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GRENADA:

The TFP Congratulates President Reagan

In the wake of recent events in Grenada, the American Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) sent President Reagan the following telegram:

October 29, 1983

The Honorable Ronald Reagan President of the United States The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

In the name of the American Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP), its members, volunteers and

supporters, permit me to express our firm belief that your conduct in the Grenada affair has been highly praiseworthy in both its general lines and in its details.

The intervention in Grenada seems to duly express the conviction of a great number of our fellow Americans way of concessions. They now feel the moment has come to make the comunists realize that we know our own strength and are firmly resolved to use it in every way possible to prevent the collapse of our worldwide influence and even the loss of our own independence.

Furthermore, the real meaning of what just took place in Grenada could best be summed up not in the motto: "better red than dead," but rather "better dead than red."

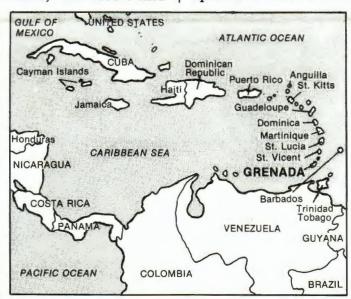
I cannot fail to add that the sober, responsible and efficient conduct of the ex-

peditionary forces was outstanding. This American victory sets an example for all the free nations of the world.

Please accept our respectful testimony of support in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

John Russel Spann President



GRENADA: In leftist hands, a revolver pointed at the head of South America and knife poised at the soft, underbelly of the United States

"WINNING" AND LOSING STRATEGIES IN CENTRAL AMERICA

W ITH the revitalization of El Salvador's armed forces and deteriorating popular and international support for Salvadoran leftists, the military situation of the various guerrilla-terrorist groups in El Salvador has become much more serious.

In fact, officials in Nicaragua's Sandinist leadership have concluded that its guerrilla allies in El Salvador are unlikely to topple the present government now or in the near future.

"We triumphed and they haven't. It will be very difficult for them to win," concluded a Nicaraguan official who, even though he was speaking for the ruling nine-member junta, agreed to be interviewed only if he was not identified by name.

The comment came after a Salvadoran army sweep in Southern Usulutan Province that disrupted one of the guerrilla's vital supply lines in the wake of growing pressure by exiled Nicaraguan contras fighting the Sandinist government there.

"There is no brief explanation for why we triumphed and they didn't," the official said. "There was always a unity among (Nicaraguan) revolutionaries from the beginning. There was from the beginning one willingness to struggle, and we managed to combine in a more harmonious way all aspects of the struggle to destroy the dictatorship."

Salvadoran terrorist groups have been plagued with factionalism within their ranks. Last spring the leader of one of the groups allegedly murdered another. Salvador Cayetano Carpio, one of the founders of the oldest groups, subsequently committed suicide.

Another factor cited for the failure was the "deterioration of the international situation." In 1979, citing human rights violations, the Carter Administration favored the toppling of the Somoza government and helped usher in the present Marxist regime. Now the United States is supporting efforts to preserve neighboring countries from a similar fate.

The confession of the Nicaraguan official helps to bring out the real politics of guerrilla warfare. The case of El Salvador shows that if the factionalized terrorist-guerrillas should come to power it will not be through military force or popular support, but rather through negotiated surrender.



Salvadoran guerrillas - A fractured force

PROTECTING THE PRESS

The United Nations prides itself on being an international forum where the world's problems can be effectively discussed. But more often than not the body has only served as a loudspeaker for leftist and communist causes.

One of the latest proposals now being considered is upsetting even the normally liberal Western press. Some member nations have found that news filtering in from communist and Third World countries is not being reported properly by the media of the industrialized world. Too often, they say, these countries' shortcomings are presented in a "negative" manner.

Led by delegates of the Soviet Union and its Third World friends, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has proposed a series of measures which it claims will "protect" journalists (add: of totalitarian regimes). In November, the commission will hold a meeting in Paris to discuss the founding of the Orwellian-sounding New World Information Order. Eighty-three journalists from 25 coun-

tries have met in Tailloires, France, to protest the move.

The proposed guidelines include government-enforced codes of conduct for news organizations, curbs on access to news sources and the licensing of reporters. The restrictions would, in effect, give governments the power to tailor-make the news allowed to leave their countries. Governments guilty of wrong-doings undoubtedly will feel much more at ease knowing that news coverage of such events will be held to a minimum.

A sampling of the "non-offensive" news is the United Nation's own statement on the downing of the South Korean 747, in which it lamented only the loss of life and property. Rather conspicuously, the document made no mention of the Soviet Union.

With such two-faced proposals by the U.N., American Ambassador Liechenstein's suggestion that it should move to Moscow appears welcome and long overdue. At least then, the world body, that so often parrots Soviet policy, could enjoy firsthand the press system it wants to impose on the world.

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THE TOADS... FOR HOW MUCH LONGER THE TOADS?

by Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira

A PPARENTLY, public opinion is rather unfamiliar with an option that the press is, all the while, imposing more and more upon all men.

This option is being promoted world-wide through a slogan that has the appearance of a mere play on words: "better red than dead." Everyone knows what this means: it is better to become a Red, accept the humiliating imposition of the communist regime, conform to the moral, social and economic anti-Christian organization inherent to it, rather than run the risk of a nuclear bombardment.

Let the truth be said. The meaning of that slogan is that life — yes, earthly life — is man's supreme good. One can infer from this that love of the Faith, national independence, personal dignity and honor must be less than love of life. Whence all the martyrs and all the soldiers who heretofore understood the contrary are imbecils. By comparison, those who renounced the Faith, fled the field of battle, or basely aquiesced to any insult to save their own skins, were despised as poltroons.

The old table of standards has been inverted. The martyrs and war heroes who stood out in the ranks of humanity's

elites should now be considered idiots. Also idiots, in the eyes of the public, are the moralists, orators and poets who stressed the suppposed sublimity with which those imbecils speedily pursued holocaust. Finally, the old dithyrambs to religious or civil heroism must be silenced and give way to the praise of imbecility, which drags the weak into following it.

Long live the poltroons! Their era of glory has arrived. Should "better red than dead" prevail, they will constitute the flower of humanity, the astute and security minded herd of those who have deified egoism. This is the apotheosis of Sancho Panza. How far this century had to fall to be consistent with the long process of decadence Christian Civilization was in was in when it awakened to history! I can already hear someone saving to me, "If we don't opt for the apotheosis of Sancho Panza, we will necessarily have that of Don Quixote. Is this what you want, Dr. Plinio?" To which I would not hesitate to answer that, as a Catholic, I categorically deny that the human race can be reduced to a bunch of Ouixotes and Sanchos, and that only two roads are open to man: that of the dishevelled and insane "hero" of La Mancha, and that of his abominable and



vulgar squire. Today, amidst so much talk about a "third way," "Third World," and so on, almost no one remembers a different option that avoids both death and, above all, capitulation to the Soviet Moloch.

On a supremely elevated level, it is obvious that beyond Cervantes' alternative lie the sacrosanct paths of Christian heroism. Yes, of Christian heroism as the Church has always taught it, and to which history owes its wisest, most splendid and most auspicious deeds for the spiritual and temporal good of men.

Today, however, I am not going to dwell on that level, but on another which, albeit much less elevated, de-



The "toads": Those Western capitalists who, blinded by greed and indifferent or hostile to anticommunists, provide support to the Soviets

serves our highest attention.

I ask: Do men not have the means to prevent both atomic destruction and the catastrophe of surrendering to communism?

I have in my hand a weighty study on that question which to me seems highly conducive to finding that happy solution. It is "The Grain Weapon," by Mr. Dermot Healy, which he presented as his doctoral thesis at the University of Alberdeen, Scotland (Centrepoint, No. 1, 1982, 50 pp.).

In short, the author holds — and proves — that: a) the Russian leaders were always very sensitive to a grain embargo by the United States, since the country's food production is insufficient for both its population and its livestock; b) an embargo would necessarily bring about widespread poverty with all its sequels such as unrest, strikes, agitation, etc.

If such an embargo were to be prolonged, I think that the fall of the regime would be inevitable, and that the spectre of atomic bombardment would fade away. As a result, the dilemma surrender or death would fall apart.

What are the obstacles preventing the implementing of that wholesome policy? Mr. Dermot Healy points out: a) the pressure put on Congress by all major grain producers in the United States that want to increase their sales to Russia; b) the excessive sensitivity of American presidents to this pressure; c) the pressure of major private companies that have a near monopoly on U.S. grain exports. These companies would violate an embargo; d) once an American embargo was set up, the Russians would turn to other grain exporting countries, thereby rendering the embargo ineffective.

I would say that the only reason for the failure of such an embargo is the greediness of gargantuan capitalist companies. That is, to increase their profits, and therefore their capital, these companies do not hesitate to supply the means of victory to the inexorable enemy of all forms and degrees of capitalism and profit. Nothing could be more insane or repulsive as far as suicide is concerned.

Along with this deplorable example, Dermot Healy mentions a truly enlightening fact: the only noteworthy opposition to the grain sales came from American longshoremen who, for a time, refused to load grain destined for Russia.

These workers showed more good sense and a better notion of their duty and rights than the "toads," that is, the moneyed bourgeoisie, who are by no means hostile to communism but very hostile to anticommunism.

Behold the toads, always indefatigably destroying themselves, indifferent and even hostile to those who, like the longshoremen, try to defend an order of things without which the toads... wouldn't even be toads!

ROOTS OF REVOLUTION

REVOLUTIONARY advocates of "change" in Central America and in the Third World in general have criticized American policy on the ruthless guerrilla movements that terrorize native populations. They claim that the misunderstood terrorists are only an inevitable product of years of oppression. The United States should focus its attention primarily on the roots of the problem: injustice, degrading poverty and illiteracy.

The West, for the most part, listened

to these hackneyed Marxist premises and poured billions of dollars into economic and educational programs to aid developing countries. Now, roughly twenty years after VISTA and the Peace Corps were established, the problems have not disappeared but have, in many cases, worsened.

According to Verne Newton, a former executive secretary to the Agency for International Development, both liberals and conservatives have misunderstood

the real causes of revolution and have therefore aggravated the problem.

Education and economic modernization, to name just two causes, have played a much greater role in destabilizing the developing world than poverty and real injustice.

Newton points out that in developing countries it is not the ignorant masses that foment revolution, but it is the educated elite that usually provide the



earliest and most vociferous agitators for change.

This point is clearly illustrated by the Latin American guerrilla movements, which for the most part are made up of students from upper and middle class families who were educated with ideas of egalitarian revolution. Particularly worthy of note is the ruthless Sendero Luminoso, or Shining Path movement of Peru, founded by radical professors at the University of Huamanga in 1970.

Newton cites the example of the Western liberal education given by Peace Corps volunteers who taught students to question the traditional values of the native peoples. Like the rebellious children of the 60's, the students often replaced traditional values with Marxist theory. The results have been disastrous. In countries like Ethiopia, where the Peace Corps was very active, many of the students who led the Marxist revolution were taught by these volunteers.

On one of his trips to Africa, Newton recalls that Andrew Young, the former U.S. ambassador to the U.N. remarked that there were at least 30 Americantrained Ph.D.s in the terrorist guerrilla camps of Mugabe and Nkomo fighting for the independence of what is now called Zimbabwe (Kansas City Star, 10-9-83).

Father Joseph Osei, secretary general of the Bishops' Conferences of Africa and Madagascar recently cited modern education as one of the elements that has left most countries of post-colonial Africa poorer and more confused than before independence.

Speaking at the first all-Africa meeting

of the Catholic laity in Nairobi, Kenya, Father Osei claimed that while modern formal education has enlarged people's knowledge of how others live, widened their horizons and increased their ambitions, it has also "brought about a lessening of social cohesion and the decline of respect and belief in the authority of the established institutions of traditional African Society." He further noted that it has led to "social mobility and the consequent breakdown of the extended family. Community spirit has given way to a certain form of individualism and even anonymity" (Our Sunday Visitor, 9-25-83).

Economic modernization, Newton states, is another cause of instability in the developing world.

Contrary to myth, the revolutionary conflict does not arise because of the contrast between the rich and the poor, but rather on account of high expectations of prosperity clashing with the existing economic and political realities.

"The first to the barricades are usually members of the middle and upper classes who, while prosperous compared to the bottom ranks, are angry at the deprivation they feel relative to what they think they are entitled to," Newton notes. "It's not that they're tired of having so little; they're frustrated at not getting more" (Kansas City Star. 10-9-83).

He cites the recent example of the riots in Chile protesting the postponement of elections until 1990. After a day of rioting that left 24 dead, the protests stopped. The reason: The leaders of the demonstrations decided to enjoy a three-day weekend in their country villas.

The case of Central America reflects this conflict well. As far as economic development was concerned, between 1945 and 1975 Central America enjoyed real per capita gains in income, GNP and exports that ranked among the highest in the developing world, causing the expectations of an optimistic public to rise.

With the OPEC oil price increase and the worldwide economic recession, the urban middle class saw their prosperity vanish. Students and professionals went to the streets demanding sweeping political reforms which they hoped would bring back prosperity.

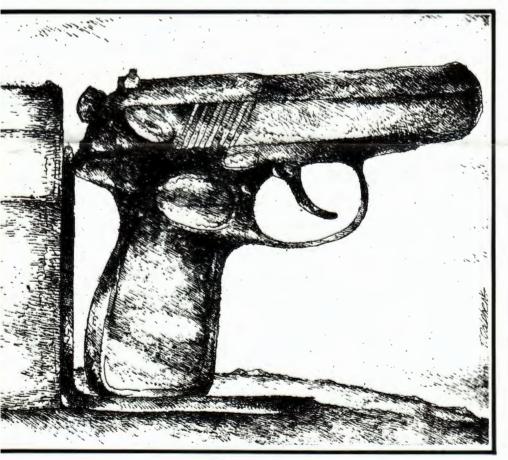
Also in the Philippines, as the economy has turned sour, it is the clergymen, businessmen and students who are demanding reforms of questionable value.

Newton observes that the most perilous moment for a government is when it tries to reform itself — a conclusion that many liberal policy-makers seemingly tend to avoid.

"Liberals should not be so naive as to sell more political freedom, education and economic modernization as an insurance policy against instability," he warns. "In most developing countries, these reforms are the very stuff of revolution, capable of setting in motion powerful forces that may prove impossible to control. Liberals who seek refuge in platitudes about 'peaceful revolutions' and 'stabilizing social change' resemble the patricians who cheered Louis XVI's demise at the dawn of the French Revolution but then recoiled in horror when the riots began, disclaiming all responsibility" (Kansas City Star, 10-9-83).

There are, of course, other factors that play a major role in revolution. For instance, the Marxist guerillas, aided by various forces in politics, religion, economics and the media, are earnestly engaged in the revolutionary pyschological warfare maneuver designed to bring the nations of the West under Communist domination.

What Western policy-makers should realize is that true stability in the developing world is not dependent upon a mere increase in economic or military aid dollars but on a thorough understanding of the causes of revolutionary unrest.



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NEWS FLASHES

Sign of the Times

A vexed reader sent a letter to the editor of a Southern newspaper noting the callous way abortion entrepreneurs

ply their trade.
"A colleague and I were eating lunch in a local restaurant. The piped-in FM station music was playing. Then a commercial break: "Lite Beer from Miller," 'chew Wrigley's gum' and 'Get your abortion here.' " Back to the music. Both of us paused in our eating and felt that nauseating feeling that comes when you just witness something sick" (Atlanta Constitution, 9-23-1983).

Although abortion advocates claim the infamous work benefits the poor, the nefarious practice is in fact a profitable business that necessitates advertising on (and thereby polluting) the airwaves.

Modern Quack Artist

Maureen Gledhill of Liverpool, England was thrilled when she bought a colorful abstract painting. For the equivalent of \$100, she walked out of a local pet shop, owned by sculptor Erni Cleverly, with what she thought was a masterpiece until she found out the artist was a

It seems that one pet shop's ducks escaped from its cage and ran through a paint spill. Mr. Cleverley, rather cleverly, saw the value and natural talents of the duck and tried him out on canvas with different colors. The duck, according to its owner and agent, has a real eye for composition and a flair for color.

Mrs. Gledhill, 28, spotted one of the duck's masterpieces at the pet shop and insisted upon buying it. Cleverley reluctantly sold the unsigned painting, respecting the anonymity of its author.

Some weeks later, Mrs. Gledhill became suspicious when a friend spotted a telltale duckprint and commented that the "masterpiece" looked as if a chicken had walked over it. She telephoned the pet shop and Cleverley revealed the painter's true identity.

However, he refused her a refund. "I think it's worth at least 100 pounds (\$150)," he said. "The duck is a natural"

(Newsday, 10-2-83).

Modern art aficionados claim to find value and expression in the often chaotic canvas of abstract art. However, when the work of a duck is mistaken for that of a human, one is led to suspect that there is more than one quack in the modern art business.

Business as Unusual

Despite its "get tough" attitude toward the Soviets after the downing of the Korean airliner, the United States is continuing a "business as usual" attitude towards the perpetrators of the crime.

At the start of the first U.S. trade exhibition in six years in Moscow's Sokolniki Park, Soviet and American trade representatives called for increased trade between the two nations.

Nearly 105 firms were represented in a show called "Agribusiness - 83" aimed at opening Soviet markets to American farming and food-processing techniques and equipment. American firms hope to bring in millions of dollars in orders

(Newsday, 10-18-83).

In another field, following the annual ritual of propping up the grossly inefficient Soviet system, the Agriculture Department announced that a new longterm supply agreement, which went into effect on October 1, will allow the Soviets to buy an additional half million metric tons of U.S. grain.

Officials report that the sales include 400,000 tons or 15.8 million bushels of corn and 100,000 tons or 3.67 million bushels of wheat. As usual, no prices or

other terms were disclosed.

Under the agreement, the Soviets have been buying regularly from the U.S. since September 1 — the day on which the Korean 747 was shot down (Corpus Christi Caller, 9-22-83).

Saints Relic Stolen

Thieves in the remote city of Paola, in southern Italy, disabled an alarm and sawed through iron bars to steal the bones of a 15th century saint from a sanctuary.

"Return the mortal remains of the saint so that the devotion of the faithful may continue," said Rev. Saverio Verni, the Provincial of the Minim Hermits of St. Francis of Paola, in a plea to the thieves.

Taken were the bones, one of the sandals, hooded cassock, teeth and a 66pound statue of the order's founder, St. Francis of Paola.

The Hermits were founded by the miracle-working saint in 1436. Its members abstain from meat and devote themselves to the poor and the missions.

The fame of St. Francis' miraculous cures led Louis XI of France to send for him after suffering an apoplectic fit. He later became the spiritual director to Louis' son, Charles VIII (San Francisco Chronicle, 10-4-83).

Self-Management in Sweden

In the largest protest march in Sweden's history, more than 75,000 bankers, businessmen and white-collar workers marched on Parliament to protest a bill that would tax company profits more heavily and give the money to trade unions to buy stocks.

The measure is part of the controversial "wage-earner funds" proposed by the country's socialist government. Under the plan nearly \$250 million a year would be collected from companies registering profits. The funds would then be

turned over to boards made up of trade union officials who would buy stock in companies and over a period of years come to have controlling interests in

Industrialists, already burdened by the high tax society, affirm that the bill would literally lead to the takeover of private industry by the trade unions (San Francisco Chronicle, 10-5-83).

Priest supports women's ordination

When Father Vincent Connery, the 33 year-old pastor of the Church of the Sacred Heart in Norfolk, Va., wrote a letter to the Virginian-Pilot favoring women's "ordination," he became an instant celebrity.

Referring to the exclusion of women from the sacrament, the priest wrote that perhaps it may be "time for the slaves to

revolt.

Fr. Connery's controversial letter soon made him the object of a feature-page article in a Sunday edition of the Washington Post. Several other local newspapers have also run the story, and the outspoken priest has appeared on two television talk shows to air his unorthodox views.

Bishop Walter Sullivan, instead of reprimanding Fr. Connery, praised him as a "very, very fine priest who is dedicated in his ministry," and said he "has the right to share his thoughts... To me, the church's position on women as priests has some very solid basis, but we should not be afraid to dialogue on it" (South Texas Catholic, 10-7-83).

Pagan Parody

Today's liberal lifestyles and permissive morals have often been decried as a steady drift toward neobarbarism and neopaganism.

So, it is not surprising that in Denver, Colorado, a couple decided to reaffirm their traditional wedding vows in a pagan

ceremony.

After studying paganism for the past two years, Brian Becker 24 and his wife Candice Becker, 23, decided to remarry according to the pagan ritual.

With the couple dressed in Celtic robes in the presence of a "high priest" and "priestess," the twenty-minute ceremony was performed in the presence of twentyfive similarly dressed people in the parking lot of Abrahababra, a Denver witchcraft supply store.

The ancient pagan beliefs lend themselves quite well to the Twentieth Century. According to the "Rima," the socalled "high priestess," "The pagan realizes that there is no heaven except that which he himself makes, and likewise no hell but that of his own creation"(Rocky Mountain News, 9-12-83).

DIVORCE AND CHILD ABUSE

THE U.S. Census Bureau has released figures showing that the medium duration of U.S. marriages is 6.8 years and the percentage of marriages ending in divorce, which now stands at about 50 percent, has been climbing steadily since 1950.

As the "me" generation grows up, it also breaks up as the responsibilities of marriage and child rearing threaten its egocentric lifestyle. Children, who once strengthened and gave vitality to a marriage, are now considered bothersome hindrances to the career of one or both parents.

Children of broken marriages are the innocent victims of a type of psychological child abuse rarely mentioned by the press. According to a new nationwide study, when marriages fail, so do children's relationships with schoolmates and teachers.

The study, which was partially funded by the National Association of School Psychologists, was critical of the growing number of parents seeking divorce. It suggested that much of the parents' behavior is "egocentric" and damaging to children.

"Liberation of adults has meant, in some cases, the enslavement of children," said the study director, John Guidubaldi, former president of the psychologist association and professor of early childhood education at Kent State University. "In many cases, it's been a liberation from responsibilities" (Newsday, 10-11-83).

While the study confirmed the finding of similar past studies of smaller scope, it was based on a much wider sample of elementary school children. Conducted by school psychologists in 38 states, the research involved 341 children from divorced households and 358 from intact families. An important new element was

added by taking into account the children's economic and social backgrounds.

Guidubaldi found that although the academic test scores of the two groups differed little, there were significant differences in the children's abilities to get along with schoolmates and teachers.

Using a measurement known as the Vineland Teacher Questionnaire, teachers were asked to rate students' social adjustment. Girls from intact families had

on the playground than their counterparts.

Children of divorce in general are absent from school more frequently and are more likely to be withdrawn or hostile. The study noted that problems diminished when elements of stability such as helpful relatives and friends were introduced in the household.

"Kids in divorced households often find themselves caught in chaotic



Children — The real victims of divorce

the highest scores averaging 70 points out of a possible 106. Boys from divorced families rated the lowest with only 61 points.

Boys are considered to be particularly affected by divorce. The study found that since they are frequently left without male role models after divorce, boys are more likely to daydream in class or fight

routines," said Guidubaldi. "Their parents tend to be much more mobile" (Newsday, 10-11-83).

Problems of the children of divorce are not expected to decrease. Some 25 percent of all children now live with single parents and experts predict that twice that many will witness their parent's divorce before they reach adultohood.

The "New" Boy Scouts and The Girl Next Door

I T SEEMS almost impossible not to be shocked at seeing to what extent moral aberrations and alternate lifestyles are being pushed upon Western society and made to appear normal and acceptable.

With the overwhelming support of the press and support of the liberal establishment, the so-called "gay rights" movement aims at more than just being "accepted." The drive to ban "discrimination" against homosexuals in employment and other fields is giving rise to a new amoral standard for society as whole.

Consider the case of a former Boy Scout leader in Los Angeles who has filed a \$330,000 lawsuit claiming that he was expelled from the Scouts because of his homosexuality.

The Boy Scouts of America, who pride themselves on the civic and moral formation of their members, allegedly told Timothy Curran, 21, that his avowed homosexuality was not a good moral example for younger Scouts.

The 2nd District Court of Appeals overturned a Los Angels Superior Court ruling by finding that the use of homosexuality as a basis for expulsion was "substantially arbitrary."

What the court decision really meant was that homosexuality is normal, acceptable and a good moral example for young men. Those who maintain that it is a serious antinatural moral aberration are thus being forced to accept the contrary.

Nor is motherhood sacred anymore. The drive to make prostitution an ordinary job is beginning to take shape not only in the United States (TFP Newsletter, Vol.III, no. 22) but in other Western countries as well.

Recently, the state government of New

South Wales, Australia, made an inquiry into prostitution. Some of the testimony given at the hearings is nothing but a vile attack on very institution of motherhood.

Witnesses claimed that prostitutes are just like "the girl next door" but with more freedom to look after children.

Roberta Perkins, of the Collective of Australian Prostitutes, told the commission that "most women who enter prostitution don't see it as seedy, wrong or evil — they simply see it as a job."

Perkins claimed that high earnings and flexible routines allow prostitutes to lavish much of their time on their children and furnish all their needs. "This may shock a lot of people, but when you weigh all these facts, you can't help coming to the conclusion that prostitutes would make better mothers than most other women" (China Post, 10-8-83).

"PARADISE REDISCOVERED"

N ow that Margaret Mead's Samoan paradise has been questioned as an imaginative version of reality, anthropologists have found another primitive people whom they believe might serve as a model for Twentieth Century society.

The Waorani tribe are an Amazonian people that have been isolated from other tribes for thousands of years. The tribe's 700 members live in a remote 8,000-square-mile area in eastern Ecuador.

Mimicing Mead, scientists and anthropologists are mounting an expedition to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the tribe. They hope that new insights into family patterns, stress, and disease in a technologically-based civilization may emerge from their research of this tribe untouched by the "evils" of modern civilization.

teen people living under the same roof. The people are very open psychologically and have an extraordinary sense of caring for one another.

Men and women have equal social status inside the tribe and children have the same status as adults. If a child doesn't feel like doing something, the elder accepts his decision without rancor and without disciplining him. Throughout the tribe there is a relaxed, pervasive "let it be" attitude.

"let it be" attitude.

Eureka! the anthropologists might cry, we have finally found a society of perfect and innocent harmony where noble and benevolent savages live in total equality and freedom.

However questionable the findings may be, living in such a tropical "paradise" does have its disadvantages. "When a husband is killed, his widow is viewed as very vulnerable," Yost found. "If she has two children, one may be buried alive." Infanticides of this nature accounted for some four percent of all deaths.

Aside from these idiosyncrasies, Yost contends that the Waorani are for the most part good people. He is credited as being the first outsider to win the confidence of the remote groups and did so by taking his wife and three children with him into the rain forest. He claims his family helped him understand the tribal culture.

"It seems to make sense that their anger and conflict is turned outside the family," he commented. "However, I regard the Waorani as some of the kindest people you would ever want to meet.





Waorani Area in the Amazon

Return to the stone age: Model for Twentieth Century man

The five-member team will live with the Waoranis for two months while performing cultural, biomedical and genetic studies. The expedition is being sponsored by the Explorer's Club, the Stanford University Medical Center, the American Museum of Natural History and other organizations.

At first glance, the Waoranis are the perfect substitutes for the Samoans. According to Dr. James Yost, one of the expedition's leaders, "It is one of the most egalitarian societies in the world."

