satisfactory relations, others report

the persistence of a possibility of deterioration caused by "outside environment," or external factors.

Unemployment is playing a significant role in the current



situation because there is the feeling that everybody wants to keep working and avoid problems in order to maintain jobs.

### POLITICAL SITUATION

During the past few months the country has been going through a state of increasing uncertainty and insecurity, especially in the economic and social aspects, caused mainly by the military-political crisis that Nicaragua is facing in its relations with neighboring countries.

The underlying issue is a conflict between the in-power government group (FSLN) on the one hand, and the opposing groups, which are essentially exiled Nicaraguans.

Respondents report that political uncertainty in the country will remain high and that it is difficult to foresee any improvement in the near future.

### PERSPECTIVES

- Reductions in economic activity.
- Higher costs, especially for imported items.
- Lower imports because of severe scarcity of foreign exchange.
- Climate for foreign investment will continue to be negative.
- No economic, social or political improvement is anticipated.

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# Panama Report

- Real Growth Slow
- Political Situation Stable
- Canal Revenues Off
- Agriculture Weak
- Energy Improved
- Inflation Rate Low
- Unemployment Rising
- Financing Needs Heavy

### GENERAL SITUATION

The current world recession and especially the declining economies and political instability of many Latin American nations have taken their toll on Panama. Panama is currently experiencing declining levels of exports, a slower rate of growth in the service sector and a rising level of unemployment. While the real gross domestic product (GDP) expanded by 2.3% in 1982, the outlook for 1983 is for little if any real growth.

While businesses with local markets are surviving the recession fairly well, businesses dependent on foreign markets have encountered great difficulty, particularly in the export

of goods to Venezuela, Mexico and other Latin American countries. Ultimately, a turnaround for Panama's economy will depend on an improvement in the world economy.

Of vital importance, however, is Panama's continued commitment to free enterprise, its relative degree of political stability and the potential of the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) to attract new foreign investment to Panama. The Investment Council of Panama is actively promoting Panama as a secure place for investment, and the Panamanian government continues to provide a wide range of incentives to attract investment here, especially in the areas of manufacturing and exporting. These factors should ultimately

provide great advantage to Panama as the state of the world economy begins to improve.

Panama's present political situation remains relatively stable. The country's president, Ricardo de la Espriella, assumed office on July 30, 1982, after the resignation of former President Aristides Royo. Plans are proceeding smoothly for the May 1984 elections for both the Legislature and the Presidency. Revisions to the 1972 Constitution were worked out by a special commission set up for that purpose, and were approved by a referendum vote on April 24, 1983. Such revisions call for the replacement of the country's massive legislative body with a smaller legislative assembly that will be elected by direct popular vote. A number of political parties have qualified to present a presidential candidate, but candidates for the Presidency have not yet been announced.

### THE GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT

In recent years, Panama's service-oriented economy has experienced a high rate of growth. Real GDP in constant 1970 dollars increased 4.5% in 1979, 5.3% in 1980, 3.8% in 1981 and 2.3% in 1982. This growth came largely from increases in banking activity, construction and record levels of transits through the Panama Canal. Growth in most of these areas began to slacken in 1982. The increase in GDP last year can be attributed primarily to a record level of construction in Panama. During this year construction of the 350 million dollar trans-isthmian pipeline was completed, as was much of the construction in Panama City of luxury apartment buildings and commercial office space. Construction accounted for roughly 8.9% of GDP in 1982; it grew 17.3% over the level experienced in 1981. Although construction will continue at a moderate pace during 1983 as ongoing projects are completed, the government has recognized a need to stimulate the construction segment by reactivating the Construction Incentive Law.

Banking and financial services, which account for approximately 6% of total GDP, experienced a high rate of growth for the last four years. To attract foreign banks Panama relaxed its banking laws in the early 1970s. This resulted in a liberal regulatory environment, with no minimum size or other restrictions on offshore transactions, and a developing Latin American money market center. Panama has 131 banks, with assets at the end of 1982 in excess of \$49 billion dollars. Lending activity in Panama is highly rate-competitive. The volume of commercial lending may decrease slightly during 1983, reflecting a decline in economic activity.

### THE COLON FREE ZONE

The Colon Free Zone (CFZ), which represents approximately 4% of GDP, stands to be Panama's hardest hit area in 1983. Current estimates show volume in the CFZ off by 50%, further affecting the problem of unemployment in that area. The CFZ is the second largest free trade zone in the world (second to Hong Kong), and roughly two-thirds of the merchandise that enters the CFZ has typically been re-exported to Venezuela and other Latin American countries. At present, businesses in the CFZ report great difficulty in collecting on receivables from Mexico and Venezuela. One source cites stagnant inventories of 500 million dollars, which is equivalent to about ninety days of inventory.

The Panama Canal Commission and the U.S. armed forces are a very important part of the Panamanian economy. Together they contribute more than 20% of the GDP. The Panama Canal Commission has, however, begun to experience a decline in activity. Traffic levels are currently 15% off from last year because of the completion of the trans-isthmian pipeline (which now carries Alaskan North Slope oil, previously transported through the Canal) and the lower level of global transit resulting from the worldwide recession. Canal tolls were raised nearly 10% in March 1983, and the resulting revenue should enable the Canal Commission to approach breakeven in 1983. The Republic of Panama should still receive more than 70 million dollars (approximately \$50 million in tonnage payments, \$10 million annuity and \$10 million for public services) from the Panama Canal Commission in fiscal year 1983, versus \$81 million in 1982.

### THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

Traditional weakness of the agricultural sector has been due to a lack of modern equipment and farming technology. It employs approximately 30% of the labor force but its contribution to GDP varies from 10% to 14%. Efforts have been made by the government to improve farm yields and increase land under cultivation, as well as to augment the extension of credit to farmers. Some improvement is evident; the sector actually performed fairly well in 1982, increasing 4.4% over 1981. Dollar volume of production may be down in 1983 as a result of low world commodity prices coupled with the drought.

Exports of goods from Panama have shown a downward trend over recent years. 1982 exports amounted to 309.3 million dollars, which compares unfavorably with exports of

\$353.4 million and \$319.4 million in 1981 and 1980 respectively. Banana exports decreased 4.6% to \$66 million in 1982 from \$69.2 million in 1981. In 1983, however, Panama has benefited from natural disasters in other banana-producing areas and has significantly increased its export levels. In 1982 sugar exports decreased 55% to \$23.77 million from \$52.6 million in 1981, largely because of low world sugar prices. Shrimp exports increased 24% to \$52.9 million in 1982 from \$42.7 million in the previous year.

### THE RATE OF INFLATION

Panama's inflation rate is low compared to other Latin American countries. It tends to follow the trend of world prices — particularly those of

the U.S., since Panama uses the U.S. dollar as its currency. The inflation rate based on the consumer price index (CPI) was 4.3% in 1982, while the wholesale price index (WPI) showed inflation of 8.5%. Government price controls on certain basic necessities hold down the CPI. Inflation based on both the CPI and the WPI has been below 1982 levels so far this year.

### EMPLOYMENT

During 1982, Panama's unemployment estimates ranged from 15% to 20%. Increased unemployment is due to slow growth in the

economy as well as to a large number of new entrants to the job market. The outlook for 1983 indicates an increasing level of unemployment, especially in Colon.

### FOREIGN INVESTMENT

The CBI has the potential of attracting foreign investment to Panama, and is expected to be passed during 1983. Panama is in a good position to

take advantage of the CBI, especially its provision for free access to U.S. markets, which allows products from CBI countries to enter the U.S. duty free as long as 35% of the product's value has been added in one or more CBI countries. This might be especially beneficial in increasing Panama's attractiveness to electronics, garment and high technology firms that have had problems with the quota limits between Asia and the U.S.

### FINANCING AND THE PUBLIC DEBT

Panama's total public sector debt of \$3.9 billion at the end of 1982 represents approximately 90% of 1982 GDP. The external portion of this debt

was \$2.8 billion. Debt service places a significant burden on Panama's budget, and the government's ability to meet future interest expenses and principal payments will depend largely on the willingness of lender banks to extend new loans to refinance government indebtedness.

In order to satisfy its large financing requirements for 1983, Panama will look to banks and also to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Agency for International Development (AID). Commercial banks will probably be invited to participate in a \$300 million loan. The government recently reached an agreement with the IMF that will permit it to draw upon a standby facility that is anticipated to be approximately \$162 million for 1983 and 1984. The government has made efforts to cut expenditures and raise revenues, but did experience difficulties in 1982 in meeting IMF restrictions on the size of the public sector deficit. The World Bank and AID are also discussing projects that should help to increase capital inflows.

### ENERGY PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION

During the past four years, Panama's total energy consumption derived primarily from wood and bagasse (20%), water power for

electricity (23%), and petroleum (57%). Of the petroleum sourced energy, 13% was used as fuel for the generation of electricity. Panama purchased petroleum crude oils from Venezuela and Mexico at a rate of 24,000 barrels per day in 1982, with the balance of requirements imported from Ecuador. Total local consumption of refined petroleum products increased 11.6% during 1982, primarily as the result of an extended dry season that did not permit full utilization of available hydroelectric facilities.

One of Panama's largest ongoing government projects is the development of alternate energy sources aimed at reducing the country's dependence on petroleum as a source of energy. Panama has been successful in switching from oil to water power as its primary source of electricity. Since 1980, 65% of Panama's electric power demand has been generated from hydroelectric sources versus only 5% in 1970. Upon completion of the Fortuna Hydroelectric Project, during the second half of 1984, Panama's electric

power will be generated 100% from hydroelectric sources.

Due, however, to a high annual increase of 7% in electricity consumption, demand is expected to exceed total installed hydroelectric capacity by 1987. While estimates

show that Panama has the potential to fill increasing demand for electric power from hydroelectric sources, this would require the continuous construction of new hydroelectric plants.

# El Salvador Report

- Working Capital, Foreign Exchange Scarce
- Expectancy for This Year's Elections
- Tax Raise to Balance the Budget

## ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS INDICATORS

The economy of El Salvador is still deeply affected by world prices of traditional exports: coffee, sugar and cotton. This negative condition is further affected by low production, primarily a result of violence in the countryside and the nationalization of the largest estates. In 1982 total export earnings dropped from 2,601.9 million colones to 2,250 million. Some of this shortfall has been overcome by restricting capital goods imports, but even so El Salvador shows a negative 327.4-million-colones balance of trade. A serious deficit has been developing between El Salvador and the other members of the Central American Common Market.

### Trade with C.A.C.M.

(Million of US\$)

Exports:		Imports:	
1981	204.6	1981	302.3
1982	176.7	1982	260.4

The deficit in balance of trade coupled with the high cost of terrorist-declared war on the economy has maintained hard currency extremely scarce. Raw materials, medicines, foodstuffs and agricultural equipment all have been restricted, not by demand, but by lack of dollars.

Inflation has been controlled by a salary freeze since 1981 (a 10% salary increase was approved for 1983). Inflation figures, depending on the source, run between 20% to 30%. For 1983 inflation will run about the same if there is no formal devaluation of the colon.

The GDP will continue to drop, with the forecast for 1983 being 3%. This drop is being countered by the government and private sector by giving top priority to the in-

dustrial and agricultural sector, over the commercial and service sector.

Current economic difficulties will continue as long as the political-terrorist violence keeps the Salvadorean economy under siege.

## BUSINESS CLIMATE AND OUTLOOK

The business community has high hopes for President Reagan's Caribbean Basin economic program, above all for the opening of U.S.

markets and possible investment incentives for potential industrial development, which is seen as the only future of El Salvador.

Agriculture is not considered a development tool, but industry is, especially labor-intensive capable of taking advantage of the country's main resource: its labor force.

Since the March 1982 elections, a real change in attitude has been felt among the business community, incorporating themselves in key advisory positions within the new government.

Local management has proven to be extremely capable after almost 3 years of being in charge. In most cases, middle level managers have done extraordinarily well under very difficult circumstances.

## INVESTMENT AND CREDIT

Since 1978 there has been a dramatic change in the role of the government as an investor and credit user. In 1978 the government owed

\$283 million to the local banking system; the debt has increased almost 400% to \$1,128 in 1982. Meanwhile, the private sector increased its debt figure only 37% in the same period, to \$1,100 million.

Among the main reasons for this has been the need of the Central Bank to cover the government's deficits, which increased as its taxable base deteriorated. Another major reason is the cost of replacing vital infrastructure installations, such as bridges, electric towers, telephone and water services, etc., which have been a prime target of terrorism. Direct cost of the terrorists' damage is estimated at \$600 million.

As the main financier of government, the Central Bank drains resources from the banking system that otherwise could be used by the private sector.

Foreign aid has been vital during this period. The private sector has received substantial amounts so far this year, from such institutions as the IDB and AID.

The country's foreign debt increased from 348 million dollars in 1979, to 925 million dollars in 1982, but still reflects only 18% of GDP to service it.

The private sector's external debt decreased from 469 million dollars in 1978, to 187 million dollars in 1982.

Interest rates were moved up by decree 2 years ago to an upper limit of 18.5% for commercial use and 15.5% for manufacturing. Saving pays 9.5% and up to 12% for time deposits.

Agriculture has different rates, depending on the crop, and credits can be obtained with 12% to 15% interest.

### FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND TRADE

Scarcity of foreign exchange continues to be depressing for business operations and contributes to high prices for imported goods. The most demanded currencies are U.S. dollars and Guatemalan quetzales. While the official exchange rate remains at 2.5 colones per dollar or quetzal, the parallel market rate for U.S. dollars is 4 to one and 4.5 to one on the black market. Black market quetzales are bought at around 3.3 colones.

The Central American Common Market has been in deterioration during the last years. In view of all its internal problems, El Salvador has lost its leading role in the area and now shows a negative balance of trade in the Common Market.

The countries of the region have all applied highly protective and damaging exchange controls. Now commercial transactions are subject to government interpretations, cash flows and government priorities. To counter the lack of foreign exchange and long delays in payments, the barter system within the area has attracted considerable attention. Even though still hampered by the government's inability to develop the specific mechanisms, bartering has been operating.

### LABOR RELATIONS

For the third straight year now, labor relations have been good. What makes this feature even brighter is that workers at all levels have accepted a salary freeze since January 1981. In February 1982 a 10% increase was permitted on a voluntary basis, and again in March this year another 10% was allowed for the private sector.

Not all have raised salaries and no major problems have been reported in the ones that could not do it.

Absenteeism continues to be normal even though public transport has been a prime target of terrorist destruction.

### CONTROLS, BUREAUCRACY, AND TAXES

Since reforms were implemented in 1980, the state has increased its economic power and therefore bureaucracy is bigger than ever.

No great policy changes were made after last year's elections, although the private sector was called to participate in the study and development of economic policy.

The private sector becomes frequently impatient with the slow decision-making process, but it must be understood that it could be expected to be so in a newly-born democracy.

In order to balance the budget, the executive branch presented a new package of taxes for approval to the Assembly early this year. Among the various increases in the package, only the sales tax has been approved so far. The new sales tax was raised from 2% to 5%.

It has been estimated that this increase might end up adding 15% to the inflation rate, because of its "waterfall" effect.

### POLITICAL SITUATION

Unfortunately, politics still remains a basic issue and its preeminence will be enhanced as soon as the political campaign starts for the end-of-the-year presidential elections.

So far only the Christian Democratic Party has nominated its candidate, Napoleón Duarte. It is still unknown if each of the other parties will present its own candidate or will form a right-of-center coalition.

A dialogue has been offered to the FDR-FMLN in order to have them participate in the democratic process. An amnesty commission and peace commission, both chaired by churchmen, have been formed to help bring this about.

Acceptance of the democratic election is regarded by the people as the only way to build the base for a dialogue with the Marxist-Leninist guerrilla groups.

# AACCLA BRIEFS

## ARGENTINA

- To keep the country's computers from developing neuroses, the Argentine government on June 1 issued a new monetary unit, officially designated the "Argentine Peso," with a value of one to 10,000 of the "peso ley" which had replaced the "peso viejo" in 1970. The "Argentine Peso" was born with an official exchange value of approximately eight to the dollar, and was being traded on the parallel market at ten-to-one. The quick-witted portfolio businessman, accustomed for years to calling a 10,000-peso note "un millón" (because it was originally worth that many "pesos viejos") will lop off those four zeros without batting an eye.
  - As this report was closing, it appeared that Argentina would not be officially represented at the forthcoming international labor organization meeting in Geneva. Both of the major trade union federations have refused to participate in the delegation, and the Argentine Industrial Union, which had earlier consented, backed out following the labor leaders' balk. The delegation is supposed to be made up of representatives of government, management and labor.
  - The Argentine economy continued on the critical list during this quarter, but toward the end of the period signs of recovery were discerned. Automobile sales picked up considerably in comparison to last year's distressing slump, and a study issued in May by the Argentine Business University (UADE) showed a 5% increase in utilization of industrial capacity during March. Grain crops promised high yields, with an estimated 91% going to export markets. There is, however, a long road yet to travel.
  - Renegotiation of the external debt continued its halting pace during this quarter. The second part (335 million dollars) of an IMF standby loan was received in late May, and the fund's regional representative said after a two-week study trip that the country seemed to be making slow but steady progress in its struggle against inflation.
  - In fact, the cost-of-living index increases for the first four months of this year ran 16%, 13%, 11.3% and 10.3% respectively and a rise of 10% was expected for May. While elsewhere 10% annual inflation shatters nerves, in Argentina it's an acceptable *monthly* norm.
  - Meanwhile, negotiations on a 1.5 billion-dollar credit from an international group of banks was slowed by what were described as "political road-blocks," presumably connected with mutual sanctions imposed by Great Britain and Argentina during last year's war in the South Atlantic. At the end of May, a measure was approved to lift restrictions on certain British assets in Argentina, and it appeared that the loan negotiation was moving forward again.
- With national elections scheduled for October, political leaders are receiving constant attention in the press and no dinner conversation gets past the soup without turning to politics. Business leaders are, of course, scanning the politicians' statements for indications of future policy, but to date no major party has put forth a formal platform.