He claims there is no evidence of hypertension, diabetes, cardiovascular disease, rheumatic heart disease, allergies, obesity or sign of cancer. In addition, the Waorani allegedly have a balanced diet and get plenty of exercise. They don't drink alcohol or smoke, and their pristine environment is totally devoid of pollutants.

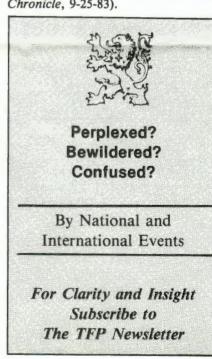
According to Yost, who has studied the tribe for eight years, its members have a great sense of unity and cohesion. Everyone considers himself related to the others, and there is no fighting or physical harm inflicted upon other "family" members even though there may be eighFor example, while the Waorani may have warm family relations, they really don't make good neighbors.

According to Grant G. Behrman, leader of the research team, "Although the word 'Waorani' means 'people,' to their neighbors they are known by another word, 'aucas,' which means 'savage' or 'barbarian.'

Even among the less primitive tribes, the Waorani have a reputation for ferocity. Studies reveal that more than 45 percent of all deaths are caused by spear fighting within the tribe. Most of these killings are attributed to ancient vendettas between the different groups within the tribe. Another 13 percent are killed by outsiders.

Feminists would be alarmed to find that both sexes have very defined stereotyped roles. The men go out and hunt while the women stay at home to harvest vegetables.

Children are indeed punished for matters that endanger themselves or the community. Orphans often receive rough treatment and are considered outsiders. Handicapped infants are tolerated but can become victims of infanticide. I would entrust my children to a family there much more than if I'd left them with friends in America" (Houston Chronicle, 9-25-83).



September 15, 1983

Mr. John M. Fisher President American Security Council Foundation 499 South Capitol Sreet, S.W. Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Mr. Fisher:

We are greatly encouraged that you have established a Nicaraguan Freedom Fighter Aid Fund.

I was honored to be at the August, 1983, Annual Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars where they decided to raise funds for Humanitarian/Truth Aid to Nicaraguan freedom fighters.

The VFW has asked you to receive these funds and to administer their Humanitarian/Truth Aid.

We badly need assistance in providing food and medical aid to the 100,000 Nicaraguan refugees of all ages who fled from Communist oppression.

In the FDN, we have 10,000 freedom fighters and are now conducting effective operations inside Nicaragua, and they also need humanitarian help.

We are especially pleased to hear that your Foundation will be raising funds for a major truth campaign so that citizens of your country will understand why we are fighting.

No matter what risks we take, we cannot succeed against the Soviet Union without support from your country.

Thus, the decision as to whether or not the Soviets win in Central America will be made in the United States. Your help will assure that the decision will be based on true facts.

We will consider everyone who contributes to be an Honorary Nicaraguan Freedom Fighter. I will send you regular battle reports to share with them.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Adolfo Calero

Director

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Morton:

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add to A Later parties

From

Louise Tate

Morton BCC

UNITED STATES DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Lieutenant General Daniel O. Graham United States Army, Retired

November 9, 1983

President Ronald Reagan The White House 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Reagan:

On behalf of the more than 97,000 members of the United States Defense Committee, I would like to express our whole-hearted support and gratitude for your decisive action in Grenada.

If restoration of the Monroe Doctrine wasn't enough justification -- and we believe it was -- then surely the expressions of joy and relief on the faces of our rescued medical students and the Grenadian people prove the absolute justification for the action.

Furthermore, it is the first time ever that the Brezhnev Doctrine has been reversed. In fact, it is the first time in recent history that a U.S. President has had the resolve to recognize -- and stand up to -- obvious Soviet/Cuban aggression.

Your careful handling of the entire operation, and its success, fills those of us who oppose brutal Soviet aggression with overwhelming pride.

Finally, under your leadership, the United States is beginning to live up to its moral obligation to protect its citizens and uphold American interests throughout the world, an obligation that we have mistakenly chosen not to undertake for the past several years.

For this, Mr. President, we thank you, for standing up to those who insist on violating the basic human rights guaranteed by international law, and urge you to continue to lead the fight for a strong national defense and sound foreign policy.

Your decision to reinstate the Monroe Doctrine, rescue endangered American lives and prevent Grenada from becoming another springboard from which the Soviets and Cubans intended to launch Marxist-Leninist revolutions throughout the region is applauded.

Mr. President, you have shown the world that the people of this great nation have had enough, that we will not allow the Soviets to randomly murder innocent people in their quest for world-wide Communism.

Thank you again, Mr. President, for showing once again that freedom can prevail when we are determined to let it.

Sincerely,

Henry L. Walther

Executive Vice President

Then L. Walth

HLW/peb

This letter sent to:

James Baker Michael Deaver Edwin Meese John Harrington

From
Louise Tate

Morton BCC

UNITED STATES DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Lieutenant General Daniel O. Graham United States Army, Retired

November 9, 1983

Mrs. Faith Whittlesey
Ass't to the President for
Public Liaison
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Whittlesey:

As you know, a critically important position for national security recently opened up when Larry Brady, Assistant Secretary for Trade Administration, resigned from his post at the Department of Commerce.

Because of the sensitive nature of this job and its far-reaching impact on the long-term security of our country, we feel the administration should give its utmost attention in reviewing each candidate.

We understand that one candidate is Paul Friedenberg, currently a Senior Economist on the Senate Banking Committee. We strongly support Mr. Friedenberg's candidacy as he is both suited for this job and knowledgeable in this sensitive field.

A second candidate, George Nesterczuk, is also strongly supported by the United States Defense Committee. Mr. Nesterczuk has a long and distinguished background in technology trade and international affairs.

A third candidate under consideration is Wendell Gunn. While we understand Mr. Gunn may be personally competent, particularly in areas of corporate concerns, we are very concerned that he has little or no expertise in the area of export/import controls and suggest he be placed in another slot in the Administration.

On behalf of the more than 97,000 members of the United

States Defense Committee, I urge you to support a candidate who can responsibly balance national security interests with commercial interests — like Paul Friedenberg or George Nesterczuk — and oppose the nomination of Wendell Gunn for this position.

Sincerely,

Henry L. Walther

Executive Vice President

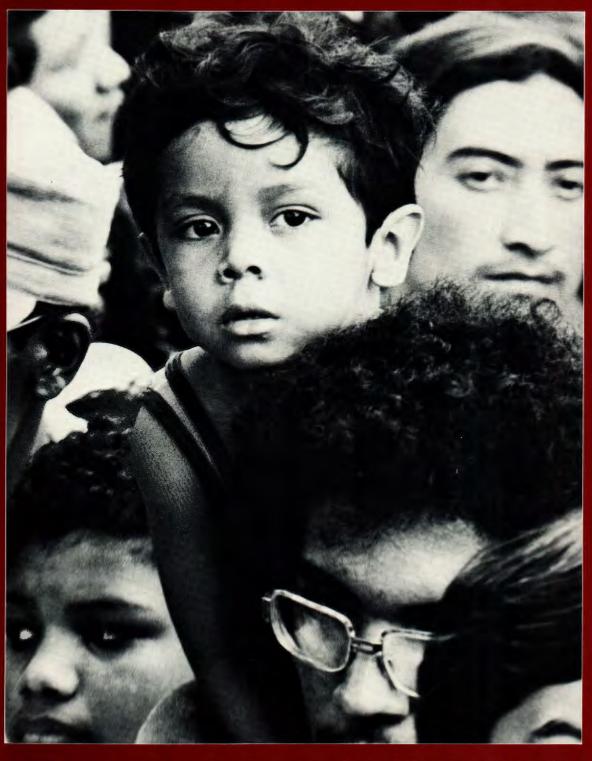
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HLW/peb

NICARAGUAN PERSPECTIVES

Summer 1983

Number 6



The War Against Nicaragua: Covert Becomes Overt

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The editorial staff of NICARAGUAN PERSPECTIVES solicits articles and materials of relevance to Nicaragua and to broader Latin American issues. Manuscripts, photos, and other materials should include self-addressed, stamped envelope if return is desired.

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Editorial

On the eve of the fourth anniversary of the Sandinista Revolution, the Nicaraguan people are preparing to celebrate the freedom they won at the cost of 50,000 lives. In just a few years, they and their government have begun the transformation of their society. Illiteracy has been drastically reduced and school enrollments have markedly increased as the government has more than doubled the budget for education. Preventative health programs have greatly decreased the incidence of polio, malaria and other infectious diseases, thereby significantly lowering the infant mortality rate. The agrarian reform has increased domestic food production and given land and livelihood to tens of thousands of previously dispossessed campesinos. The foundation has been laid for participatory democracy with the incorporation of previously marginalized groups such as women, campesinos, workers and the urban poor into the political process. The Nicaraguan people are proud of their achievements and the international community has given Nicaragua deserved recognition.

But as this issue goes to press, this new society being built in Nicaragua is being threatened. Direct military intervention—the final phase of U.S. destabilization—has begun openly and is escalating. As yet, no U.S. troops are in Nicaragua, but U.S. weapons are killing Nicaraguans, U.S. spy planes are selecting targets for U.S.-trained paramilitary forces, and the CIA and the U.S. ambassador to Honduras are directing this undeclared war. The so-called "freedom fighters" utilize the same methods as the death squads of El Salvador and Guatemala: selective assassination of the most active participants of social change in order to immobolize and terrorize the rest.

Economic destabilization has been maintained, along with a continuous stream of mis- and disinformation. Inflated and distorted charges about Nicaragua's military defenses, misrepresentation of conflict within Nicaragua's Catholic Church as government repression, and unsubstantiated accusations of massive arms transfers to Salvadoran rebels are all intended to undermine international support for Nicaragua and justify U.S. intervention.

In the face of growing public opposition to its policy, the Administration is now fighting a war for the hearts and minds of the American people. President Reagan has declared that all of America's pride and security depend on a military victory in El Salvador and the removal of the Sandinista government. The domino theory, the Truman Doctrine of containment, the red scare, the entire cold war language of fear have been revived, to simultaneously sway the American public and pressure Congress into support for Administration policy in Central America.

We are told that those the U.S. supports in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala are reformers, and that the ex-National Guardsmen sowing death and destruction in Nicaragua are "freedom fighters." We are told that the Salvadoran government is "for freedom of religion and free trade unions," ignoring the murder of the four Maryknolls, the assassination of Archbishop Romero, and the disappearance and execution of hundreds of labor leaders. We are told that the March, 1982 Salvadoran elections meant democracy, when actually there was a *de facto* government death threat against any FDR candidate and against anyone refusing to vote.

We are told that the U.S. is protecting fragile democracy in Honduras, but the ongoing militarization of that country has only strengthened the power of the military and led to an alarming deterioration in the human rights situation. We are told that President Rios Montt of Guatemala has "gotten a bum rap," despite documentation by human rights groups of ongoing massacres of Guatemala's Indians in the government counterinsurgency program.

Repeatedly we are told that spy planes and ships are searching for alleged arms transfers, but it has become obvious that the *real* purpose of increased intelligence activity is to help the Salvadoran armed forces on the one hand and the ex-National Guardsmen on the other. The Administration says it is not trying to overthrow the present Nicaraguan government, but only trying to help the ex-National Guardsmen it supplies win their rightful place in Nicaraguan affairs. The FDN, however, has made it perfectly clear that its goal is the overthrow of the Sandinista government and a rollback of all the revolution has meant. Now that the secret war has become open, the President has said that the U.S. should openly support the "freedom fighters," in blatant disregard for international law



Mel Rosenth

The Administration is maneuvering to impose a Pax Americana in Central America, which would mean pacification rather than real peace with justice. Although the FDR is considered to represent 80 percent of the Salvadoran opposition (which presently has been forced underground), and despite the recognition won by the FDR in the world community as a representative political force, the Administration has steadfastly opposed any form of negotiations in El Salvador. And in spite of numerous Nicaraguan appeals for direct negotiations with the U.S. which have been backed by proposals by the Contadora group, the Administration has consistently avoided efforts at mediation. This relentless pursuit of military solutions to the Central American crisis has brought the area to the verge of a regionalized war.

The U.S. major media, by failing to challenge adequately the misinformation and faulty assumptions used to justify intervention, have become accomplices of the Ad-

ministration. More than ever, reliable information and a more accurate analysis are crucial. In this issue, we continue to examine U.S. policy and provide in depth informa-

tion about Nicaragua and Central America.

For example, the Administration has repeatedly accused Nicaragua of violating human rights. In an interview about human rights in Nicaragua, we discover that it is the *only* Latin American nation to comply with the U.N. recommendation that each country establish a human rights commission. We find that Nicaragua has abolished the death penalty, even for war criminals, has conducted literacy training for imprisoned ex-National Guardsmen, and has released all women from prisons.

In an interview about refugees, we learn that Salvadorans are free to establish themselves in Nicaragua without fear, unlike the U.S. where they fear deportation to a near-certain death or Honduras where they dread being kidnapped by Salvadoran or Honduran security forces. In fact, the government has set up special programs for them so they can share in the educational and social benefits of

the Nicaraguan revolution.

In the article about Estelí, we learn of the joint participation of the Sandinistas and the private sector in the reconstruction of that city. Democracy in action, Nicaraguan style, is detailed: the five leaders of the city's government are selected respectively from among workers, farmers, women, neighborhood committees and a traditional

political party.

In a series of articles about religion, we see that the Catholic Church is undergoing a Reformation in Nicaragua. The *Misa Campesina* communicates a vision of Christianity like that of the early Christians who were persecuted by the Romans. This same spiritual support for resistance sustained many Nicaraguans in the battle against Somoza and now inspires the defense of the Revolution and the homeland.

The point is that Nicaragua is a ferment of new ideas and developments, the only Central American country addressing social and economic problems at their roots, and thus widely admired throughout Europe and Latin America for its accomplishments. Nicaraguans have been appointed to leading positions in world and regional bodies in the areas of agriculture, human rights and health care. Yet this information is virtually invisible in the United States. The U.S. media have effectively joined the Administration in portraying Nicaragua as an official enemy.

As we go to press, Congressional opposition to intervention has given way to bipartisan accommodation to the Administration's proposals. The false assumptions underlying the policy of intervention are not being adequately challenged. Congressional critics have vacillated because of fear of being accused in the 1984 elections of being "soft

on communism" or "losing El Salvador."

We feel tremendous urgency because recent Administration actions indicate a continuing escalation. A barrage of verbal attacks against Cuba as the source of all of Central America's problems has underscored the Administration's intent to obscure the homegrown social and economic origins of the crisis. The sacking of Thomas Enders has alarmed many observers in the U.S. and Latin America, because although Enders was no dove, he was one of the only policy makers open to negotiations.

We feel a sense of pain as daily the U.S.-trained ex-Guardsmen commit new atrocities, adding new murders of teachers, campesinos, technicians and health workers to their list of crimes against Nicaragua. Recently a French and a German physician were killed for the crime of helping Nicaragua; how long before an American teacher or health worker will be killed by a U.S.-supplied bullet?

We anticipate new episodes of misinformation to soften up public opinion for larger intervention. There will be more "sinking ship" articles depicting a crumbling Nicaraguan government, just as there was recently a leak of a CIA report forecasting the imminent downfall of the Sandinistas. Similarly, ten years ago, media campaigns allowed the murder of Chile's President Allende by U.S.-backed

plotters to be initially presented as suicide.

We believe that coming months will see attempted sabotage of the Nicaraguan economy, via blockade techniques such as the veto of loan requests, suspension of Nicaragua's sugar quota, and para-military attacks against infrastructure and industry. We believe there will be continuous military escalation by the U.S. supported ex-National Guardsmen. The U.S. is also working behind the scenes to unite the counter-revolutionary forces in Honduras and Costa Rica. Repeatedly the Nicaraguan government has warned that the real objective of these attacks is to spark a larger war in which direct U.S. intervention could be justified.

We are concerned about the warnings of ex-officials who witnessed the hidden growth of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. They predict that plans already exist for the deployment of U.S. troops in Central America, along with contingencies for the massive use of air power. Specifically, they envision secret B-52 strikes against rebel controlled zones in El Salvador, which could be concluded before Congress or public opinion could react. They also alert us to a sudden, Beirut-type airstrike against Nicaragua by Honduras as a dangerous possibility. Honduras, with growing numbers of U.S. and Israeli advisors, now has the most advanced air force in Central America.

But the Nicaraguan people have made it clear they will not surrender. They know that their historical moment has come, and they are prepared to make whatever sacrifice is needed to protect their freedom and their new society. To paraphrase what Nicaraguan leaders have said, Nicaragua can be destroyed, but not defeated. If Nicaragua is overcome, the conqueror will find a country full of ashes and corpses.

Even as we are saddened and outraged by our government's actions, we draw strength from the courageous example of the Nicaraguan people. The responsibility rests on our shoulders to show solidarity and end the inhumane

policies of the Reagan Administration.

We are also heartened by the response of the American people, who refuse to be misled by Administration propaganda. A recent ABC News-Washington Post opinion poll demonstrated overwhelming public opposition to current Central America policy. We insist that Congress listen to the desires of the American people, who wish to turn from the nuclear arms race and intervention in Central America to the solution of the domestic problems of unemployment and deteriorating social programs.

Only the American people and Congress can pull the Administration back from the brink of a regional war. Only if the U.S. joins in a peaceful and constructive solution to the problems of Central America will its honor be renewed. If the Administration is not stopped, a tragic widening of the conflict will occur, and we may soon be sending American troops to die in Central America.

"Generous in Victory"

A Conversation About Human Rights in Nicaragua

by Tony Ryan

One of the salient features of the Nicaraguan Revolution, in the view of this writer, is its innovative and humane treatment of its defeated enemies-the universally hated former National Guard of the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship that ruled the country for nearly 50 years until an insurrection led by the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) defeated it in

Formed in the 1920s with the assistance and control of the U.S. Marine Corps, the Guard acted as the physical prop of what was to prove to be one of the worst and most durable dictatorships in the Americas. The dynasty of the Somozas with the aid of its National Guard robbed, raped, murdered and committed every possible atrocity upon the Nicaraguan people. With the end of such a social horror as Somocismo it was understandable that many people would want to exact a revenge

upon their former masters and tormentors.

With the triumph of the revolution, the FSLN and the new government it leads called for a policy of humane treatment of its ex-Guard prisoners. "As much as two years before the triumph," states Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Father Miguel D'Escoto, "we were afraid that after Somoza there would be a popular reaction that we could not control and that people would take justice in their hands, taking revenge for the many grievances they had suffered for such a prolonged time . . . The Front was trying to prepare people so that they would look upon generosity as a virtue. Few revolutions do that. Many would try to get people to understand why you should have mass killings or mass executions."

Yet it was the FSLN, precisely in its role as vanguard, that took exactly the above position which clearly called for a rupture with past experience. "So why did we make this revolution," said Commander Tomás Borge, "if we are going to do the things they used to do? If that's the way it is going to be, we would be better off not having made this revolution." Borge, the only surviving founder of the FSLN and one who experienced great personal loss and physical suffering, made the above statement in the early days after the triumph to a crowd of angry people who were bent on executing captured former Guardsmen.

The positions of people like Commander Borge or Father Miguel D'Escoto are still not altogether popular among many Nicaraguans, as I was to learn on a recent visit. The continuing acts of terrorism, raids, murders of literacy teachers, peasants and others by ex-Guardsmen has not excactly convinced many of the wisdom of this position. Many people held to the more "traditional" approach of executions. Indeed, Borge said as much when he told a human rights group, "if we had gone along with the people on this, we would have shot them all." Only the FSLN with its overwhelming moral authority could continue to sustain such a position in the face of a people enraged at their former oppressors-some of whom still roam about in remote areas of the country and along its borders carrying out acts against the revolutionary process.

This policy of respect for the human rights of all—even for the Guard—was brought home to me by a visit to the new model prison "Granja Abierta" and a conversation two days later with Sister Mary Hartman of the government's National Commission for Promotion and Protection of Human Rights. Hartman is a North American who has lived for 20 years in the country. She was a member of the well-known "University Community" of the Riguero neighborhood of eastern Managua which spawned many Christian revolutionary fighters against Somoza. An utterly frank and engaging person, she gave numerous insights into the Nicaraguan government's position and policies on human rights. What follows below is an edited conversation dealing mostly with treatment of the ex-Guardsmen during their stay in prison.

What are some of the main things about the National Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights; that is, when did it begin, what are its tasks, what is your work, etc.?

M.H.: It started in 1980 at the suggestion of the United Nations, which had put forward that every nation should have a Human Rights Commission. To date Nicaragua is the only Latin American country that has responded to that.

Most of our work currently deals with the situation of the ex-Guard prisoners. We serve as a checkup on any abuses that might and and sometimes do occur. This checkup role is supported by the government. We carry out our duties with confidence since we knew we will be heard and taken seriously. We meet with the Junta and other parts of the government such as the Ministry of the Interior which is responsible for the maintenance of the prison system. We make sure that the rules are followed.

Why are the rules sometimes not followed?

M.H.: In many cases it is inexperience or ignorance. Young kids are often given responsibilities without the necessary parallel knowledge. We give them courses on the law and on correct ways of dealing with things. We also check up on how things are progressing every six weeks. We hold seminars on human rights with various individuals and groups. We consider ourselves an action-educational arm.

One of the first things I worked at was the Women's Jail in the city of Granada. We interviewed them and went over their cases again. Based on this work we believed that they were not a threat to the new society so we asked the government to grant them amnesty. They were released in October of 1980.

After the triumph of the Revolution there were 7,500 National Guard who were taken prisoner. They were all passed through special tribunals that were established to judge them. The prisoners were sentenced for anywhere between 3 and 30 years. As it stands now there are still some 3,000 in prison. The rest are out of jail.

What has happened to them?

M.H.: As to checkup—there is none to speak of. We don't know how many have left the country or what they are doing. We do know that after the triumph of 1979 some 5,000 to 6,000 escaped to Honduras and Guatemala. We also know that in some of the clashes and attacks that have taken place some of the counterrevolutionaries that have been killed have been recognized as ex-prisoners.

In December of 1980 there was a Christmas amnesty of 503 prisoners. The majority of them were ex-National Guard. In December of 1981 we tried again for another amnesty but it did not go through because of the "Red Christmas" campaign that the counterrevolutionaries were

waging against the country at the time.

Recently there was supposed to be something like 350 ex-Guardia released from prison who had served their terms. That has been suspended for now due to the continuing invasion threats and the fact that a lot of the ex-Guardia that have been released have gone over again to the counterrevolution. But it's also because the people don't want them to be released. There have been several demonstrations in various barrios saying that they should not be released. So perhaps they are safer in jail for now than out on the streets with a people that have not entirely forgotten their crimes. It's important to remember just how much the people suffered at the Guardia's hands. And the worse the threat from the northern camps the harder it will be to carry out the policy and to get people united on this position of the Revolution.

In November of 1981 the Law of Grace was passed which meant that every one of these prisoners' cases was to be reviewed. The rationale behind it was that because of the number of men who were tried perhaps there were judgments which were in error or too hasty, or that new evidence may have been found and needed to be taken into account.



'Mary Hartman and prison official

The whole point is to guarantee justice for all. It is based on the fact that this is a just revolution. The government and the FSLN are concerned for these people. These men were judged six months to a year after the triumph when people were still very angry. It is believed that mistakes were made—which indeed may have occurred. So we are very happy that the Government has moved to present such an opportunity.

How does the procedure operate?

M.H.: The process is that the family of the prisoner comes and requests that their relative's case be reviewed. Any new evidence is allowed to be introduced that they might have. They may call new witnesses and the lawyers here take all of this into account. They go out and interview the

prisoners again and review the case again from top to bottom and then they report their findings and make recommendations. We believe that this process will result in a lowering of many sentences and that in other cases some will be freed.

What is the legal process?

M.H.: The lawyers study their cases and then present their findings to each other. Then the cases are completed and brought together in a collective grouping for the Junta de Gobierno and the Council of State to go over. These bodies are responsible for the final decision. We believe that generally whatever the lawyers find from their investigation will be accepted by the Junta and the Council.



prisoner at "Granja Abierta"

But in theory the Junta and Council of State could possibly look at every one of the cases?

M.H.: Yes, but that is not likely.

So the position of the FSLN about the just and humane treatment of prisoners remains unchanged despite terrific pressures internally and externally?

M.H.: Yes, absolutely. This is true in many ways. For example, the government allows prisoners to come home and celebrate family events such as a child's birthday or similar things. Relatives of prisoners can ask for and get

Margaret Dutton

medical attention for a relative from a doctor of their own choosing. So we see that he gets a doctor or whatever else is needed.

People also come to us and say they missed their visit because of whatever reason, so we make sure that the prisoner gets a special visit by his family. These are the types of things that we do.

I learned on my visit to the "Granja" that conjugal visits are also allowed.

M.H.: Yes—that's true and it's also routine in all the prisons—not only in the experimental "Granja."

Would you speak about the conditions in the other prisons where the ex-Guardia are being confined? What are some of the things that are needed there?

M.H.: Conditions are not always as good as we would like them to be. This is due to the economic situation the country faces and the enormous amount of things it must fund. The government is the first to admit that conditions are not as good as they should be but there is not a lot that can be done right away. That is one of the reasons people are allowed to visit the prisons—so they can understand what the revolution is faced with and that they will support it materially.

I would say that the best way to help would be donations of money because it would help to buy and improve the facilities that are needed. For example, there is a great need for sports equipment which we really can't get; we have some but there is not enough. There is a need for more workshops to be built so that these men can learn a trade since all they really knew before was how to use a gun. The policy in the prisons is that anyone who wants to learn a skill—be it carpentry, TV repair, watch repair, is welcome and encouraged to do so. But to really implement this we need more workshops.

I also understand that there is a Literacy Campaign occurring in the prisons. Would you describe that a little?

M.H.: Yes, that's another thing. Young kids—about 140 of them—are going into the prisons and jails to teach these men how to read and write. . . .

So what is the point of doing all of this? Don't some people here feel like maybe it's a big waste of time and money to devote to these people?

M.H.: The whole point of the Literacy Campaign is the recognition that the prisoners are human beings and that they too have the right to learn how to read and write and to begin to think for themselves, just as has occurred for many other people because of the Revolution. Perhaps they will begin to understand what they did and begin to change themselves just as this society is creating a new people.

So what you are saying is that the Revolution believes that there is a chance of salvaging these people and that basic programs such as Literacy are also extended to the very agents of the repression that existed before so that they might possibly participate in the new society?

M.H.: Right. For example, recently a group of prisoners who had been jailed for three years were taken on a trip to Managua and were shown the new things the Revolution had done. They saw the new highways, the parks, the schools, etc. Without a lot of fanfare it was explained to them that these were some of the things that had been

accomplished since the triumph. The aim was to get them to think for themselves and to form their own opinions as to what had happened in three years.

We are not interested in a lot of preaching; we are more interested in acts—acts that go toward changing people, all people, for the better. A prisoner is still a prisoner—he doesn't want to be there but I think that they understand what is happening. They are going to learn about the Revolution they fought so hard to repress and maybe some will come out being supporters of it.



ex-Guardia prisoners learn new skills

Do you yourself know of ex-Guardia who have really changed, that is that you trust, that you know are moving in a better direction?

M.H.: I have a lot of faith in the group that just recently left the "Granja." There's going to have to be a follow-up which will be difficult to do, but a lot have promised to come back and visit their friends. It will be interesting to see what occurs. It's a risk we're willing to take. The follow-up is important but not top priority. More important is the situation of those still imprisoned.

What about the young teenage prisoners that were in the *Guardia*, especially those in the elite corps that Somoza's son commanded?

M.H.: They were a special section of the *Guardia* and were kids from 12 years on up. They were trained in special torture methods. After the triumph there were about 140 of them captured. The kids were separated from the other prisoners and were sent to a farm outside of Managua. They were given a special rehabilitation program under the guidance of a social worker and some teachers.

There were no uniformed Sandinista soldiers except for two fellows at the entrance gate. Other than that no one else was uniformed. The people in charge had gone to various countries to learn about how to deal with such a situation but there was really no one who could help. It was a new project and a new situation.

These young kids had "jobs" such as the removal of people's eyes and other such atrocities. So we were left with this problem and how to deal with it. But we have succeeded in the concrete sense that the last of these youngsters were just recently sent home to their families. They are in school now or working in the society at large. The farm where the program was carried out is now used for common delinquents.

continued on page 10

Women in the Guatemalan Revolution

by Tita Caldwell

Most of Guatemala's 7½ million people, like those in the other Central American countries, live under conditions of extreme poverty and deprivation. Twenty percent of the children die before reaching the age of four and 80 percent of the survivors suffer from malnutrition.

Women in Guatemala face additional burdens simply because they are women. More than half of the families in the country are headed by single mothers. In rural areas, women are often left alone with their children when their husbands migrate to the large plantations, or industrial areas, to find work. In addition, large numbers of men are forcibly drafted into the army and sent to other regions of the country.

Seeking to improve their situation, many of the Indian women take their children to the cities where they often work as servants for \$2.00 a day. Often they are forced to have sexual relations with their bosses under the threat of being fired if they refuse.

The life of poor Ladina women in the city is also very difficult. (Ladino refers to people of mixed Indian and Spanish heritage who make up 40 percent of the population.) Many of them are unemployed or underemployed, working in factories and stores where they, too, are harassed by their bosses. It is generally a fact that women in Guatemala receive less pay than men for equal work.

Mayan Indians, most of whom are campesinos (peasants) living in rural areas, comprise 60 percent of the population. Many of them, particularly the women, do not speak Spanish and have never been to school, either because none was available or because they were not allowed to attend. They have maintained their 22 separate languages, their religion and traditions since the Spanish invasion in the 16th century.

Before 1967 Indian students were forbidden by law to wear their traditional clothes to school. That year teenage women students staged a protest at one secondary school, wearing their own clothes. The protest gained media attention when the students refused to leave the gates of the school, and students in other cities joined in support. The law was soon revoked. In the last 10 years Indian women, in small numbers, have gained admission to the university.

It is often the case that revolutions pit sister against brother, parent against child. In many of the stories of Guatemalan women, however, entire families join the revolutionary struggle, either one at a time or all together. In many cases the commitment is inspired by witnessing the murder of a close relative.

Rigoberta Menchú Tum, a 25-year-old Quiché Indian woman, describes what happened to her family:

My father was a Christian leader of our community. For twenty-two years he struggled against large land owners, those rich people who wanted to remove us from our land. Just for defending our land, he was accused of being a guerrilla and was imprisoned two times . . . He was tortured

Tita Caldwell lived for several years in Guatemala. She worked with the Guatemala News and Information Bureau and the Women's Committee on Central America. Her writings on the situation of women in Central America have appeared in the G.N.I.B. Newsletter and Plexus, a feminist journal.

in jail by the very same body of guards of the land owners . . . Soon we were all being persecuted.

My mother, who served her people as a midwife since the age of 10, was a very valuable woman and much loved by the people. She took care of them, and also explained to them the cause of their troubles. If a child died in delivery, it was not "God's will" but because of inadequate nutrition and medical care . . .

. . . My younger brother, Patrocino [age 16], was kidnapped [in 1979]. The Army put out propaganda saying that guerrillas were to be punished in Chajúl. My mother and I went to this village and found that the Army had surrounded it, and forced all the people to go into the town square. We were amazed to see my little brother in the group of prisoners who were being beaten as a captain read a speech to the crowd. After about three hours soldiers poured gasoline over the prisoners and set fire to them . . . Because my mother dared to embrace her burned son after he was killed, she had to go into hiding.

Along with our people, my father participated in the peaceful occupation of the Spanish Embassy. They were requesting the Guatemalan government to appoint a special commission to investigate the massacre of Chajúl . . . [Although the Ambassador requested that the police not intervene, 600 security personnel surrounded and fire-bombed the building. Vicente Menchú was one of 39 people killed.]



IIB

My mother was kidnapped shortly after my father's murder. She was held by the Army for 12 days, during which time she was raped by high military officers and tortured day and night. Then they took her, still alive with wounds all over her body, and tied her under a tree. There, covered with flies, she died bit by bit. . . .

. . . For me, the eldest, it was my younger sisters who gave me courage. They told me that the only way to commemorate our parents' spilled blood was by fighting and following the path they had set for us.

Today Rigoberta Menchú is a member of the Guatemalan Committee for Patriotic Unity (CGUP). As a representative of CGUP she travels worldwide to tell what is happening in Guatemala and ask for support for her people and their struggle. She participated in Geneva at the U.N. Commission on Human Rights Working Group on Indigenous People and in Madrid at the People's Permanent Tribunal. In New York she worked with the Guatemalan Unitary Delegation of Opposition which was instrumental in helping to pass a resolution at the U.N. condemning the government of General Ríos Montt for its human rights violations.

The Reagan Administration, however, continues to try to present a picture of improved human rights in Guatemala in order to gain legislative support for renewed military aid. Observers from church and human rights organizations, among others, estimate that from eight to ten thousand people were murdered during Ríos Montt's first year in power.

In an effort to eliminate the revolutionary movement, the Guatemalan army has destroyed or partially destroyed over 200 villages. Often the entire population is massacred, including pregnant women and infants. The testimonies of survivors report how women are repeatedly raped before

being killed.

Some of these survivors have been forcibly relocated in government compounds modeled after Vietnam's "strategic hamlets." Others have fled to Mexico where they barely survive in crowded refugee camps without enough food or medical care. Still others "go to the mountains" to join the growing resistance movement.

The participation of women in Guatemala's resistance is not new. María Lupe, a Ladina women, was one of the first

women to join the EGP in the early '70s:

We were one of the first families to collaborate. We raised food and shopped for the compañeros, and later we gathered information. When the army came to the region, my husband and oldest daughter went to join the guerrillas in the mountains. Soon it became too dangerous for me to remain in the village, where the army knew me . . . and I took the girls to the mountains.

We organized the care of the five girls—the youngest was three and the oldest was 12 at that time . . . among the compañeros. The bigger ones were already helping in the meetings. They went to training with their wooden carbines. That's what they played with. All of them learned how to

read and write there.

A lot of people say you shouldn't talk in front of children. But children learn what is explained to them. We would tell them not to talk loudly because the army would come . . . One day my six-year-old girl came to tell us that there was a spy there; none of us had seen him. He had come to kill a compañera.

Now I have three daughters in the organization: 16, 20 and 22 years old. Another daughter is 12 and she already wants to join up. She says she wants to be free and to have

something to defend herself with.

In 1976 women began joining the political military organizations in increasing numbers, particularly Indian women, and now make up 25 percent of the guerrilla forces. In an interview with *Off Our Backs*, Rigoberta Menchú tells how:

At first, the Indian women attended resistance meeting secretly, always running back home in time to prepare for dinner. But when her man left for the coast to pick cotton, she became more involved. She even allowed her house to be used for a meeting place. . . .

Many widows went to the mountains to fight. They no longer had any alternatives. The soldiers would come to town and say: "Your man isn't here . . . that means he is in the mountains fighting." They would rape and kill her. So, these women too joined the struggle.

Manuela Saquic, a 17-year-old Ixil Indian woman, also travels widely to tell of the situation of her people. In an interview with *News and Letters*, she describes how women take part in self-defense:

For example, in one town women were making explosives out of fruit cans, with gasoline inside. When the army came in and saw that there were only women there, they started to laugh—but when the women threw the explosives the soldiers started to cry! And the women held off the army long enough to allow the rest of the village to escape.

As yet there is little information available about the role of women in combat. We do know, however, that women participate fully, and at every level, in all four major guerrilla groups, which joined together in January 1982, to form the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG). In 1982 there was a report of an action taken by a squadron composed of about 50 women, members of the Organization of People in Arms (ORPA). Aurora, a captain in ORPA, says:

We all have a purpose in life and mine is to fight so other women's children can live in peace and freedom . . . For me, this is love. Here, we don't allow ourselves to have intimate relationships. There will be a time for that—Now I give love to the men in my patrol when I don't abandon them in combat, when I shout to them, "Charge!," when I prepare their food, when I listen to their problems. This is my way of giving love.

Women of the middle and ruling classes are also aware of the grave injustices suffered by the poor people in Guatemala, and have chosen to ally themselves with the opposition. They are also the targets of government repression.

Rogelia Cruz, former Miss Guatemala, was a member of the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR) in the 1960s. An architecture student from a middle-class family, she ran a clandestine hospital for the guerrillas in Guatemala City. She was murdered and her body was found hideously tortured and mutilated.

On March 25, 1983, Yolanda Urizar Martínez de Aguilar, a labor lawyer and advisor to Guatemala's now-underground Worker's Congress (CNT), was kidnapped by security forces in the south coast region of Guatemala. She had just returned to the country the previous day, after having lived in exile since 1980. According to her father, a retired colonel, she had reentered the country to accept the "amnesty" offered by the Guatemalan government.

She had previously been arrested in April 1979, for distributing Year of the Child leaflets which were called "subversive literature." International pressure had won

her release.

In October of that same year, her 16-year-old daughter Yolanda de la Luz Aguilar had been arrested for distributing literature protesting the death of a trade union leader. While in police custody, she was repeatedly beaten and raped by approximately 20 police agents. Both mother and daughter left the country in 1980.

Silvia Solórzano Foppa, who comes from Guatemala's ruling class, has been a member of the EGP for 10 years. In addition to working as a physician in the camp hospital and training nurses, she is part of the leadership collective of

the Ho Chi Minh Front.

Her mother, Alaide Foppa, a feminist and journalist, lived in Mexico in exile for many years. In December 1980, while visiting family in Guatemala City, she was kidnapped in broad daylight and has not reappeared. Two of her sons, continued on page 31

ominuea on page 3

Commentary on the Pope's Visit

"Irresponsible" Words Polarize Nicaragua

by William R. Callahan and Dolores C. Pomerleau

The world press trumpeted Nicaraguan disrespect for the pope as one more sign of the "Marxist-Leninist" government's hostility to religion. Those reports, we believe, are false. They are a fundamental misinterpretation of what took place. The people and government of Nicaragua had sought a different outcome.

When John Paul II, during the March 4 papal mass in Managua, Nicaragua, refused to speak of the peace and justice he had preached in other Central American nations, the major portion of the crowd confronted him as St. Paul

had done to the first pope.

St. Paul (Galatians 2:5) describes how he confronted Peter in front of the Antioch community, because Peter behaved one way with Jewish Christians and a different

way with gentile Christians.

Halfway through the pope's militant and politically charged Nicaraguan lecture on how Christians must live in solidarity with their bishops, it became clear that he would not address a single sympathetic word to the sufferings of Nicaragua.

The crowd polarized. Some chanted "El Papa" and "O-ban-do" (the archbishop of Managua is Obando y Bravo, who heads the effort to distance the church from the

revolution).

But the cry "Queremos la paz!" (we want peace) quickly overrode all other chants. For the remaining 30-40 minutes of an accelerated liturgy which omitted communion except for a few people, the chant boomed forth from tens of thousands of Christian throats.

The pope, obviously nonplussed, concluded the liturgy, brushed aside an invitation to talk from the leader of the government, Daniel Ortega, and departed for Costa Rica.

From the moment the papal visit was announced, both government and people worked to assure the kind of effusive papal welcome possible for amiable, loyal Catholic people of deep and suffering faith. The preparation mirrored their desperate longing for protection from U.S. economic pressures and from the deadly U.S.-supported cross-border raids from Honduras that spread terror and one to two violent deaths a day in the northern section of the country.

The Christian base communities which support the revolution scheduled six weeks of prayer and reflection. For three weeks, the three daily papers lavished 10 percent of their slim copies on the pope, his life, writings and the hopes of the people.

The Nicaraguan government went all out to assure

William R. Callahan and Dolores C. Pomerleau, co-direc-

tors of the Quixote Center in Washington, D.C., were in Nicaragua before, during and after the Pope's visit as part of

their work on Central America.

warmth and welcome for the pope. The day of his visit was a national holiday. Roads were closed to all traffic save the vast caravan of vehicles and people walking to the papal

masses in Leon and Managua.

Come they did, spending 10-12 hours under a March sun that is like Washington, D.C., or Kansas City in early August. More than 600,000 attended the two masses, 25 percent of the nation's people (equal to 55 million in the U.S.). The government bore all expenses, including free transportation. It spent at least \$7 million—\$9 million in funds and lost production (equal to \$7 billion—\$9 billion in the 1,000 times larger U.S. economy). The government distributed thousands of papal pictures and papal flags.

Everyone longed for a day of harmony and comfort that would highlight the deep faith of the Nicaraguan people. It

was not to be.

The morning mass in Leon passed smoothly. As 500,000 gathered in the great "July 19th Plaza" in Managua for the late afternoon liturgy, they were eager to welcome the pope.

The beginning of the mass was subdued. The pope came forth and began the mass with none of the warmth and moments of amiable interchange for which he is famous.

All awaited his homily.

The pope began to preach with no acknowledgement of Nicaragua's past and current suffering, including the 17 university students killed by the Honduran-based Somocistas, buried from that same plaza only the day before.

The crowd murmured at the omission, but was quiet as the pope went on, in stern and booming terms, to insist that the people the church please God only when they live and act in unity with their bishops.

Although he may not have realized it, the pope was

delivering a highly charged political homily.

Insisting on unity with the current bishops of Nicaragua, especially with Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo of Managua, is a political code for opposing the Nicaraguan government, the revolutionary process and the Christian base communities that have strongly supported the revolution. Those communities see the revolution as a social effort to act out Christ's command to feed, clothe, heal and empower the poor.

Because the Nicaraguan people have been highly politicized since the revolution and strongly encouraged to speak back publicly and talk with their leaders, they did so with

the pope.

They quickly recognized the "loaded" political speech they were hearing and responded with the aforementioned chanting. Three times the pope tried to stifle the crowd:

"Silencio" ("Silence" or "Shut up!").

The crowd would not be still. While the mothers of the young dead people held up pictures of their children directly in front of the pope and fruitlessly sought his blessing, the chant for peace continued until the pope left the plaza.

A weary and saddened people began the long journey home. A national and international debate was launched about whether the Nicaraguans should have spoken out to

the pope.

To these two observers, as well as to most of the dozens of people—Nicaraguan and foreign—with whom we have talked, the pope bears the major responsibility for what happened.

The people came overwhelmingly ready to welcome him. Had he uttered even a few pastoral sentences recog**nizing** the "hopes and joys, sufferings and sorrows" of the **people**, the pope could—and at any time—have recaptured their hearts and stilled the chanting.

When the pope adamantly refused their pleas, a vulnerable and deeply disappointed people cried out their frustration in a great chant for peace. They had asked their father for bread and had received a stone.

Because the pope had the freedom to choose his words and responses, on him falls the major responsibility.

We hope Pope John Paul II can respond to the Nicaraguan Christians as did St. Peter when confronted by St. Paul. St. Peter acknowledged his failing and promised to change.

It is time for Pope John Paul to apologize, to seek dialogue and reconciliation with the Nicaraguan people.

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Documents

Farewell Speech by Daniel Ortega to Pope John Paul II

We, the Nicaraguan people, the Government and the FSLN have made great efforts to give your Holiness the warmest welcome possible.

We were especially interested in the presence of your Holiness in the Central American region, particularly in Nicaragua, because we are a geographically small nation with a small population, under continuous attack by a powerful enemy; a small nation which made great sacrifices to gain its freedom. We are now trying to reconstruct this nation, both materially and spiritually.

We are a small country, daily subjected to attacks. Every day we lose children, women, elderly, practicing Christians, who struggled for their people's freedom and who, because of their Christian ideals, continue to defend the freedom they conquered.

Hence when our people say "we want peace," it is born from a situation of pain, of tears, of permanent martyrdom. Our people are crucified everyday; they justly and rightfully demand solidarity.

When our people say "we want peace," they say it because in this country there is such great poverty that the struggle to eat everyday is a formidable task; because the struggle to provide our children with shoes and provide schools so they do not have to work, is a formidable task, because this is a poor country; because we have been an exploited country and we are still a country which is victimized by an unjust international economic order.

For that reason, when our people ask for peace, they want it not to enrich themselves, because we do not want to enrich ourselves, but rather, they want peace to be able to fulfill their basic necessities for life and subsistence.

When our people say "we want peace," they say it with conviction; knowing that, in the final analysis, it is this suffering people, this heroic people, this Christian people of Nicaragua, that will defend their right to a dignified peace, with their blood and with their lives.

Your Holiness, today you have had the opportunity to join with this profoundly Christian people, whose very Christian sentiments also lead them to love their martyrs, to venerate their heroes, to remember their fallen children, brothers, parents and relatives every day with more respect.

And so, this Christian people demands unity in order to conquer peace; unity of all moral forces, of all people's forces, the forces of religion, the forces of the Church, to defend peace, to attain peace.

Holiness, today, as you depart from this land of Nicaragua, we express our confidence that Christian solidarity will favor this suffering people.

Christian Reflection on the Pope's Visit

by a Nicaraguan theological study group

(1) At the close of Pope John Paul II's visit to Nicaragua we saw the massive determined participation of the Nicaraguan people as an experience of great value. We are puzzled by the accusations of alleged obstacles that kept some of the people from the meeting with the Pope. We were able to verify the presence of over 700,000 people in the July 19th Plaza. The people were able to express themselves in a variety of ways in order to communicate with the Pope. They forcefully shouted out their anxieties and hopes.

It is possible that some people are not accustomed to this kind of manifestation by the Nicaraguans; they may have felt strange or uncomfortable. But the people of free Nicaragua were able to express the disquieting voice of the oppressed people of our continent over the centuries. They were the voice of those who in other Latin American countries have no voice. In the outburst of the people we Christians had the ever-renewing experience of the God of the poor, who promises and announces the freedom and salvation of all people.

(2) We appreciate the Pope's having referred to the Nicaraguan people as "vigorous and active in responding to the challenges of history and in striving to build a new society according to the material needs and the transcendent dimensions of mankind." We likewise value the Pope's call for peace "to those who inside or outside—wherever they are—favor in one way or another ideological, economic or military tensions which hinder the free development of this people—lovers of peace, fraternity and real human progress." What we see pointed out here is United States imperialism and other enemies of this people—armed forces on the other side of the border, as well as internal groups who create ideological tension—and also those who manipulate religion and the Church against the real process of the people.

(3) To us the language and tone of the Pope's speeches seemed admonishing and negative, lacking any connection with the people whom he addressed. In its religious aspect this language was political. The theological subjects dealt with were beyond the scope of comprehension, we believe, of the great majority of the people. Furthermore, long

sentences and the emphases given by the Pope made assimilation of the subjects even more difficult. We have the impression that the great majority of the people did not experience an enlightening presence from their Pastor.

(4) It is also our opinion that unfortunately the speeches of John Paul II ignored values of the Sandinista Revolution, such as the historic option for the poor, especially the campesinos; the endeavor to solve in a spirit of solidarity the problems inherent in a new model of economic development; the sacrifices for the defense of the people; the literacy campaign; the undeniable desire to overcome the obstacles in the way of achieving peace; in a word, everything which at this time constitutes the principal moral wealth of the people. This omission provoked irritation and disillusionment in many Nicaraguans.

(5) We confess that the Holy Father's admonitions about unbelief and atheistic education sounded strange to us, as we experience the presence of Christian motivation in the revolutionary process. The Sandinista Revolution, for the first time in the recent history of revolutions, has proclaimed the right to religious liberty and the freedom of apostolic action by the Churches. We feel the same way about his allusions to a division in the Church due to theological reasons, because frictions that occur in the Christian community are rooted in socio-political options. There is a constant effort not to break the Church's unity of faith. Perhaps some of us Christians committed to the revolutionary process have not always known how to safeguard the complete identity of the faith in our temporal commitments, but we regret that the Pope has never referred to the brazen use that groups opposed to the Revolution in Nicaragua have made of the faith. Tensions will continue.

(6) We do not understand how the struggle for justice and the option for the poor, which is the only ecumenism that Christians practice in Nicaragua, and precisely by those who are inserted in the revolutionary process, can be "the source of new and worse ruptures."

(7) We realize that people distant from Nicaragua will find that the speeches of His Holiness will make it difficult to discover the authentic spiritual and ethical values of the Nicaraguan Revolution. And, to be sure, the Revolution's enemies will use the speeches to confirm their position.

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demonstration of Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs

Human Rights: continued from page 5

What do you think are the basic gains that the Revolution has made and what are its basic problems with respect to human rights?

M.H.: There needs to be a lot more education of all of us—the people generally, and particularly workers in government. We need a more collective understanding of the issue. And we are starting from scratch since human rights was never something that was practiced here, much less really talked about and understood. It's a new issue for the revolution to speak to.

A lot needs to be changed. We have a set of laws from previous times, a set of commitments which the government has made to its people and international organizations, a set of ideological perspectives which the FSLN exemplifies and phenomena such as the State of Emergency which gives the state certain powers. We need to systematize all this. We need to create a new legal system that more accurately reflects the process. Some laws have been changed but the whole thing needs to be changed. But all this can't be done overnight. Serious thought is needed.

In the meantime all this sabotage and invasion stuff by the counterrevolution is going on in such a way and to such an extent that people can't always take as much time out to do all the things that need to be done. Some things are being done but much more would be if there was peace. It's a transitional situation. We play an important role in the present situation safeguarding and helping to develop human rights in the new society that is being created.

Why do you think that the things we have been talking about are not so well-known in the U.S.?

M.H.: It's part of the conscious campaign against Nicaragua to destabilize, to give the process a bad image in every part of the world. The truth just does not come out in the U.S.

Human rights is not a concern or policy of the Reagan Administration—he doesn't give a darn about it. Nicaragua, on the other hand, is very interested in human rights. This interest is not an election issue—it's part of the perspective of the revolution. The Sandinista slogan, "Implacable in Combat, Generous in Victory," is not just words—it is policy.

Some of the top leaders and personalities of this revolution lost husbands, wives and children to the work of the Guard. For example, Tomás Borge lost his wife shortly before the triumph. People here hated *Somocismo* but it wasn't a question of a personal grudge or something like that. Instead they are determined that this new government will be a government of a just society based on human rights. That is a constant with the revolution.

Correction: The article entitled "Appropriate Technology in Housing" in NP number 5 was incorrectly attributed to Peter Crabtree. The actual author was Tony Ryan, who conducted the interview in Nicaragua. Both Crabtree and Ryan worked on the introduction. We apologize for this omission.



Building Democracy From the Ruins An Interview About Local Government in Estelí

by Chip Downs

Four years after the overturn of the Somoza dynasty local governments in Nicaragua are under the authority of three or five person councils (JMR—Juntas Municipales de Reconstrucción). Most of their members are former agricultural workers, peasants or urban workers who never completed primary school. The areas they govern have remained the same as those during the time of Somoza: 136 municipios (municipalities), similar to U.S. countries, consisting of an urban center surrounded by a rural area in which the majority of the population resides; these 136 municipios are in turn grouped into 16 departamentos.

While the geographic subidivisions have not changed, the personnel, operations and role of government have. Previously they were for all practical purposes the province of the landed or urban elite, often the personal fief of a wealthy local landowner or businessman. Municipal office was an intermediate level of patronage, providing access to a moderate amount of power, income, and corruption for local supporters of the regime. While not all local officials were dishonest, many fled with the defeat of Somoza, often replicating on a smaller scale the final acts of pillage of the dictator, as they looted the local treasury, destroyed existing records of property and population, and carried what equipment they could across the border.

Today the JMRs are composed of people who had no previous experience of working in local government, and only about 5 percent of the JMRs' employees had worked for the old regime. In fact, the only clear requirements specified for being a member of the new JMRs were:

one must be over twenty-one years of age, a citizen in the full exercise of one's rights, of known honesty and moral character, be a resident of the locality, and not have had any relations with the corruption of the previous regime. Ley Creadora de las JMR, Article #5.

This has created certain practical problems as people learn to deal with new responsibilities, but it is also a clear example of the development of broader participation and democracy in revolutionary Nicaragua. The following interview illustrating these changes around the country was compiled from discussions before and during May 1982, with Orlando Pineda, then head of the JMR of Estelí, the fourth most populous Nicaraguan city. Since the interview was made he was named to head the new regional government office responsible for overseeing and supporting all the local governments in the northern Region I.

Chip Downs worked in Nicaragua as a technical advisor to the Secretaria de Asuntos Municipales (Ministry of Local Government) for a total of 18 months in 1981 and 1982. He received his PhD in City and Regional Planning from U.C. Berkeley. His research on local government in Nicaragua was published at greater length in the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, issue IV, 1982.

Three years after the triumph of the Revolution there are still signs of the destruction caused by the war. Could you tell us a little of what happened here?

O.P.: Estelí has a long history of opposition to Somoza. The first union organizing drives, in the late '50s and early '60s, directly confronted Somoza's economic interests. Most of the educational institutions of northern Nicaragua are located here, and this was a main base of student opposition to Somoza. This city was the center of the bourgeois opposition that developed in the early 1940s and remained active afterwards. And, Estelí was also a crossroads and logistical base for the revolutionary opposition operating out of the mountains of the north. The vast majority of people here were against Somoza, and their

opposition had deep roots.

Nonetheless, the extent of active support received by the Frente came as a surprise even to those involved. On September 9, 1978, fifteen combatants of the FSLN entered the city, intending to quickly strike at the National Guard and then abandon the city; similar attacks were taking place in other cities, including León, Chinandega and Masaya. But the response of the population was overwhelming, and what had been intended to be an attack by a small group became an insurrection of an entire city armed with nothing more than sticks, stones, and a few hunting rifles. The guerrillas couldn't leave the people in that situation, and the insurrection lasted ten days. In the meantime the Guardia had been suppressing the rebellions in other cities one at a time, until only Esteli was left—and it concentrated all of its force here. Esteli was to rise up and be mercilessly bombarded three times, but the first repression was the most destructive. Those able to do so left the city and stayed in the surrounding area.

In April 1979, one hundred guerrillas came back to the city, and the entire population rose up again. This time Estelí was the only city in rebellion, but nonetheless held out for a week. The *Guardia* set up a double circle around the city, but in a brilliantly executed withdrawal the trap was broken with minimal losses. The one hundred guerrillas left, accompanied by 3,000 young men and women who remained in the surrounding mountains and were integrated into the struggle. Once again the repression was

extreme.