## BOLIVIA

- Bolivia's economy is in a very difficult situation, which became more critical during the past few years. Gross National Product registered a negative rate of growth of 9.2 percent. An inflation rate of 123.5% and a balance of payments deficit of \$156 million dollars were the indicators of internal as well as external disequilibrium in 1982.
- In spite of the measures taken in November 1982 to stabilize the price of foreign exchange parity and increase economic activity, the main problem has not yet been solved. The elevated rate of indebtedness continues affecting the inflow of foreign capital to Bolivia. International reserves are scarce, and industries are working at a very low capacity because of the lack of imported inputs.
- It is worth noticing, however, that the short term debt with Brazil and Argentina has been rescheduled and this will mean relief to the tight foreign exchange situation of Bolivia.
- Lately, the Minister of Finance has agreed to a new waiver for Bolivia's debt payments with a group of U.S. banks, until September 1983. Up to this date, the country should reorganize its domestic finances, shorten fiscal deficit, maintain an adequate exchange rate and probably come to terms with the International Monetary Fund on an extended fund facility program of three to four years.
- An IMF mission is holding negotiations with the Bolivian government. Also, the project of the gas pipeline to Brazil is expected to gain priority in order to improve Bolivia's perspectives.

## BRAZIL

- The requirements of performance included in Brazil's agreement with the IMF have not been met to the extent that payment of the next portion of IMF's funds has been postponed. A special IMF mission came to Brazil to review the situation with government officials. At this writing it is widely reported that the following measures are certain to be taken by the Brazilian government:
  - 1) Further cuts in state enterprises' expenditures, including investments, general operating costs and personnel costs.
  - 2) Reduction in the subsidies of petroleum derivatives

# AACCLA BRIEFS

(including gasoline and diesel oil), wheat (bread) and sugar. This to be accomplished by large increases in prices to the consumer.

- 3) Increase of 15 percentage points in the interest rates on farm loans and export financing.
- 4) Earlier collection, in July, of income taxes due by banks.
- 5) Establishment of a "compulsory loan," by way of an increase in the income tax rate, to generate funds to cover the costs of flood emergencies in the south of Brazil.
- 6) Appointment of ministers to preside over the administrative council (board of directors) of state enterprises in their respective areas.

The following measures are reportedly probable, and still depend on a consensus among the economic area ministers, and between them and the executive branch:

- 1) Establishment of a 3% tax at the source, on open market operations.
- 2) Reduction of the IOF (Tax on Financial Operations) on credit operations, from 4.9% to 1.5%.
- 3) Elimination of quantitative limits on credit ceilings, with the exception of loans by government banks to state enterprises.

The following measures are unlikely to be taken, although proposed by some officials, in view of lack of approval by the executive branch, insufficient implementation time, or a veto by the Minister of Planning, Delfin Neto.

- 1) Exclusion of the effect of oil, wheat and sugar consumer price increases from the INPC (the Consumer Price National Index), which determines the legal salary increases every six months for all salaried persons.
- 2) Increase in interest rates for loans to small and medium companies.
- 3) Elimination of the role of the Bank of Brazil as a monetary authority.

The public deficit will be reduced by only four of the measures: Reduction of subsidies, increase in interest rates on farm and export loans, compulsory loans via income tax increases, and cuts in state enterprises' expenditures, which alone are expected to reduce the deficit by more than 3 billion dollars.

- There is more optimism about the achievement of a 6 billion dollar foreign trade surplus in 1983. The recent maxidevaluation of the cruzeiro, in the opinion of the director of the CACEX, Carlos Viacava, has had the expected results: Increased exports and reduced imports. The recent trade surpluses, of 500 million

dollars per month, seem to indicate that the 6 billion dollars for the year will at least be within reach.

- Unemployment is still high, but only one instance of social disturbance occurred (in Sao Paulo), and then it was apparently not a spontaneous movement by unemployed, but rather a carefully orchestrated movement twenty days after Governor Franco Montoro took office.
- In general, the political scene is quiet. The government's PDS has made an alliance with the PTB (the Brazilian Labor Party), led by Ivete Vargas, one of the political heirs of former dictator Getulio Vargas. This has assured an absolute majority in the House of Representatives, the only place it was lacking. A civilian is favored to be the next president, and it appears likely that President Figueiredo has control over the choice of his successor.
- The parallel dollar rate remains 50% to 60% above the official rate, which has been "historically normal" in recent times.
- The balance of payments problem is certainly the most acute one and will not be simply talked away. Hence the resolve of the government to take more drastic measures to assure continuity of IMF support.

## CHILE

- In his April 29 telex to the international banking community, Finance Minister Cáceres unveiled what is perhaps the most comprehensive external financing program yet seen in this period of large-scale debt renegotiation among developing countries. The program, which has been endorsed by the Foreign Bank Advisory Committee for Chile — composed of 12 foreign banks — defines the principles upon which foreign bank creditors are asked to refinance certain financial low maturities falling due between January 31, 1983, and December 31, 1984; establishes a mechanism for handling private corporate sector financial loan maturities for the same period; outlines a plan by which Chile would be assured sufficient financing for trade through the end of 1984; and submits a request for new money in the amount of 1.3 billion dollars. In addition, the minister's telex outlined government policy with respect to support of the private financial sector and reaffirmed the importance of an independent private corporate sector.
- Taken together, the package represents what in essence is the foreign resource complement to the minister's "emergency plan," announced on March 22, 1983. Chile's creditor banks, which number over 600, are being asked to reschedule for 8 years about 2.3 billion dollars of non-trade-related loans due from the public and private sectors in 1983-84.

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Under what is called the "short-term trade-related debt facility," Chile's foreign banks are asked to restore the trade line of credit to January 31, 1983, levels. The government hopes to obtain commitments of at least 1.2 billion dollars for short-term trade on a revolving basis through the end of 1984.

- The Swiss-based Bank for International Settlements agreed in May to provide 350 million dollars of a 530 million dollar "bridge" loan to the central Bank of Chile. The remaining 180 million dollars is to be provided by the Foreign Advisory Committee Bank.
- Response to the proposed financing package has so far been positive. Minister Cáceres and members of the Chilean negotiation team held a meeting during May with creditors in the United States, Europe and Japan.
- Reports of recovery in the United States and Europe bode well for Chile's economy. Copper prices have reached over 80 cents per pound vs. 67.6 cents per pound average for all of 1982.

## COLOMBIA

- The economy, while comparatively strong, presents worrisome trends. Greatest concern is over the trade and balance of payments deficit and a sharp drop in reserves. The current account deficit for the first four months of 1983 was 858 million dollars, against 436 million for the same period of 1982.
- To discourage imports, the government increased duties on many products in October 1982 and greatly added to the list of products requiring prior import license. Current account expenditures for the four months of 1983, however, were only 47 million dollars, 2.4% less than in the same period of 1982.
- The deteriorating trade situation is attributed largely to an overvalued peso, low coffee prices, influx of goods from Ecuador (devalued and under price controls), a large drop in exports to Venezuela, and lack of competitiveness of certain industries abroad (textiles principally).
- The government has accelerated the "creeping peg" devaluation to more than 25% a year and is tightening up on imports. The black market dollar is about 30% above the official rate.
- Inflation and high interest rates continue to cause concern. A special "credit quota" was recently requested from the Central Bank in the amount of 1.4 billion dollars U.S. to finance the government's huge deficit. Similar credit quotas have been asked for ailing major industries (steel, textiles). These emissions are not expected to keep inflation below the current 1983 projection of 22.3 percent.
- A bright spot is construction and housing, as deposits

in home loan and savings corporations increased 28% between December and May, and loans were up by 14%.

- Also heartening is a recent relaxation of rules applying to foreign investment: (a) remittable profits for foreign companies have been boosted from 20% to 40% in ten different industrial sectors, as well as for companies that export more than 50% of total sales; (b) companies whose raw materials are in excess of 50% Colombian no longer have to become progressively Colombian in capital; (c) restrictions on investments in large cities have been lifted; and (d) foreign investment rules with respect to the financial sector have been relaxed.
- The government's position has stiffened after only limited success of the amnesty offer to guerrillas. Kidnappings have continued, as has violence in rural areas. The government is equipping and training security forces to combat subversion, kidnapping and other violent manifestations.

## PARAGUAY

- Paraguay — along with Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay — has suffered heavily during the second quarter of 1983 from continuous heavy rains over an extended period of time, and the consequent rise of major rivers to historically high flood levels. While still too early to fix the cost of these natural problems, estimates are high.
- It is estimated farmers have not yet been able to harvest around 100,000 hectares of land planted in soybeans. Based on conserve yields, the value of these soybeans would be around 40 million dollars. Weather permitting, some harvest will occur, but losses will be heavy in volume and value, as the quality will be very low.
- Cotton — another major source of export income — has also suffered heavily, with an estimated loss of around 40,800 to 50,000 tons of seed cotton valued at \$20 million to \$25 million.
- Potential losses on these two products alone total around 60 million dollars in a country with total official exports of 300 million dollars. It is also estimated that some 20% of the cattle population could also be lost because of floods that have left them isolated and without food.
- These comments do not take into account tremendous material and human losses as whole cities were flooded, and roads and bridges were heavily damaged.
- It is anticipated that the 1983 balance of payments will be similar to 1982 — around a 250 million dollar deficit — which will put more pressure on foreign reserves, already heavily reduced (to 650 million dollars) at the end of 1982.



# AACCLA BRIEFS

- The Paraguayan economy, which looked quite good at the end of the first quarter, has suffered a heavy setback.

## PERU

- Floods, drought, two small-bank failures, declining production and the foreign debt occupied Peruvian leaders during the first quarter of 1983. The natural disasters brought by the El Nino current have caused damage to agriculture, transportation, petroleum production and social infrastructure estimated variously at \$300 million to \$800 million. Money for reconstruction and repair efforts comes from the International Development Bank, the World Bank, the Agency for International Development and charitable organizations around the world, and local funds generated through extraordinary taxes and mandatory bond sales. An unexpected result of the exceptional rains is the creation of some 300,000 hectares of pastureland in what used to be desert.
- The gross domestic product was down 10.2% in the first quarter, compared to the same period a year ago. In the first two months of the year, imports declined 43% while exports declined 21% compared with last year. Second quarter results are expected to show a continuance of these declines, in view of tight liquidity for production and trade financing.
- The failure of two local banks and problems with other smaller banks created a tense situation early in the year, but confidence has improved. A jumbo loan for 770 million dollars should be signed early in the third quarter with a bank syndicate — principally U.S. banks. A three-year IMF program will provide about 300 million dollars this year. The freeze on short-term trade credits should be lifted in the second quarter as well. Refinancing of official credits in June/July is expected to go fairly smoothly.
- Difficult civil air negotiations are among Peru's outstanding problems with U.S., still to be resolved. Despite its problems, Peru's economy continues to be well managed and should enjoy a more tranquil second half. Improvement in the economy and trade picture should come later in the year, with continuing growth in Peru's major markets.

## URUGUAY

- Continuing with the process of paving the way toward elections in November 1984, delegates from the three political parties — Blanco, Colorado and Union Civica — are meeting with the government Political Affairs Committee to reach agreement on a new constitution to be submitted to the voters' approval in a plebiscite.
- The government announced that 90% (711 million dollars) of the total short-term debt has been refi-

nanced, and that additional loans for 240 million dollars have been granted by a group of private banks. Public, medium and long-term servicing debt for 1983 represent 25% of commodities exports and nonfactor services.

- During the last week of May, interest rates dropped 10 points, settling at approximately 72 percent.
- Although the big impact of the November exchange reform has seriously hit all productive sectors in the country, the general opinion is that signs of recovery will start showing by the last quarter of 1983.
- The last rate of exchange for May was rather stable, fluctuating around \$32.00 per U.S. dollar.
- The 15% wage increase granted in January 1983 was outpaced by a 25% inflation in the first quarter of the year.
- The export, manufacturing, agricultural and livestock sectors, heavily indebted in U.S. dollars, are demanding new solutions to their debt refinancing. At the same time, the export sector is recovering slightly, as prices become more competitive under the effect of a floating peso.

## VENEZUELA

- Latest polls continue to give Acción Democrática candidate Jaime Lusinchi a substantial edge over Social Christian (COPEI) contender Rafael Caldera, Venezuela's first former constitutional president seeking re-election, in the December 4 presidential elections due this year. The leftist candidates lag far behind.
- Renegotiation of Venezuela's foreign debt could drag on well into the second quarter of 1984, as efforts are made to sort out the nation's borrowing mess. Reliable reports indicate that total debt contracted abroad — including private sector borrowing — may be in excess of 40 billion dollars, as much as 5 billion dollars greater than estimated when Venezuela imposed exchange controls in mid-February.
- Venezuela's beleaguered currency, which suffered a major defacto devaluation on February 18, has stabilized at almost 10 bolivares to the U.S. dollar; it was formerly at 4.30 to 1. Huge pent-up demand continues to grow and has spawned a parallel market. Despite more than three weeks of bolivar stability, many fear further currency deterioration before year end. Finance Minister Arturo Sosa announced in mid-May that Venezuela would seek to renegotiate 15.8 billion dollars of debt maturing in 1983 and 1984, and would seek assistance totaling 2.8 billion dollars from the International Monetary Fund.
- Unemployment on a scale not seen in Venezuela in a quarter of a century threatens to trigger severe social unrest once generous severance benefits paid by law

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begin to run out. Educated guesses on current unemployment put the figure at between 20 and 25 percent. Dismissals are even beginning to appear in the heretofore sacrosanct public sector, where employment is estimated to have grown by fully one-third in the past decade.

- Virtually all Venezuela's major petroleum development projects, including the massive 9 billion-dollar Orinoco oil belt DSMO complex, have been cancelled for lack of funding. To save face, the government will proceed with some minor projects nearing completion before year-end elections, and has pledged to carry on work at Guri Dam's expansion, which will make it the world's second largest hydroelectric facility of its kind, once completed.
- Venezuela is bracing itself for double-digit inflation, possibly higher than anything experienced since World War II, as a result of its recent currency collapse. Despite a very gradual thawing of the price freeze imposed immediately following exchange controls, experts fear that 1983 will end with an inflation rate close to 25 percent. Many analysts say the rate could easily exceed 50% in 1984.
- While scarcities of key items have not materialized widely, observers fear that major shortages are not far off. Importers warn that the pipeline is virtually empty of thousands of essential consumer and industrial goods. The nation's seaports, after years of chronic congestion, have now been deserted for weeks.

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The Association's executive offices are located at 1615 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20062. Tel. (202) 463-5485. Cable: COCUSA. Telex: RCA 248302. AACCLA Officers: John T. Plunket, President; R. Bruce Cuthbertson, Thomas L. Hughes, Patrick N. Hughson, Richard John-

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SUGERENCIAS

file  
CA

AL PRESIDENTE RONALD REAGAN

SOBRE LA ESTRATEGIA Y TÁCTICAS NECESARIAS PARA CONTENER LA INVASIÓN COMUNISTA  
CON VISTA A LA POLÍTICA A SEGUIR POR LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS EN CENTRO AMÉRICA

Por conducto del Hno. Cristóbal M. Doña  
Pastor de la Iglesia Bautista "WHITE ROAD", del Este de San José, California;  
para llevarlo al seno del Comité Asesor del Presidente en su política en Centro América,  
que se reunirá en Washington, D. C., el próximo 14 de septiembre de 1983

Por: Marcelino Siero

- Ex-Coordinador y fundador del Comité de Refugiados Cubanos de Long Beach, Ca. (63/70)
- Ex-Secretario y fundador de la Delegación en Long Beach, Ca.,  
del Comité la Verdad sobre Cuba, bajo la presidencia de Luis V. Manrara (66/67)
- Ex-Secretario y fundador del Club Cubano-Americano de Long Beach, Ca.,  
y co-editor de su revista patriótica mensual (65/67)
- Ex-Secretario y fundador de la Asociación de Cubanos de Long Beach, Ca.,  
y co-editor de su revista patriótica mensual (65/73)
- Ex-Secretario y fundador de la F I S C E  
(Federación de Instituciones Sociales Cubanas del Exilio) (65/71)
- Ex-Secretario y fundador del Comité Mundial "PEDRO LUIS BOITEL",  
pro-Presos Políticos Cubanos (Donde iniciamos la actual programación  
radial de Los Angeles, Ca., LA VOZ DE CUBA CRISTIANA, que se transmite  
por más de 60 estaciones de onda corta y larga) (73/74)
- Coordinador y fundador de la Cruzada Internacional "AMOR vs ODIO",  
que por más de una década ha venido llevando al Exilio cubano la tesis  
de que la única verdadera libertad es la que nos da Cristo Jesús, y que  
sólo Su amor agape sin odios nos dará la victoria (70/hoy)
- Secretario y fundador de la Delegación del Condado de Santa Clara, Ca.,  
de la Liga de Asistencia Cubana, con sede en Los Angeles, Ca.,  
que bajo la Dirección del ex-Brigadista y Director del "20 DE MAYO", Abel  
Pérez, ha ayudado a relocalizar a más de 20 mil cubanos del éxodo del 80 (81/hoy)
- Director y fundador del Ministerio de Comunicaciones  
de la Iglesia Bautista "WHITE ROAD", del Este de San José, Ca.,  
que pastorea el Hno. Cristóbal M. Doña (75/hoy)

PANORAMA POLÍTICO INTERNACIONAL

1. Para poder hacer un juicio sobre la política de los Estados Unidos en la América Central, como se le ha pedido a ese Comité, del cual va a formar parte mi Pastor, es necesario primero darle un vistazo al panorama político internacional, para comprender la gravedad de la amenaza de la invasión soviética para la seguridad del mundo, así como también poder analizar y determinar la estrategia o plan general necesario para la defensa del Continente y del mundo y, en particular, de la región centroamericana.