When the final offensive began the decision was made to hold back before taking Estelí, in order to be sure this would be the critical insurrection, because of all that the people of the city had already suffered. The struggle was very difficult this time, too. Somoza even began aerial bombardment of the city. But the most important thing is that we finally won. The destruction was not as great in the third uprising, both because the *Guardia* did not have the opportunity for revenge it had in the other two, and because the accumulated destruction had already been extremely thorough. The war ended here with liberation on the 16th of July, with the city largely destroyed and a year's worth of suffering and sacrifice so great it is impossible to imagine.

What was done immediately after the triumph?

O.P.: One of the first things done was to nominate a local Junta to represent the new Government of National Reconstruction, which was still in Costa Rica, and to oversee the immediate emergency recovery efforts. This Municipal Junta for Reconstruction (JMR) was nominated by the

FSLN leaders from this area and ratified in a massive public assembly. It was composed of honest respected individuals involved in the opposition to Somoza. Four of the five were from the middle class, and one was a worker who now heads the departmental militia. They were elected in the first very emotional days of the revolution, and responded well to the needs of the time.

The immediate problems they faced were to house and feed the majority of the population, bring about a sense of security and peace, begin reconstruction and create jobs. First there wsa the huge amount of personal suffering to overcome: more than 20 percent of the city's population had been killed by the National Guard, and about 60 percent of the housing was largely or totally destroyed. Less than 10 percent of normal industrial and commercial activity was taking place: of a dozen drugstores before the war, only two remained; of seven appliance stores, one was left; of five cigar factories, one was left; none of the fifteen major furniture factories was operating; schools, churches, theaters, and public buildings had all been heavily damaged or destroyed. Finally, most of the city's streets had been destroyed, whether by being torn up by the people to make barricades, or destroyed by tanks and bombardment. If in the rest of the country unemployment was about 40 percent, here it was much nearer to 90 percent.

In those first days of recovery, and ever since then, we have also benefited from significant amounts of international solidarity and assistance; that has been very important in helping us to overcome the initial problems. There were many sources of aid, but the largest were a donation of rice from the Swiss government and a low interest loan for reconstruction from the World Bank. The Nicaraguan government provided very liberal aid to business and factory owners to get their activities underway

again.

Why did the first Junta come to an end?

O.P.: The first Junta was just right for the emergency period immediately following the war. But while the people were all quite honest, they were not accustomed to working in the open way based on continuous communication with the people that has characterized government since the Revolution. The distance between them and the people increased, and even decisions that were correct and done for the right reasons were sometimes questioned because they had not been explained clearly or debated publicly. In November 1980 the JMR was considering a new local tax schedule which would have raised taxes on local businesses. The business organizations were opposed and were able to get support from the various mass organizations of the city, and the JMR was removed. [The law states that the JMRs can be removed and a new one named in response to petitions by the mass organizations of the community. It is worth noting that the JMRs in four of the five municipios of the department of Estelí have been replaced following this procedure.]

How was the next Junta, the one you coordinate, selected?

O.P.: When it came time to select the second JMR great care was taken that this time the selection procedure would guarantee greater participation and representation. I was selected by the CDSs (Comités de Defensa Sandinista—neighborhood-level Sandinista Defense Committees). First, there were general assemblies of the population in each of the 27 barrios of the city, and each barrio selected

its candidate. The choices were made not on the basis of campaign promises but rather the past history, commitment and work of each person. Then there were assemblies in the nine zones of the city, to consider the three candidates proposed by their component barrios. These nine candidates were finally taken before a city-wide assembly of the CDSs, and I was elected.

There was a similar process in the CST (Central Sandinista de Trabajadores—Sandinista Workers' Federation): each union presented a candidate to a general assembly of all union members, and they selected Filemon Moncada. Filemon is a worker of peasant family who has been a revolutionary throughout his more than fifty years: he was one of the founders of the first unions here in 1958/59, and was active both as an organizer and combatant in the liberation war. He is in charge of the finances of the JMR and, although he never had the opportunity to finish primary school, he carries out the work well.

The ATC (Asociación de Trabajadores del Campo—Farmworkers' Association) selected Alfredo Arnos, a younger worker/artisan from a peasant family who also took part in the liberation struggle. He is twenty-eight years old and in charge of the work of the JMR in the rural

areas.

This is one of the few cities where a political party is directly represented on the local Junta. Given the long history of bourgeois opposition to Somoza based especially in the Partido Liberal Independiente in Estelí, this party was asked to select a representative. They chose José Simón Delgado, a doctor, in recognition of his active participation since 1944. He does not have any administrative position in local government, but takes part in the biweekly council meetings.

The fifth member of the Junta was chosen by AMNLAE (Asociación de Mujeres Nicaragüenses Luisa Amanda Espinosa—Nicaraguan Women's Association). Mercedes Rosales, in her early forties, from a middle class family of one of the other municipios of the department, began political activities before the triumph in AMPRONAC (Asociación de Mujeres para el Problemática Nacional), and is now a fulltime organizer for AMNLAE, attending

the biweekly meetings of the Junta.



Tony Rva



I myself was born into a working class family 48 years ago, although I have been an office worker most of my life. My first political activity was distributing leaflets for opposition parties when I was eight or nine. I've always been bothered by poverty, never accepted that some people must live in misery when others by their side are living luxuriously, so I've been involved in opposition and anti-Somoza activities all my life.

That's who makes up the JMR elected in November 1980. It is important to note that while each of us was selected by a different organization, we try to represent *all* the people and interests of the community, not just one sector.

How did you respond to the crisis that had brought the first Junta to an end?

O.P.: When we were elected we analyzed the conflict with the business and other organizations of the community. We concluded that the real problem was not the proposed new tax schedule, but rather the lack of communication between the JMR and the people, who didn't feel truly represented by it. We met with the leaders of the different organizations to discuss the situation and our desire to include all the different sectors of the population in the reconstruction of the city. Out of these meetings came a Consultative Council that meets once a month to discuss local issues. It is composed of representatives of the different mass organizations (CDS, CST, ATC, AMNLAE, UNAG), the FSLN, the Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Industry, and includes a doctor and a priest as well.

The work of this Council has had a number of benefits, such as the strong support of the Church and private sector during the health campaigns, as well as their general integration into local efforts. People now understand why certain things are done, or are impossible due to lack of resources. Priorities on some projects have been changed, such as the decision of the Council to pave the main streets going to the outlying poor barrios before repairing those in the central commercial area. We were happy to do that, but would have done the opposite without the Council's recommendation. Finally, the greater confidence and cooperation of the private sector is seen in two further ways: first, increasing local investment; and secondly, the new tax schedule that was supposedly the source of all the new problems was adopted without opposition, and tax receipts have gone up even more than anticipated as the business organizations see to it that their members respect their obligations.

[Based in part on the example of the Consultative Council of Estelí, by mid-1982 such Municipal Development Councils were operating in nearly three-quarters of the *municipios* nationally.]

Estelí is the main city of the department of the same name. What relations do you have with the other municipios of the area?

O.P.: There is no departmental level government, but for about a year now the JMRs of the five municipios [plus one more from an adjacent department whose access is through Estelí] have been meeting once a month in an intermunicipal assembly. We discuss shared problems and possible solutions, organize our requests to the central government, and do a certain amount of sharing of resources from the richer to the poorer areas. It has also been very useful as a forum to deal all at one time with problems that may exist with a particular central government agency, as well as for reducing the frequency of trips to Managua to solve problems.

The Reagan administration has been arguing that Nicaragua is building a huge military machine which is a threat to its neighbors; the suggestion has even been made that it is a threat to the Mexican oil fields. What do you think of U.S. policy toward Nicaragua?

O.P.: It could look as if Nicaragua has a big military, but that is because this is a revolutionary country and all its citizens are prepared to take up arms to defend the Revolution. Thus, the apparently huge military presence one sees is because the voluntary citizens' militias are everwhere: people are receiving basic training in every factory and office, neighborhood and village. But if we look at the types of weapons we have been obliged to acquire, it is obvious that they are defensive, not offensive.

We have seen what war is, the destruction and sacrifice of war—we lived through it here in this city. That is why we are defenders of peace. If we are obliged to arm ourselves it is precisely in order to defend the peace we have won and the new society we are building, not to carry war to neighboring countries. We are in a process of reconstruction; it is ridiculous to think we might want war with other Central American countries—they are our brothers and we want peace, as do the people of these other countries. The most ridiculous thing of all is to think we could be a threat to the Mexican people, when Mexico has always opened its arms to us and supported us both before and since the Revolution. Nicaragua is not a threat to any country.

All we have done, as our national leaders have said, is to exercise the right to arm ourselves to defend ourselves. This we must do because of the real threat posed by the destabilization and military presence of the U.S. in Central America: training and arming ex-Guardia Nacional troops and mercenaries, developing their logistical bases in Honduras, and supporting the most rightwing war-oriented wing of the Honduran military. The U.S. government policy does not surprise me, since that government has always felt it had the right to do as it wished with the people and governments of Central America. When it found it was unable to stop the Sandinista Revolution, it began taking other measures to undermine it.

At the same time, it is very important to remember that the people of the U.S. have once again shown their nobility continued on page 29

Life in a Salvadoran Liberated Zone

An Interview with Dr. Charles Clements

by Jim Eitel

Charles Clements's father was in the Air Force, and like his elder brother he went to the Air Force Academy. In 1967 he graduated second in his class and went for further pilot's training. He went to Southeast Asia, where he flew over fifty C-130 support flights to Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. He knew of the growing U.S. involvement in Laos and Cambodia, and when he realized that American leaders all the way up to the President were keeping this secret from the public and Congress, he became disillusioned. In 1970, with only three months to go, he told his superiors that he would no longer fly his missions and requested a transfer; they responded by sending him to a psychiatric hospital for 10 months.

After he was finally discharged, he traveled widely, including in Latin America, and decided to attend medical school. After graduation, he did a year of residency in Salinas, California, where many of his patients were farmworkers, and found that he was the only physician willing to report cases of pesticide

toxicity.

While in Salinas, he became acquainted with Salvadoran refugees, and their stories led him to be concerned about another U.S. war closer to home. After learning that health services were tremendously lacking in El Salvador, he went to work as a physician for civilians in the rebel-controlled zone known as Guazapa. Now, after a year's work in El Salvador, he has returned to share his experiences with the American people.

This interview was recorded in San Francisco in April 1983

and was edited by Jim Eitel.

How did you make your decision to go and work in El Salvador?

C.C.: I relate it to three themes. One is that I was motivated to do educational work about El Salvador when I read a report entitled "Abuses of Medical Neutrality" by American physicians who visited El Salvador. This spoke about the campaign of terror directed against the health sector in El Salvador, which denied many, many people health care and was also a gross violation of all the Geneva conventions related to medical work. It told of physicians being killed in operating rooms, patients being dragged from their beds, and similar events, and it had a profound impact on me.

A second reason was that I was working with farm-workers in Salinas, California, and I began to see refugees from El Salvador who bore the physical and psychological marks of torture; this personal contact with the refugees moved me.

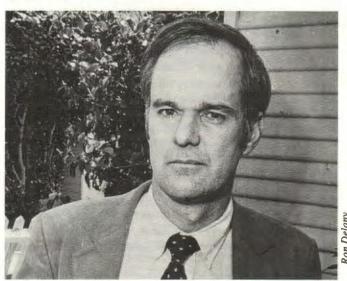
The third reason was that I began to hear rhetoric from our State Department very similar to what I had heard in

NP Editorial Board member Jim Eitel worked for six months in Nicaragua in 1981 as a pediatrician and has made subsequent trips to gather new material for the magazine.

Vietnam. What I saw was that anybody in El Salvador who

spoke out about issues of justice was labeled a communist; students who spoke out were labeled communist and the university was closed, parts of the medical profession spoke out and were labeled communist and came under attack, and religions workers spoke out and came under attack, culminating in the assassination of Archbishop Romero.

I thought it was important that I try to work there in the medical sector and as a witness for the American people. Sometimes it is difficult for Americans to believe people of other races, cultures and languages as much as they can believe someone who has had similar experiences to their own.



How do your beliefs as a Quaker relate to your work in El Salvador?

C.C.: The Quakers have for years worked toward social justice, whether that was running an underground railway during and before the civil war in this country to address issues of slavery, or working with farmworkers or Quaker work in the midst of armed struggle to bring about dialogue and contribute to non-violent solutions.

I've been asked about the contradiction between my commitment to non-violence and working in the middle of a revolution on the side of the guerrillas. I examined this contradiction in great depth. I work as a physician, which is defined as neutral by the Geneva conventions, and I made it clear to the guerrillas that I wished to remain a non-combatant; my primary responsibility has been to a civilian population.

Out of respect for my religious beliefs and commitment to non-violence, the guerrillas have facilitated my work in the Quaker tradition of promoting dialogue. They have allowed me to send uncensored letters to the U.S. reflecting my observations and opinions on what is happening in El

Salvador.

Now I'm in the U.S. to promote a peaceful solution, because I think the greatest obstacle to peace in Central America is U.S. foreign policy. I was very pleased recently to see the revelation of a secret National Security Council document which showed that, yes, the Administration has tried to keep Congress from attaching negotiations as a condition for further military aid to Central America.

Do you think of yourself as a Marxist?

C.C.: No, I don't consider myself a Marxist, but I think I have seen in the controlled zones where I worked in El

Salvador that Marxism and Christianity coexist very comfortably because both are concerned with social justice. Perhaps, because it's the scare tactic used by the Government of El Salvador and the U.S. State Department, there has been an overemphasis on the Marxist element of the Revolution. I see Marxists as one small part of a broad coalition of the FDR (Revolutionary Democratic Front), which includes Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, union leaders, lawyers, physicians, schoolteachers, campesinos and religious workers.

What was your work in El Salvador?

C.C.: I worked in the controlled zone known as Guazapa for a year. My primary responsibility was working with the civilian population, which included teaching health workers, developing curricula for school children, coordinating public health works and acute medical care. I have treated guerrillas and wounded government soldiers, because I don't deny health services to anyone, but my primary responsibility has been the civilian population.

Children's drawings are filled with helicopters, soldiers with rifles, and images of dead people and children.

As a physician, how do you view the health of the Salvadoran people?

C.C.: I see children who look seven to eight years old who are actually 12; I see this reflected in the stature of Salvadorans, which led me to be labeled as tall, something I've never considered myself in the U.S.

There is less malnutrition, frank malnutrition in Guazapa than exists outside the front. Refugees chose to come into Guazapa and live in an area that is bombed and rocketed every day rather than live with the terrorism they are subjected to by government troops; there is more frank malnutrition in people entering the zone than exists inside Guazapa.

How is the vision of a new society developing in the liberated zones?

C.C.: The area I worked in reflects some of the hopes for a post-revolutionary society. Health care is free and everyone has a similar access to it; the emphasis is on education and preventative medicine. Education is free and the emphasis has been on adult literacy.

The cooperatives in Guazapa are a reflection of the cooperatives and collectives which came out of the work of the Catholic church and its organizers in the 1970s; their efforts have intensified since the government attacks have necessitated the creation of controlled zones. The agricultural cooperatives feed the people as best as they can, in addition to private farming which exists there. People either work half time for the cooperatives and half for themselves, or they work full time for the cooperatives.

Everyone knows that if you're hungry in Guazapa, probably everyone else is too, but there is a prioritization and distribution of foodstuffs. For instance, the milk from the dairy cooperatives goes to the children who need it the

most; the fish caught by the fishing cooperatives go to pregnant women and wounded patients who need extra protein; and honey produced in the bee collectives is saved as much as possible for the combatants who often need quick energy food while they are on the march.

The spiritual base of the conflict is still very much alive. There is no priest in Guazapa, but the base communities continue and the delegates of the word lead worship services; people are still hungry for the spiritual nourishment that they received before the open conflict began, when there were many priests who worked in the area.

Could you describe the periodic evacuations of Guazapa which are necessitated by government sweeps?

C.C.: The guinda, a Salvadoran term meaning to flee, has become a way of life; there have been 12 major invasions of Guazapa in two-and-one-half years. When government troops approach, people flee with as many of their possessions as they can carry to the more isolated areas such as wooded areas and ravines; they wait it out until the government troops have left. The guerrillas have learned some sophisticated means of defense, but they can't stop the large numbers that come with these operations. Their task is to slow down the entry of soldiers, to give the civilian population time to bury foodstuffs, prepare tortillas that will sustain them while they are in hiding, and evacuate the women, children and the elderly.

In October, the village where I was working was attacked by a U.S.-trained battalion; a small defense force was sent to delay their entry. Evacuations cannot occur during the day because the spotter planes could call in the bombers which attack the fleeing civilians. That day the approaching soldiers were held off for 12 hours; the men hid their livestock in the hills and buried some food supplies that would have to last until the next harvest. The women prepared tortillas all day and packed whatever belongings they thought they could carry; those of us in the health sector prepared bandages and packed up the clinic to be able to carry it on our backs. The teachers packed up the few schoolbooks they had.

Late in the afternoon, mortar shells began to fall around the village; the civilian population waited with great discipline until darkness to begin the evacuation, when they led their small children away, carrying their tortillas and possessions. The youngest children were drugged with Valium to keep them from crying because they evacuated right under the nose of the government troops. We hid in the bushes for two days until the smoke and gunfire we heard from the village subsided; we returned to find the village almost totally destroyed.

The troops had found and slaughtered most of the livestock. They had basically destroyed every possession in the village: every spoon and fork was broken, every plate and saucer had an M-16 bullet through it, and all the family pictures on the walls were destroyed. What caused the greatest anguish was the desecration of the pictures of the saints and the Blessed Virgin which everybody seems to have on the walls of their homes. The only surprise was that they had only burned some of the homes; usually they burn all of them to the ground in these operations.

all of them to the ground in these operations.

That day we found upon returning to the village the body

of one of my patients; he was a 76 year old man who had bad arthritis and didn't want to be evacuated in a hammock and be a burden, so he had stayed behind and hidden. They had almost twisted his arms off, and that's not uncharacteristic of the signs of mutilation and torture I saw in civilians caught by government soldiers.

How do you think the situation affects children psychologically?

C.C.: It has to have some very profound effects on children, both in the controlled zones and outside of them. I'm struck by the children's drawings in Guazapa when they get a piece of paper; their drawings are filled with helicopters and aircraft that are machine-gunning, with soldiers who have rifles, and they are filled with images of dead people and dead children as well.

You mentioned that wounded and captured government soldiers were brought to you; what has been your experience with them?

C.C.: The FMLN gave me the responsibility of being the liaison to the International Red Cross, to arrange the release of prisoners of war. In that capacity, I ensured that the Geneva conventions were complied with; I often treated wounded soldiers or passed on letters from them to be sent to their families via the good offices of the Red Cross.

Families of deserters from the Salvadoran army are murdered as a warning to other soldiers.

I've met many government soldiers and I found things in El Salvador which didn't surprise me because I had seen them in this country. When we had refugees speak in Salinas, several times they told us it would be better if they were not photographed by the press or, if they did, they should use masks; this was because families of refugees were being threatened in El Salvador if the refugees spoke out in this country.

This is a method of terrorism used to ensure discipline in the Salvadoran army. I met a deserter in Mexico City who described how his family was murdered after he deserted, and how most of the soldiers knew that this could result if they dared to disobey orders. When I've asked many of the soldiers why they participated in the search and destroy operations or why they didn't desert if they didn't want to, the answer is uniformly the same: they fear retribution against their families and cite instances of deserters' pictures being posted on bulletin boards with inscriptions such as "family killed in crossfire" as a warning to them.

The State Department likes to say that atrocities are committed equally by both "extremes," and that the moderates are caught in the middle. Have you seen atrocities by the guerrillas?

C.C.: Frankly, I'm surprised that there are not more atrocities committed by the guerrillas, and I've never personally seen any. I have seen guerrillas disciplined for acts considered against the code of conduct. The young man who took me across enemy lines the first time was 12 years old, and I asked him why he had incorporated; he told me that he had watched his mother raped by six or eight soldiers, and then had to watch with his brothers and sisters while they blew her brains out. After people experience that kind of violence, I'm surprised that they don't resort to

it more frequently, but they know the reaction it provoked in themselves and they are aware that they need to behave in a very disciplined fashion.

I have certainly seen the atrocities committed by government troops; everyone in Guazapa knows what happens to any civilians who are caught during the invasions. I don't think it's necessary to describe the mutilation of human bodies or the raping of women or other acts I've seen, but they are numerous.

I think that what is happening in El Salvador is no more than a reaction to conditions, to watching children starve, to not being able to form unions.

Both the Salvadoran government and the State Department refer to the guerrillas as terrorists. Is terror part of the guerrilla tactic?

C.C.: You used a very interesting word, "terrorist," and I think that is the word used by the Administration to discredit people who are struggling in El Salvador. A terrorist is someone who strikes fear in the population by random acts of violence.

Guerrilla is a term used with pride in El Salvador because a guerrilla is someone fighting to win the confidence of the people they hope to govern some day. Now I know that there may be acts of violence by the guerrillas that sometimes cost them popularity, but I personally haven't observed that. I haven't seen evaluations after any military action in which civilians were killed to see if there had been poor planning or execution.

I just have to contrast that with the completely undisciplined behavior of the soldiers, because I had to deal with the bodies of civilians caught in their sweep operations. I had to live with the daily bombings or rocketings or strafings that take place in Guazapa entirely without regard to civilian or military targets.

The guerrillas don't want the bloodshed, economic ruin and capital flight that a military victory would mean.

The Reagan Administration says that the conflict in El Salvador is the result of subversion by Russia, Cuba and Nicaragua. What do you see as the origin of the conflict?

C.C.: There is no sign of outside intervention by any outside force that I've seen except the United States. For me the roots of the conflict are in the economic and social conditions that exist there: the concentration of much of the wealth in the hands of a sector not willing to share it; the large concentration of landholdings and the emphasis on cash crops instead of food; the inability of the government to develop social programs such as education and health care that reach the large segments of the population which lie outside the cities; and very certainly the brutal repression of the military in El Salvador.

I think that what is happening in El Salvador is no more than a reaction to conditions, to watching children starve, or being unable to form unions, or as one of the campesinos put it, to watching the landlord's children drink milk every day and be taken to a pediatrician when they're sick, when his own children would die when they were sick and had never been able to drink milk.

During your year in El Salvador, did you see Cubans or others fighting alongside the guerrillas?

C.C.: I never met a Cuban or Nicaraguan, and I'm sure that even if they wanted to fight as private citizens, it wouldn't be allowed, for fear of provoking intervention by the U.S. I have met other individuals with the guerrillas who are there out of acts of conscience like myself, but mostly I've seen physicians, because the Salvadoran guerrillas don't need combatants from other countries; there are plenty of young men waiting to take up arms. I've seen people from West Germany, France, Spain, Mexico, Colombia and other countries; but I've not met anyone from the Eastern bloc.

Do you think that the role being given to Honduras by the Administration will increase the danger of a regionalized conflict?

C.C.: I think that this is very, very possible. In El Salvador I was isolated in terms of receiving printed material or anything but listening to the radio, but as long as a year ago, I said that the architects of the hidden war in Cambodia were Haig, Enders and Negroponte amongst others; those are the same people using the neutrality of a third country to attack other countries which are standing in the way of U.S. interests. The National Security Council document I referred to which said that Congress must be kept from forcing negotiations is a painful example of U.S. interest in regionalizing the conflict.

The effects on Cambodia were disastrous, because a peaceful country that was not involved in the conflict was ravaged by war, including some of the heaviest bombings in modern times, directed by the U.S. but hidden from the U.S. Congress. I think that probably what is happening in Honduras today is similar in that the real extent of U.S. involvement is only marginally known to the U.S. Congress and public; if we can see the tip of the iceberg, then we can

only guess at what is below the surface.



The Reagan Administration has announced a sophisticated counterinsurgency campaign for El Salvador; based on your experience in Southeast Asia, how do you think this will affect El Salvador?

C.C.: Most of the programs which emerged in Southeast Asia—whether they were called strategic hamlets programs or village pacification programs—were designed to control access of the peasant leaders to their population. Probably the most flagrant example of human rights violations by the U.S. in Southeast Asia was the Phoenix program, which was part of the CORDS program run by AID. Phoenix was run by William Colby; most of the public figures on this come from Colby's CIA confirmation hearings of 1974 and from a book by CIA station chief in Saigon William Snepp entitled Decent Interval; it was estimated that about 25,000 suspected peasant sympathizers were assassinated by the CIA. I was literally shocked recently when the administration said openly-I read it in the L.A. Times—that we hope to implement a Phoenix-like program as part of CORDS in El Salvador. The American people need to dig back in their memories to what the Phoenix program was in Southeast Asia.

There seem to be three new alternatives to end the Salvadoran conflict: a military victory by one side, negotiations, as the FDR/FMLN has proposed, or elections; can you comment on this?

C.C.: Let me give an overall answer. I've had discussions with some of the leaders of the FDR as well as guerrilla commanders in El Salvador; they have said that a military solution is not in the best interests of the Salvadoran people. That is, they don't want the bloodshed that a military victory would mean, because they are losing 1,000 people a month.

The U.S. lost 50,000 people in 10 years in Southeast Asia, and the American people still consider it a great tragedy. The poulation of El Salvador is one-fortieth that of the U.S., so they're losing the equivalent of 40,000 people a month, and a negotiated settlement could bring that to an end more rapidly than a military victory.

The guerrillas are very aware of the economic destruction a military victory would mean; they have called for a mixed economy and feel that the private sector has a lot to contribute; they don't want the economic ruin or capital

flight that a military solution would mean.

Finally, the guerrillas are very aware that there are only two places to turn for reconstruction aid and they don't wish to be isolated from Western countries. The FDR has called for a policy of non-alignment which would allow them to turn to the West or the East. [In Nicaragua's case, 49 percent of its current foreign aid is from third world countries, 32 percent from western industrialized states and 18 percent from the socialist countries. If the conflict ends in a military victory for the guerrillas, they may be considered an enemy of the U.S., not only unable to secure aid in reconstruction, but subject to the same kind of economic and military subversion that is happening to Nicaragua today.

You were in the country during the March 1982 elections. Do you think they were truly fair, and could the presidential elections the U.S. is pushing for be a fair solution?

C.C.: There was a termendous amount of disinformation about the elections that occurred. I'm surprised that many of the election observers did not comment on the *cedulas* that are a way of life in El Salvador. Everyone has to carry this I.D. card; to be caught without it is a sign of guerrilla sympathy. Not to have the election stamp in your *cedula* is also considered a sign of guerrilla sympathy, and many, many people voted out of fear, because not to have the stamp was a sure sign of responding to the call for an election boycott by the guerrillas.

I knew guerrillas who go back and forth to San Salvador who voted apologetically because they needed the stamp; I had government workers tell me they would not receive their paycheck if they didn't have the election stamp.

Also, three days before the election, the ARENA party objected to allowing the number on the corner of the ballot to be torn off, as this would be a mutilation of the ballot. As a result, in many precincts, voters feared that there would be a written record of how they had voted, because they had to sign their name on a list next to the ballot number.

But I think even more important is that in a country that has absolutely no rule of law, no due process, no freedom of speech, assembly or press, elections are meaningless. The U.S. is trying to isolate the guerrillas by saying that they don't have popular support because people turned out for an election, but consider the historical example of Zimbabwe. The government-sponsored candidate Bishop Muzorewa received a plurality when elections were held under circumstances very similar to El Salvador, in which there was no restructuring of the security forces and no real freedom of press, assembly or speech for the opposition to participate. After those conditions were changed with negotiations, Bishop Muzorewa won less than 1 percent of the vote. That is why the guerrillas are insisting on negotiations before elections, and why the U.S. is insisting on elections before negotiations.

What do you think would happen if the U.S. stopped intervening in El Salvador?

C.C.: I think the government would negotiate very rapidly. Ian Smith, who led the white opposition in Zimbabwe, stated that he would fight to the last man rather than negotiate, but when he was internationally isolated, he negotiated very quickly and a peaceful solution was reached in short order.

Do you think that negotiations or a military victory by the FDR/FMLN represent a danger to the U.S.?

C.C.: I can see no threat to the security of the United States from a guerrilla victory or a negotiated settlement. The way U.S. economic interests can freely operate in Central and Latin America is what is being threatened by the conflict in El Salvador.

Why do you think the Administration doesn't respect the opinion of the majority of the American people?

C.C.: I think that there are those in the Administration who sincerely believe the rhetoric of the Administration, who feel that there is a communist threat; I think they see the world in black and white, and do not realize that people can be struggling against oppression and not have been inspired by communist propaganda. I also think that others are very aware of the threat this kind of struggle means for

the ability of U.S. economic and security interests to operate with impunity throughout much of Latin and Central America. I think the misunderstanding of the consequences of aligning ourselves with Great Britain in the Malvinas war is a good example of the poor judgment of the Administration; there was no understanding of what that meant to the people of Latin America.

Now that you've left El Salvador, how do you see the situation in the U.S.?

C.C.: I think the people of the U.S. are beginning to see through and understand the deception of the State Department and the Salvadoran government with regard to the legitimacy of the struggle, the roots of the struggle and the allegations of outside interference. For instance, in two years, why hasn't the most sophisticated intelligence service in the world, which has pilots who say they can fly over El Salvador and take a picture of a pack of cigarettes and read the print on it, why hasn't it come up with the evidence of this massive flow of arms from the outside? My feeling is that it is because it doesn't exist.

The people of the U.S. are beginning to see through and understand the deception of the State Department and the Salvadoran government.

What do you think that the U.S. people think about what is occurring in El Salvador and Central America?

C.C.: I don't think that they're aware of the extent of U.S. involvement there. But I think they have fears of being engulfed in another conflict like Southeast Asia in which they have not given their approval of U.S. participation. For instance, of the billion dollars of military aid that Reagan will have sent to El Salvador if he gets his latest request, 60 percent has been sent by means that bypass the U.S. Congress, by special appropriations, by reprogramming or other maneuvers designed to avoid approval by the representatives of the U.S. people. I think within the last month he clearly stated that if the Congress didn't approve of his \$60 million in reprogramming, he would get the money anyway. I think this shows his determination to perhaps drag the American people unwillingly into another conflict in which they have no business participating.

What has been the response from the U.S. public to your message?

C.C.: I'm receiving a warm response from the American public as a whole; there are those who are attacking me as a guerrilla propagandist or as a communist sympathizer in my work here; but I'm speaking to a wide variety of audiences and not just those who are necessarily working toward peace in Central America, and I've been pleased with the openness with which they receive my message.

I also hope to give American citizens the courage to back their opinions in opposing more military aid to El Salvador with more concrete actions because public opinion polls show that a large majority are opposed but they don't seem to be able to convey that message with enough strength to the U.S. Congress.

"An Act of Solidarity"

A Discussion About Refugees in Nicaragua by Karen Turtle

In September 1982 there were close to 20,000 Salvadoran and 200 Guatemalan refugees in Nicaragua. At that time approximately 5,000 of these were assisted by the National Office of Refugees (ONR). They are dispersed throughout Nicaragua, living in cities, private homes, rented houses or in the settlements which were created by the ONR.

Working with the United Nations' High Commission on Refugees, the ONR helps the refugees solve their problems by making available the necessary resources. A nutritionist visits each camp weekly, teaching the women good nutritional practice which they hope to take back one day to El Salvador and Guatemala. She also meets with the women to talk about their problems as refugees living in Nicaragua and to raise their consciousness about what is happening locally and why it is important for them.

Isabel Solis, a Salvadoran refugee who works with the ONR, feels that the Sandinista government is giving much attention to the refugees in order to help them reconstruct their lives. She told me, "Refugees feel safe in Nicaragua; they can walk the streets at night undisturbed, unlike in Costa Rica and Honduras. In Nicaragua the refugees live in favorable conditions; those who live outside of the camps live the same as Nicaraguans do. The Salvadorans see what the Sandinistas are doing for them as an act of solidarity."

Also involved with the ONR is Dr. Mauricio Gomez, a Colombian physician, who was interviewed in September 1982 by Karen Turtle.

I interviewed Dr. Gomez during the drive from Managua to one of the refugee camps. As we turned onto the dry, dusty road leading to the camp I saw a splash of color in the distance. We bounced over the bumpy road; the splash became a procession of children carrying their saint." "They are from the campamento," said Dr. Gomez. "They pray for the end of the drought."

Could you describe the refugee camps?

M.G.: There are presently eight campamentos, or settlements in several of Nicaragua's northwestern provinces. "Las Elicias" has a population of about 100. "Colectivo Luciano Vilches" is composed of both Salvadorans and Nicaraguans who are working the land; they have already sown and harvested crops of corn and beans. "Proyecto Sergo Escobero" is only 3 months old, but already the men are building wooden houses for the 150 Salvadorans and Nicaraguans who live there. They are planting and harvesting sorghum, which is used for cattle and poultry feed. Approximately 150 Nicaraguans and Salvadorans form "Proyecto El Yucero," which is growing and processing yucca. One of the oldest settlements, "Campamento Monseñor Arnulfo Romero," has about 350 people; since there isn't land for production, this is considered a "transitional site." The refugees remain here only until a new location is found for them, generally an agricultural one. "Refugio Juan Chacon" shelters close to 250 people. A new Settlement, "Proyecto Henequen," lodges 80 refugees; it raises and processes henequen, as well as beans and

corn. The eighth *campamento* is composed of nearly 200 refugees from Guatemala.

What is the daily life like?

M.G.: Life in the settlements continues to evolve. In some, there are families still living in tents. However, they are constructing small houses and thereby improve the conditions in which they live. Every family receives individual help. The members organize themselves and distribute the work. They organize what they call a "kitchen collective" which consists of women in separate groups: these groups form a weekly rotation cooking for the whole community. In this same way they organize the cleaning of the entire camp. Vigilance committees take care of security for everyone. They organize health committees which consist of health brigadiers who collaborate with the doctor. And they organize a type of day care center for the children; this enables the women to have time for other duties. The day care centers are staffed by the same people continuously to permit a calm, unchanging atmosphere for the children.

The settlements differ in the composition of the family groups that comprise them. There exist settlements with predominantly "vulnerable" people, that is women and children. Other groups have predominantly men and so are concerned mostly with agriculture.

What types of services does the ONR provide?

M.G.: With respect to these settlements, all receive the same attention from our office. They are visited weekly by a doctor, by social workers and also by other people from the office according to their needs.

The aid that the ONR is providing is not limited to the bare essentials. There is a Department of Education which visits the camps and surveys the educational needs of the adults and school-age children. Then they organize training courses for literacy workers who are taken from each settlement. After training, these literacy workers teach classes to the whole camp. Professional teachers also live in the camps, developing the primary grades for the children. Although this educational program was developed in a very short time, it is quite effective. Those refugees who arrive having partially completed their high school studies receive scholarships and are brought to the cities, where they are provided with room and board, a uniform and the necessary books and supplies. Those refugees living in or near the cities attend the public schools.

What is the economic role of the camps?

M.G.: The Department of Projects, which is in charge of direct relations with the National Institute for Agrarian Reform (INRA), makes the necessary studies to obtain land and create productive settlements, whether they are of Salvadorans alone or integrated cooperatives of Salvadorans and Nicaraguans. In this way, the refugees, who are mostly peasants, become a vital part of the country's production, and the *campamentos* become somewhat independent.

What arrangements are made for health care in the camps?

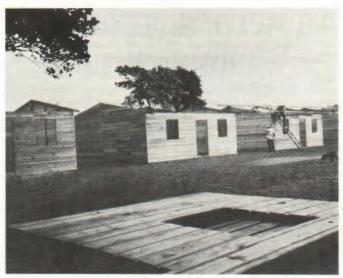
M.G.: The primary emphasis is on preventative medicine, such as vaccination and proper nutrition of children, pregnant women and nursing mothers. The Ministry of Health sets the standard for us, and we think of ourselves as a team which is attempting to give better care and attention

to the refugees. All of the children are weighed monthly. They are allotted a monthly ration of powdered milk; this ration is higher for the malnourished.

The National Office's Health Workers do not limit themselves to medical problems. They also handle other problems of an individual or social nature. Our most recent project is the formation of Mental Health Brigades. This area worries us and we want to stop the continuing deterioration of the mental health of the refugees. We are forming therapy and support groups for all those who need them.

Does the ONR receive any international aid?

M.G.: I want to make very clear that the attitude of the Revolutionary Government and of all the people of Nicaragua is of firm support for and solidarity with the Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees. This is so despite the difficult economic and political situation which we are experiencing. We count on continued international aid which permits us to maintain the level of care that we provide each day to greater numbers of refugees. The Program for Refugees has received funds from the Commission of Social Justice of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, whose director is Father Cuchlain Moriarity; we wish to thank them very much. [Ed. note: Father Moriarity, beloved for his work with Central and South American refugees, died in November 1982.]



KarenT

We are grateful to our North American brothers and sisters who in friendship and solidarity contribute to the alleviation of the difficult situations of thousands of refugees who continue to pour into Nicaragua in search of the peace and freedom that they do not find in their own countries. We have faith in the goodwill and conscience of the North American people, and we are sure that just as Nicaragua has won, El Salvador will win.



U.S. Foreign Policy in Central America

By late April, any remaining pretensions of secrecy about Administration policy for Nicaragua had disappeared. The long-predicted proxy invasion from Honduras was underway, its financing and guidance by the U.S. was exposed in fine detail in the U.S. press, and the President had tacitly admitted that the real goal of U.S. policy was to overthrow the Sandinistas by calling the U.S.-supported ex-Guardsmen "freedom fighters" at an impromptu press conference.

From February onward, a clear escalation of U.S. intervention was apparent. Following admissions of the failure of U.S. policy in El Salvador, new requests for augmented military aid were made simultaneously with renewed efforts to portray the Salvadoran revolution as a product of Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan subversion. Added to the usual accusations that Nicaragua was totalitarian, had become a Soviet outpost, and was a conduit for arms to Salvadoran rebels was the new charge that Nicaragua would receive Soviet nuclear missiles. The latter bit of disinformation was especially cynical since it ignored the initiatives taken by Nicaragua in calling for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Latin America.

The new propaganda campaign against Nicaragua shifted attention from the sorry military and human rights situation in El Salvador, and attempted to justify the no longer secret war against Nicaragua. It also allowed the Administration to buy time and pressure Congress into approving increased military aid to the region. The formulation of the Central American crisis as a security matter of highest priority established the widening conflict as a central 1984 campaign issue, with neither Democrats nor Republicans wishing to be blamed for "losing El Salvador."

The following chronology provides a basis for understanding the present situation.

Important Events: December 1982-May 1983

December, 1982

Boland amendment passes House 411-0. This forbids the use of "military equipment, military training or advice, or other support for military activities . . . for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of Nicaragua or provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras."

January, 1983

Terrorist attacks against Nicaraguan civilian population increase; on January 16, 60 ex-Guardsmen armed with rifles, mortars and grenade launchers attack 200 coffee pickers at Namasli, 24 kilometers from Honduras.

Foreign Ministers of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama meet on Contadora Island in Panama to expand on previous Mexican and Mexican-Venezuelan initiatives for peace in Central America. Their proposal, which is distributed to the U.N. General Assembly, calls for dialogue and comprehensive negotiations, identifies the risk of war between Nicaragua and Honduras as the problem of immediate priority and stresses that the Central American crisis originates from domestic economic, social and political factors rather than from the East-West conflict.

Throughout January, the FMLN maintains a successful military offensive on several fronts.

U.S. health delegation reports on trip to El Salvador. In a public statement, Dr. John Stanbury of Massachusetts General Hospital details the stories of atrocities, torture, persecution and lack of general freedoms heard by the group, concluding, "In the 30 years that I've been visiting developing countries, I had never seen health conditions so bad outside the confines of hospitals." On the same day, President Reagan recertifies that human rights conditions are improving in El Salvador.

Two days before initiation of Big Pine maneuvers, 120 ex-Guardsmen launch amphibious attack on Bismuna, only 6 miles from Honduran border, and near the site of planned U.S.-Honduras parachute drop.

February 1983

1600 U.S. troops and 4,000 Honduran troops participate in Big Pine maneuvers. C-130 transports move \$5.2 million of equipment to Mocoron, 25 miles from Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast border. U.S. press reports subsequently reveal that these arms were transferred by Honduran army to ex-Guardsmen.

According to a February 21 Washington Post article, "not a single major shipment of arms has been captured in or near El Salvador since a Costa Rican pilot was caught in 1981." One American diplomat says that guerrillas in El Salvador have captured enough arms from the government to "sustain their needs."

U.S. officials begin diplomatic offensive. Thomas Enders visits Spain, seeking endorsement of the U.S. inspired "Forum for Peace and Democracy." Jeane Kirkpatrick visits Central America and Venezuela; latter country declines participation in the "Forum."

Seventeen members of Sandinista Youth militia contingent killed in ambush by ex-Guardsmen while protecting coffee pickers near Matagalpa. 50,000 Nicaraguans attend memorial service in Managua two days later.

March 1983

Pope visits Central America. During massive outdoor Mass in Managua, mothers of 17 murdered students ask Pope to pray for their dead; crowd spontaneously begins chant "We want Peace." U.S. press condemns event as orchestrated provocation.

Administration officials admit deteriorating military situation in El Salvador. President Reagan requests \$110 million in new military aid.

Major invasion of Nicaragua begins by 1200 ex-Guardsmen who have infiltrated from Honduras in "Task Forces" of 200-300 men. Initial press reports quote exaggerated claims from counter-revolutionary Radio September 15. Heavy casualties suffered by invaders as Sandinista army disperses their forces. A French physician studying mountain leprosy (cutaneous leishmaniasis) is killed when scattered Guardsmen attack Rancho Grande. Minister of Defense Humberto Ortega says that ex-Guardsmen are not a serious threat, but that the real danger is the attempt to provoke war with Honduras. Nicaragua reports several episodes of artillery fire by Honduran army against border posts.

Nicaragua denounces invasion as U.S. supported in UN Security Council. U.S. representative Jeane Kirkpatrick says that fighting is an internal Nicaraguan problem. 55 nations support Nicaragua's position; only El Salvador and Honduras side with the U.S.

April 1983

An April 6 New York Times article discusses leaked National Security Planning Group document from April 1982 detailing Central America policy projections. Provisions include efforts to counteract Social Democrat and Mexican opposition to U.S. policy, propaganda and economic pressures against

Cuba, continuation of covert activities against Nicaragua, attempts to stir "factional strife" among Salvadoran left, and avoidance of congressionally mandated negotiations.

In the wake of the March invasion, U.S. major media expose in detail U.S. role in covert war. April 4 *Time* magazine places top direction of operation with CIA and U.S. army in Panama, who relay instructions to Honduran high command via U.S. Ambassador John Negroponte. They in turn direct FDN general staff composed of former National Guard officers. According to April 18 *Time*, U.S. aid to FDN includes "supplying training, arms and intelligence on troop movements in Nicaragua's northern provinces gathered by spy plane."

Jack Anderson reveals U.S.-Israeli development plan along Costa Rica's Northern border with Nicaragua, which includes road building and the establishment of new settlements. Costa Rican opposition alleges that project is part of plan to destabilize Nicaragua.

House Intelligence Committee calls for end to covert aid to ex-National Guardsmen. Numerous congressmen declare that covert aid is in clear violation of Boland amendment.

President Reagan addresses joint session of Congress; he declares that "The national security of the Americas is at stake in Central America." Nicaragua, Cuba and the Soviet Union are accused of exporting revolution. President denies U.S. is attempting to overthrow the Sandinistas and draws standing ovation for saying "there is no thought for sending U.S. combat troops to Central America."

In Democratic rebuttal of Reagan's speech, Senator Dodd states that "the Administration fundamentally misunderstands the causes of the conflict in Central America . . . this Administration has turned to massive military buildups . . . its policy is ever-increasing military assistance . . . it only leads to a dark tunnel of endless intervention."

Ex-Guardsmen launch new attack from Honduras two days after speech. Thirteen civilians, including two nurses and a West German physician are killed in cold blood at a road-block. West German internationalists in Nicaragua occupy their embassy, asking that their government protest U.S. support of ex-Guardsmen.

May 1983

April 29 Harris poll released, which shows U.S. public is against U.S. policy by two to one. Harris describes the results as "a solid rejection" of a policy which is perceived as militarist and lacking any possibility of success.

Nicaragua again requests that UN Security Council act against the U.S.-backed invasion. Secretary General Cuellar calls for mediation by the UN and the Contadora group.

U.S. announces that Nicaragua's sugar quota to U.S. will be reduced from over 58,000 to 6,000 tons. Private growers, who produce over 50% of sugar, ask U.S. to reconsider as it may bankrupt the sugar industry. Nicaragua obtains new markets for sugar within seven days.

House subcommittees vote 9-5 to prohibit covert aid against Nicaragua; simultaneously approves \$80 million in overt aid to "friendly countries" for arms interdiction. Senate votes to continue covert aid until October 1983, with provision requesting Presidential consultation.

House subcommittees approve \$65 million in military aid to El Salvador; Senate committee approves \$75 million for fiscal 1984.

Costa Rica and Nicaragua conclude months of high-level meetings with creation of bilateral commission to mediate conflicts and establish joint patrolling of common border.

Armed attacks from Costa Rica are begun. Eleven campesinos are murdered by Eden Pastora's group ARDE near San Carlos; other families are threatened with death if they refuse to join or assist ARDE. A ferry boat which had been donated

by West Germany is destroyed in the Rio San Juan. Three West Germans traveling on river to photograph ruined boat are attacked; one is killed and two are kidnapped. ARDE announces capture of two "East German military advisors."

U.S. press features articles sympathetic to ex-Guardsmen and Pastora during second half of May.

CIA study predicting fall of Sandinistas leaked to press. One American military official comments that the predictions were "terribly premature" and based on "highly questionable assumptions."

U.S. military trainer Lt. Commander Albert Schaufelberger killed in San Salvador. FPL claims responsibility in radio message.

Administration announces plans to send 100 Green Berets to Honduras to train 2,000 Salvadoran troops. U.S. will also man new radar station near Tegucigalpa.

Lt. General Wallace Nutting, head of U.S. Southern Command in Panama, says that an open-ended increase in U.S. involvement is needed to "stop Marxist expansion."

A Dark Tunnel of Endless Intervention?

By early June, the Reagan Administration had left no doubt that its chief goals in Central America were a military victory in El Salvador and the overthrow of the Sandinistas. The dismissal of Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders was one indication of the Administration's disdain for dialogue as a solution to the regional crisis. As columnist Mary McGrory observed, "The offense that Enders . . . committed was to express the belief that negotiation is not necessarily a bad thing." She went on to note that "the President has learned to say that he, too, is for negotiation. . . . When Reagan says he's for talks, he doesn't mean with the other side of a serious or bloody dispute. He means with the opposition in Congress . . . the President knows how easy it is to divest the Democrats of their differences with him." McGrory adds the thought that the

Nicaraguan Losses from the 'Secret War'

Casualties

civilians, technicians, teachers, 500 health workers and armed forces.

Material Damages

machinery, schools, health care \$11.34 million

Losses Due to Delays

delays in hydroelectric projects, road construction, productive and agrarian reform projects; setbacks in adult education and health campaigns.

Damage to Production

forest fires, destruction of infrastructure, and export crops such as coffee, tobacco and cattle.

Lost Export Earnings

unfulfilled export agreements

\$10.40 million \$58.14 million

\$24,42 million

\$11.98 million

Total

Source: Barricada

NICARAGUAN PERSPECTIVES



worker defends factory from sabotage

Administration believes that all it needs is a better public relations effort for its policy, and that this explains the removal of Deane Hinton as Ambassador to El Salvador. Hinton once contradicted the President's portrayal of the Salvadoran government as courageous crusaders for democracy by commenting that "the right wing thugs we are supporting are part of the problem."

The sacking of career diplomats Enders and Hinton, neither of them moderate, alarmed numerous observers in Washington and Latin America and indicated that the President has chosen to surround himself with loyal ideologues who share his East-West view of the problem. One of them, Jeane Kirkpatrick, seems to have a personal vendetta against Nicaragua not unlike that held against Guatemala by then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles thirty years ago. Another, Lt. General Wallace Nutting, has called for increased U.S. military involvement, and has hinted that if combat troops are needed, other considerations should not prevent their deployment.

Counterposed to this seemingly unchangeable position in Washington stand two hard realities: first, that in spite of the extensive aid given to the ex-Guardsmen by the U.S. and Honduras, the Sandinista government has strong internal support and cannot be defeated militarily without massive outside involvement. Likewise, few observers believe that more military aid to the Salvadoran regime will enable it to overcome the FMLN/FDR. Thus, for the Administration to continue its policy goals unrestrained virtually guarantees a regionalized war which would dangerously heighten world tensions and require the use of U.S. combat troops.

In two hopeful trends reside the remaining hope of avoiding such a war. First, the U.S. non-intervention movement, although not presently visible in the streets, has achieved a major impact across broad sectors of U.S. society, and has made its influence known through pressure

on Congress and in opinion polls. As both the peace movement and the non-intervention movement see their demands thwarted by an intransigent Administration and betrayed by an evasive Congress, a convergence of their growing forces may become a key element in the 1984 elections.

The other factor restraining unlimited U.S. intervention has been the solid international opposition which has been manifested in the UN Security Council, by European Social Democracy, and in Latin America by the Contadora group. Proposals by the latter group seem the best prospect for a peaceful solution to the conflict. The composition of the group, with countries seen as reasonably trustworthy by the key parties, the U.S. and Nicaragua, should allow a dialogue that could defuse the crisis. The presence of Mexico and Venezuela should reassure the Sandinistas, who have feared being isolated and attacked in either the OAS or such U.S. created forums as the Central American Democratic Community. Likewise, the presence of Colombia, which had supported Washington before the Malvinas war, should allow the U.S. to participate without the fear of being totally isolated as it has been in the UN. The governments of El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica have no meaningful independence from the U.S. and are unlikely to change their positions as long as Washington remains obstinate.

One thing is sure: while the stalemate continues, many more lives will be lost and more war damages will occur in El Salvador and Nicaragua. The time to begin negotiations is already long overdue. J.E., T.R., P.C.

Letter From a Nicaraguan Reservist to an American Friend

I send you a warm Sandinista greeting, a brother's greeting, a greeting for all the things we are to each other. I'm grateful to be living in and writing you from the land of Sandino. I've received your letters and I'm pleased to know that you are well and working for our brothers and sisters, the courageous people of El Salvador, and for Sandinista Nicaragua.

I was in la *montaña* a month and a half ago, and next week I leave for the border area for another three months. *Compañera*, I feel both excited and anxious about leaving again. I'm going to a difficult area where the fighting is intense, but I know we'll defeat the enemy. If I should die, the U.S. government will be to blame. But my life doesn't matter; be happy that if I die you had a brother, a friend, a *compañero* who died for the just cause of a people who never again will submit to an empire, to slavery and torture. Don't cry for me, but rather follow my example, strengthening your solidarity with all people struggling for their freedom. Continue onward, the struggle is just and Nicaragua will win.

Keep writing; I'll write even while at the front. If something happens to me, mamá will write to you. She sends hugs and kisses and the compañeros say hello. Take care of yourself and I'll do the same; I hope I'll return. Until next time. . . .

Free Homeland or Death!

Guest Commentary Understanding the Central American Revolution

by Sandy Darlington

This is dedicated to our children in the hope that they may live through the present era of extreme crisis.

Many people of good will are saying that the U.S. government should stop sending aid to El Salvador and should quit trying to overthrow the government of

Nicaragua.

However, as the situation worsens, and the propaganda, fear and confusion increase, some of us believe we must go one step further. We must not only stop what we are doing; we must begin a new and positive approach. We believe the American people and the U.S. government should accept the nationalist revolutions in Central America and begin

the complex process of learning to live with them.

It is a big leap from the first idea of stopping aid to the second of accepting the process of nationalism, and many people in this country are afraid even to consider it. They see the world as necessarily divided into sides, and they tend to believe that social revolutions are always on the other side. This fear is well-stated by Tip O'Neill when he says, "We don't want to give more military aid to El Salvador, but we don't want another Marxist takeover either."

In the face of such established fear and intransigence, it is necessary that those of us who do accept the process of nationalist revolutions speak out and tell our fellow citizens why we feel the process is constructive. Further, we must articulate our view as a practical and human way to deal with the situation, rather than as the triumph or defeat of one set of ideologies or movements.

What is really at stake? What are the "sides?" All people of good will recognize the poverty and oppression that are endemic throughout Latin America. The question is: how

to achieve real progress?

In our times there are two basic answers: development or liberation. Liberals and conservatives alike usually advocate variants of the mode generally called "development," which means: Give money and advice to the existing social structures, and oppose basic social change. Support the modern managerial class and the multinationals in their supposed efforts to set up the same kind of society and economy we have. Meanwhile train and aid the army so they can stamp out rebels who interfere with this process.

"Development" has been basic U.S. policy beginning with Kennedy's Alliance for Progress. It hasn't worked. Latin America is deeply in debt, having to repay \$34 billion a year to international lending institutions in interest and principal payments. According to a recent U.N. study, the poorest 40 percent of the population receive only 5.4

percent of national income, less than in 1960.

The other major path, that of liberation, calls for social revolution, a change in the basic social structure of the country, and the emergence of leadership that is truly dedicated to improving the lot of the people. As practiced in Nicaragua and advocated by the FMLN/FDR in El Salvador, this means: oust the most oppressive elements of

the army and the wealthy, and construct a new society that is pluralistic, maintains a mixed economy, and has a central government devoted to addressing the needs of the impoverished majority. In Nicaragua, this has meant the incorporation of previously marginalized campesinos and workers into the political process, the reorientation of the mixed economy (70 percent of agriculture and industry remain in private hands) towards the integration of agriculture with light industry, and social programs such as the literacy crusade and mass immunization campaigns.

Why does liberation in Central America frighten the U.S. government and many of our people so much? Primarily because it seeks to change the social structure, and this will no doubt lead to the emergence of new ruling groups who do not automatically serve U.S. interests. This

has already happened in Nicaragua.

The process of becoming an independent nation is a normal part of our era. Unfortunately this has often been overlooked in the United States. Our government and press label the process communistic and socialistic from the onset, and once that happens we tend to lose sight of what is really going on. One of the major tasks for those of us who accept the process is to remove the frightening labels.

The reality is that the nations of Central America have been in effect U.S. colonies, and now they are seeking their independence. This means that relations between them and the United States will be less predictable than formerly. There will be uncertainty and confusion—even

conflicts of interest.

This kind of change naturally scares any establishment.

Why then should the U.S. people want liberation to succeed? For a series of very good reasons, at once idealistic and practical. Because it is in keeping with the American ideal. Because we should end the crime of oppressing and exploiting Central America. Because there is a lot to gain by sharing and developing mutual respect. And because prosperity and peace require that we all do

well, that we accept each other, that we co-exist.