2. Démos un vistazo a la génesis del comunismo. Este fue iniciado con capital hebreo, quizás con un propósito sano y, sobre todo, justo y humano, pues hasta mediados de este siglo los hebreos estaban dispersos por el mundo, sin patria, y concibieron la creación de un gobierno universal que nos rigiera a toda la humanidad.

MS

Pero el odio y la ambición del hombre tergiversaron ese sano propósito, si lo hubo, y el comunismo inicial se convirtió en lo que es hoy en día: ODIOS ORGANIZADOS, regido por un grupo de ambiciosos sin escrúpulos, como lo demuestra el derribo del avión surcoreano con 269 pasajeros, entre ellos niños inocentes, que acaban de destruir los soviéticos, con explosivos atómicos.

El comunismo puede compararse a un fuego avasallador, que avanza inexorablemente, y nos destruirá a todos, inclusive a los propios comunistas y sus colaboradores, si no es contenido, y puede que todavía estemos a tiempo para evitarlo.

3. Lenin profetizó en el año 17, dejando bien definido el objetivo final del comunismo:

"Tomaremos a los Estados Unidos en nuestras manos como fruta podrida, por sus vicios, y les daremos el golpe final desde las plataformas de México y de Cuba... "  
(Yo diría: "Desde la plataforma de la América Latina, por el odio latino-sajón, del cual somos todos culpables; pero que podemos y debemos evitar."

Nadie ha definido mejor el propósito comunista como la Christian Anticommunism Crusade, de Long Beach, California, que con gran acierto, desinterés y talento dirige el Dr. Fred Schwarz, y cuyo lema puede leerse en casi todas sus revistas bimensuales:

"The communist plan for the conquest of the U. S. A. is:

'External encirclement, plus internal demoralization, plus thermonuclear blackmail, lead to progressive surrender.'

4. La situación política mundial es un arsenal explosivo que puede estallar en cualquier momento, y que puede sintetizarse como sigue:

Una Europa amenazada por el oso soviético, teniendo como aliados el odio palestino-árabe=judío, y el odio musulmán, y a regímenes satánicos como el de Libia, y como único baluarte democrático que pueda servir de valladar momentáneo para contenerlo, como paradoja de la historia, el mismo que lo generó, el diminuto, pero valiente y hasta ahora inexpugnable Israel;

una América convulsionada, dividida por el odio latino-sajón; odio alimentado por el gran error de los Estados Unidos y Gran Bretaña, en el conflicto bélico de Las Malvinas, donde el aprovechado y ambicioso satélite ruso-cubano, y el desequilibrio emocional y tradicional argentino amenazan hoy la seguridad del Atlántico Sur, con la desventaja para los sajones de tener en su contra los tres elementos que integran la estrategia militar: tiempo, espacio y fuerza; todo ello agravado al agudizarse el conflicto centroamericano, concebido y propiciado desde hace tiempo por Cuba comunista...

¿Y qué futuro nos espera a la democracia? Una invasión europea por los soviéticos cuando hagan crisis los dos puntos explosivos en nuestro Hemisferio, y las fuerzas sajonas sean distraídas hacia el lejano Atlántico Sur, y hacia la conflictiva Centro América. Para entonces se completará la conquista del Africa, si ya no lo ha sido previamente, así como del resto de Asia y, por último, el cumplimiento de la profecía de Lenin: el golpe final a los Estados Unidos, carcomido por sus vicios, aunque, como digo, no desde las plataformas de México y Cuba, como dijo Lenin, sino desde la vecina plataforma de la América Latina, debido al odio latino-sajón, si no se le pone remedio --y éste es uno de los puntos que queremos sugerir en este humilde trabajo.

Por suerte providencial, el Presidente Reagan está claro en cuanto a la necesidad urgente de parar al enemigo en la región vecina centroamericana. Ojalá que el Congreso americano sea iluminado por Dios y lo comprenda y lo apoye, y que la América Latina democrática y cristiana colabore con esta generosa nación y su Presidente, pues todos estamos en el mismo barco, y juntos nos hundiremos, o juntos nos salvaremos...

Pero, desde luego, el Presidente necesita una orientación más que todo estratégica, pues sin un plan general bien inspirado y cimentado, todo lo que se edifique caerá como un castillo de naipes... Y éste es el objeto principal de este humilde documento.

## ESTRATEGIA O PLAN GENERAL DE LUCHA PARA DEFENDERNOS DEL COMUNISMO

5. El que escribe es un cubano que cumple en el día de hoy 80 años, y que vino a este país exiliado el 30 de septiembre de 1962. Hace años obtuvo su ciudadanía de este generoso país, y desde el primer momento se incorporó a la lucha por la liberación de su patria, fundando instituciones patrióticas y desempeñando los cargos que pueden verse en la primera página de este documento, muy especialmente en el campo de la denuncia de la violación de los derechos humanos en las cárceles de Cuba. Estuvimos los primeros 12 años en el Sur de California, en el área de Los Angeles, California, y llevamos más de ocho años en el Norte, en San José, en el área de la Bahía de S. Fco.

Durante casi una década transitamos por las avenidas de una lucha sin verdadera y definida estrategia; fundamos instituciones o ayudamos a las establecidas, siempre en busca del rescate de la patria cautiva; pero como al mismo tiempo nos habíamos entregado a nuestro Señor y Salvador Jesucristo en la Cruzada del evangelista norteamericano Billy Graham, en Los Angeles, California, en octubre de 1963, y buscamos incansablemente el camino del Señor, y el conocimiento de Su voluntad en nuestra vida y, sobre todo, en nuestra lucha patriótica, pronto nos hicimos esta reflexión:

"DIOS HA PERMITIDO QUE EL COMUNISMO SE APODERE DE NUESTRA PATRIA PARA QUE LO BUSQUEMOS A ÉL, PUES LOS CUBANOS FUIMOS SUS HIJOS MIMADOS Y VIVÍAMOS APARTADOS DE SU CAMINO, CREYENDO FALSAMENTE ESTAR EN ÉL;

POR LO TANTO, DIOS NO QUIERE QUE JUGUEMOS A LA GUERRITA, DE IRNOS AL EXILIO, PREPARAR LA GUERRA DE REVANCHA, QUITAR EL COMUNISMO Y REGRESAR LOS MISMOS CUBANOS SIN UN CAMBIO EN EL CORAZÓN; NO, ÉL QUIERE CUBANOS COMPLETAMENTE NUEVOS, REALMENTE CONVERTIDOS...

?QUÉ PASARÍA SI REGRESÁRAMOS SIN ESE CAMBIO, UNA VEZ IDO EL COMUNISMO DE CUBA? AL SIGUIENTE DIA NOS ESTARIAMOS SACANDO LOS OJOS UNOS A OTROS, COMO HEMOS ESTADO HACIENDO EN EL EXILIO, Y CON MÁS MOTIVO TENIENDO EL PODER, Y EN POCAS SEMANAS SURGIRIA UN DICTADOR PEOR, PUES APLICARÍA LAS MALAS TÁCTICAS DEL ANTERIOR MÁS LAS QUE ÉL INVENTE.

CONCLUSIÓN: LA ESTRATEGIA Y EL PLAN DE LUCHA NO PODIA SER OTRO QUE LLEVAR EL EVANGELIO A MI PATRIA PARA SALVAR A LA NUEVA JUVENTUD, SIN ESPERAR A LA LIBERACIÓN POLÍTICA; O SEA, INFILTRAR EN CUBA CRUZADOS DE LA PALABRA DE DIOS EN VEZ DE ESPIAS, TERRORISTAS Y ASESINOS, QUE EMPLEARAN LOS MISMOS PROCEDIMIENTOS DE DESTRUCCIÓN Y DE ODIO QUE LOS GOBERNANTES DE TURNO, Y PREPARAR UNA CUBA NUEVA, QUE EN SU DIA SE DARÍA GOBERNANTES NACIDOS DE NUEVO EN EL SEÑOR—AUNQUE LLEVARAN EL NOMBRE DEL REPUDIADO COMUNISTA—"

Muchos cubanos me decían: "No, Siero, cuando Cuba se libere entonces llevaremos ese Evangelio de que me hablas." El resultado lo podemos ver en la pobre juventud que emigró para este país en el reciente éxodo masivo del 80: una juventud sin rumbo y sin guía por no tener al Señor en su corazón. Y seguramente, ella es una muestra del resto de la juventud no sólo en Cuba sino en el resto del mundo comunista.

6. Mi Pastor Antonio Tolopilo, me mostró el versículo de la Palabra de Dios que me daba la clave de la verdadera y única estrategia de lucha contra el comunismo, y que nos conduce a la única libertad: la libertad en Cristo:

"Si se humillare mi pueblo, sobre el cual mi nombre es invocado, y oraren, y buscaren mi rostro, y se convirtieren de sus malos caminos, entonces yo oiré desde los cielos, y perdonaré sus pecados, y sanaré su tierra." (II Crónicas 7:14)

7. Muy pronto dimos un cambio de 180 grados en nuestra estrategia y tácticas de lucha. Nos hicimos el propósito de no odiar al enemigo, de amar al prójimo aunque nos insultara, y de buscar con más ahinco al Señor para no sólo poder perdonar las ofensas, sino también olvidarlas, y no sólo poder decir que no odiamos al enemigo, sino que lo amamos, cosa que sólo se logra cuando Cristo mora en nosotros, pues Él solamente puede olvidar las ofensas y amar al enemigo, viviendo en mí... Y Long Beach, Ca., fue testigo de mi humi-  
llación a mis enemigos.

Comenzamos una cadena de oraciones basada en el citado versículo del Antiguo Testamento, II Crónicas 7:14. Logramos decir nuestras oraciones en los actos más importantes que se celebraron en el área de Los Angeles, Ca., entre ellos el acto conjunto más importante que recuerdo en el Sur de California, estuvieron presentes todas las instituciones—lo había organizado nuestra dinámica amiga y compatriota Esther Herrera, la que logró lo que yo intenté en vano durante largos años: unir a todas las instituciones patrióticas de esa área—. También, otro acto importantísimo donde dimos nuestra oración fue el banquete ofrecido al líder de moda en esos días: De la Torriente.

Así dio comienzo la divulgación de mi tesis, que por lo menos, si no ha sido seguida y practicada por mis compatriotas, por lo menos alcanzó un nombre: "AMOR vs ODIO". Con ella recorrí el Exilio de la Florida, donde en mesa redonda con mis compatriotas, por las emisoras más escuchadas —como la RHC, de Miami, Fla., y la Latinísima, de Tampa, Fla.— mis más fuertes opositores escucharon los principios de mi tesis, entre los cuales está: "Todo odio es igual, lo mismo el justificado de la madre santa a la que le matan el hijo y odia por primera vez, que el odio del envidioso, que sólo odia por envidia." "En la medida que amemos al pecador (en el argor político, el comunista), odiaremos el pecado (el comunismo). Si odiamos al pecador (digamos, a Fidel Castro) amaremos el pecado (lo que hace el régimen cubano, atropellando al preso, ayudando a las guerrillas de El Salvador, etc.)."

(En el Anexo No. 1 a este documento está una síntesis de nuestra tesis "AMOR vs ODIO")

8. Otra reflexión que hicimos en ese entonces para reforzar nuestra tesis de "Amor vs. Odio"—que como la mejor estrategia de lucha recomendamos al Presidente Reagan por este medio—fue la siguiente:

EN LA PRIMERA GUERRA MUNDIAL SE DERROTÓ AL IMPERIALISMO ALEMÁN, Y SURTIÓ EL COMUNISMO. ES DECIR, NO HUBO VICTORIA, ¿POR QUÉ? PORQUE NO HUBO CAMBIO EN EL CORAZÓN NI DE VENCIDOS NI DE VENCEDORES. ES DECIR, CRISTO SIGUIÓ FUERA DEL CORAZÓN DEL HOMBRE, Y POR LO TANTO, ESTE CONTINUÓ ESCLAVO DEL PECADO, Y LOS GOBERNANTES SIGUIERON VIOLANDO LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS Y AMBICIONANDO SER DUEÑOS DEL MUNDO.

DESPUES, EN LA II GUERRA MUNDIAL SE VENCIÓ AL NAZISMO Y AL FACISMO, Y SE FORTALECIÓ EL COMUNISMO. ¿POR QUÉ? PORQUE TAMPOCO HUBO CAMBIO EN EL CORAZÓN DEL HOMBRE.

SI AHORA SE VENCE AL COMUNISMO, SIN CAMBIO DE CONVERSIÓN, SURGIRÁ OTRO "ISMO" PEOR, CON LAS EXPERIENCIAS DEL REGIMEN ANTERIOR MAS LAS MALAS PRACTICAS QUE INVENTE.

9. En concreto, la ESTRATEGIA DE LUCHA QUE ACONSEJAMOS AL PRESIDENTE REAGAN TANTO EN CENTRO AMERICA COMO EN EL RESTO DEL MUNDO ES:

"CONSIDERAR QUE LA UNICA LIBERTAD POSITIVA ES LA QUE DA DIOS A SUS HIJOS CUANDO RECIBEN A JESUCRISTO COMO SEÑOR Y SALVADOR. BUSQUEMOS, PUES, Y OBEDEZCAMOS A DIOS."

Esto no quiere decir que no se denuncien los atropellos a los derechos humanos, ni que se deje hacer a los comunistas lo que ellos quieren, y dejar que se cojan el mundo sin oponerse. No. Si hay que hacer la guerra justa, hacerla. Pero la diferencia va a estar en los procedimientos, si nuestro MANUAL DE INSTRUCCIONES es la Palabra de Dios.

El hijo de Dios respeta más la vida ajena que la propia. Se defiende, el policía mata si hay que matar para defender su vida; pero no asesina porque no se apresura a tirar. El soldado también mata si hay que matar, pero no defiende causas injustas. Y como del que guarda el orden y del que defiende la patria depende el respeto a los derechos humanos, de ahí que sólo recibiendo educación cristiana el policía y el soldado es que puede esperarse ese respeto.

Mr. Blackwell:

I was one of the National Leaders of the Evangelical Hispanics who met with you yesterday at Room 450 of the OE OB.

I am sorry I could not deliver these papers to you yesterday.

Although in Spanish, they contain valuable information for your office.

I thank you for your kind attention.

Rev. Cristobal M. Doña  
480 So. White Rd.  
San Jose, Ca. 95127  
(408) 251-4329

CRISTOBAL M. DOÑA, Pastor

## Iglesia Bautista White Road

WHITE ROAD BAPTIST CHURCH

Una Iglesia Bilingüe    A Bilingual Church

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Sun. 9:30; 11:00 a.m.; 6:00 p.m.  
Wednesday 7:00 p.m.

// A RUSIA CON AMOR - TO RUSSIA WITH LOVE //

Transcripción textual del doblaje en español de la emocionante narración de un Pastor búlgaro que sufrió largos y duros años de prisión en las cárceles comunistas soviéticas

Película a colores filmada clandestinamente sobre la persecución religiosa en Rusia y en los demás países tras la Cortina de Hierro, y sobre la valiente y eficaz labor que viene realizando la Organización Cristiana EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO llevándoles el Mensaje de la Palabra (Biblia) a nuestros esclavizados...

Presentada por el señor S. PAPPACHAN, del Departamento de Películas de EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO de 1222 So. Glendale Ave., Glendale, Calif. 91205 - Phone: (213) 335-8740

el Domingo 30 de junio de 1974, a las 11 de la mañana

en el Departamento Hispano de la FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH de 1000 Pine Ave., Long Beach, Ca.

Pastor: Rev. ANTONIO TOLOPILO (Véase contraportada)

\*\*\*\*\*

// LIBERACIÓN //

Boletín Informativo de las actividades patrióticas cubanas del Sur de California

EDITOR: Marcelino Siero P. O. Box 2143, Long Beach, Cal. 90801 - (213) 435-8741

TO:



Señor S. PAPPACHAN (Traducción simultánea del Inglés por el joven Henry Tolopilo)  
(Fragmentos de su charla antes de comenzar a pasar la película)

- 1 Estoy muy contento de estar aquí esta mañana con ustedes.  
Yo vivía hace un tiempo en el Oeste de Los Angeles.  
Mucha gente piensa que soy de México o de Texas: soy de la India.
- 2 Tenemos el "film" en inglés pero siempre que vamos a las congregaciones hispanas llevamos el mismo "film" en castellano.  
Algunas veces es difícil tener este último por estar viajando por todo el país.
- 3 El ministerio que estamos presentando es conocido por UNDERGROUND EVANGELISM.  
Déjenme decirles cómo comenzó esta organización.

Hace aproximadamente 14 años atrás, el fundador de la organización fue a Rusia.  
Más o menos hay 14 países comunistas. Viene a ser una relación de uno a tres los que viven en países comunistas.  
En la mayoría de estos países comunistas las iglesias están cerradas.  
A los pastores no se les permite predicar, como veremos en esta película.

Entonces, cuando este señor estuvo en Rusia conoció algunos de estos creyentes.  
Todos los creyentes que él conoció le preguntaban una cosa --no le pedían dinero, no le pedían ningún material--: lo único que le pedían era que les informara la forma en que podían conseguir biblias.

Quiero que piensen por unos segundos en esto: la mayoría de estas personas no tienen iglesias a las cuales puedan ir. No hay pastores ni profesores de la Biblia con los cuales ellos puedan aprender. No hay seminarios a los cuales puedan concurrir; no hay biblias para leer.