THE AMERICAN IDEAL. We were raised to believe that all people are equal and have a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We are also a nation made of many races and national groups. Although we have often ignored our stated beliefs and practiced discrimination, the fact that we are a multi-ethnic people with democratic ideals is the basis for the respect we have been given in the world in the past. For example, even the Vietnamese under Ho Chi Minh, when they broke with the French in 1945, quoted our Declaration of Independence in their constitution.

Of course this attitude has traditionally been limited to cover only the people within our national borders. But we are an empire. Our actual economic "nation" or system extends throughout the hemisphere. "We The People" in reality includes Latin Americans. By continuing to deny this, we continue to stifle our own growth and hurt our own well-being.

AN END TO DOMINATION. As an empire nation, we have exploited Latin Americans, and we still do. Even while we deny this, we also act as if it was our right. Even during recent debates about El Salvador, many Congressional leaders still spoke as if Central America were "ours" to lose.

This attitude is mistaken for two reasons. First of all it is wrong to exploit people. Second, exploitation is never free; it also hurts the exploiters. To believe otherwise is to

There we fought a fruitless and devastating war, and then failed to comprehend its lessons: that we lost to a people who fought for and won the independence all nations deserve. When Reagan sums up our loss in Vietnam as due merely to a failure of will, he is leading us into a similar disaster in Central America.

MUTUAL RESPECT. Once we quit thinking of the conflict in Central America as merely a threat and begin to look for what we might gain, we will see that we are being given the opportunity to end our role as patriarch and to develop ways of being equal and friendly. It is natural that newly independent nations will have systems that are not the same as ours. We should welcome that, because people on this planet need some new social ideas. The alternative to a world of two sides, of the U.S. versus the Soviet Union, is a world of many sides, many nations.

In such a condition, the United States would still be the major political, economic and social force in our hemisphere, by reason of its size and might. Even if the social revolutions succeed in Guatemala and El Salvador as the revolution has in Nicaragua, they and the United States will

have much to gain by having stable relations.

We need each other. The newly emerging nations want non-intervention and access to trade and technology. They need to concentrate on building their societies rather than wasting their energy and labor fighting against U.S. destabilization. Real economic growth in Central America would provide new markets for the United States.

Nicaragua did not turn away from the United States after the revolution took power. On the contrary, it asked for help and friendly relations based on mutual respect. We need to recognize that the Nicaraguan model is more relevant for Central America than the systems we are

trying to impose.

PROSPERITY AND PEACE THROUGH CO-EXISTENCE. Any serious look at Central America will show that the nationalist movements are not caused by Russia or Cuba, but by the people rising up after years of U.S.-supported oppression. We cannot expect to remain at peace and be prosperous in a hemisphere where 200 million North Americans prosper and 600 million Latin Americans are hungry. The only possible long-term peace is through working out ways in which we all do well.

This does not mean that the newly independent countries are going to become Soviet colonies. Those Central American nationalists are not struggling to gain independence from us in order to acquire new masters. Nicaragua receives twice as much foreign aid from Western industrial nations as it does from the Eastern bloc. To paraphrase one Nicaraguan leader, "We are not Marxists or Communists, we are 100 percent Sandinistas"; that is, the strength of the Sandinista Revolution has been its ability to find pragmatic and creative solutions to Nicaraguan problems.

As we the North American people come to realize how desirable this social transformation is, we will side with the aspirations of our Latin American neighbors and develop ways to co-exist. It is true that if we accept this process of change, we are also accepting some conflict and uncertainty, as in life itself. That is deplorable to those who want everything to be neat. But it is the path of life and it is far better than the continued violence and destruction the U.S. is causing with its policy of limited development and expanded military aid.

Nicaragua: A Moral Force in the Non-Aligned Movement

by Stephanie Groebel

"Internationally, Nicaragua has adopted a policy of nonalignment. We don't have any illusions about converting Nicaragua into a superpower of any kind, either politically or militarily. Our goal is to establish respected relations with all nations. The fundamental political, social and economic changes which we are making in our country will in fact form the basis for a more mutually respectful relationship in the future between the United States and Nicaragua."

> Jaime Wheelock Commander of the Revolution Minister of Agrarian Reform

No Separation of Policies

Nicaragua's foreign policy of non-alignment cannot be divorced from its domestic policies. The preservation of national sovereignty, the mixed economy, the achievement of a more equitable distribution of wealth, and the guaranteeing of popular participation each has its corresponding reflection in the realm of foreign policy. In the light of present U.S. destabilization efforts, the preservation of national sovereignty has necessitated increased spending for military and defense matters. The mixed economy necessitates constant efforts to develop new foreign markets by both the private and state sectors. Political pluralism means the growth of dialogue with the political parties and social forces of the country and the world. According to Aldo Diaz, head of bilateral relations in the Foreign Ministry, "Nicaragua's foreign policy is a faithful reflection of our domestic objectives. This is seen, on the one hand, in defense within the country and, on the other, with diplomatic efforts outside the country."

Nicaragua no longer has the narrowly pro-American foreign policy of the Somoza years, in which it regularly echoed U.S. positions at the U.N., and allowed its territory to be used for CIA operations against Guatemala in 1954 and Cuba in 1961. Now it consciously considers each decision in terms of its own interests, something especially remarkable for a young nation being subjected to a precision-targeted destabilization operation by the U.S. and its allies in the Central American region.

International Recognition and Achievements

The support and respect given to Nicaragua in the international community in barely four years has been impressive. In September 1979, Nicaragua applied for and received full membership status in the Non-Aligned Movement. Since then it has taken clear positions in the international field in favor of the defense of human rights, in support of national liberation movements and against the spiraling arms race. It has supported the call for the creation of more equitable economic relations between industrialized nations and less developed countries.

What Is the Non-Aligned Movement?

The Non-Aligned Movement is a movement of countries, most of which have recently emerged from colonial or neo-colonial domination. It represents nearly 100 countries-more than two-thirds belonging to the United Nations and thus a large proportion of the so-called "Third World." There are 36 countries in the Coordinating Bureau. Other nations and national liberation movements may, and do, attend the functions and meetings.

The Movement's precursors go back to the first decades of this century with such gatherings as the Nagasaki Conference which was held in 1926, which addressed such topics as the question of independence for thencolonial nations such as Persia (Iran) and the struggle to remove the feudal Sultan of Turkey.

But the movement is more than a series of meetings or conferences. Today, nearly 23 years after its initial formation, it is a major factor to be properly reckoned

with in international relations.

The Non-Aligned Movement developed coincidentally with the end of formal, direct colonialism in most of the world and is now involved in the struggle to develop and defend the sovereignty of the newly-independent nations of the "Third World." Heading its list of priorities is the battle for the "new international economic order." This term signifies a series of proposals, strategies, and agreements (which Nicaragua has been a party to in large measure) made by the members of the Movement toward the creation and implementation of more just, responsible and equitable socio-economic development strategies. These would set the stage for the elimination of the current unequal terms of exchange between overdeveloped market-economy countries such as the United States and the lesser developed or underdeveloped countries that the Movement represents.

In addition to working for a new international economic order, the Movement also works for cultural and economic exchange among its members, supports international peace initiatives, has called for better media representation of the "Third World," worked to end Apartheid in Southern Africa, tried to prevent war between its members and has fought for literacy in the

developing world.

Some observers, especially many in the economically "advanced" capitalist countries, have attempted to pin a "communist" label on the Movement. However, even a casual examination of the Movement's membership and a cursory knowledge of its most basic principles show it not to be a product of the "East-West" conflict. The Movement is widely varied in terms of cultures, languages and social systems. Countries as dissimilar as India, Morocco, Zaire, Cuba, Colombia and Nicaragua are all members. What unites them is their refusal to be part of any power-bloc and to that end they are not party to military alliances with either bloc-be it "East" or "West."

The Non-Aligned Movement is an important factor in international relations today and needs to be better understood in the United States.

Among Nicaragua's initiatives was the wideranging proposal it presented to the U.N. Security Council in March, 1982. This reaffirmed the joint French and Mexican proposal calling for a political solution to the Salvadoran

At the seventh Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement held in New Delhi in March of this year, Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Government of National Reconstruction, gave an important address. This proposed the development of a common strategy of the debtor nations towards the developed capitalist nations, and for a solution to the sad state of affairs in the international banking system. The joining of debtor countries, in Ortega's view, "would make it possible for us to introduce reforms in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank within the framework of the United Nations." Such an arrangement does not now exist and as a result, the indebtedness of developing nations grows every

A clear recognition of these and other activities by Nicaragua on the international level was made in October, 1982, when Nicaragua was elected to represent the Central American region in the U.N. Security Council. This historic victory was achieved despite strong opposition and

intense lobbying by the U.S. delegation.

Nicaragua's accomplishments have also been acknowledged by appointments of Nicaraguans to regional and international bodies. Lea Guido, Minister of Social Welfare, was named president of the Latin American section of the World Health Organization. Antonio Jarquin was named Moderator of the Non-Aligned Movement's Commission for a New International Order, one of the Movement's central projects.

Also very significant for Nicaragua was the decision of the Non-Aligned Movement to hold an extraordinary meeting of the Foreign ministers of the Coordinating Bureau in Managua from January 10 through 14 of 1983. This was the first ministerial-level meeting of the Non-Aligned in Latin America, and the first meeting of the Non-Aligned with the problems of a region being its central theme. The purpose of the meeting was to evaluate the situation facing Central America and the Caribbean, join in the search for viable solutions to the serious conflicts and tensions in the region, and work for peace and stability in the area. A total of 116 delegates were present, including special guests from Latin America and several European countries, the U.N., and representatives of national liberation movements. It was the largest attendance to date at such a meeting. That it took place in Managua was of tremendous importance for Nicaragua, because it enabled the many government delegations to see for themselves the objective situation of the country.

For the Nicaraguan people, the meeting was an important event. The atmosphere of Managua at the time was one of euphoria, and there was a great, almost contagious sense of pride among the people. Over 100,000 gathered in the Plaza of the Revolution in the early evening of January 12 to welcome their honored guests, demonstrate their solidarity with the Movement, and celebrate the unity it has achieved. Musical and cultural groups from across the nation participated in the festivities, which included a spectacular display of fireworks from the roof of the National Palace, which spelled out "Bienvenidos NO-AL"

or "Welcome Non-Aligned Movement."

Turmoil in Nicaragua's Catholic Church

by Peter Downs

The Central American Catholic Church is in turmoil. Nowhere is this more evident than in Nicaragua, where the Catholic Church teeters on the edge of a Reformation.

Two separate but mutually reinforcing movements are undermining the authority of the Nicaraguan Catholic hierarchy. On the one hand, the new Sandinista state has moved to fill many of the social needs formerly filled by the Church. On the other hand, movements spawned by the Latin American Bishops Conference at Medellín in 1968 have begun to question the traditional roles of lay Cath-

olics, priests, and the hierarchy.

Under the rule of Somoza, the State became mainly a vehicle for his personal aggrandizement and abandoned functions that served the people. Somoza seized farms to add to his private estate and added to his personal fortune by selling state licenses and offices. His government did very little to meet such social needs as education, health care, roads and food. At the time of his overthrow, 50 percent of Nicaraguans were illiterate and the life expectancy of 54 years was third lowest in Latin America. Only in Bolivia and Haiti was it lower.

The Catholic Church worked to fill the vacuum left by Somoza and provided much of what schooling and health care there was. In many areas, priests became the de facto civil administration, according to Justinian Liebl, a former Capuchin missionary who worked on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast for 28 years. The only de jure government officials that many people knew, he said, were members of the feared National Guard. After the revolution, that all

changed.

The Sandinista government began major programs in education, health care, social security and food distribution. It disbanded the National Guard and established civil administrations throughout the country. The Literacy Crusade of 1980 brought the rate of illiteracy down to 12.9 percent and adult education continues in the Popular Education Collectives, of which there are nearly 19,000. The Ministry of Education has constructed over 2,600 new schools to more than double the number operating in the country. Most of the new schools are outside of the urban areas, which have been the traditional centers of education. The government has also built five new hospitals, 16 new health centers with beds, and 110 new clinics, and it has coordinated three national vaccination drives: for polio, tetanus and diphtheria, and measles.

These government initiatives, coming in areas traditionally served by the Church, have weakened the Church's authority. They give people an alternative source of help and an alternative strategy for improving their lives. Many priests and nuns participated in those campaigns, but the

Peter Downs traveled in Nicaragua and Costa Rica for three months in 1982. He has studied science and the humanities; his writings on agriculture, technology in the workplace and other issues have appeared in *Commonweal* and *Science for the People*.

authority and initiative for the campaigns rested with the State. The Archbishop of Managua, Obando y Bravo, claimed that this resulted in a conflict of allegiances for certain priests: would they be obedient to the government or to the Church hierarchy? Since the middle of 1981, the Archbishop has demanded that priests leave the government and no longer take leading roles in government-supported programs. Many Catholics argue, however, that the work of priests in government is consistent with the Gospel message to serve the poor and that the priests' work would be less effective outside of the government.

Many of those Catholics actively supporting the Sandinista government are members of Christian Base Communities (CBCs), which are fruits of the work begun by the Medellín Bishops Conference in 1968. That conference called on the Church to renew its commitment to the poor and the marginalized sectors of society. In Nicaragua, it spurred on work among the poor peasants. But priests are scarce in rural Nicaragua. According to Justinian Liebl, most rural parishes may see a priest only once in two or three months. One solution to that problem was to train peasants to hold services and interpret the Bible themselves. Individuals specially trained to lead services and to help groups interpret the Bible became known as Delegates of the Word. The groups, which set themselves the goals of understanding and living the Bible, became known as Christian Base Communities. Services performed without a priest did not include the Eucharist, but they did serve a real need in peasants' lives. Somoza, however, sought to repress such groups and to execute those Delegates of the Word captured by his National Guard. Each increase of such repression deepened the activity against Somoza's rule. The Delegates of the Word began to organize directly against the dictatorship and some even joined the guerrillas. Many of the current leaders of the Farmers' Union and the Farmworkers' Union reportedly began their activist careers as Delegates of the Word.

As peasants gained confidence in their own abilities to organize and to interpret the Bible, they dispensed more often with the use of priests. They began to hold weddings, funerals, memorial services, and baptisms on their own. That threatens the structural organization of the Church. Priests in Nicaragua, and most of Latin America, according to Liebl, "have had to live off their priestly functions. In other words, they live off the baptisms, masses, weddings and other special functions that people pay them for. A portion of their fees goes in turn to support the bishop. The Christian Community operates on the idea that the Gospel is ours; we get together, we read it and meditate on it and share it in dialogue, we sing it and pray it and that's it. There's no real priestly function or sacramental function that they have to pay for. Then the priest no longer has a big income, a lot of work, but very little income. This is very demanding. It demands a real conversion on the part of the priest or bishop who wants to work with Christian Communities. The whole economic source of their life and their identity as the people who run the sacraments now is being questioned . . . On the Atlantic Coast, in the last town where I worked as a priest, over one-half of the baptisms are now performed without a priest. They are performed in Christian Communities by Delegates of the Word."

Justinian Liebl estimates that there are 800-900 CBCs on the Atlantic Coast and many more on the Pacific. The Atlantic Coast is home for approximately 10 percent of Nicaragua's population. The weakest CBCs, said Liebl, are in the cities, and especially Managua, where they suffer from "sacerdotal paternalism: there are too many priests and the priests are doing things that the people could do" so that lay Catholics have no real reason to demand a greater role for themselves. The youth of a CBC in barrio La Reynaga in Managua indirectly confirmed Liebl's view when they stated that all CBCs are started by parish priests and that it is impossible for a CBC to be in opposition to the priest.

Archbishop Obando y Bravo may also share that view. Over the last two years he has transferred many priests working with CBCs and replaced them with more conservative priests. Liebl named half a dozen such instances within the last year. Many nuns and priests charged that the Archbishop has pursued a conscious policy of trying to weaken the CBCs and support for the Revolution. The Archbishop denied that and claims that the transfers were routine.

Last summer the issue came to a head when the Archbishop transferred Monsignor Arias Caldera, known as the Monsignor of the Poor, out of the parish of Santa Rosa where he had been working for almost ten years. Caldera had not organized a CBC, but he was an outspoken supporter of the Revolution. When they heard of his transfer, parishioners requested an audience with the Archbishop, but their request was refused. They then occupied their church in protest. Archbishop Obando y Bravo sent one of his assistants to remove the Holy Sacrament from the church, claiming that those occuping the building were committing sacrilegious acts. The parishioners prevented the assistant, Monsignor Bosco Vivas, from taking the Sacrament and Obando y Bravo responded by excommunicating all those involved in the occupation. The parishioners refused to give up the church and the new priest had to find another building in which to hold services.

The removal of sympathetic priests from base communities is forcing the CBCs of Managua to develop their own leadership. They hold monthly delegate assemblies to plan activities and on a few occasions, particularly with the issue of priests, in government, they have issued public statements opposing the position of the Archbishop. They have not yet, however, organized themselves to the same extent as the CBCs around Somotillo, in the north of Nicaragua. There, according to Liebl, 120 base communities, called the Bloc of Christian Communities, have governed themselves for almost three years. Occasionally they invite a priest to come and give Communion, but for the most part they perform all religious services themselves.

Christian Base Communities across the country also work together through CEPA (Educational Center for Agricultural Promotion) to organize classes, prepare educational materials, and in general develop their leadership. They are aided in this task by ex-priests, such as Justinian Liebl, who now work directly for the base communities. Other nuns and priests in Managua have opted to remain in orders but continue to oppose the wishes of Obando y Bravo and work with the CBCs.

The Sandinistas and the CBCs both espouse democratic self-government and serving the poor. Both the CBCs and the Sandinista government have encroached on areas traditionally the preserve of Church functionaries. In effect, they are questioning the traditional roles of the Church hierarchy. That may be why they have earned the opposition of such conservatives as Archbishop Obando y Bravo. Both Sandinistas and CBC members draw a new

line between political and religious matters that would reduce the authority of the Church.

Yet, there is a religious motivation to the politics of the CBCs. Many members claimed that their politics follow the Gospel's admonition to end injustice and oppression. As one Salvadoran women who had fled from the repression the Salvadoran military directed at her base community told me:

Faith should be transformed in the reality. For the Christian Community to make its faith concrete implies participation in the reality lived by the people and from there to the transformation of this reality. It is not an abstract faith, as many Christians believe, a faith of mere rites and customs without relation to the reality of the people. That kind of Christianity is not the right kind.

The nuns and priests working with the CBCs continually stressed that the tension between them and the Archbishop is political, not theological. They continue, they said, to be obedient to the Pope and their superiors in the Catholic Church in matters of religion. The issue is not even involvement in political affairs, they claimed, but what politics one expresses. Priests served in the civil administration under Somoza, but now the Archbishop wants priests to stay out of government. The CBCs expressed the same viewpoint in their response to the Pope's letter.



"Christianity and Religion: There is no Contradiction."

On June 29, 1982, Pope John Paul II sent a letter to the Nicaraguan bishops in which he cautioned against disunity and called on Nicaraguans to be united in faith around their bishops and reject that which is contrary to unity. He criticized the "charismatic," "new," "alternative," or "Popular Church" as a threat to the above unity.

The base communities in Nicaragua responded that they too reject the name "Popular Church" and that they are united in faith with the bishops. They elaborated some of the problems faced in reconstructing the country and the threat of a U.S.-backed invasion from Honduras and stated that such questions, not theological ones, were the ones that preoccupied Nicaraguans.

The question for the Pope and the bishops is whether to accept the new delineation between political and religious affairs. In other words, to accept a reformation in Central America. To accept it, would mean accepting a loss of political power while also permitting priests and nuns to be more active politically. To reject it and demand that priests

el Rosenthal

not salvage the secular power of the Church, but it may well cost the Church its moral authority, as the Church will appear to be retreating from the problems of the world.

That issue concerns more than just Nicaragua, for the same tensions divide the Catholic Church in El Salvador and Guatemala and they are beginning to appear in Costa Rica. Furthermore, the Church is truly an international organization. Many priests and nuns supporting the CBCs, and the Capuchins and Maryknolls have been notable in this regard, are from outside of Central America. Many feel like the French nun who, when asked what she would do if the bishops and the Pope do not accept the new division between political and religious matters and gave her a 'political' command, sadly replied that she would be forced to leave religious orders.

Esteli: continued from page 13

by disagreeing with a U.S. policy of interfering in the affairs of other countries, as they did in the times of Sandino and even William Walker, and of course during the months leading up to the revolutionary triumph of the Nicaraguan people in 1979. The policy we would like to see is one of



street procession in Esteli

mutual respect, recognizing that Nicaragua has won the right to sovereignty and independence.

What impact does the international situation have on you here in Estelí?

O.P.: The national situation is largely determined by the international one. Continuing threats and pressure mean that reconstruction goes more slowly: the U.S. government cut off its aid program to Nicaragua in 1981, and it has acted in international financial institutions to veto loans. We already find that it is impossible to import certain necessary materials and often difficult to get spare parts. The constant threat of aggression means that many resources that would otherwise go to social and reconstruction programs must be put into defense. All of this slows down the reconstruction effort and is a direct result of U.S. policy.

There is another even more painful effect produced by the frequent border incursions supported by the U.S. and by part of the Honduran military: they often steal cattle here, and not long ago, in one of the other *municipios* of the department, they killed an entire family. But we don't only feel the attacks that are within the department. Since the people of Estelí are especially inclined by their past suffering to defend peace and the Revolution, they can be found in all parts of the frontier. And each time there is a battle along the border there is a funeral in Estelí. U.S. policy and the aggression it supports reach us very directly.

You, like many Nicaraguans, have family living in the U.S. Are you still in touch with them? What do they think of what is going on here?

O.P.: Yes, I have family in Los Angeles; they've been there about 25 years and we stay in touch regularly through letters or telephone calls. A lot of people who have gone over the years to the U.S. seeking a better way of life did so without realizing that they were actually exiled by the lack of opportunities for decent work and a decent life here in Nicaragua during the previous regime. You couldn't really say they're worried about what is going on in Nicaragua; they're like many Latinos who live there and are not aware of what is going on in Latin America. They're quite alienated from their country and accept what they hear as true, that Nicaragua is "an enemy of the U.S." and the "Revolution is socialist, communist, or at least something horrible." If they are concerned, it is not for what may happen to the country, but rather for a family member who is here.

Should they be worried about your future here?

O.P.: Of course not. They are worried because of the news they get there. I've never been more relaxed nor felt better than now since the triumph of the Revolution. There really is no reason to be worried. It is all because of the rumors they hear that make them think there could be some danger here. If they ask if we are having difficulties, yes, we recognize that we are, and that is normal for a country in a phase of reconstruction. But we have the most important thing: we are free and sharing all the basic necessities with our fellow Nicaraguans. And if they ask if we are working hard in order that things change so that all Nicaraguans can benefit from what we have, so that our production in the cities and countryside shall contribute to reconstruct our homeland, the answer is, "Yes." Now more than ever before it is worth living in Nicaragua, now that it is really ours.

Attempts to Sabotage Meeting

The fact that the meeting even took place is of great significance. Archie Singham, a noted scholar and commentator on the Non-Aligned Movement pointed out in a recent interview that there "had been a great fear that the meeting would be destabilized. Some people believed that certain countries would utilize the opportunity, just before the meeting, to carry out an invasion or to create an atmosphere of a Managua besieged, a city under military control . . ." Such an image was deliberately created, according to Singham, to attempt to scare off possible participants thus making the meeting less significant in the struggle against intervention in the region.

It is no surprise that the Reagan Administration worked hard to undermine the meeting. Beginning months prior to the meeting it utilized its U.N. delegation and the State department, through U.S. embassies abroad, to attempt to dissuade certain member countries from attending, since the impact of a meeting is measured in part by the number of delegations attending. Washington then circulated a "position paper" among selected countries concerning the problems to be discussed at the meeting. The document tried to justify Washington's destabilization activities against Nicaragua and Grenada, the blockade against Cuba, its involvement in El Salvador, and the US position in the Malvinas conflict. When the paper was reproduced and distributed to all delegations present, at the initiative of one of the participants, the U.S. embassy denied any responsibility.

Alarmed at the large attendance, UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick sent two aides to "cover" the meeting, while the embassy staff in Managua worked feverishly behind the scenes. Washington let it be known among its allies that the U.S. was distressed by their position. During the previous U.N. General Assembly, Kirkpatrick had informed various ambassadors that their votes were being watched by Washington, and that they would either be rewarded or

punished accordingly.

The Managua Communiqué

Despite the Reagan administration's efforts, U.S. policy was strongly criticized by the Movement and a victory was won in the "Third World" bloc in the name of unity against foreign intervention and domination, and for independ-

ence and national sovereignty.

The meeting concluded with the unanimous passage of a statement called the Managua Communiqué. The document reaffirmed the basic principles of the Movement which include "the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, hegemonism, apartheid, and racism and all forms of foreign domination; full respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of states; self-determination, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal and external affairs of states: peaceful coexistence and the non-use of force." It stated that Central America "was faced with a serious political, social and economic crisis caused by the traditional repressive power structures and by national economic structures that produce poverty, inequality and misery and aggravated by the intervention and the interference to which its countries have been subjected." And further, that this "could not be attributed to, or explained by, an East-West ideological confrontation." The Ministers "denounced the threats and acts of aggression against Nicaragua, the financing of undercover actions, the use of U.S. territory and that of Nicaragua's neighbors for training counter-revolutionary forces and the violation of Nicaragua's airspace and territorial waters by U.S. planes and ships. The document welcomed Nicaragua's firm desire for peace and reiterated the Movement's solidarity with the government and people of Nicaragua.

U.S. Media Coverage

Given the nature and significance of the Managua meeting, it is enlightening to examine the press coverage it was given in the U.S. What little coverage was to be found was a few sparse articles in a small number of major dailies. Not only were the articles barren, but their content was often questionable. Typical headlines were: "Strong Nicaraguan Stand Reported Rejected" (NY Times, 1/16/83), "Castro Pushes for Non-Aligned Anti-U.S. Stance" (LA Times, 1/14/83), and "Non-Aligned Meeting: Limited Victory for Castro" (Christian Science Monitor, 1/17/83). According to some of the delegates, they encountered no U.S. reporters among the hundreds present from all over the world.

Unfortunately, this lack of coverage is typical of how the U.S. media selectively deal with events in the world in general and Central America specifically. The U.S. public thus often remains unaware of the breadth of opposition to

U.S. policies elsewhere in the world.

Repercussions of the Managua Meeting

In Managua, U.S. foreign policy for Central America received a significant setback in the world community, and the Non-Aligned Movement emerged as a stronger and more unified force with increasing power. Thus, in the Organization of American States, once the rubber stamp of U.S. policies, the U.S. can no longer be sure of unconditional support; Mexico, Colombia, Brazil and Venezuela all attended the meeting and are sympathetic to the Non-Aligned position. Furthermore, the East-West notion of the Reagan Administration as the source of all conflict in Central America was undercut and discredited in Managua.

In late March of this year, Nicaragua went to the U.N. Security Council to denounce the escalating aggression against it by the U.S.-backed ex-National Guardsmen from Honduras. It received an unprecedented show of support; some 55 nations asked to speak on behalf of Nicaragua's position, including Spain, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Zimbabwe, Panama, Tanzania, Mexico and China. Only El

Salvador and Honduras sided with the U.S.