Este hombre se sintió tan apesadumbrado que volvió a su país y comenzó a hablar a la gente como ustedes, y a todos los que lo escuchaban él les decía: hagamos algo al respecto...

2

- 4 Y esta fue la forma en que esta organización vino a existir. Ahora tenemos oficinas en todo el mundo. Imprimimos en todas las lenguas comunistas. Y la gente nos pregunta: ¿qué es lo que ustedes hacen? Tratamos de hacer pasar las biblias, himnarios y todo libro a los creyentes en una forma muy peculiar... Notén que digo "en una forma muy peculiar". Déjenme explicar esto.

Supónganse que ustedes van a Rusia y llevan con ustedes 10 biblias. Cuando ven en la Aduana de Moscú que ustedes llevan 10 biblias, lo miran a usted a la cara y le dicen: "Nosotros no creemos en esto. Usted no puede entrar al país con esta clase de libros." Es decir, ustedes no pueden llevar biblias legalmente a Rusia.

Entonces nosotros llevamos las biblias ilegalmente. ¿Creen ustedes que está bien que hagamos algo ilegal? Déjenme decirles algo antes de que ustedes respondan: ¿No fue el Señor Jesús a lugares donde no se le permitía ir? ¿No predicó en lugares donde no se le permitía predicar? El Señor dijo: "Id a todo el Mundo y predicad el Evangelio"

No estamos contrabandeando drogas. No estamos haciendo contrabando con oro... Pero estamos haciendo contrabando con algo más precioso que el oro, que puede cambiar la vida. Y déjenme decirles esto: si nosotros no hacemos esta clase de contrabando, no hay ninguna otra forma posible en que estos cristianos puedan obtener las biblias.  
¿Está bien entonces que lo hagamos? Creo que puede decirse: ¡Claro que sí!

- 5 Esta película se llama "A RUSIA CON AMOR" (To Russia with Love).  
Dentro de poco la película será presentada en inglés en otro local de esta misma iglesia. No es una película para entretenimiento pero tocará su corazón: le hará ver las condiciones de la vida cristiana detrás de la Cortina de Hierro.  
Durante los últimos 17 años he sentido mucha pesadumbre por los seres que están detrás de la Cortina de Hierro. Por eso estoy esta mañana con esta misión en mi corazón, y ojalá que el Señor también toque su corazón para que se den cuenta de la necesidad espiritual que existe en los países comunistas.

- 6 Moscú es dos veces la ciudad de Los Angeles y hay una sola iglesia protestante (Bautista) --como ustedes verán en la película-- Tiene una membresía de cinco mil personas y nunca se ha visto una iglesia tan llena como ésta. Van a ver ustedes un automóvil blanco, que es el que lleva las biblias. Hay unos 20 de esos vehículos que van ida y vuelta con biblias. Ustedes van a ver la frontera cuando estos vehículos la cruzan, y van a ver el gozo de los cristianos después que reciben las biblias.

- 7 Después de la película les presentará una literatura interesante. Muchas gracias.

- 1 Les habla el Pastor Esteban Benko (?)
- 2 Desde 1964 he estado ministrando 56 iglesias subterráneas detrás de la Cortina de Hierro, en la comunista Bulgaria, un país llamado "la pequeña Rusia"
- 3 Ustedes querrán saber por qué he salido. He salido para hablar por mis hermanos y hermanas en Cristo. Sabéis que son los olvidados. Ellos casi no tienen biblias. Muchos de ellos permanecen en prisiones ya sufriendo por su fe. Deseo contarles su historia, mostrarles algo de lo que es la vida en un país comunista
- 4 La Plaza Roja de Moscú es el lugar santo de los comunistas. Allí los restos mortales de Lenin, el Padre del Comunismo, reposan en su gigantesco mausoleo. El día de su nacimiento es fiesta nacional. Lenin es honrado como una de las grandes figuras de la Historia. Miles de rusos cada día rinden homenaje a este hombre que dijo:  
"No tenemos lugar para Dios".  
Lenin ha venido a ser su Dios, pues en el cristal de su féretro están estas palabras:  
"Ha sido el más grande líder de todas las gentes, de todos los países en todos los tiempos"  
Lenin es el Señor de la Nueva Humanidad. Es el Salvador del Mundo...
- 5 Hasta hoy, dentro del Kremlin, pueden verse muchas cúpulas doradas. Mirando esas espléndidas estructuras, es posible comprender fácilmente que el Comunismo está inspirado por siniestras fuerzas espirituales, fuerzas que están llevando una guerra implacable contra la fe en Dios por el total rechazo de todos los valores espirituales y, más que todo, por la prohibición de la Biblia
- 6 Los que hemos servido a Dios bajo el Comunismo, nunca lo podremos olvidar. Los bellos edificios no pueden cegarnos. Nosotros sabemos exactamente lo que Pablo quería significar cuando decía que nuestra lucha no es contra enemigos físicos sino contra organizaciones y poderes espirituales. Nosotros estamos en contra del poder invisible que controla este Mundo tenebroso y contra sus agentes demoníacos... Nosotros los cristianos sabemos que el Comunismo en nuestras tierras es una fuerza espiritual satánica...
- 7 Hoy en día en Rusia y sus satélites, muchas iglesias han venido a ser atracciones turísticas, museos donde los tesoros de pintura y escultura pueden ser vistos tan sólo como fragmentos de un muerto pasado, y donde las imágenes de Cristo están divorciadas de la realidad histórica de una persona viviente
- 8 Las iglesias, como símbolos del Viejo Orden, están empequeñecidas y ensombrecidas por los símbolos del Nuevo Orden. Muchas están muertas y silenciosas y cerradas para siempre. Una de mis propias iglesias está siendo usada como casa de departamentos. Otra ha sido convertida en un auditorium musical. Bajo el Comunismo, cientos de iglesias han sido cerradas, selladas con tablas y barras. Las pesadas cadenas de la opresión del Estado han negado al pueblo su herencia espiritual...  
Pero para satisfacer la persistente hambre espiritual del pueblo los astutos dirigentes comunistas permiten que algunas iglesias permanezcan abiertas. Estas iglesias han venido a ser iglesias oficiales, las versiones autorizadas que permiten a los comunistas hablar de libertades religiosas.
- 9 En Moscú, la capital, ciudad de unos siete millones de habitantes, hay una sola iglesia autorizada abierta para todos los protestantes; pero la situación es mucho peor en lugares donde no es necesario convencer al turista que hay libertad religiosa
- 10 Los pastores que son aprobados por el Estado deben ajustarse a ciertas normas estrictas de adoración permitidas por las autoridades comunistas y deben prometer no predicar fuera de sus iglesias o propagar su fe. Conocemos casos de pastores no conformistas que han sido reemplazados por duros e inflexibles individuos comunistas
- 11 En Rusia, todas las organizaciones, incluyendo sindicatos, periódicos, estaciones de radio y televisión, están controladas por el gobierno y todas son en la práctica extensiones del régimen comunista
- 12 Desafortunadamente, la iglesia oficial no es una excepción. En mi país, Bulgaria, el setenta por ciento de nuestras iglesias están cerradas, y al 85% de los pastores no se les tiene permitido predicar el Evangelio. Ninguna biblia ha sido impresa por más de 25 años
- 13 A despecho de este severo control estatal, muchos que asisten a las iglesias autorizadas son verdaderos creyentes que adoran con sinceridad y verdad, creyentes que reconocen el cuerpo y la sangre del Señor y que aman su venida...

- Pero se estima que 1 70% de la población de Rusia no puede asistir a ninguna iglesia oficial o autorizada porque no las hay en muy largas distancias.
- 14 Cuando nuestras iglesias fueron cerradas, la gente preguntó: Pastor Benko (?) ¿Qué haremos ahora? El problema consistía en adorar ilegalmente o no adorar de ninguna manera. Fue entonces que me convertí en un pastor ilegal de una iglesia subterránea
- 15 Pero no quiero decir que en la iglesia autorizada de Rusia muchos pastores son agentes comunistas. No lo son. Todavía quedan pastores consagrados que arriesgan su libertad y aun su vida por permanecer fieles y por permitir que asistan jóvenes a sus iglesias cuando es prohibido por la ley que asistan menores de 18 años a las iglesias
- 16 Control completo del ciudadano desde la cuna hasta el sepulcro es el blanco de los líderes comunistas. El adoctrinamiento comienza temprano y la educación en cada nivel es el arma traicionera con la cual cada nueva generación es preparada para aceptar el ateísmo, el cual es oficialmente propagado por el Kremlin
- 17 La Universidad de Moscú es la ciudadela central de este monolítico y materialista sistema. Hay cerca de 800 instituciones de enseñanza superior en Rusia y la tasa de personas que saben leer y escribir es del 98%
- 18 El Comunismo ha puesto todo su dinero en la Nueva Generación. La estrategia es ésta:  
Controlar todo el sistema educacional adoctrinando a los jóvenes e intimidando a los viejos, y también controlando todos los medios de comunicación con las masas, publicando y propagando solamente el pensamiento oficial del Partido. Iglesias cerradas, colegios controlados y comunicaciones censuradas es la estrategia.  
Alguien ha dicho: la gente cree en lo primero que ve escrito. Los comunistas creen en esto y gastan millones con fines de propaganda.
- 19 Por motivo de la continua opresión, la iglesia en Rusia se parece a un templo: tiene una octava parte visible sobre la superficie y siete octavas partes invisibles debajo de la superficie. Por ejemplo, los creyentes aquí en Kiev (?) fueron forzados a hacerse ilegales cuando sus iglesias fueron cerradas y puestas bajo control comunista
- 20 Al principio se reunieron secretamente en casas y departamentos de varios miembros hasta que no pudieron más acomodar a las 400 o más personas que venían cada domingo, y por tres años, en la primavera y el verano, la congregación tuvo sus servicios regulares en los bosques.  
Uno de los miembros nos contó lo que sucedió por fin: un domingo, en Mayo, estábamos reunidos para nuestro servicio regular cuando fuimos rodeados por la Policía Secreta. Ellos sobrepasaban en número a la congregación. Antes de que terminaríamos la oración, ordenaron el ataque, cargando sobre nosotros. Nos derribaron en tierra, nos patearon y empezaron a golpear indiscriminadamente no sólo a los hombres sino también a las mujeres, a los niños y a los ancianos, hasta dejarlos inconscientes. 30 de nuestros miembros fueron arrestados ese día, pero dentro de dos días los arrestos sumaban un centenar. Muchos de ellos fueron sentenciados a 15 días de prisión, otros fueron multados y el paradero de uno de nuestros líderes, Jorge Dean (?), es incierto todavía.
- 21 De la orgullosa Leningrado, la segunda ciudad de Rusia, nos viene otro caso de crueldad comunista contra los cristianos. Esta es la historia de una chica de 17 años, técnica de laboratorio, quien buscaba expresar su fe en las calles de la ciudad el año nuevo de 1961. Ella se paró en una de las mayores avenidas de Leningrado. Su nombre es AIDA SCRIPNIKOVA (?)  
Ella saludaba a la gente. Les deseaba un feliz año nuevo y les ponía en la mano una tarjeta con el mensaje: "Buscad a Dios mientras puede ser hallado". Por hacer esto fue detenida e interrogada por la Policía Secreta, amenazada y entonces despedida. Pero esto fue el principio de una persecución sistemática contra esta joven durante la cual ella entró y salió de la prisión varias veces. La segunda vez que fue arrestada fue acusada oficialmente de poseer una biblia, y sentenciada a dos años de prisión.  
Más tarde, ella rehusó unirse a una iglesia oficial y entonces, en abril de 1968, desapareció. Hemos sabido que ella permanece en prisión.
- 22 En las iglesias subterráneas, tal como las que yo he servido, hay una escasez de biblias y literatura cristiana extraordinaria. No tenemos himnarios en nuestras iglesias, excepto algunos como éste, que han sido copiados a mano o a máquina. Mi esposa ha hecho miles de copias de este cancionero, las cuales hemos distribuido a los creyentes de las iglesias subterráneas
- 23 La tarea ha sido agotadora pero no sin frutos. Imagínense ustedes lo que serían sus cultos sin poder cantar himnos, y ¿qué himnos pueden cantarse sin poseer himnarios?...

Pero peor todavía si sus pastores no tienen biblias. Yo he predicado por 12 años del mismo Nuevo Testamento. Cuando, finalmente, EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO me proporcionó una biblia, lloré de alegría.

24. Esta biblia en ruso fue copiada íntegramente a mano en un lapso de ocho meses. En Rusia los creyentes no han tenido biblias por 50 años; en otros países tras la Cortina de Hierro, por 25 años

Tan grande es el hambre espiritual de los creyentes de las Iglesias Subterráneas que ellos han inventado muchos métodos para producir literatura, especialmente la palabra de Dios. Con mimeógrafos como éste, las biblias han sido pacientemente impresas. Para evitar sospechas, diferentes cristianos compraban pequeñas cantidades de papel en blanco en varios establecimientos y entonces lo cambiaban por papel mimeografiado en igual cantidad. Fue un proceso lento, prácticamente de página por página, pero nuestros valientes hermanos consideraban que valía la pena, aun cuando en algunos casos fueron descubiertos y les impusieron de cinco a diez años de prisión por el crimen de mimeografiar páginas de la biblia.

- 25 Hemos orado desesperadamente por la palabra de Dios y milagrosamente Él oyó nuestro clamor porque ahora, en el Mundo Libre, la organización misionera EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO está usando modernos métodos y maquinarias que incluyen rápidas prensas para producir toneladas de literatura espiritual especialmente diseñada: Biblias de bolsillo, himnarios, concordancias, libros devocionales y estudios bíblicos

Es una vasta y altamente eficiente operación que combina los talentos de muchas consagradas personas

- 26 Nuestra necesidad mayor es la palabra de Dios y EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO está produciendo biblias para llenar esa necesidad. Vean cuán flexibles, pequeñas y livianas son estas biblias, perfectamente adecuadas para contrabandear a través de las fronteras comunistas.

Cuando yo estaba detrás de la Cortina de Hierro recibí miles de estas escrituras en mi propio idioma; pero nunca pensé cuánta gente oraba y trabajaba para hacerlo posible

- 27 Deseo compartir con ustedes esta excitante y a menudo espectacular historia. Desde el punto de producción, las biblias y otra literatura son distribuidas a depósitos estratégicamente colocados y diseminados por toda la Europa Occidental. De los depósitos, colaboradores experimentados, realizan viajes correos a través de las fronteras comunistas para llegar hasta nuestro pueblo.

Los depósitos forman una hábil red de distribución y proveen un lugar adecuado para almacenar la literatura hasta que sea despachada. Todo el correo es manejado desde los mismos depósitos.

- 28 Las cartas nos llegan de detrás de la Cortina de Hierro. Una muchacha escribe:

"Tengo 21 años de edad y asisto a un colegio superior. He oído acerca de un libro el cual cuenta la historia de un hombre que tenía un maravilloso hijo único. Aparentemente, el hijo fue capturado por la policía, torturado y, finalmente, muerto; pero de acuerdo a un informe digno de confianza se supone que él está todavía vivo y haciendo cosas muy maravillosas. Yo deseo tener ese libro. He buscado por todas partes, pero no lo encuentro. ¿Podrían, por favor, enviarme una copia?"

- 29 Como se reciben muchos pedidos de biblias, se anotan cuidadosamente los nombres y direcciones. Este pedido llegó de Kiev (?) y así fue incluido para despachar con el próximo correo que salía para Kiev (?)

Las misiones de contrabando son planeadas cuidadosamente. Se usan muchos medios de transporte para despistar: autos, camiones, trenes y hasta barcos. Líderes de confianza, confiables y responsables es la clave, y las rutas son constantemente cambiadas y seleccionadas para reducir al mínimo la posibilidad de una detención. Aun las estaciones del año se toman en cuenta porque en algunas fronteras comunistas es más fácil entrar en la estación turística del verano.

En la frontera, la tensión siempre existe. Hacemos todo lo posible para evitar el peligro de una detención; pero bajo la búsqueda escrutadora de los guardias de Aduana uno sufre y espera y ora.

Una vez cruzada la frontera, el correo sale volando hacia la cita preconvenida en los diversos países comunistas. El peligro está presente todavía, pero siempre ponemos atención especial para protegerlo.

- 30 Yo, personalmente, he participado en muchas de estas misiones y he recibido miles de Nuevos Testamentos y centenares de biblias para los creyentes de la Iglesia Subterránea. Los correos transfieren rápida y silenciosamente sus cargas a los colaboradores. Todo el proceso toma sólo unos minutos.

- 31 El correo arranca rápidamente. Cuando él se ha ido es responsabilidad de la otra persona continuar el trabajo, despachando la literatura en pequeñas cantidades a luga-

res y personas convenidas. Esto también es hecho con precisión y precaución. Las sospechas de la Policía Secreta se despiertan muy fácilmente.

Donde es posible y practicable, las entregas son hechas a la carrera porque el tiempo es siempre un gran factor.

- 32 En la distribución de biblias damos la prioridad a los grupos pequeños, pero selectos, de creyentes cuyas iglesias han sido clausuradas, los miembros de la Iglesia subterránea. Cuando las entregas se hacen en la puerta, usamos cierto código de llamadas.
- 33 En la Iglesia Subterránea es cosa común que una sola biblia sea compartida entre 20 ó 30 creyentes. A veces, personas muy ancianas parecen tener muy viejas biblias. Ésta ha sido compartida por muchos cristianos durante muchos años y ha tenido ya cuatro encuadernaciones.
- 34 El gozo de recibir biblias no puede ser descripto. Para los miembros de la Iglesia Subterránea es un don inefable.
- 35 Después que salí de la prisión comunista ya no podía trabajar, pues las autoridades me negaron permiso de trabajo. Muchas veces mis hijos me dijeron: "Papá, tráiganos pan"... !Qué agonía y qué tortura experimenté, cuando no podía alimentar a mis propios hijos!...
- 36 Hoy en Rusia y países satélites, vuestros hermanos y hermanas en Cristo están clamando:

!Danos el pan de vida!