Conclusion: Small Becomes Big

Archie Singham also noted that "everybody likes to think that there are powers in the Non-Aligned Movement: Yugoslavia, India, Cuba. But the Non-Aligned is really a movement that permits a small country to be a big power. For example, Nicaragua is a small country with 2½ million inhabitants; now it is a moral power in world politics."

It is doubtful whether the Reagan Administration's policy of intervention in Central America will attract new support in the world. Meanwhile, all signs are that Nicaragua will continue to gain respect in the international community. In this lies one of the best guarantees for the development of the Nicaraguan revolution and the achievement of a peaceful solution for the Central American crisis.

Commemala: continued from page 7



Mario and Juan Pablo, died fighting with the guerrillas in Guatemala.

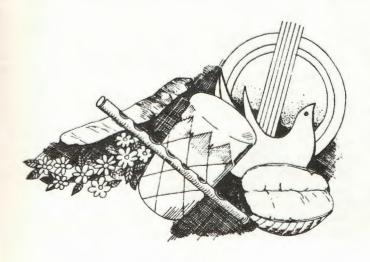
Alaide Foppa's "Los dedos de mi mano" (The Fingers of my Hand) was published in 1958:

. . . I have five children, five open roads, five youths, five blossomings, and although I bear the pain of five wounds and the threat of five deaths, my life grows everyday.

G.N.I.B. produces a bi-monthly newsletter available from G.N.I.B., P.O. Box 4126, Berkeley, CA 94704. The Women's Committee on Central America can be contacted at 433 Dolores, San Francisco, CA 94110.

Sources:

Plexus; Off Our Backs; Guatemala!; News from Guatemala; Amnesty International; Guatemala History Told by Its Women, (People's Permanent Tribunal); El Salvador Bulletin; testimonies of Rigoberta Menchú Tum and Maria Lupe.



Misa Campesina

by Sylvia Mullally and Tony Ryan

We are pleased to present below portions of Nicaragua's "Misa Campesina," or "Peasant Mass."

The "Misa" has many influences, authors, and contributors but one fundamental source is the experience of the famous Christian base community on the island of Solentiname, which is situated in the middle of Lake Nicaragua. The community was created by Ernesto Cardenal along with the *campesinos* and fishermen of the island. Father Cardenal, poet, theologian and presently Minister of Culture, wanted to participate in the creation of a community that would go toward the realization of a "New Jerusalem" on earth. They wanted to engender a new feeling of pride in the Nicaraguan people who had been subjected to oppressive conditions, a loss of creativity and a repressed spirituality. From Solentiname, a stream of poetry, painting, music and handicrafts was born.

The community lasted between the years 1965 and 1977 when it was leveled to the ground by the National Guard under orders from the then-dictator Anastasio Somoza.

The Misa Campesina is a fundamental result of this period. It is a vibrant adaptation of the traditional Catholic Mass into ecumenical terms, that is, into a language understood by the people. In this sense it is closely related to similar masses and liturgical changes of the period such as the Misa Luba from Africa. It demystifies the seemingly impenetrable secrets of the liturgy and shows Christ to be a palpable man, without ever being irreverant. No longer is the Messiah an inaccessible, supernatural being shrouded in mystery (and therefore distant from mere mortals) but is instead a man steeped in his people's struggles, a being who toils and sacrifices alongside the farmers in their fields and the workers in their factories.

The Misa is a joyous event to the extent that it reflects the faith and joy of the Nicaraguan people who are in the vast majority a Catholic people. It is a living example of the profound role Christian revolutionaries are playing in Nicaragua today.

A Saint of the Catholic Church once remarked that "the Glory of God is a living man." The martyred Archbishop of El Salvador Monsignor Romero once said that God's glory was with the poor. The *Misa* is a reflection of the formal commitment made by the Church in recent times summed up as the "preferential option for the poor."

One finds in the *Misa* no threats of fire and brimstone for the unworthy. Instead it is an experience of intense happiness and celebration for the "God of the Poor," the "God who sweats in the street." It stresses the joyous aspects of being a Christian individual in a community of fellows united to change the conditions that limit humankind from their real destiny.

The version we have utilized in our translation is the Misa Campesina Nicaragüense published by the Nicaraguan Ministry of Culture in 1981. The music for the Misa, which we unfortunately cannot reproduce, was written by Carlos Mejía Godoy. We hope the selections printed below will convey the spirit of love and resistance of Nicaragua's Christians who are actively involved in the creative transformation of their country. A complete, bilingual version with the music will be available soon. Write to this magazine for details.

Entrance Song

You are the God of the poor the human and simple God the God that sweats in the street the God with the weathered face that is why I speak to you like my people speak because you are the laborer God the worker Christ

Stanza 1

Hand in hand you walk with my people you struggle in the fields and the city you stand in line at the camp in order to be paid your day's wages you eat there in the park with Eusebio, Pancho and Juan Jose and you even complain about the syrup when there's not enough honey in it.

Stanza 2

I have seen you at the corner store parked on a bench
I have seen you selling lottery tickets without being ashamed of that role
I have seen you in the gas stations changing the tires on a truck and even working on the highways with leather gloves in the sizzling sun.

Kyrie

Christ, Jesus Christ
be one with us
Lord, Lord my God
be one with us
Christ, Jesus Christ
be in solidarity with us
not with the oppressor class
that squeezes and devours
the community
with the oppressed
with my people
thirsting for peace

Gloria

Stanza 1

With the most jubilant song of my people I've come to sing this Glory to Christ

I want to sing to Jesus the leader of truth with the overwhelming joy and explosiveness of the rockets that light up our skies in the people's fiesta

Stanza 2

Glory to God in Siuna, Jalapa and Cosigüina in Solentiname, Dirioma and Ticuantepe Glory to God in Tisma, Waslala and Yalagüina in Totogalpa, Moyogalpa and Santa Cruz

Stanza 3

Glory to those who follow the light of the Gospel denouncing injustice without fear Glory to those who suffer prison and exile and give their lives fighting the oppressor

Stanza 4

Today we glorify you Lord, with marimbas with nambar violins, bells and atabal drums with chirimillas, quijongos and zambumbias with the Indian dances of Subtiava and Monimbó

Credo

Stanza 1

I firmly believe, Lord that from your fertile thought this whole world was born; that from your artist's hand, like a primativist painter, all beauty flourished: the stars and the moon the little houses, lagoons, the little boats floating down the river to the sea, the immense coffee plantations, the white cotton fields and the forests mutilated by the criminal axe.

Chorus

I believe in you architect, engineer, artisan, carpenter, bricklayer and shipbuilder I believe in you creator of thought of music and the winds of peace and love

Stanza 2

I believe in you, worker Christ light of light and true only begotten son of God who became flesh in Mary's humble and pure womb to save the world.

I believe that you were beaten with jeers, tortured, martyred on the cross when Pontius Pilate, the hideous and soulless Roman imperialist tried to erase the mistake by washing his hands of all blame

Stanza 3

I believe in you, Compañero human Christ, worker Christ conqueror of death by your immense sacrifice you have begotten the new human who is destined for liberation You are alive in every arm that raises itself to defend the people

from the exploiter's rule; because you are alive in the ranch in the factory, in the school I believe in your struggle without truce I believe in your resurrection.

Offering

Stanza 1

We the workers and campesinos offer you bread and wine today the chilincocos and the almond trees that our earth brought forth from the inland mountain Los caimitos bien morados the mangos painted by the moon and the sea the pipianes, the ayotes the jicote skin the chiche-coyol

Chorus

I offer you, Lord

in my time of prayer
in the hustle and bustle of each day
all the energy
that comes from my sweat
I offer you, Lord
my whole work
the sinews of my arms
and the living enthusiasm
of my heart.

Stanza 2

The working class that searches for work from daybreak sings to you from their plows from each scaffold and every tractor bricklayers, carpenters tailors, day-laborers everyone the same ironworkers and longshoremen and the shoeshiners from the Central Park.



I'm Going to Plant a Heart on the Earth

I grow like a plant
without remorse and without stupidity
toward the hours loosened from the day
pure and secure as a plant
without crucifixion
toward the hours loosened from the night
A. Cesaire

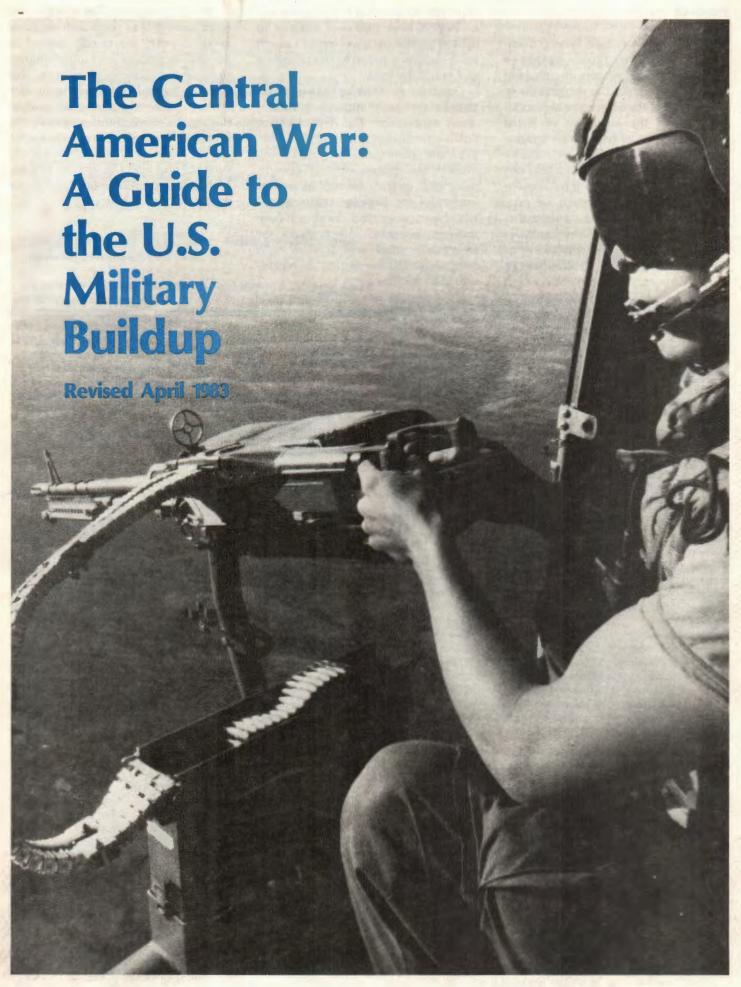
I'm going to plant a heart in the earth water it with love from a vein I'm going to praise it with the push of muscle and care for it in the sound of all dimensions. I'm going to leave a heart in the earth so it may grow and flower a heart that throbs with longing that adores everything green that will be strength and nourishment for birds that will be the sap of plants and mountains. I'm going to spit a heart into the earth with all miseries and rebellions a heart that procures galaxies that belches drums of all tongues a garden of botanical lights like a mirror turning toward the sun. I'm going to feel a heart in the earth above the black white and yellow earth above flesh of all colors.

I'm going to cast a heart over the earth a conversation of anguish and hope above all a heart without ties or timetables without cufflinks or valises or numbers a heart that will not learn equations or deviations atomic theory or relativity that knows nothing of nuts and bolts, that is not acquainted with watches a heart that uses no credit cards that hangs no diplomas that attends no cocktail parties or banquets an open heart that will never have doors I'm going to write a heart that knows no arithmetic that won't leave some to one side and others on the floor in fractions that suffers only childbirth and feigned illness I'm going to fly a heart like a comet one of blood and cosmic dust a mixing of earth with stars a heart that has no country that knows no borders a heart that will never be fired that has never signed a single check that has never had a strongbox a heart unnerving, unnameable something simple and sweet a heart that has loved.

Rosario Murillo Translation by: Barbara Paschke



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NARMIC/national action/research on the military industrial complex

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is an agency seeking to make a Quaker witness in troubled times. We work for the recognition of human rights, the achievement of social justice, and the assurance of equal opportunity for all because we believe these values are the basis—and the only basis—on which a peaceful world can be built. Their achievement will require major social changes, which we promote through the same method that William Penn identified three centuries ago when he founded his colony of Pennsylvania: to see what love can do.

The same religious conviction which moved the AFSC Board of Directors to

warn against spiralling U.S. involvement in Indochina in 1954 now leads us to witness against our government's search for a military solution to the problems of Central America.

Our grave concern for the worsening situation in Central America is born of direct experience: The AFSC has had staff in the region since the early '60s. We have participated in fact-finding missions and spoken with high government and military officials as well as leaders of the popular organizations. We have supported local self-help projects, provided direct grants for emergency relief and worked with refugees and other victims of repression and violence.

The facts and perspectives provided

in this guide are aimed at exposing the futility of trying to solve with weapons problems that are deeply rooted in political, economic and social oppression, and encouraging policies that speak to the real sources of the conflict.

We therefore commend this guide to the reader's thoughtful attention. We hope it will contribute to a re-evaluation of our disastrous course in Central America and lead U.S. citizens to press for justice and a reconciling spirit in our country's foreign policy.

> Stephen G. Cary Chairperson, Board of Directors, American Friends Service Committee

The Central American War

At a press conference organized by the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission in early September of 1982 three women refugees described the massacre in August of 300 others, mostly women and children, by Salvadoran troops and planes. "The people tried to leave through the valleys and they cornered them. They killed a mountain of people—children, old people and women," one woman said. "Many people threw themselves off cliffs...At night they bombed with lights so they could see the people, and where they saw them they shot them."

The Salvadoran military is armed with U.S. automatic rifles, grenades and mortars; the troops and their equipment are transported by U.S.-made helicopters, trucks and jeeps. U.S.-trained battalions led the August operation, backed by U.S.-supplied attack aircraft. Since the arrival of the U.S.-made A-37 "Dragonfly" bombers in June 1982, the danger of civilian casualties has intensified. In February 1983, following an attack by the Salvadoran armed forces on the city of Berlin, Acting Archbishop of San Salvador Arturo Rivera y Damas charged the government with "indiscriminate bombing."

The September report of the Salvadoran women and the February bombing of Berlin recall the Vietnam-era tactic of turning whole areas into free fire zones, killing anyone unlucky enough to be caught there, and leveling towns and villages, generating widespread dislocation. It illustrates the growing U.S. involvement with the military forces of the region, including:

- Strengthening the military forces of several nations. U.S. military advisors are in El Salvador and Honduras; arms sales and military training are being stepped up. The Administration has resumed military assistance to Guatemala and is proposing to resume military training.
- Financing governments of political or strategic interest to the
 United States which are in danger of economic collapse. Nearly
 a third of President Reagan's FY (fiscal year) 1982 \$350 million
 Caribbean Basin Initiative was for El Salvador and Honduras,
 while other nations in need of economic assistance were
 excluded.
- Legitimizing military dictatorships by promoting elections in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala which did not in fact reduce the effective power of their respective armed forces.
- Unifying the military regimes of Central America, sponsoring cooperation among the military forces of El Salvador, Honduras



El Salvador, Governments in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras govern at gunpoint while ignoring the basic needs of their people.

- and Guatemala and encouraging military, police and intelligence training by Argentina, Chile and Venezuela. Pentagon planners have declared the need to reaffirm military cooperation among Latin American nations, while secret C.I.A. plans leaked to the press show the groundwork being laid for an armed Pan-American counterrevolutionary force.
- Increasing U.S. military activity in the Caribbean, particularly at Key West, in Puerto Rico and Panama, and enhancing the capacity for armed U.S. intervention through large scale military maneuvers and exercises.
- Militarizing the politics of the region by discounting proposals for negotiated political settlements, even those of close U.S. allies such as Mexico, France, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama.

Target: Nicaragua

In July, 1979 the Sandinistas, joined by almost the entire Nicaraguan population, ousted one of the most oppressive Central American dictatorships, that of the Somoza family of Nicaragua. In the weeks immediately following tens of thousands of Nicaraguans returned from neighboring countries where they had sought refuge from the massacres of Somoza's National Guard. They found:

- of a population of 2.5 million, 40,000 had been killed; 100,000 wounded; 40,000 children orphaned; 200,000 families left homeless; and 750,000 dependent on food assistance;
- crop cycles disrupted, industrial areas systematically destroyed;
- one of the highest per capital foreign debts in the world; foreign exchange reserves exhausted.

In an effort to salvage the economy and minimize suffering, the Sandinista government embarked on a revolutionary program of social reconstruction and a foreign policy independent of both Moscow and Washington. Rather than encouraging these developments, the Reagan Administration's Central American strategy aims to cripple—or overthrow—Nicaragua's revolutionary government. In mid 1981 the Administration cut off assistance to the Sandinista government, and in December approved a National Security Council plan for a secret war against Nicaragua. The plan featured a proposal to create a Latin commando force and included sabotage of strategic installations and raids inside Nicaragua by counterrevolutionaries based in Honduras. In Fall 1982 the counterrevolutionaries were attacking and kidnapping peasants in an attempt to sabotage the harvest of coffee, Nicaragua's second most important export. In 1982 alone more than 400 Nicaraguans were killed in over 500 attacks inside the country, according to the Sandinista government.

The United States permits training camps for ex-Somoza Guardsmen in Florida and California. The headquarters for the armed counterrevolutionaries is in Miami. The counterrevolutionaries operating out of Honduras are armed with U.S.-made weapons.

The U.S. Congress has begun to grow wary of U.S. activities to overthrow the Sandinista government and late in 1982 passed a resolution intended to limit U.S. covert operations. In February 1983, however, CIA director William J. Casey asked Congress to continue funding U.S. covert activities in 1984, including aid to anti-Sandinista forces.

The C.I.A. plan is similar to other U.S. destabilization efforts, including those used against Cuba and the Allende government in Chile. The pressure of the U.S.-backed military and economic siege is diverting resources from the tasks of reconstruction. In response to the siege the Sandinistas have maintained a state of military alert and curtailed some civil and political rights; as the tension mounts, numbers of Nicaraguans are growing critical of these restrictions.

Deep-Seated Conflicts

The conditions which led to the massive insurrection in Nicaragua are similar to those existing in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. For centuries poverty and suffering have been the fate of the peasant majority. Most of the region's arable land has been controlled by a handful of large landowners. During the 1970s, while the statistics show overall economic growth, the living conditions of the majority worsened as the proportion of landless peasants

increased and the area of subsistence crops declined. Worsening conditions led to the growth of peasant organizations, trade unions, professional and student groups, and organizations rooted in the Catholic church, which tried to mitigate the effects of social dislocation and rising poverty. As the peasantry organized and urban popular movements gathered strength, the large landowners, the military and conservative political forces met them with systematic repression.

The crisis has been worsened by the world recession, which has particularly affected the developing nations. In Central America the rising cost of such crucial imports as fuel and fluctuating prices for their primary exports are contributing to the fragility of the economies of the region. The war in El Salvador, the repression in Guatemala and the threat of a regional war drawing in Nicaragua and Honduras combine with the economic crisis to push national economies toward bankruptcy. The wealthy, uneasy under these circumstances, have taken their money out of the region; without local investment Central America grows increasingly dependent on international aid.



Newsweek exposed details of the CIA plan to undermine the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and revealed the key role the U.S. Ambassador to Honduras, John D. Negroponte, is playing. According to U.S. officials 125-150 CIA personnel are in Honduras.

The U.S. government has been reluctant to acknowledge the indigenous roots of the conflict in Central America. While admitting the need for land reform in El Salvador, for example, the Reagan Administration claims that the insurgency is primarily the result of arms and guidance flowing from Nicaragua, Cuba, and ultimately the Soviet Union. A U.S. "white paper" issued early in 1981 attempting to document this contention was quickly shown by the Wall Street Journal to contain fabrications and inaccuracies. Wayne S. Smith, a State Department representative in Havana from 1979 until July, 1982, has noted: "U.S. evidence of arms shipmentsespecially during the period of Cuban peace overtures—has never been solid. While some arms have been sent from Cuba to El Salvador, the quantities are almost certainly far less than alleged." The Intelligence Committee of the House of Representatives made a similar criticism of the intelligence basis of the Administration's position in a report issued September 22, 1982.

Page 3

Trends in U.S. Assistance

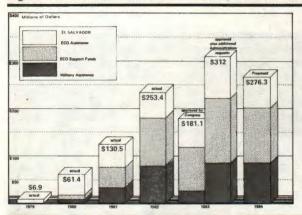
Recent trends in U.S. assistance are good indicators of U.S. policy in Central America. Following the collapse of the Somoza dictatorship in 1979, the United States stepped up assistance to El Salvador and Honduras in the hope of quickly reestablishing its influence in the region and putting an end to the mounting insurgency in El Salvador. Simultaneously, the Administration took steps to reopen the way for military aid to Guatemala and suspended all aid to Nicaragua's Sandinista government.

The graphs below represent U.S. government assistance to El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. Direct assistance, however, is not the only source of U.S. aid to the region. International financial institutions,

such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, in which the United States has great influence, lend money for development projects and for paying debts. Through these institutions multi-million-dollar aid packages are being prepared for El Salvador and Guatemala. At the same time, the United States is using its influence to prevent Nicaragua from receiving loans from the World Bank.

U.S. government assistance includes SECURITY ASSISTANCE and ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. The U.S. government defines SECURITY ASSISTANCE as military assistance and economic support funds. Military assistance is government-to-government

loans or grants through the Foreign Military Sales finance program, Military Assistance Program and the International Military Education and Training program, for the purchase of weapons, military equipment and training. Economic support funds are monies deposited in the national treasuries of governments of special political or security interest to the United States to assist in the payment of deficits. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE includes development assistance and PL 480 Food for Peace. Development assistance is being increasingly diverted from projects designed to satisfy basic human needs and toward the private sector. Food for Peace programs provide food for domestic resale.



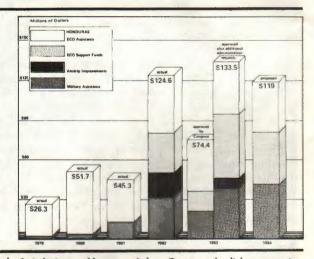
El Salvador

The graph shows security assistance—military assistance and economic support funds—spiraling upward between FY 1980 and FY 1982. Congress is still debating Administration requests for FY 1983 and FY 1984. If Congress approves the additional funds requested by the Administration in FY 1983 total U.S. assistance to El Salvador will be greater than \$300 million—U.S. policy would be costing taxpayers close to one million dollars a day. Since actual spending within each fiscal year since 1980 has outstripped the Administration's original request, it is impossible to know what the true cost of U.S. policy in El Salvador will be in FY 1984.

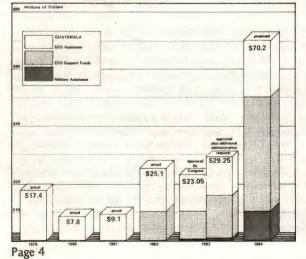
Honduras

The graph shows levels of U.S. assistance to Honduras; security assistance jumped dramatically in FY 1982. The enormous increase in FY 1982 was simultaneous with the first joint Honduran-Salvadoran military actions against the guerillas inside El Salvador, and with a Honduran military buildup on its border with Nicaragua.

Military aid to Honduras in FY 1982 was augmented by U.S. funds for improving airstrips in Honduras. In FY 1982 Honduras received \$13 million of a total \$21 million for upgrading the airstrip at Comayagua. According to Representative Tom Harkin (D-lowa), "The danger is real of war between Honduras and Nicaragua. They (the United States and Honduras) want places to unload supplies, places to deploy American troops. Let us not have any illusions about what the \$21 million is for. It is for pushing the Honduran military, with our active assistance, into a regional war." The Administration is requesting the rest of the \$21 million, \$8 million more, in FY 1983.



Guatemala



Because of its record of violations of human rights, Guatemala did not receive U.S. military assistance from FY 1979 to FY 1982. The Reagan Administration looked to elections in March 1982 to improve Guatemala's image by establishing a civilian government. However, the elections were fraudulent and precipitated a military coup. The Administration quickly indicated its support of the government established by the military coup and headed by General Rios Montt; steps were taken to reopen the way for U.S. military assistance.

The graph shows that in FY 1983 the Administration is renewing funds for military assistance to Guatemala through its request for \$220,000 for U.S. military training for Guatemalan military personnel. Previously, substantial amounts of military-related equipment had been sold to Guatemala through the U.S. Commerce Department. In early 1983 the Administration approved one of the most controversial of these sales—a \$6 million sale of helicopter spare parts and communications equipment to the Guatemalan air force. The resumption of military assistance is in spite of reports by Amnesty International and other human rights and church-related organizations that human rights abuses in Guatemala continue as they had under previous governments. For FY 1984 the Administration is proposing \$10,250,000 more in military assistance—\$10 million for weapons and military equipment and \$250,000 for military training.

Military Training

Since 1950 nearly 18,000 military personnel from Central America have been trained under U.S. aid programs. The primary purpose of this training is teaching foreign troops how to use U.S. weapons, strategy and tactics. Training is also important in creating support for U.S. foreign policy goals and in establishing ongoing personal contact between the U.S. military and foreign military officers. Training programs for Guatemala and El Salvador were ended in 1977 by President Carter's human rights program.

U.S. training programs include:

- International Military Education and Training Program, a form
 of military grant aid that brings foreign military personnel to any
 of the more than 100 training institutions in the United States
 and the Panama Canal Zone;
- Foreign Military Sales, forty percent of which are now for training, managerial and technological assistance and other "military technical services;"
- Military Assistance Advisory Groups, attached to U.S. embassies all over the world, to advise foreign governments on their military programs;
- Mobile Training Teams, U.S. advisers, often Green Berets, who teach specific skills such as intelligence and the use, maintenance and protection of U.S. equipment and weapons.

El Salvador: Nearly 200 Salvadoran military personnel received U.S. training between 1950 and the cut-off in 1977. In FY 1980 the Administration resumed training and has trained at least 2000 more. In March 1983 the Pentagon announced its plan to train a full half of the 22,000-member Salvadoran armed forces. U.S. military training by U.S. military advisors has taken place at bases in the United States, in Panama and in El Salvador. The number of U.S. military personnel in El Salvador is being maintained close to the upper limit, 55, allowed by the Administration's regulations. The activities of the U.S. advisors have been controversial, raising fears of deepening U.S. participation in the war. Press photos of U.S. advisors carrying combat weapons, and a U.S. General Accounting Office report later revealing that all advisors in El Salvador draw combat pay, contributed to the controversy. In February 1983 an advisor was injured and three were subsequently suspended for

violation of rules forbidding their presence in combat areas. Aware of public concern and Congressional wariness about the role of the U.S. advisors, the Administration is proposing that further training of the Salvadoran armed forces be done in the United States, or in a third country—most likely Honduras.

Honduras: In requesting funds for Honduran military assistance for FY 1979 the Pentagon noted that the Honduran military "as a group has historically been friendly to the United States." Since 1980 Mobile Training Teams have instructed the Honduran military in urban counterinsurgency, communications, intelligence, helicopter maintenance and parachuting. Green Berets have been sighted in the militarily sensitive border region between Honduras and El Salvador. On Honduras' volatile border with Nicaragua, U.S. military personnel and U.S. transport planes helped to establish a Honduran base in July 1982. In the same area, in February 1983 the United States and Honduras conducted the largest joint military maneuvers involving those two countries.