Esta biblia increíblemente usada es una ilustración del hambre espiritual de ellos.

- 37 Cada vez que usted lea su biblia piense en sus hermanos de Rusia.

!Yo he traído a ustedes este mensaje de ellos DESDE RUSIA CON AMOR!

?Ayudará usted a EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO a mandar el Mensaje de Dios !A RUSIA CON AMOR!?

\* \* \* \* \*

Después de terminada la exhibición de la emocionante película —toda a colores, hecha detrás de la Cortina de Hierro clandestinamente con peligro de vidas— que acabamos de transcribir textualmente, el señor PAPPACHAN mostró las flexibles y flamantes biblias y demás literatura espiritual que produce EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO, aquí descriptas.

10

// Amémonos de Corazón //

Corito de amor y de perdón

- 1 Amémonos de corazón y no de labios fingidos  
Amémonos de corazón y no de labios fingidos  
Para cuando Cristo venga, para cuando Cristo venga  
nos encuentre apercebidos  
Para cuando Cristo venga, para cuando Cristo venga  
nos encuentre apercebidos
- 2 ?Cómo puedes tú orar enojado con tu hermano?  
?Cómo puedes tú orar enojado con tu hermano?  
Dios no oye la oración, Dios no oye la oración  
si no te has reconciliado  
Dios no oye la oración, Dios no oye la oración  
si no te has reconciliado
- 3 No puedes amar a Dios si no amas a tu hermano  
No puedes amar a Dios si no amas a tu hermano  
Porque si tú no perdonas, porque si tú no perdonas  
no podrás ser perdonado  
Porque si tú no perdonas, porque si tú no perdonas  
no podrás ser perdonado

IMPOR TANTE

- 1 Toda persona --de cualquier credo, raza o nacionalidad que sea-- que esté en desacuerdo con el Comunismo (léase "Satanás") y, sobre todo, que se preocupe por que la divulgación de la Palabra de Dios no siga siendo estorbada y perseguida, debe tratar de ver esta película así como que la misma sea exhibida en todo establecimiento religioso o social, para lo cual debe ponerse en contacto con el señor PAPPACHAN, del Departamento de Exhibición de Películas de EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO, cuya dirección y teléfono aparecen en la portada... Y también ayudar a la obra con su donación y oración.  
La película puede ser exhibida a solicitud en español o en inglés.
- 2 La PRIMERA IGLESIA BAPTISTA DE LONG BEACH debe servir de ejemplo a las demás iglesias y, sobre todo, a los Clubs Sociales y Municipios de Cuba, pues esta iglesia, que cuenta con más de cinco mil miembros norteamericanos (que no han sido "quemados" todavía por el Comunismo como lo hemos sido nosotros los cubanos y, por tanto, no saben de verdad lo que es), no sólo ha facilitado que se exhiba la película en su Departamento Hispano, anunciándola en su Boletín Semanal (Beacon) para conocimiento de toda su Congregación, sino que ha solicitado de EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO que la misma sea exhibida también en su Santuario principal en el idioma inglés.  
  
"LIBERACIÓN" está solicitando permiso del Pastor americano, Dr. FRANK M. KEPNER, para transcribir también la versión en inglés de la película, al igual que está haciendo con la de español, para que sea enviada junto con su "Beacon" a toda su Congregación.
- 3 Deseamos agradecer por este medio al Dr. OCTAVIO R. COSTA la publicación de la exhibición de esta película, que hizo en su leída Sección de "INSTANTÁNEAS" en "LA OPINIÓN" de Los Angeles, el pasado miércoles 26 de junio.

Igualmente agradecemos al Dr. ANTONIO DÍAZ-BALDOQUÍN y al Semanario cubano "20 DE MAYO" de Los Angeles su promesa de publicar una reseña sobre la película y los comentarios que hacemos de ella en la portada y contraportada, tanto sobre dicho "film" y la labor de EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO como sobre el magnífico ejemplo dado por la FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF LONG BEACH, y esperamos que también igual nota de prensa sea reproducida por el resto de la prensa local escrita, radiada y televisada, en español e inglés, para la mas amplia divulgación de esta obra cristiana, humanitaria y anticomunista, pues la Causa de Dios y de la libertad espiritual y física del hombre a todos interesa por igual

// A RUSIA CON AMOR - TO RUSSIA WITH LOVE //

Transcripción textual del doblaje en español de la emocionante narración de un Pastor búlgaro que sufrió largos y duros años de prisión en las cárceles comunistas soviéticas

Película e. colores filmada clandestinamente sobre la persecución religiosa en Rusia y en los demás países tras la Cortina de Hierro, y sobre la valiente y eficaz labor que viene realizando la Organización Cristiana EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO llevándoles el Mensaje de la Palabra (Biblia) a nuestros esclavizados hermanos

Presentada por el señor S. PAPPACHAN, del Departamento de Películas de EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO de 1222 So. Glendale Ave., Glendale, Calif. 91205 - Phone: (213) 335-8740

el Domingo 30 de junio de 1974, a las 11 de la mañana

en el Departamento Hispano de la FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH de 1000 Pine Ave., Long Beach, Ca.

Pastor: Rev. ANTONIO TOLOPILO (Véase contraportada)

\*\*\*\*\*

// LIBERACION //

Boletín Informativo de las actividades patrióticas cubanas del Sur de California

EDITOR: Marcelino Siero P. O. Box 2143, Long Beach, Cal. 90801 - (213) 435-8741

Señor S. PAPPACHAN (Traducción simultánea del Inglés por el joven Henry Tolopilo)  
(Fragmentos de su charla antes de comenzar a pasar la película)

- 1 Estoy muy contento de estar aquí esta mañana con ustedes.  
Yo vivía hace un tiempo en el Oeste de Los Angeles.  
Mucha gente piensa que soy de México o de Texas: soy de la India.
- 2 Tenemos el "film" en inglés pero siempre que vamos a las congregaciones hispanas llevamos el mismo "film" en castellano.  
Algunas veces es difícil tener este último por estar viajando por todo el país.
- 3 El ministerio que estamos presentando es conocido por UNDERGROUND EVANGELISM.  
Déjenme decirles cómo comenzó esta organización.

Hace aproximadamente 14 años atrás, el fundador de la organización fue a Rusia. Más o menos hay 14 países comunistas. Viene a ser una relación de uno a tres los que viven en países comunistas.  
En la mayoría de estos países comunistas las iglesias están cerradas.  
A los pastores no se les permite predicar, como veremos en esta película.

Entonces, cuando este señor estuvo en Rusia conoció algunos de estos creyentes. Todos los creyentes que él conoció le preguntaban una cosa --no le pedían dinero, no le pedían ningún material--: lo único que le pedían era que les informara la forma en que podían conseguir biblias.

Quiero que piensen por unos segundos en esto: la mayoría de estas personas no tienen iglesias a las cuales puedan ir. No hay pastores ni profesores de la Biblia con los cuales ellos puedan aprender. No hay seminarios a los cuales puedan concurrir; no hay biblias para leer.

Este hombre se sintió tan apesadumbrado que volvió a su país y comenzó a hablar a la gente como ustedes, y a todos los que lo escuchaban él les decía: hagamos algo al respecto...

2

- 4 Y esta fue la forma en que esta organización vino a existir. Ahora tenemos oficinas en todo el mundo. Imprimimos en todas las lenguas comunistas. Y la gente nos pregunta: ¿qué es lo que ustedes hacen? Tratamos de hacer pasar las biblias, himnarios y todo libro a los creyentes en una forma muy peculiar... Noten que digo "en una forma muy peculiar". Déjenme explicar esto.

Supónganse que ustedes van a Rusia y llevan con ustedes 10 biblias. Cuando ven en la Aduana de Moscú que ustedes llevan 10 biblias, lo miran a usted a la cara y le dicen: "Nosotros no creemos en esto. Usted no puede entrar al país con esta clase de libros." Es decir, ustedes no pueden llevar biblias legalmente a Rusia.

Entonces nosotros llevamos las biblias ilegalmente. ¿Green ustedes que está bien que hagamos algo ilegal? Déjenme decirles algo antes de que ustedes respondan: ¿No fue el Señor Jesús a lugares donde no se le permitía ir? ¿No predicó en lugares donde no se le permitía predicar? El Señor dijo: "Id a todo el Mundo y predicad el Evangelio"

No estamos contrabandeando drogas. No estamos haciendo contrabando con oro... Pero estamos haciendo contrabando con algo más precioso que el oro, que puede cambiar la vida. Y déjenme decirles esto: si nosotros no hacemos esta clase de contrabando, no hay ninguna otra forma posible en que estos cristianos puedan obtener las biblias.  
¿Está bien entonces que lo hagamos? Creo que puede decirse: ¡Claro que sí!

- 5 Esta película se llama "A RUSIA CON AMOR" (To Russia with Love).  
Dentro de poco la película será presentada en inglés en otro local de esta misma iglesia. No es una película para entretenimiento pero tocará su corazón: le hará ver las condiciones de la vida cristiana detrás de la Cortina de Hierro.

Durante los últimos 17 años he sentido mucha pesadumbre por los seres que están detrás de la Cortina de Hierro. Por eso estoy esta mañana con esta misión en mi corazón, y ojalá que el Señor también toque su corazón para que se den cuenta de la necesidad espiritual que existe en los países comunistas.

- 6 Moscú es dos veces la ciudad de Los Angeles y hay una sola iglesia protestante (Bautista) --como ustedes verán en la película-- Tiene una membresía de cinco mil personas y nunca se ha visto una iglesia tan llena como ésta. Van a ver ustedes un automóvil blanco, que es el que lleva las biblias. Hay unos 20 de esos vehículos que van ida y vuelta con biblias. Ustedes van a ver la frontera cuando estos vehículos la cruzan, y van a ver el gozo de los cristianos después que reciben las biblias.

- 7



Les habla el Pastor Esteban Benko (?)

Desde 1964 he estado ministrando 56 iglesias subterráneas detrás de la Cortina de Hierro, en la comunista Bulgaria, un país llamado "la pequeña Rusia"

Ustedes querrán saber por qué he salido. He salido para hablar por mis hermanos y hermanas en Cristo. Sabéis que son los olvidados. Ellos casi no tienen biblias. Muchos de ellos permanecen en prisiones ya sufriendo por su fe. Deseo contarles su historia, mostrarles algo de lo que es la vida en un país comunista

La Plaza Roja de Moscú es el lugar santo de los comunistas. Allí los restos mortales de Lenin, el Padre del Comunismo, reposan en su gigantesco mausoleo. El día de su nacimiento es fiesta nacional. Lenin es honrado como una de las grandes figuras de la Historia. Miles de rusos cada día rinden homenaje a este hombre que dijo:

"No tenemos lugar para Dios".

Lenin ha venido a ser su Dios, pues en el cristal de su féretro están estas palabras:

"Ha sido el más grande líder de todas las gentes, de todos los países en todos los tiempos"

Lenin es el Señor de la Nueva Humanidad. Es el Salvador del Mundo...

Hasta hoy, dentro del Kremlin, pueden verse muchas cúpulas doradas. Mirando esas espléndidas estructuras, es posible comprender fácilmente que el Comunismo está inspirado por siniestras fuerzas espirituales, fuerzas que están llevando una guerra implacable contra la fe en Dios por el total rechazo de todos los valores espirituales y, más que todo, por la prohibición de la Biblia

Los que hemos servido a Dios bajo el Comunismo, nunca lo podremos olvidar. Los bellos edificios no pueden cegarnos. Nosotros sabemos exactamente lo que Pablo quería significar cuando decía que nuestra lucha no es contra enemigos físicos sino contra organizaciones y poderes espirituales. Nosotros estamos en contra del poder invisible que controla este Mundo tenebroso y contra sus agentes demoníacos... Nosotros los cristianos sabemos que el Comunismo en nuestras tierras es una fuerza espiritual satánica...

- 7 Hoy en día en Rusia y sus satélites, muchas iglesias han venido a ser atracciones turísticas, museos donde los tesoros de pintura y escultura pueden ser vistos tan sólo como fragmentos de un muerto pasado, y donde las imágenes de Cristo están divorciadas de la realidad histórica de una persona viviente
- 8 Las iglesias, como símbolos del Viejo Orden, están empequeñecidas y ensombrecidas por los símbolos del Nuevo Orden. Muchas están muertas y silenciosas y cerradas para siempre. Una de mis propias iglesias está siendo usada como casa de departamentos. Otra ha sido convertida en un auditorium musical. Bajo el Comunismo, cientos de iglesias han sido cerradas, selladas con tablas y barras. Las pesadas cadenas de la opresión del Estado han negado al pueblo su herencia espiritual... Pero para satisfacer la persistente hambre espiritual del pueblo los astutos dirigentes comunistas permiten que algunas iglesias permanezcan abiertas. Estas iglesias han venido a ser iglesias oficiales, las versiones autorizadas que permiten a los comunistas hablar de libertades religiosas.
- 9 En Moscú, la capital, ciudad de unos siete millones de habitantes, hay una sola iglesia autorizada abierta para todos los protestantes; pero la situación es mucho peor en lugares donde no es necesario convencer al turista que hay libertad religiosa
- 10 Los pastores que son aprobados por el Estado deben ajustarse a ciertas normas estrictas de adoración permitidas por las autoridades comunistas y deben prometer no predicar fuera de sus iglesias o propagar su fe. Conocemos casos de pastores no conformistas que han sido reemplazados por duros e inflexibles individuos comunistas
- 11 En Rusia, todas las organizaciones, incluyendo sindicatos, periódicos, estaciones de radio y televisión, están controladas por el gobierno y todas son en la práctica extensiones del régimen comunista
- 12 Desafortunadamente, la iglesia oficial no es una excepción. En mi país, Bulgaria, el setenta por ciento de nuestras iglesias están cerradas, y al 85% de los pastores no se les tiene permitido predicar el Evangelio. Ninguna biblia ha sido impresa por más de 25 años
- 13 A despecho de este severo control estatal, muchos que asisten a las iglesias autorizadas son verdaderos creyentes que adoran con sinceridad y verdad, creyentes que reverencian el cuerpo y la sangre del Señor y que aman su venida...

- Pero se estima que 1 70% de la población de Rusia no puede asistir a ninguna iglesia oficial o autorizada porque no las hay en muy largas distancias.
- 14 Cuando nuestras iglesias fueron cerradas, la gente preguntó: Pastor Benko (?) ¿Qué haremos ahora? El problema consistía en adorar ilegalmente o no adorar de ninguna manera. Fue entonces que me convertí en un pastor ilegal de una iglesia subterránea
- 15 Pero no quiero decir que en la iglesia autorizada de Rusia muchos pastores son agentes comunistas. No lo son. Todavía quedan pastores consagrados que arriesgan su libertad y aun su vida por permanecer fieles y por permitir que asistan jóvenes a sus iglesias cuando es prohibido por la ley que asistan menores de 18 años a las iglesias
- 16 Control completo del ciudadano desde la cuna hasta el sepulcro es el blanco de los líderes comunistas. El adoctrinamiento comienza temprano y la educación en cada nivel es el arma traicionera con la cual cada nueva generación es preparada para aceptar el ateísmo, el cual es oficialmente propagado por el Kremlin
- 17 La Universidad de Moscú es la ciudadela central de este monolítico y materialista sistema. Hay cerca de 800 instituciones de enseñanza superior en Rusia y la tasa de personas que saben leer y escribir es del 98%
- 18 El Comunismo ha puesto todo su dinero en la Nueva Generación. La estrategia es ésta:  
Controlar todo el sistema educacional adoctrinando a los jóvenes e intimidando a los viejos, y también controlando todos los medios de comunicación con las masas, publicando y propagando solamente el pensamiento oficial del Partido. Iglesias cerradas, colegios controlados y comunicaciones censuradas es la estrategia.  
Alguien ha dicho: la gente cree en lo primero que ve escrito. Los comunistas creen en esto y gastan millones con fines de propaganda.
- 19 Por motivo de la continua opresión, la iglesia en Rusia se parece a un templo: tiene una octava parte visible sobre la superficie y siete octavas partes invisibles debajo de la superficie. Por ejemplo, los creyentes aquí en Kiev (?) fueron forzados a hacerse ilegales cuando sus iglesias fueron cerradas y puestas bajo control comunista
- 20 Al principio se reunieron secretamente en casas y departamentos de varios miembros hasta que no pudieron más acomodar a las 400 o más personas que venían cada domingo, y por tres años, en la primavera y el verano, la congregación tuvo sus servicios regulares en los bosques.  
Uno de los miembros nos contó lo que sucedió por fin: un domingo, en Mayo, estábamos reunidos para nuestro servicio regular cuando fuimos rodeados por la Policía Secreta. Ellos sobrepasaban en número a la congregación. Antes de que terminaríamos la oración, ordenaron el ataque, cargando sobre nosotros. Nos derribaron en tierra, nos patearon y empezaron a golpear indiscriminadamente no sólo a los hombres sino también a las mujeres, a los niños y a los ancianos, hasta dejarlos inconscientes.  
30 de nuestros miembros fueron arrestados ese día, pero dentro de dos días los arrestos sumaban un centenar. Muchos de ellos fueron sentenciados a 15 días de prisión, otros fueron multados y el paradero de uno de nuestros líderes, Jorge Dean (?), es incierto todavía.
- 21 De la orgullosa Leningrado, la segunda ciudad de Rusia, nos viene otro caso de crueldad comunista contra los cristianos. Esta es la historia de una chica de 17 años, técnica de laboratorio, quien buscaba expresar su fe en las calles de la ciudad el año nuevo de 1961. Ella se paró en una de las mayores avenidas de Leningrado. Su nombre es AIDA SCRIPNIKOVA (?)  
Ella saludaba a la gente. Les deseaba un feliz año nuevo y les ponía en la mano una tarjeta con el mensaje: "Buscad a Dios mientras puede ser hallado". Por hacer esto fue detenida e interrogada por la Policía Secreta, amenazada y entonces despedida.  
Pero esto fue el principio de una persecución sistemática contra esta joven durante la cual ella entró y salió de la prisión varias veces. La segunda vez que fue arrestada fue acusada oficialmente de poseer una biblia, y sentenciada a dos años de prisión.  
Más tarde, ella rehusó unirse a una iglesia oficial y entonces, en abril de 1968, desapareció. Hemos sabido que ella permanece en prisión.
- 22 En las iglesias subterráneas, tal como las que yo he servido, hay una escasez de biblias y literatura cristiana extraordinaria. No tenemos himnarios en nuestras iglesias, excepto algunos como éste, que han sido copiados a mano o a máquina. Mi esposa ha hecho miles de copias de este cancionero, las cuales hemos distribuido a los creyentes de las iglesias subterráneas
- 23 La tarea ha sido agotadora pero no sin frutos. Imaginense ustedes lo que serían sus cultos sin poder cantar himnos, y ¿qué himnos pueden cantarse sin poseer himnarios?...

Pero peor todavía si sus pastores no tienen biblias. Yo he predicado por 12 años del mismo Nuevo Testamento. Cuando, finalmente, EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO me proporcionó una biblia, lloré de alegría.

24. Esta biblia en ruso fue copiada íntegramente a mano en un lapso de ocho meses. En Rusia los creyentes no han tenido biblias por 50 años; en otros países tras la Cortina de Hierro, por 25 años

Tan grande es el hambre espiritual de los creyentes de las Iglesias Subterráneas que ellos han inventado muchos métodos para producir literatura, especialmente la palabra de Dios. Con mimeógrafos como éste, las biblias han sido pacientemente impresas. Para evitar sospechas, diferentes cristianos compraban pequeñas cantidades de papel en blanco en varios establecimientos y entonces lo cambiaban por papel mimeografiado en igual cantidad. Fue un proceso lento, prácticamente de página por página, pero nuestros valientes hermanos consideraban que valía la pena, aun cuando en algunos casos fueron descubiertos y les impusieron de cinco a diez años de prisión por el crimen de mimeografiar páginas de la biblia.

- 25 Hemos orado desesperadamente por la palabra de Dios y milagrosamente Él oyó nuestro clamor porque ahora, en el Mundo Libre, la organización misionera EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO está usando modernos métodos y maquinarias que incluyen rápidas prensas para producir toneladas de literatura espiritual especialmente diseñada: Biblias de bolsillo, himnarios, concordancias, libros devocionales y estudios bíblicos

Es una vasta y altamente eficiente operación que combina los talentos de muchas consagradas personas

- 26 Nuestra necesidad mayor es la palabra de Dios y EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO está produciendo biblias para llenar esa necesidad. Vean cuán flexibles, pequeñas y livianas son estas biblias, perfectamente adecuadas para contrabandear a través de las fronteras comunistas.

Cuando yo estaba detrás de la Cortina de Hierro recibí miles de estas escrituras en mi propio idioma; pero nunca pensé cuánta gente oraba y trabajaba para hacerlo posible

- 27 Deseo compartir con ustedes esta excitante y a menudo espectacular historia. Desde el punto de producción, las biblias y otra literatura son distribuidas a depósitos estratégicamente colocados y diseminados por toda la Europa Occidental. De los depósitos, colaboradores experimentados realizan viajes correos a través de las fronteras comunistas para llegar hasta nuestro pueblo.

Los depósitos forman una hábil red de distribución y proveen un lugar adecuado para almacenar la literatura hasta que sea despachada. Todo el correo es manejado desde los mismos depósitos.

- 8 Las cartas nos llegan de detrás de la Cortina de Hierro. Una muchacha escribe:

"Tengo 21 años de edad y asisto a un colegio superior. He oído acerca de un libro el cual cuenta la historia de un hombre que tenía un maravilloso hijo único. Aparentemente, el hijo fue capturado por la policía, torturado y, finalmente, muerto; pero de acuerdo a un informe digno de confianza se supone que él está todavía vivo y haciendo cosas muy maravillosas. Yo deseo tener ese libro. He buscado por todas partes, pero no lo encuentro. ¿Podrían, por favor, enviarme una copia?"

- 9 Como se reciben muchos pedidos de biblias, se anotan cuidadosamente los nombres y direcciones. Este pedido llegó de Kiev (?) y así fue incluido para despachar con el próximo correo que salía para Kiev (?)

Las misiones de contrabando son planeadas cuidadosamente. Se usan muchos medios de transporte para despistar: autos, camiones, trenes y hasta barcos. Líderes de confianza, confiables y responsables es la clave, y las rutas son constantemente cambiadas y seleccionadas para reducir al mínimo la posibilidad de una detención. Aun las estaciones del año se toman en cuenta porque en algunas fronteras comunistas es más fácil entrar en la estación turística del verano.

En la frontera, la tensión siempre existe. Hacemos todo lo posible para evitar el peligro de una detención; pero bajo la búsqueda escrutadora de los guardias de Aduana uno sufre y espera y ora.

Una vez cruzada la frontera, el correo sale volando hacia la cita preconvenida en los diversos países comunistas. El peligro está presente todavía, pero siempre ponemos atención especial para protegerlo.

- 30 Yo, personalmente, he participado en muchas de estas misiones y he recibido miles de Nuevos Testamentos y centenares de biblias para los creyentes de la Iglesia Subterránea. Los correos transfieren rápida y silenciosamente sus cargas a los colaboradores. Todo el proceso toma sólo unos minutos.

- 31 El correo arranca rápidamente. Cuando él se ha ido es responsabilidad de la otra persona continuar el trabajo, despachando la literatura en pequeñas cantidades a luga-

res y personas convenidas. Esto también es hecho con precisión y precaución. Las sospechas de la Policía Secreta se despiertan muy fácilmente.

Donde es posible y practicable, las entregas son hechas a la carrera porque el tiempo es siempre un gran factor.

- 32 En la distribución de biblias damos la prioridad a los grupos pequeños, pero selectos, de creyentes cuyas iglesias han sido clausuradas, los miembros de la Iglesia subterránea. Cuando las entregas se hacen en la puerta, usamos cierto código de llamadas.
- 33 En la Iglesia Subterránea es cosa común que una sola biblia sea compartida entre 20 ó 30 creyentes. A veces, personas muy ancianas parecen tener muy viejas biblias. Ésta ha sido compartida por muchos cristianos durante muchos años y ha tenido ya cuatro encuadernaciones.
- 34 El gozo de recibir biblias no puede ser descripto. Para los miembros de la Iglesia Subterránea es un don inefable.
- 35 Después que salí de la prisión comunista ya no podía trabajar, pues las autoridades me negaron permiso de trabajo. Muchas veces mis hijos me dijeron: "Papá, tráiganos pan"... ¡Qué agonía y qué tortura experimenté cuando no podía alimentar a mis propios hijos!...
- 36 Hoy en Rusia y países satélites, vuestros hermanos y hermanas en Cristo están clamando:

¡Danos el pan de vida!

Esta biblia increíblemente usada es una ilustración del hambre espiritual de ellos.

- 37 Cada vez que usted lea su biblia piense en sus hermanos de Rusia.

¡Yo he traído a ustedes este mensaje de ellos DESDE RUSIA CON AMOR!

¿Ayudará usted a EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO a mandar el Mensaje de Dios ¡A RUSIA CON AMOR!?

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Después de terminada la exhibición de la emocionante película —toda a colores, hecha detrás de la Cortina de Hierro clandestinamente con peligro de vidas— que acabamos de transcribir textualmente, el señor PAPPACHAN mostró las flexibles y flamantes biblias y demás literatura espiritual que produce EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO, aquí descriptas.

10

Amémonos de Corazón

Corito de amor y de perdón

- 1 Amémonos de corazón y no de labios fingidos  
Amémonos de corazón y no de labios fingidos  
Para cuando Cristo venga, para cuando Cristo venga  
nos encuentre apercebidos  
Para cuando Cristo venga, para cuando Cristo venga  
nos encuentre apercebidos
- 2 ¿Cómo puedes tú orar enojado con tu hermano?  
¿Cómo puedes tú orar enojado con tu hermano?  
Dios no oye la oración, Dios no oye la oración  
si no te has reconciliado  
Dios no oye la oración, Dios no oye la oración  
si no te has reconciliado
- 3 No puedes amar a Dios si no amas a tu hermano  
No puedes amar a Dios si no amas a tu hermano  
Porque si tú no perdonas, porque si tú no perdonas  
no podrás ser perdonado  
Porque si tú no perdonas, porque si tú no perdonas  
no podrás ser perdonado

**// I M P O R T A N T E //**

1 Toda persona --de cualquier credo, raza o nacionalidad que sea-- que esté en desacuerdo con el Comunismo (léase "Satanás") y, sobre todo, que se preocupe por que la divulgación de la Palabra de Dios no siga siendo estorbada y perseguida, debe tratar de ver esta película así como que la misma sea exhibida en todo establecimiento religioso o social, para lo cual debe ponerse en contacto con el señor PAPPACHAN, del Departamento de Exhibición de Películas de EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO, cuya dirección y teléfono aparecen en la portada... Y también ayudar a la obra con su donación y oración.  
La película puede ser exhibida a solicitud en español o en inglés.

2 La PRIMERA IGLESIA BAPTISTA DE LONG BEACH debe servir de ejemplo a las demás iglesias y, sobre todo, a los Clubs Sociales y Municipios de Cuba, pues esta iglesia, que cuenta con más de cinco mil miembros norteamericanos (que no han sido "quemados" todavía por el Comunismo como lo hemos sido nosotros los cubanos y, por tanto, no saben de verdad lo que es), no sólo ha facilitado que se exhiba la película en su Departamento Hispano, anunciándola en su Boletín Semanal (Beacon) para conocimiento de toda su Congregación, sino que ha solicitado de EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO que la misma sea exhibida también en su Santuario principal en el idioma inglés.

"LIBERACIÓN" está solicitando permiso del Pastor americano, Dr. FRANK M. KEPNER, para transcribir también la versión en inglés de la película, al igual que está haciendo con la de español, para que sea enviada junto con su "Beacon" a toda su Congregación.

3 Deseamos agradecer por este medio al Dr. OCTAVIO R. COSTA la publicación de la exhibición de esta película, que hizo en su leída Sección de "INSTANTÁNEAS" en "LA OPINIÓN" de Los Angeles, el pasado miércoles 26 de junio.

Igualmente agradecemos al Dr. ANTONIO DÍAZ-BALDOQUÍN y al Semanario cubano "20 DE MAYO" de Los Angeles su promesa de publicar una reseña sobre la película y los comentarios que hacemos de ella en la portada y contraportada, tanto sobre dicho "film" y la labor de EVANGELISMO SUBTERRÁNEO como sobre el magnífico ejemplo dado por la FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF LONG BEACH, y esperamos que también igual nota de prensa sea reproducida por el resto de la prensa local escrita, radiada y televisada, en español e inglés, para la más amplia divulgación de esta obra cristiana, humanitaria y anticomunista, pues la Causa de Dios y de la libertad espiritual y física del hombre a todos interesa por igual

En el Anexo No. 1 a este documento se acompaña una carta que dirigí en abril 4 ppdo. al Presidente Reagan, y se hace mención del caso del jerife CARLOS DOÑA, hijo de nuestro Pastor, que recibió tres balazos en su cuerpo al tratar de esposar a un bandido que rondaba por los jardines de una residencia, cuando si hubiera usado su revólver no hubiera tenido ningún problema. Dios lo cuidó y las heridas no hicieron ningún daño considerable, y más tarde el Señor lo premió ricamente.

En ese mismo anexo aparecen copias de diplomas al Sargento FRANK DOÑA, también joven cristiano, hijo de mi pastor, que fue condecorado por los Marines por su correcto comportamiento, siendo considerado uno de los marinos más notables por su conducta y el ejemplo que dio a sus compañeros. El secreto de todo fue simplemente, su condición de cristiano, que lo hizo actuar en forma distinta que a sus otros compañeros, no cristianos.

10. En consonancia con esta estrategia de lucha cristiana que estamos recomendando, a continuación sugiero la primera medida que aconsejo al gobierno americano tomar:

SUGERENCIA No. 1: Que el gobierno de los Estados Unidos destine una buena parte de su presupuesto a desarrollar programas de base cristiana para la policía y el ejército, no sólo para ser aplicados a nuestra policía y nuestro ejército (que debenserlos primeros en aplicarlos como ejemplo), sino también para la policía y ejércitos de todos los países latinos que quieran hacerlos.

Estos programas, desde luego, también serán para la población civil que lo desee. Esta será la medida más efectiva para lograr que se respeten los derechos humanos, en vez de estarles dando dinero a los gobernantes para ello.

11. El Presidente Reagan debe pensar que a pesar de las actividades que hay dentro de la insurrección nicaragüense, no va a liberarse Nicaragua del Comunismo en pocas horas. La lucha puede durar lustros. Por lo tanto, no debe esperarse a la liberación de Nicaragua para llevarles el Evangelio a los nicaragüenses, sino que debe destinarse una buena parte del presupuesto de guerra de EE. UU. para infiltrar a Cristo en ese país comunista. Lo mismo debe pensarse respecto a Cuba.

Si es necesario hacer concesiones tanto al régimen de Managua como al de La Habana para que permitan cruzadas evangélicas, introducción de material bíblico, etc., hacerlas, pensando que es una bomba atómica lo que se está metiendo en esos países, sin causar el daño que causa ésta cuando es real.

¡Y qué bien verá el pueblo americano que Reagan anuncie un bombardeo a la Isla de Cuba y a Nicaragua, no de explosivos, sino de biblias y material bíblico!

Radio MARTI, en vez de dedicarse por completo a llevar información al pueblo de Cuba de las cosas malas que hace el régimen, si dedica una buena parte de su programación a llevar el Evangelio, estoy seguro que será mucho mejor acogido por el régimen cubano. Sin embargo, la realidad es que la infiltración del Señor en la Isla es más efectiva para vencer al enemigo que la peor de las armas atómicas.

El Evangelista Billy Graham, que ya fue a Moscow, si es invitado por evangélicos cubanos, ya dijo que no tendría inconveniente en ir a Cuba (se lo dijo a mi Pastor, el Hno. Cristóbal Doña, cuando estuvo últimamente en una cruzada en San José, Ca.) ?Por qué no destinar una buena parte del presupuesto para la defensa de este país para alquilar la Plaza de la Revolución, donde caben más de un millón de personas, y que por estar al aire libre sería visitada por oficiales del régimen en los días de la campaña. La campaña debe hacer<sup>se</sup> de domingo a domingo, y exigir al régimen que dé facilidades para que puedan ir a la Capital los cubanos del interior, y que también puedan ir personas de afuera, para que los cubanos del Exilio puedan ir a Cuba a invitar a sus familiares a asistir a la Cruzada. (Véase adjunto Anexo No.2)

11. Y aquí viene mi

SUGERENCIA No. 2: Que el gobierno de EE. UU. destine una buena parte del presupuesto de la Defensa para financiar Cruzadas Evangélicas a Cuba y a Nicaragua, haciendo con estos países los arreglos diplomáticos que sean menester, así como económicos. Lo mismo puede hacerse con El Salvador, Guatemala, etc.

12. Dentro de mi tesis de "AMOR vs ODIO", estaba en primerísimo lugar mi mensaje a los presos políticos cubanos de que buscaran al Señor y lo recibieran en su corazón, en la seguridad de que Él les iba a dar Su amor, para que pudieran amar y compadecer al carcelero, y entonces OBEDECERLO POR AMOR, NO POR MIEDO O CONVENIENCIA, como hace el preso llamado "rehabilitado"; ni tampoco desobedecerlo para provocar el atropello y poder producir la denuncia de la violación de los derechos humanos, como hace el preso rebelde-mártir.

Mi tesis es que como todos los odios son iguales, lo mismo el llamado justificado, como el de la madre santa que odia por primera vez cuando le matan el hijo, que el llamado injustificado, como el del envidioso, que sólo odia por envidia; de aquí que el odio del preso político al carcelero que lo maltrata, es igual que el que le tiene el carcelero, o sea, le hace tanto daño a uno y otro por el veneno que continen los dos.

En cambio, cuando el preso político cristiano obedece por amor al carcelero, es feliz dentro de la misma cárcel porque tiene a Cristo en el corazón, y no sólo él no recibe el veneno del odio, sino que le lleva amor al carcelero, que generalmente son infelices muchachos que son escogidos entre los que odian desde la niñez, sin ser muchas veces culpables de ese odio infantil. Y como amor genera amor, lo mismo que odio genera odio, el carcelero acaba por amarlo a él también, y como el comunismo es odio organizado, si todos los carceleros llegan amar a los presos, es la peor arma que puede dispararse dentro de una cárcel contra el régimen opresor. En otras palabras, se lleva a Cristo a la cárcel, y el diablo no puede estar donde está el Señor.

De aquí, otra sugerencia al señor Presidente:

SUGERENCIA No. 3: Que el gobierno de los EE. UU. destine una buena parte del presupuesto para la Defensa, y haga los tratados que sean menester con los gobiernos de Cuba y de Nicaragua para que evangélicos cubanos y nicaragüenses del Exilio puedan visitar a sus respectivos países y visitar las cárceles determinados días para llevarles el evangelio, así como puedan comunicarse con los evangélicos nicas y cubanos para que ellos continúen la obra emprendida por los del Exilio.

La Base Naval de Guantánamo puede cooperar a este plan, en Cuba.

13. Antes de continuar adelante, quiero aclarar que si hay objeción por algunas de las autoridades del país en cuanto a la separación de Estado e iglesias, el Presidente puede alegar que estamos en plena III GUERRA MUNDIAL, y en tiempos de guerra el Presidente tiene libertad para actuar en contra de las leyes que se opongan a las medidas de seguridad que sean menester por el Ejecutivo.

14. Desde luego, si el Presidente está en disposición de tomar como ESTRATEGIA DE LUCHA ponerse a las órdenes del GENERAL EN JEFE, o sea, de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, y, por lo tanto, el código de guerra sea la Biblia, y se considere la libertad espiritual como la única y verdadera libertad, en este caso los reglamentos de la CIA habrá que modificarlos, prohibiendo terminantemente el asesinato, ni aun de los grandes líderes del comunismo; así como también se prohibirá al ejército americano, Marines, etc., toda clase de acto terrorista, que no sea exclusivamente a objetivos puramente militares.

15. Extendiendo la estrategia divina no sólo a combatir el comunismo, sino también aplicándola en el orden interior de EE. UU., vienen otras sugerencias:

SUGERENCIA No. 4: Que se permita hablar de Dios en los centros oficiales, habida cuenta que prohibir hablar de Dios equivale a autorizar hablar del diablo. Por otra parte, es triste ver la orientación que se le está dando, por ejemplo, a los ancianos en los comedores, donde se les permite jugar al bingo y dar viajes a cabarets, y en cambio no se les da ninguna orientación espiritual, estando ellos más que nadie más próximos a la tumba que los de menos edad.

SUGERENCIA No. 5: Teniendo en cuenta que entre los 130 mil refugiados cubanos del 80 el régimen cubano puso personas desequilibradas, bandidos, asesinos, etc., y, en general, aunque son en su mayor parte gente buena, pero mal orientada, y constituye un peligro para este país que estén dispersos por todas partes sin haber recibido la orientación espiritual, moral y de toda índole, por la forma en que han sido relocalizados, conviene crear albergues, donde se les eduque en todos los órdenes, en vez de darles dinero que usan en vicios. Cubanos deben ser usados para guiarlos.

MEDIDAS PARA ALIVIAR EL ODI0 LATINO-SAJÓN AGUDIZADO POR EL CONFLICTO BELICO

ENTRE ARGENTINOS Y BRITANICOS POR LA POSESIÓN DE LAS ISLAS MALVINAS;

ODIO RACIAL QUE ESTÁ AFECTADO LA INTERVENCION AMERICANA EN CENTRO AMERICA

16. En el Anexo No. 3 a este documento, se hace referencia a cinco cables que envié a los organismos internacionales, al Presidente Reagan y al Presidente Leopoldo Galtieri, de la Argentina, y a la Primer Ministro Maragaret Thatcher, primero, para evitar el conflicto bélico, pidiendo que ambas partes cedieran sus derechos a Dios, y se pusieran de acuerdo mas bien para buscar una alianza militar entre ambos países demócratas para defender el Atlántico Sur del peligro comunista.

En sendas cartas aue envié a los líderes de ambas naciones en disputa, les aconsejaba que las islas debían ser poseídas por argentinos y británicos en número igual, y que en vez de estar en pugna, desde las Islas se debían enviar programas bilingües a toda la América Latina y Sajona, considerando que la diferencia cultural y, sobre todo, del idioma, constituía una barrera para el acercamiento espiritual de ambas razas: la latina y la sajona.

Con el Presidente Reagan también he insistido en este asunto, en el sentido de que los Estados Unidos financieramente cooperen con este proyecto. Por ello, a continuación va mi

SUGERENCIA No. 6: Que habida cuenta que el peligro del odio latino-sajón constituye una amenaza para la seguridad americana quizás mayor que la de Oriente y Occidente, pues por ser vecinos pueden hacerse más daño aun que tratándose de potencias extranjeras.

Que habida cuenta que en esa ocasión los Estados Unidos se pusieron de parte de la Gran Bretaña, agudizando el odio latino-sajón, que ha sido siempre una realidad que no se puede ignorar, y por ese motivo y por conveniencia, está este país en la obligación de tratar de salvar discrepancias entre ambas razas, y, sobre todo por el amor de Dios, que quiere que todos nos amemos,

SUGIERO que este país contribuya financieramente a hacer programas bilingües, biculturales, y que en las Islas Malvinas, argentinos y británicos, tengan como ocupación No. 1 la enseñanza de sus respectivos idiomas, y la divulgación de sus respectivas culturas, pues sin duda, el lenguaje es una de las barreras mayores que hay para el acercamiento de latinos y sajones.

Y que sea obligatoria en todas las escuelas del Hemisferio, lo mismo en naciones de habla hispana que en las de habla inglesa, la enseñanza bilingüe y la divulgación de nuestras mutuas culturas. Las Malvinas encabezarían este movimiento cultural.

Igualmente, la prensa radial, televisada y escrita debe ser bilingüe.

SUGIERO asimismo, propugnar la fundación de clubes latino-americanos, inclusive destinando importantes fondos a este fin.

*M. Siero*  
San José, Ca., septiembre 12, 1983

ADJUNTOS: Anexo No. 1 Síntesis de la Tesis o Estrategia de Lucha de Liberación político-religiosa "AMOR vs ODI0" - Coexistencia condicionada con Cuba para facilitar CRUZADA IDEOLOGICA CRISTIANA (Tampa, Fla., Agosto 1977)

Anexo No. 2 Carta al Presidente de Cuba, Fidel Castro, proponiéndole la renta por ocho días de la Plaza de la Revolución para una Cruzada del Evangelista Billy Graham (San José, Ca., marzo 22, 1982)

ANEXOS EN CARPETA APARTE: Anexo No. 3: Artículo de M. Siero: "Propósito de Dios en la Crisis de Las Malvinas", publicado en el periódico "20 DE MAYO"

Anexo No. 4: Informes y sugerencias de la Delegación del Condado de Santa Clara de ALPHA 66, al Presidente Reagan, por conducto del Comité

Anexo No. 5: Informes y sugerencias de LA VOZ DE CUBA /Asesor CRISTIANA, de Los Angeles, Ca., al Presidente Reagan, por conducto del

Anexo No. 6: Copia carta de abril 4, 1983, al Presidente Reagan, pidiendo financiamiento de programas de base cristiana civil y militar; copias de cartas a las Comisiones de Derechos Humanos de la OEA y de la ONU; copias diplomas al Sargento cristiano FRANK DOÑA



PUNTOS IMPORTANTES QUE QUEDARON FUERA DEL MENSAJE DE SIERO AL PRESIDENTE REAGAN,  
ENVIADO POR CONDUCTO DEL PASTOR CRISTÓBAL M. DOÑA,  
QUE CONVIENE QUE SEAN CONSIDERADOS POR EL COMITÉ ASESOR EN SU REUNIÓN DE 9/14/83

1. En primer lugar, en lo que se refiere a la estrategia de lucha que recomendamos, o sea, la político-religiosa, en la que el estratega y General en Jefe va a ser Jesucristo y, por lo tanto, la Biblia debe ser el código o MANUAL DE INSTRUCCIONES CIVIL Y MILITAR, y, en este caso, la guía del Presidente Reagan en ese aspecto, debe ser pensar que el triunfo del Comunismo consiste en que si están siguiendo esa estrategia POLITICO-RELIGIOSA; con la diferencia que su General en Jefe es el Diablo; mientras que la democracia se empeña en separar a Dios de la gobernación de las naciones, olvidándose la frase de Benjamín Franklin que dijo:  
"Si la caída de un gorrión es gobernada por Dios,  
cómo las naciones no van a ser gobernadas por Él."

Y como el único que se puede oponer a la sabiduría y picardía del diablo es Jesús, de ahí que el único que puede llevar adelante esta lucha con éxito es Él.

De que el diablo está con ellos lo demuestra la profecía de Lenin en el 17, diciendo que desde la plataforma de Cuba iban a derribar a EE. UU. Que dijera que desde la plataforma de México lo iban a hacer, es correcto; pero Cuba, en el 17, nadie podía pensar que fuera presa del comunismo. ¿Por qué esa profecía de Lenin? Porque el diablo se la inspiró.

Otra señal de que el diablo guía a los rusos no es sólo que el comunismo es sinónimo de odio y odio es sinónimo de diablo; sino que ellos tienen como deporte No. 1 el ajedrez, y el ajedrez es la ciencia más indicada para guiar la estrategia militar. De ahí que después de 60 años de jugar al ajedrez haya quemado mis trebejos, mis tableros y mis libros, por considerarlo diabólico....

Pero parece que Cristo quiso permitir que yo destruyera mi juventud dentro del vicio del ajedrez para ahora poder usar esa experiencia en favor de Su causa, y de ahí que haya tenido la inspiración que no tuvo ningún combatiente cubano: la estrategia político-religiosa "AMOR vs ODIO", de la que hablo en el mensaje.

Por ello insisto en ser oído, porque sé que ningún combatiente es religioso y ningún religioso legítimo, o sea, verdadero cristiano, es político; todos, o son políticos el 99% y religiosos un 1%; o religiosos el 99% y políticos, el 1%. Que yo sepa, en los 20 años que llevo de lucha el único 50% y 50% político-religioso, no para mi gloria sino para <sup>la</sup> del Señor que me ha escogido, es mi humilde persona.

2. Acompaño como anexo No. 7 el folleto "A RUSIA CON AMOR - TO RUSSIA WITH LOVE", que es la transcripción textual que hicimos del doblaje en español de la emocionante narración de un Pastor búlgaro que sufrió largos y duros años de prisión en las cárceles comunistas soviéticas—y que fue exhibida el domingo 30 de junio de 1974 en el Depto. Hispano de la FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH de LONG BEACH, Ca., de la que es Pastor el Rev. Antonio Tolopilo, y publicada en mi boletín mensual LIBERACIÓN.

Es precisamente esta táctica de lucha <sup>la</sup> que yo aconsejo al Presidente Reagan. Infiltrar a Cristo no cuando el comunismo haya sido vencido sino desde ahora; no ir a llevar el evangelio a Nicaragua o a Cuba cuando el comunismo no esté, sino desde ahora; pero quizás no clandestinamente, sino por medio de tratados de conveniencia para los comunistas y los demócratas; ellos necesitan dinero para sus maquiaveladas, y nosotros necesitamos meterle la bomba atómica cristiana para que sea el Señor y no los hombres los que nos enfrentemos al diablo.

Nuestro Pastor, y otros pastores como él, pueden ir a Nicaragua y a Cuba, además de Billy Graham y Bill Gothard, no cuando esos países hayan dejado de ser comunistas, sino ahora, con el comunismo; pero hace falta que el Presidente Reagan esté claro en esto y se dedique una fuerte suma del presupuesto de la defensa para sufragar los gastos.

A NICARAGUA Y A CUBA CON AMOR... HE AHÍ LA INMEDIATA TACTICA MILITAR

3. Otro punto que yo no trato y que conviene hablar de él, por parte de mi propio Pastor, es la experiencia de este y los demás pastores en su primer viaje a Nicaragua, antes de llegar el comunismo, donde en su iglesia se entregaron más de 200 almas al Señor, y en total, de todos los pastores que fueron de EE. UU., se entregaron, si mal no recuerdo, más de 3 mil, que es ahora una semilla que está germinando entre las filas comunistas y muy especialmente entre el pueblo que quiere seguir a Dios.

En la segunda visita, ya con el régimen comunista, el resultado fue muy pobre porque no tuvo el respaldo oficial, que sí lo tendría si hubiera un tratado con ese país y los Estados Unidos, a esos efectos. Los comunistas, por divisas, entregan su alma al diablo, porque para ellos el fin justifica los medios.

—De nosotros, en la sugestión mía, no puede decirse esto, pues tanto el medio que proponemos como el fin, son nobles, son cristianos, son de Dios, para el bien de todos, de ellos mismos también. Vender el alma al diablo es malo, pero pagar para salvar un alma no es malo, es de Dios—

4. Si después de estudiar el Comité Asesor, cuidadosamente, mi mensaje, y el Presidente y sus asesores militares, en cualquier momento, estiman que mi proposición y mis sugerencias son dignas de ser consideradas, y quieren una explicación más amplia, con gusto me pueden llamar que no tengo inconveniente en trasladarme a Washington, D. C., y estar allí todo el tiempo que sea menester, y si es preciso viajar, muy especialmente a Cuba, ya una vez puestos de acuerdo ambos gobiernos, con gusto lo haría también. La estancia en La Habana me sería fácil, pues en un barrio de la Capital viven mi hija de 58 años y mis dos nietas, casadas, con cuatro biznietos, y ella está loca porque yo vaya a Cuba, así como también mi Pastor; pero cree que éste, por ser nicaragüense que conoce bien el lugar, en una estancia larga debe ir a Nicaragua; a Cuba sería en una campaña breve, de domingo a domingo.

Mi teléfono es (408) 923-1456, se me puede llamar a cualquier hora, de las 10 de la noche hasta las 11 de la mañana.

5. Como señal de que el Congreso de los Estados Unidos puede interesarse en nuestra tesis, y muy especialmente el pueblo, que no quiere sangre, es la Resolución del Congreso que yo menciono al final del anexo No. 1, sobre mi tesis de "Amor vs Odio", que redacté en la Florida y distribuí allí, en 1977. Esa Resolución, que fue acordada por ambas cámaras legislativas, exigiendo de Rusia el respeto a los derechos humanos, basado en la propia Constitución rusa y la de la ONU, fue promovida por un representante bautista tomando como ejemplo el caso de Vins, —creo que el nombre del representante era Bucana—, y fue originada por mensajes del que escribe con la colaboración de mi Pastor, enviados a todos los congresistas. Bucana fue el único que me dio audiencia en mi viaje a Washington en el '77, para promover la evangelización en Cuba, pues estaban de vacaciones entonces todos ellos, inclusive él.

San José, Ca., septiembre 12, 1983

Síntesis de la Tesis o Estrategia de lucha de Liberación Político-Religiosa

AMOR vs ODIOS

COEXISTENCIA CONDICIONADA con Cuba para facilitar CRUZADA IDEOLÓGICA CRISTIANA

CRUZADA IDEOLÓGICA basada en la TESIS DE LIBERACIÓN "AMOR vs ODIOS"

1 NUESTRA TESIS o estrategia de lucha de liberación político-religiosa, que estamos llevando a la práctica a través de nuestra humilde CRUZADA INTERNACIONAL DE LIBERACIÓN "AMOR vs ODIOS", de San José, California, no es otra cosa que una CRUZADA DE LIBERACIÓN IDEOLÓGICA CRISTIANA para contrarrestar la guerra ideológica marxista atea, con la cual, y con la ayuda de la guerra de guerrilla, el Comunismo está ganando la III GUERRA MUNDIAL, a pasos agigantados.

2 ESTA TESIS está basada totalmente en la Biblia, y, muy especialmente, en las enseñanzas de CRISTO en el Sermón del Monte (MATEO, Capítulo 5, Versículo 44):

"Pero yo os digo: Amad a vuestros enemigos, bendecid a los que os maldicen, haced bien a los que os aborrecen, y orad por los que os ultrajan y os persiguen."

Y en la Epístola del Apóstol PABLO a los EFESIOS (Capítulo 6, Versículo 12):

"Porque no tenemos lucha contra sangre y carne (el hombre)... sino contra huestes espirituales de maldad en las regiones celestes (el diablo y su odio)"

Y en 2 CRÓNICAS (Capítulo 7, Versículo 14):

"Si se humillare mi pueblo sobre el cual mi nombre es invocado, y oraren, y buscaren mi rostro, y se convirtieren de sus malos caminos; entonces yo oiré desde los cielos, y perdonaré sus pecados, y sanaré su tierra."

3 ESTA TESIS es "político-religiosa" porque les dice a los políticos la necesidad de buscar a Dios y, por tanto, de la influencia religiosa en su lucha de liberación y en la gobernación de los pueblos, y al religioso, su deber de guiar a aquéllos por el Sendero del Señor, como único para alcanzar la meta que persiguen, y haciéndoles ver que la superación espiritual de ellos mismos, la práctica diaria de los PRECEPTOS DE DIOS y su divulgación es la forma más efectiva de hacer patria y democracia...

4 ESTA TESIS es el producto de nuestra experiencia de lucha de liberación en nuestros 15 años de exilio. Durante casi toda la primera década recorrimos el camino equivocado de buscar solamente la libertad política de Cuba por las armas, por creerlo suficiente, pues aunque nuestro énfasis fue la denuncia del maltrato a los presos y la naturaleza cruel, esclavista y atea del Comunismo, y su amenaza al Continente, también colaboramos con todas las instituciones revolucionarias, y con las gestiones de una representación en el Exilio, y de la ACCIÓN COLECTIVA del Continente, propugnada por el Dr. AURELIANO SÁNCHEZ ARANGO y por mi hermana la Dra. ISABEL SIERO...

Pero, últimamente, desde hace poco más de un lustro, el Señor nos ha señalado Su Sendero de LUZ y de VERDAD, que no puede ser otro que buscar primero el REINO DE DIOS y la LIBERTAD ESPIRITUAL, que después traerá consigo la política y las demás libertades

5 ESTA TESIS no está reñida con ninguna de las actividades patrióticas actuales de los cubanos en su lucha de liberación, sino que, simplemente, cambia su mentalidad y les da la verdadera motivación de su lucha y el porqué de ella, colocándolos en un plano más elevado, al cual tratarán de traer a su enemigo, en lugar de descender al de éste; por ejemplo, los que denuncian el maltrato a los presos, seguirán haciéndolo, pero sin odio, sin el uso excesivo de epítetos, de calificativos despectivos que impresionan mal al oyente, que ve tanto odio en el denunciante como en el denunciado, y aconsejándoles a los presos, no el odio contra sus carceleros, sino la compasión y la oración por ellos, para aprovechar su cautiverio para engrandecer su espíritu y hacer más llevadera la privación de libertad al obtener PAZ INTERNA como recompensa.

Los que preparan la guerra justa seguirán haciéndolo, pero conscientes de que el enemigo sólo será vencido de verdad sacándole el odio y poniendo el AMOR CRISTIANO en su corazón, y que la guerra sólo la están preparando para evitar el avance de las tropas.

También esta tesis amplía los frentes de lucha, pues hasta ahora han sido las playas de Cuba; con la CRUZADA IDEOLÓGICA CRISTIANA será el Mundo entero un frente de lucha

6 ESTA TESIS, al predicar y practicar el AMOR CRISTIANO en la lucha de liberación, evita caer en el AXIOMA DEL ODIOS: EL QUE ODIOS AL ENEMIGO, ODIOS AL AMIGO CUANDO ÉSTE SE LE OPONE ... Y por ello sólo nuestra tesis puede hacer el milagro de lograr:

- (1) Un verdadero acercamiento de hermanos a los americanos —aunque sea por agradecimiento—, considerando a este país como nuestra segunda patria, y haciéndoles ver a ellos, con paciencia y con cariño, sus errores en el problema cubano y, como aliados naturales que somos, buscar juntos las soluciones...
- (2) Una mayor unión y coordinación entre los cubanos del Exilio.
- (3) Un trato más justo a los compatriotas de la Isla, comprendiendo que ellos, por su dependencia con el gobierno y ser éste su único empleador, tienen que dedicar su talento a cosechar triunfos para el régimen y a servir sus intereses en el extranjero; y no negándoles por más tiempo los alimentos y las medicinas, creyendo erróneamente que el régimen se va a caer por el hambre del pueblo.

JOSÉ MARTÍ, que leyó (y practicó toda su vida) la Biblia y las enseñanzas de CRISTO, no cayó en el AXIOMA DEL ODIOS porque siguió nuestra tesis, y nos dio una patria libre, que no hemos podido mantener ni recuperar por no haber luchado como él... AMOR vs ODIOS.

7 ESTA TESIS, en su primera etapa, recomienda comenzar por la superación espiritual del CRUZADO IDEOLÓGICO CRISTIANO, acercándose a Dios y combatiendo al ENEMIGO No. 1 del hombre, sus compañeros a todas horas y en todas partes, que le quitan el sueño y la PAZ INTERNA, que no son otros que sus PROPIOS MONSTRUOS INTERNOS; el RENCOR, el ODIO, la SOBERBIA, el TEMOR, la VANIDAD, y muchos otros, como la FALSA DIGNIDAD, producto del ODIO y del "QUÉ DIRÁ LA GENTE", que nos impide aceptar la ayuda de los americanos por considerarla "indigna", siendo la verdadera razón la fobia que nos causan porque se oponen a nuestra forma de lucha de liberación,

8 ESTA TESIS no recomienda contestar un insulto con otro sino con frases como:

- (1) Usted se está calificando (o jugando) a usted mismo; o
- (2) Usted tendría que probar su insulto; sólo demuestra que es capaz de decirlo; o
- (3) Dime lo que criticas y te diré de lo que adoleces; o
- (4) Dime cuál es tu insulto y te diré qué insulto te duele; o
- (5) Mirate la viga en tu ojo en vez de ver la paja en el ojo ajeno...

9 ESTA TESIS no recomienda devolver con odio los golpes que se reciben, sino, simplemente, defendernos sin un propósito vengativo, y buscar las buenas cualidades y los favores que nos ha hecho a nosotros o a un ser querido, nuestro detractor, para perdonarlo, o las razones ajenas a su voluntad de sus defectos y procedimientos, para compadecerlo... orando siempre por él...

Gracias al enemigo, no al amigo, podemos aprender a controlar nuestras emociones.

10 ESTA TESIS, desde luego, recomienda, por encima de todo, buscar el REINO DE DIOS para que EL ponga SU AMOR en nuestro corazón, único capaz de perdonar los agravios.

LUCHA CONTRA EL PECADO (EL ODIO), NO CONTRA EL PECADOR (EL QUE ODIÁ)

11 ESTA TESIS, en su segunda etapa, combate el pecado y, específicamente, el ODIO, en todas sus manifestaciones y en todas sus formas, individual y colectiva, y, dentro de esta última, el COMUNISMO, que no es otra cosa que el ODIO ORGANIZADO...

Y trata de rescatar, con AMOR CRISTIANO, de las garras del odio, a sus víctimas, que lo son, no sólo los odiados, sino principalmente los que odian, sean éstos comunistas o demócratas...

Pues esta tesis ve al que odia como un enfermo, y al odio, como una enfermedad, y de la misma manera que los médicos combaten la enfermedad y no al enfermo, al que, por el contrario, tratan de salvar, así nuestra tesis busca, no la destrucción del comunista, sino su conversión al Cristianismo...

Por ello, nuestros lemas son:

- (1) EL MEJOR COMUNISTA ES EL COMUNISTA CONVERSO... Pues nadie mejor que un comunista converso puede traer a sus camaradas al Cristianismo.
- (2) AL COMUNISMO SE LE DETIENE CON LAS ARMAS, SI ES MENESTER, PERO SE LE VENCE CON LA FE Y EL AMOR CRISTIANOS... Pues con el Comunismo pasa lo mismo que con los cucaracheros, que por muchas cucarachas que se maten, surgirán nuevos cucaracheros si no se mantiene una perfecta higiene en la casa... Así también, por muchos comunistas que se maten, seguirán surgiendo nuevos comunistas si no se limpia el corazón humano...

12 ESTA TESIS aspira a que los 800 mil cubanos del Exilio se conviertan en CRUZADOS IDEOLÓGICOS CRISTIANOS, y que prediquen con el ejemplo la SUPERACIÓN ESPIRITUAL y la práctica diaria del AMOR CRISTIANO dentro de sus propias localidades, entre los que cargan odio racial; entre minorías y mayorías, y, sobre todo, entre los confundidos del Comunismo para traerlos al redil del Señor.

COEXISTENCIA CONDICIONADA CON CUBA PARA FACILITAR LA CRUZADA IDEOLÓGICA CRISTIANA

13 ESTA TESIS entiende que siendo inevitable la coexistencia con Cuba, por quererla ambas partes, el Exilio debe recomendar condiciones que favorezcan a nuestra causa. Nosotros, en consideración a nuestra tesis, hemos sugerido al Presidente CARTER y a cada uno de los congresistas, las siguientes condiciones:

- (1) Como requisito sine qua non, la libertad de culto durante un año como mínimo, para facilitar la CRUZADA IDEOLÓGICA CRISTIANA en Cuba, para contrarrestar la guerra ideológica marxista atea en Estados Unidos, en la esperanza de que, dada la gran sed religiosa que hay en los países cautivos, en no lejana época, fructifique la semilla de la Fe cristiana y del Amor cristiano, y que algún día no sólo haya mayoría cristiana que le permita al pueblo darse un gobierno cristiano, sino que, hermanados el Exilio y los compatriotas de la Isla, pueda ser la nación cubana la EVANGELIZADORA DEL MUNDO COMUNISTA... (\*)
- (2) Que se permitan inspecciones en las cárceles por los organismos internacionales, para evitar la violación de los derechos humanos, y
- (3) Que los productos sean vendidos por cooperativas americanas en Cuba, SIN LIBRETA, para que los productos lleguen DIRECTAMENTE a todos los cubanos de la Isla.
- (\*) Véase la Resolución Conjunta del Congreso de Nov., 1976, sobre el caso de G. Vins, demandando de Rusia la libertad de culto.

Tampa (Flórida)  
Agosto - 1977

FROM: Marcelino Siero - Coordinador "LOVE vs HATE" - International Crusade  
(408) 723-1456 2638 Mueller Ave., Apt. 2, San José, California 95116

Marcelino Siero -Tel. (408) 923-1456  
2615 Madden Ave., Ap. 6  
San José, Ca. 95116

ANEXO No. 2

San José, Ca., marzo 22, 1982

Dr. Fidel Castro, Presidente de Cuba  
Palacio Presidencial  
La Habana, Cuba

PERSONAL

Ref: Renta de la Plaza de la Revolución durante ocho días,  
de domingo a domingo, en época de sequía, a  
The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.

Señor Presidente:

1 Cuando el Dr. Billy Graham estuvo en esta ciudad, a mediados del año pasado, a dar una semana evangelística, mi Pastor, Cristóbal M. Dofia, le preguntó a instancias mías si él estaría en disposición de ir a Cuba a dar una campaña evangelística, si las condiciones y las circunstancias eran propicias, y su respuesta fue por parte de él no había ningún inconveniente en ello. Después, hablando con líderes de su equipo, me dijeron que para ello sería requisito sine qua non que las iglesias evangélicas invitaran al Dr. Graham y, como es natural, tener el permiso del régimen cubano y que se les diera toda clase de facilidades para con la debida antelación, como tienen por costumbre, preparar la Cruzada entre las iglesias no sólo de La Habana sino del interior de la Isla, y que se les permitiera a los hermanos de la fe norteamericanos, que serían los mayores contribuyentes en los gastos de la Cruzada, el poder viajar a Cuba libremente, previa, como es natural, la autorización del Departamento de Inmigración de ese país, así como también se permitiera y se facilitara en lo posible la asistencia a la Cruzada de todos los hermanos de la Isla.

Como usted sabe, el Dr. Graham está considerado el primero entre todos los evangelistas del mundo; a sus cruzadas asisten muchedumbres que rebasan la capacidad del lugar --por ejemplo, a la Cruzada en Los Angeles, California, en octubre de 1963 (donde mi esposa y yo nos entregamos al Señor), asistieron más de 100 mil personas, y más de 30 mil se quedaron en las afueras por falta de capacidad del lugar (un campo de pelota), y más de cinco mil almas se entregaron a Jesucristo--. Se considera que él solo ha llevado a los pies del Señor más almas que todos los demás evangelistas juntos. En la Cruzada de Seúl, Corea, asistieron 1.100,000 personas. (Véase foto al dorso).

2 En el mes de octubre del pasado año yo me dirigí al señor Ramón Sánchez-Parodi--vuestro delegado en este país e hijo de hermanos en la fe residentes en esta ciudad y amigos míos--, para que transmitiera a su régimen la proposición, y hace cuestión de dos meses le confirmé mi escrito, acompañándole una minuta del documento que usted debe redactar, con las condiciones que exige la Asociación Billy Graham, arriba expuestas, agregando otra que pienso demandará vuestro régimen, como es que en la Cruzada no será mencionado en lo absoluto el asunto político --el Dr. Graham, como buen cristiano, estima que la única liberación verdadera del hombre, y, por tanto, la única solución a la problemática mundial, es el Evangelio de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, y es por ello que visitó Polonia y otros países de la órbita soviética, antes de que el Papa fuera Papa (precisamente en Polonia dio su campaña en la iglesia del actual Papa, entonces Arzobispo de Carcovia, Polonia), y ahora habla de la evangelización del Tercer Mundo.--

Hasta el presente no he recibido respuesta a ninguno de mis citados escritos.

3 Usted tengo entendido que fue alumno de Belén y, por tanto, conoce los Evangelios, y sabrá que todos los hombres somos instrumentos de Dios, en algún sentido, y todo lo que pasa es por designio o permiso de Él. Dios ha puesto en sus manos la gran oportunidad de su vida, si usted se convierte como lo hizo San Pablo, que perseguía a la iglesia del Señor creyendo que era lo correcto, lo que exigía su religión, y cuando se le apareció Jesús en el Camino de Damasco y lo comisionó para evangelizar a los gentiles, se dio cuenta de su error y a partir de ese momento fue el más grande de todos los Apóstoles... Usted puede ser el más grande de los cubanos y de todos los líderes políticos que han existido si sigue el mismo camino de Pablo... Y la oportunidad la tiene ahora mismo, permitiendo que su régimen autorice la Cruzada y dando todas las facilidades a su alcance para el mejor éxito de la misma... Mi iglesia ora por ello.

Además, es una manera de captarse al pueblo americano y a su gobierno, y la voluntad de mis compatriotas cristianos --se de muchos que lo combatían a usted y cuando se dieron cuenta que la verdadera y única solución no está en ser demócratas o comunistas, sino en ser cristianos de verdad, y, que, por tanto, el arma más poderosa de ambos bandos no es la bomba atómica sino el Evangelio..., se han entregado por completo a esta última clase de lucha, como el que suscribe--.

También puede aliviar la crisis económica de mi pueblo cubano con las divisas que recibiría por la renta de la Plaza de la Revolución, y por lo que entre por el turismo, tanto norteamericano como de los cristianos del interior de la Isla.

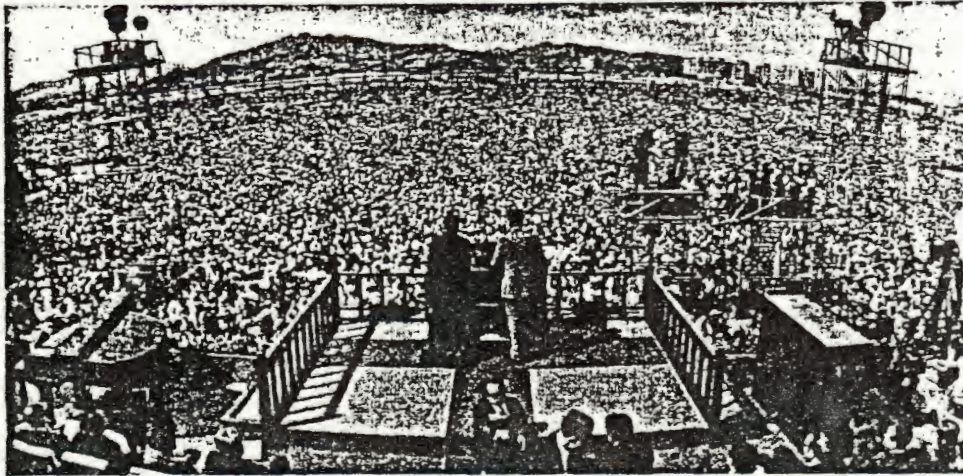
Muy pendiente de sus noticias en un sentido u otro, quedo en el amor de Cristo,

*M. Siero*

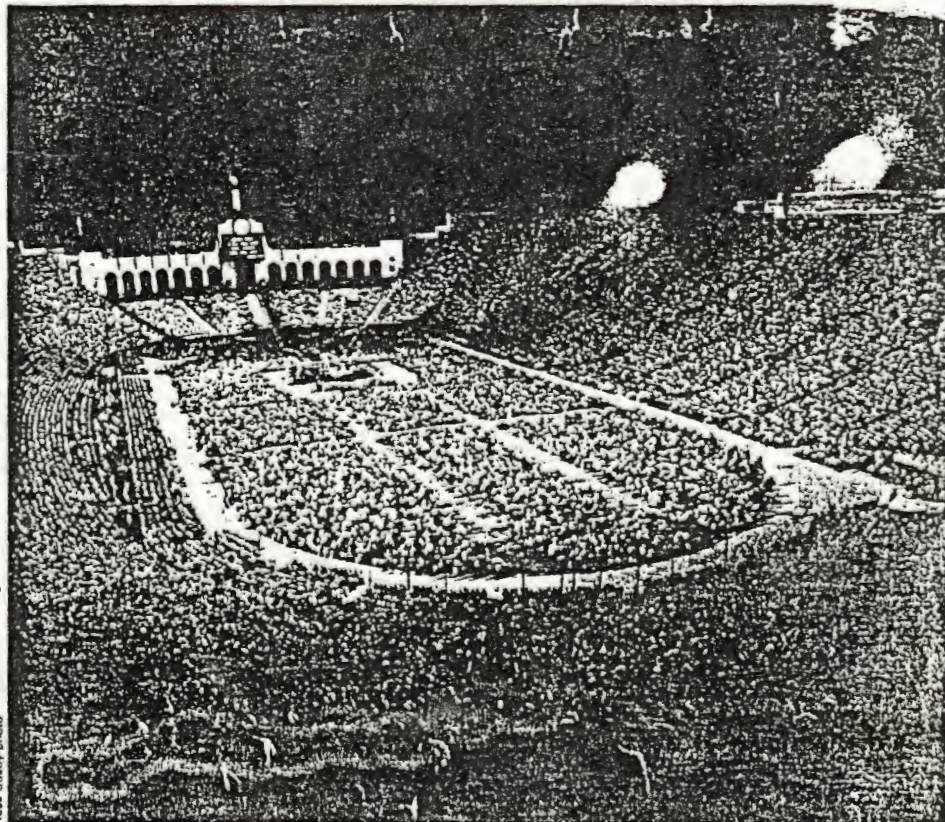
Adj: Documento que debe firmar el Presidente de Cuba si acepta la Cruzada.

# IT REALLY HAPPENS! LIVES DO CHANGE BECAUSE OF A CRUSADE

*What happens after you say  
"Yes" to Jesus Christ?*



*Billy Graham receives thousands of letters of invitation annually to conduct crusades in major cities around the world. An average of six to eight is accepted each year. 1,100,000 people attended the closing session of his Seoul, Korea Crusade, one of the largest gatherings of its kind in the history of Christianity.*



Russ Bishby photo

*In the past 25 years the Graham Team has conducted evangelistic Crusades in southern California at Los Angeles (1963), San Diego (1964), and Anaheim (1969). This unforgettable scene took place on the closing Sunday of the 1963 Crusade in the Los Angeles Coliseum. Turnstile attendance was 134,254*