Guatemala: The United States trained more than 3300 Guatemalan military personnel between 1950 and 1977. Early in 1982 the Reagan Administration requested funds to train 190 Guatemalans in 1983, declaring that a "Cuban-supported Marxist insurgency" faces Guatemala. The Administration claimed this training would "enable us to increase the Guatemalan military's sensitivity to the control of abuses of the civilian population by the armed forces." Yet U.S. training had not deterred twenty-nine years of repression by the Guatemalan armed forces.



U.S. troops participated in joint maneuvers with the Honduran armed forces in Summer, 1982 near the Nicaraguan border. They helped to build a Honduran base at Mocoron.

El Salvador's Army Goes to School—In the U.S.A.

In December, 1981 the Pentagon brought the newly-formed Ramon Belloso Quick Reaction Battalion to Fort Bragg, North Carolina. The home of the Army's Special Warfare Center, Fort Bragg specializes in counterinsurgency. An additional 477 Salvadoran officer candidates were sent for training to Fort Benning, Georgia.

The two three-month courses cost the United States \$14 million. Both the officers and the 957-man Belloso Battalion were taught how to use the U.S. weapons being introduced into El Salvador: M-16 rifles, M-

60 machine guns, M-79 grenade launchers, and 90mm recoilless rifles. They were also taught counterinsurgency tactics, and how to take advantage of the mobility offered by the "Huey" helicopters and numerous trucks sent by the U.S. government. Coordination and communication among units were also part of the curriculum, as were such "lessons of Vietnam" as using small patrols, avoiding ambush, night combat, and establishing fire bases. The courses included 39 hours of instruction in "civil-military relations," designed to teach the Salvadorans "a well-defined sense of the need to main-

tain the support of the populace through respect for basic human rights and the promotion of a close working relationship with the people."

Within the first weeks after their return to El Salvador the Belloso Battalion was deployed in a large search-and-destroy operation in northern Chalatenango. In spite of the training they had just received in the United States, they killed 600 unarmed refugees during this operation.

The U.S. Military Presence: A Ring of Terror

U.S. military force rings Central America. U.S. military presence is on the rise and threatens the area with U.S. ground, air and naval forces.

On the Seas: The Naval installation at KEY WEST at the tip of Florida, virtually abandoned since 1974, is being renovated in response to the increased U.S. naval presence in the area. It is being turned into a "forward operating base" capable of receiving U.S. destroyers and warships, as well as gathering and analyzing intelligence data. Its functions were further augmented in December 1981 when the Caribbean Defense Command was relocated from Puerto Rico to Key West. Key West coordinates all U.S. naval activities in the Caribbean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico and those portions of the Pacific Ocean that border Central America, including U.S. war exercises held in the Caribbean. It would direct

In the Air: Claiming that airfields in Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone may be insufficient and that the Navy is too overextended to supply an adequate number of aircraft carriers to the region, the United States has negotiated the improvement of an airstrip in Honduras, at COMAYAGUA, that will be capable of servicing and refueling tactical warplanes such as the Air Force's F-14 and F-15 fighter bombers.

Beginning in February 1983 AWACs, sophisticated U.S. spy planes, have been flying over the Caribbean under the rationale of tracking down the flow of arms to and from Nicaragua.

RAMEY AIR BASE in Puerto Rico, a strategic air command until seven years ago when it was shut down, is being used again by the U.S. Air Force for periodic training missions. The Administration plans to upgrade Ramey and for the Air Force to use it on a more



Navy participation in any regional military intervention.

Other U.S. naval installations in the area include: BERMUDA; ANDROS ISLAND, in the Bahamas; GUANTANAMO, on Cuba's eastern shore; ROOSEVELT ROADS, at Ceiba, Puerto Rico, one of the largest naval facilities in the world; ANTIGUA, in the Antilles; and the CANAL ZONE, in Panama. The regular U.S. naval presence in the Caribbean is now 20 ships.

U.S. destroyers carrying advanced electronic surveillance equipment continuously patrol the GULF OF FONSECA, shared by Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras. Andres Alvarado, former foreign minister of Honduras, has charged the United States with converting AMPALA, on the Isle del Tigre in the Gulf, into a "Guantanamo-type military base."

The United States and Colombia have discussed the use of the Colombian naval facility on the island of SAN ANDRES, off the coast of Nicaragua. Although there is no agreement for U.S. use of this base, U.S. military technicians visited San Andres in April, 1982 to take measurements of its port.

permanent basis.

On the Ground: The U.S. SOUTHERN COMMAND (SOUTH-COM) in Panama coordinates U.S. military activities in the Caribbean, Central and South America. Southcom administers the growing U.S. military aid programs in the region and is responsible for U.S. training teams operating in 14 Latin American countries, including Green Berets in El Salvador and Honduras. Southcom manages three training schools for the Latin American armed forces where courses are taught in "U.S. Military Doctrine," "U.S. Government and History," "Low Intensity Warfare," "Internal Defense and Development," "Internal War/Revolution" and "The Problem of Development From a Military Perspective." Instructors at Southcom include Argentines, Chileans and Uruguayans. Southcom also sponsors conferences and workshops on subjects of mutual military interest with Latin and Caribbean countries receiving U.S. military assistance and training. The relocation of Southcom is under consideration; either Honduras or Puerto Rico may be the new location.

U.S. War Games in the Caribbean Dress Rehearsals for U.S. Military Intervention?

- August-October 1981, OPERATION OCEAN VENTURE: An
 exercise involving 120,000 troops, 240 ships and 1000 aircraft
 from the NATO nations and Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay
 and Colombia, including a mock invasion at Vieques, Puerto
 Rico, called "Amber in the Amberdines," regarded as a thinly
 veiled reference to Grenada and the Grenadines.
- October 1981, OPERATION FALCON'S EYE: Joint U.S.-Honduran naval maneuvers involving 260 troops, six ships and several planes near Puerto Cortes, Honduras.
- February-March 1982: Thirteen ships from the United States and Canada conducted maneuvers in the Gulf of Mexico and the Straits of Florida.
- March 1982, OPERATION SAFE PASS: NATO exercises originally scheduled to take place off Canada were relocated to the Gulf of Mexico. The exercise included 28 ships and 80 aircraft from six NATO nations. Mexico characterized the maneuvers as provocative.
- April 1982, OPERATION READEX: 39 U.S. warships, including two aircraft carriers and some 200 aircraft, conducted maneuvers and practiced an amphibious assault on a "hostile island" at Vieques, Puerto Rico.
- April-May 1982, OPERATION OCEAN VENTURE: A multiservice training maneuver in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico involving 45,000 servicemen, 350 airplanes and 60 ships, including two carrier battle groups. It simulated the invasion of a "hostile" country at Vieques, Puerto Rico, and included an evacuation drill for families at Guantanamo. Rear Admiral MacKenzie, commanding the maneuvers, said they were designed to "send a signal to those people who are friends and those who would oppose us in this part of the world..."
- July-November 1982, OPERATION UNITAS: Caribbean exercises involving the United States, Chile and Colombia. These manuevers, conducted annually since 1959, were boycotted this year by other Latin nations because of the Falklands/Malvinas war. Six U.S. Navy ships and 20,000 men were involved in this exercise.
- August 1982: Joint U.S.-Honduras military exercises involving Army and Air Force units from Panama. The United States supplied C-130 transport planes and "Huey" and Chinook helicopters, and assisted the Hondurans in establishing a base at Mocoron 25 miles from the Nicarguan border.
- <u>February 1, 1983, BIG PINE</u>: Joint U.S.-Honduran military exercises costing \$5.2 million in the Honduran border region with Nicaragua near Fort Mocoron involving 1600 U.S. and 4000 Honduran military personnel, and 211 members of the Puerto Rican National Guard (PRNG), the first in which the PRNG participated. The exercises simulated an invasion of Honduras by a hypothetical country, "Corinto," which happens to be the name of a Nicaraguan port on the Atlantic.
- February 11-17, 1983, KINDLE LIBERTY: Joint U.S.-Panama National Guard ground and naval maneuvers held in Panama Canal area. Virtually all of the U.S. Southcom's Panama based forces participated as well as 3000 other U.S. military personnel coming from their home bases in the United States.
- March 10-April 2, 1983: Month-long naval exercises conducted
 off the coast of Puerto Rico involving 70 ships of the Second
 Fleet, 8 British and one Dutch ship and 400 aircraft. The Second
 Fleet's basic aircraft, the F-14 "Tomcat" fighter, has a range of
 1000 miles.

"All We Got There Was Death"

EL SALVADOR

The government offensive in Summer 1982 against the guerillas in the provinces of Chalatenango and Morazan, situated along the Honduran border, was a grim forecast of the changes in the war in El Salvador. 5000 Salvadoran troops, including two 1000-man U.S. trained battalions, were deployed. Fighting alongside the Salvadoran armed forces were 3000 Hondurans. The combined armies were bogged down by guerilla forces until U.S.-supplied A-37 Dragonfly aircraft bombed the area. Hundreds of unarmed civilians were killed in the fighting and by the bombing.

This offensive marked the first open collaboration between Honduran and Salvadoran troops inside El Salvador; increased ground and air support for Salvadoran troops from U.S.-supplied trucks and helicopters; the first combat experience of Salvadoran troops recently trained in the United States; and an extended test of U.S.-advocated military strategy, using small commando squads in conjunction with conventional 40-man platoons.

When we were trying to get out of there...we had to go right past the Army. They shot at us with mortars and they threw grenades at us from all directions...We were trying to escape with our children...When we had gotten out, a helicopter went over us. Then when we were trying to get down the hill, they had us surrounded and blocked; they had us ambushed...We were there for quite a while, and all we got was death, death which got us.

—Refugee account of the Chalatenango offensive

The capabilities of the Salvadoran Air Force were greatly increased with the delivery of U.S.-made A37 bombers, helicopters and other aircraft in June 1982. Military officials now report that the Air Force flies more than 30 sorties a day and that of those half a dozen are made by the A37s, subsonic jets that can carry 500 lb. bombs or 2.75 inch rockets in four pods fixed under the wings. A government attack accompanied by heavy bombing of the city of Berlin left a dozen buildings in its central square flattened. Salvadorans from all parts of El Salvador speak of their fears of bombings.

Since October 1979 the human rights office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador contends that 38,000 Salvadorans have been killed or have disappeared. Most were civilian victims of government forces and right-wing death squads. United Nations figures show that in addition more than 800,000 people, about 20% of the population, have been displaced from their homes.



Drawing by a Salvadoran refugee child. In March 1981 the child who drew this picture and many others fled from a government attack in Cabañas province in northern El Salvador, across the Lempa River into Honduras. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that there are as many as 26,000 Salvadorans in Honduras.

THE HONDURAN CONNECTION: The location of Honduras is highly strategic, bordering El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. The war in El Salvador and government repression in Guatemala have driven tens of thousands of refugees into Honduras. In addition, thousands of ex-members of Somoza's National Guard are based in a dozen camps along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border.

On Honduras' border with El Salvador there has been growing collaboration between the Salvadoran and Honduran armed forces. Honduran ground troops have joined the Salvadoran armed forces during military confrontations in the border region and the Honduran air force has flown fighter jets in support missions for the Salvadoran armed forces. Ex-Somoza Guardsmen based in Honduras near the Nicaraguan border launch armed attacks into Nicaragua almost daily. Hundreds of Nicaraguans have been killed and attempts to rebuild the society disrupted. Nicaragua's Miskito Indians, who live along the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, have been drawn into the conflict. Separated from the rest of Nicaragua by geography, language and culture, the Miskitos resisted the often insensitive attempts of the Sandinista government to include them in their reconstruction efforts. Following cross-border raids into Nicaragua and the discovery of "Operation Red Christmas"—an attempt to seize several Nicaraguan towns scheduled for late 1981-Miskito villages were forcibly relocated. In response many Miskitos fled to Honduras where some have joined the Somoza supporters.

As a result of the continuous conflict on this border, Honduran troops have come into direct confrontation with Sandinista soldiers. A new Honduran military base has been established with U.S. assistance and Honduras is building an airstrip near the Miskito refugee camps in Honduras. The United States is installing a \$5 million radar system near Choluteca in the border region capable of tracking planes within 250 miles—a range covering most of Nicaraguan and Salvadoran air space. The radar system is the first of its kind to be installed in Honduras; 50 U.S. Air Force personnel will operate the system under Honduran security beginning in Spring

1983.



Militarization of the border region between El Salvador and Honduras endangers both those seeking escape from the fighting in El Salvador and Hondurans living in the area. In order to militarize the area refugees who had settled near the border in Honduras were forcibly relocated to the Honduran interior. Many local Hondurans have fled from the area in fear.

The increasing U.S. presence in Honduras points to the importance of that country for U.S. regional strategy and the dangerous situation into which U.S. policies are leading Honduras. Approximately 100 U.S. military advisors are in Honduras as well as over 100 CIA operatives. The U.S. diplomatic mission numbers 147, the largest in Central America. It is headed by John Negroponte, who was a Vietnam-era diplomat in Saigon between 1964 and 1968, the years of the U.S. military buildup; Negroponte is reported to be directing the secret CIA-sponsored war against Nicaragua. Since Fall 1981 there have been three major joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers including the largest military exercise ever to take place in the region.

With its armed forces mobilized on two borders, Honduras has abruptly stopped progress toward democratization. Despite elections in November, 1981—the first in 18 years—conservative elements have consolidated within the armed forces and tightened their grip on the country, cracking down on Honduran peasant, union and student leaders as well as members of the Salvadoran and Guatemalan exile communities. Even a top-ranking member of the Honduran armed forces has protested the repression; in late August, 1982, Colonel Torres Arias, head of military intelligence from 1976 until January 1982, condemned the disappearances and political murders occurring. It is a tragic irony that just as the Honduran people thought they had won social and political liberalization at the polls they find themselves threatened by regional war and suffering increasing domestic repression.

GUATEMALA: In 1954 a C.I.A. covert operation overthrew a democratically elected reform government and ushered in the present era of repressive military rule in Guatemala. In the ensuing 29 years the Guatemalan armed forces have conducted a systematic campaign of murder and terror against all opposition, but have failed to stamp it out.

Following the March 1982 coup of General Rios Montt there was a reduction of violence in Guatemala's cities simultaneous with the unleashing of a ruthless campaign of terror and mass killing in the highland region. Indians make up 60% of the total Guatemalan population and the highlands are the home of the majority. As a result of the campaign of terror thousands of Indians have fled their villages, fleeing to Mexico or retreating further into the highlands. Separated from their farms those seeking safety in the remote highlands frequently face starvation. On their return the Army forces many into government controlled areas and demands their participation in the army's civil patrols. As one Guatemalan military commander described the government's "beans and bullets" program: "If you're with us we'll feed you, if not we'll kill you."

First they came in helicopters and gathered the people together. Then, one by one they took them away and killed them...and after they killed the people they chopped them up and picked at them with machetes...My home was burned to ashes. We were in town then...if we had still been home when the army came, we'd be ashes by now.

-Refugee account

Church sources state that the military campaign against Guatemala's indigenous population has killed thousands, displaced more than a million people, and driven more than 100,000 into Mexico and other Central American countries to seek refuge.

The United States government regards the Rios Montt-directed campaign against the population in the rural highlands as a successful counterinsurgency effort. In Fall 1982 it announced that the human rights situation in Guatemala had improved, claiming a reduction in the absolute number of summary executions of civilians by the Guatemalan forces. Despite the controversy this assertion aroused, and contrary evidence produced by Amnesty International and other human rights groups, the Administration rushed \$6 million in military assistance to Guatemala.



The massacres of the Indians and the dislocation of Indian villages are threatening the survival of indigenous cultures in Guatemala.

A Catalogue of U.S. Military Equipment in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala*

El Salvador: U.S. assistance virtually feeds, clothes, equips and trains the Salvadoran armed forces. U.S. weapons and equipment are greatly increasing the fire power, troop mobility and communications among combat units. For example, in late 1980 a \$250,000 contract was signed for a U.S. Technical Field Team "to implement an effective and supportable logistical, signal and motor maintenance/support." Early in 1982 U.S. assistance was proposed to establish an intelligence school and system, improve ground force capabilities, improve command and control through installation of a nationwide radio and teletype, provide aircraft, spare parts, and funds to cover logistics advice and administrative costs.

U.S. aircraft arriving in El Salvador in mid-1982 signaled a change in the war in El Salvador. The aircraft greatly increased bombing capability, air-to-

ground coordination and the armed forces' ability to move large numbers of troops and equipment around the country rapidly.

U.S. military assistance is also to enhance the small Salvadoran navy and includes ship spare parts and upgrading vessels.

According to the Pentagon, nearly 90 percent of the Salvadoran junta's FY 1983 request is for "expendable" or "sustaining" items...ammunition, boots and other personal equipment, vehicular transportation and communications gear. In its proposals for additional military assistance in FY 1983 and for FY 1984 the Administration is emphasizing the need to provide more military training to the Salvadoran armed forces.

Western European countries, particularly France, and Israel have also exported weapons to El Salvador.

| Quantity (where known) | Item/Manufacturer (where known) | Description/Date of delivery (where known) | |
|------------------------------|--|---|--|
| 20 | UH-1H Iroquois helicopter Bell Helicopter, the largest division of Textron, Inc., Fort Worth, TX | "Huey," widely used in Vietnam: scout vehicle, transports up to 15 troops or 5000 lbs. of external ordnance (rockets, machine guns, grenade launchers). Its slim fuselage makes it hard to hit. Hopes to increase to 24 / 1981-1982. | |
| 1 | FH-1100 commercial observation helicopter / Fairchild-Hiller, Farmingdale, Long Island, NY | Adaptable for military use: 5 passengers or 1000 lbs., 348 mile range. | |
| 5 | A-37B Dragonfly jet attack aircraft Cessna, Wichita, KS | Used against ground targets: highly accurate, maneuverable, can take off and land in a short space, ideal for rough terrain; carries nearly 5000 lbs. of externally mounted bombs and air munitions; heavily used in Vietnam to carry bombs, rockets, white phosphorous and cluster bombs; fixed armament a minigun which can fire up to 6000 rounds per minute / 1982. | |
| 4 | O-2 Skymaster spotter aircraft Cessna, Wichita, KS | For visual reconnaissance, target identification, target marking, ground-to-air coordination and damage assessment; used in Vietnam, often as an attack bomber; can carry rockets and flares; easy to maintain and fly; can stay aloft a long time / 1982. | |
| 2 | C-123 Provider jet transport Fairchild-Hiller Corp., Farmingdale, Long Island, NY | 58 troops or 54,000 lbs. of cargo; in Vietnam a few modified as gunships, others fitted with defoliation equipment / 1982. | |
| 1 | C-47 Skytrain transport Douglas Aircraft Co., a division of McDonnell Douglas Corp., Long Beach, CA | Carries 74 troops; modified versions used in Vietnam; five destroyed / January 1982. | |
| 6 | T-41 Mescalero trainer aircraft Cessna, Wichita, KS | 900 lbs. of ordnance underwing. | |
| 3 | T-34A Mentor trainer aircraft Beech Aircraft Corp., Wichità, KS | Can be used as an attack bomber. | |
| 5-10 | T-6 Texans trainer aircraftNorth American (now part of Rockwell International) El Segundo, CA | 1500 lbs. of rockets and gun pods. | |
| 10 | M-113A1 armored personnel carrier Food Machinery Corp. (FMC), San Jose, CA | Carries 13 combat troops; Browning M-2.50 cal. machinegun with 2000 rounds of ammunition. (1000 lost in combat in Southeast Asia.) | |
| 75 | Miscellaneous Vehicles | Ford 22' diesel trucks with seats; cargo trucks; tank trailers / 1980. | |
| 4 | M-23 Armament Systems | Includes two M-60D 7.6 mm machine guns, one for each helicopter door; 600 rounds per gun at rate of fire of 550-600 rpm. | |
| 30 | M-101A1 105mm howitzer / Rock Island Arsenal, Rock Island, IL | World War II era weapon; weighs 2.5 tons; towed by light truck or jeep, or lifted by helicopter; fires up to 100 rounds per hour; maximum range 7.8 miles. | |
| 36 30 | M-67 90 mm recoilless rifle M-18A1 57 mm recoilless rifle M-1 81 mm mortar | Fires a high explosive round up to 560 yards / 1981. Fires a high explosive round more than a mile, a white phosphorous shell up to 3 miles. World War II era weapon mounted on halftrack weapons carrier; fires 30 rpm, sending a high explosive or white phosphorous shells more than a mile / 1981. | |
| 20 | M-19 60 mm mortar | Fires high explosive and white phosphorous shells more than a mile / 1981. | |
| 208 | M-79 40 mm grenade launcher | Fires a grenade accurately up to 180 yards / 1981. | |
| 4000 | M-16 A1 rifle | Lightweight; the weapon of Vietnam; unlike standard rifles, which spin the bullet, the M-16A1 "tumbles" the bullet, giving it a shorter range but causing it to make a gaping wound / 1981. | |
| 222 | MK82 500 lb. bomb | Makes a crater approximately 10 feet deep, 30 feet across / 1981. | |
| | Small Firearms / Smith and Wesson, Springfield, MA; Colt, Hartford, CT; and others. | Pistols, shotguns, rifles. | |
| 52,010 | M-67 fragmentation hand grenade | Sends lethal fragments to a radius of 20 yards / 1981. | |
| 10,000 | Riot Control Equipment | 40 mm CS gas grenade, nausea-causing anti-riot agent. Tear gas grenade launcher; protective masks / since 1980. | |
| | Ammunition | Artillery, rifle and pistol; smoke grenades; fuses. | |
| | Image intensifier | Used at night to improve contrast of objects against background; widely used in Vietnam / 1980. | |
| | Night vision device | PVS-2B electro-optic devices for observation and nighttime weapons targeting; used in Vietnam / 1980. | |
| | Communications Equipment | 250 AN/PRC manpack radio set with five mile range / 1980. AN/VRC and AN/ARC radio set / 1980. RC-292 antenna system / 1980. 30 KW generator / 1981. Thousands of batteries / since 1980. | |
| | Medical Equipment | 27 ambulances / 1980. 10,000 first aid dressings / 1980. Medical and dental supplies / 1980. | |
| | Personal Items | Boots, mess kits, compasses, C-rations, helmets, flak jackets. | |

^{*}These lists are necessarily an understatement of the actual U.S. weapons in the arsenals of El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala as it is impossible to compile accurately a total figure for small items sold by the U.S. and because all major items appearing are either verified by The Military Balance 1982-83 or appear in at least two other sources.

Honduras: Honduras has the largest, most sophisticated air force in Central America. Although the majority of aircraft listed below were exported to Honduras prior to the current military buildup, in FY 1980 the United States lent Honduras ten "Huey" helicopters; Honduras has acquired an additional six since then. The United States has contracted for the repair of Honduran aircraft and for aircraft engines. Aircraft equipment is overhauled and re-calibrated at HOWARD AIR FORCE BASE, in the Canal Zone in Panama.

The United States provides spare parts, ammunition and repair equipment for Honduras' basic weapons systems. In 1981 a Honduran team came to the Defense Institute for Security Assistance Management, WRIGHT PATTERSON AIR BASE, Dayton, Ohio to learn to handle the influx of U.S. military assistance. According to the Pentagon 75% of the FY 1983

Honduran request for military assistance is for expendable items that keep the military going. The Administration is proposing \$41 million in military assistance for FY 1984, double its FY 1983 request. It includes transport aircraft, a nationwide communications system, training and helicopters.

The United States helped create the Honduran navy in 1975-77; it currently includes 5-7 Swift patrol craft made by SWIFTSHIPS, INC., Morgan City, Louisiana.

Israel is also a significant supplier of weapons, aircraft and military equipment to Honduras. A visit to Honduras in Fall 1982 by then Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and his subsequent statement to the press that Israel would cooperate with Honduras in military and security matters prompted speculation that Israel and Honduras would soon announce a major arms deal.

| Quantity (where known) | Item/Manufacturer (where known) | Description/Date of delivery (where known) | |
|------------------------------|---|---|--|
| 14-20 | UH-1H helicopter | See El Salvador / since 1980. | |
| 2-3 | UH-19D Chickasaw helicopter Sikorsky Aircraft, division of United Technologies, Stratford, CT | Multi-purpose transport and utility. | |
| 6-8 | A-37B attack aircraft | See El Salvador / 1975. | |
| 3 | RT 33-A reconnaissance aircraft Lockheed, Burbank, CA | | |
| 2 | C-54 Skymaster transport aircraft Douglas Aircraft, division of McDonnell Douglas, Long Beach, CA | Carries 50 troops. | |
| 1-5 | C-47 Skytrain transport aircraft Douglas Aircraft. | Most widely used military transport in history; carries 74 combat troops; most | dified version used in Vietnam. |
| 2 | C-45 transport aircraft Beech Aircraft Corporation (subsidiary of Raytheon Company), Wichita, KS | | |
| 2 | CE-180 Skywagon commercial aircraft / Cessna, Wichita, KS | Used abroad for military transport and reconnaissance / 1959. | |
| 2-3 | CE-185 Skywagon utility aircraft Cessna, Wichita, KS | Many have been modified for military use / 1961. | TT TT |
| 6 | T-6 Texan | See El Salvador | |
| 24 | T-28D Trojan trainer aircraft North American, now Rockwell International, El Segundo, CA | Carries 4000 lbs. of ordnance underwing; early versions used in Vietnam and | the Congo. |
| 5 | T-41 Mescalero trainer aircraft | See El Salvador / 1973-75. | |
| | Armored Personnel Carriers and Fighting Vehicles 15 M-3A1 White 15 M-6 Staghound | World War II era vehicle; fourwheeled armored car weighing 6.5 tons; speed 5 / 1951. World War II era / 1951. | 55 mph; carries .50 cal. and .30 cal. machine guns |
| | 10 M-24 Chaffee Trucks and other vehicles | World War II era / 1954-55. Enhance mobility of troops and equipment. | |
| 12 | M-116 75 mm howitzer | cimance mobility of troops and equipment. | |
| 8-12 12 | M-101 105 mm howitzer M-102 105 mm howitzer | See El Salvador. Light weight; towed by truck or jeep; can fire 3 rpm up to 9 miles. | |
| | M-67 90 mm recoilless rifle M40A2 106 mm recoilless rifle M-18A1 57 mm recoilless rifle | See El Salvador. Often mounted on a jeep, fires high explosive round up to 5 miles. | |
| | 81 mm mortar | | |
| | 120 mm mortar | | |
| 106 | 120 mm mortar M16 A1 rifles, spare parts and accessories. | See El Salvador / 1980. | |
| 106 433 | M16 A1 rifles, spare parts | See El Salvador / 1980. 1980. | |
| | M16 A1 rifles, spare parts and accessories. M14 rifles, spare parts | | |
| 433 | M16 A1 rifles, spare parts and accessories. M14 rifles, spare parts and accessories. | 1980. | |
| 433 | M16 A1 rifles, spare parts and accessories. M14 rifles, spare parts and accessories. machine guns | 1980. 1979. | * |
| 433 | M16 A1 rifles, spare parts and accessories. M14 rifles, spare parts and accessories. machine guns carbines Small arms Personal equipment | 1980. 1979. 1979. Grenades, submachine guns, 164 bayonets, revolvers, pistols, mines. Boots, canteens, uniforms; C-rations, 20,000 helmets. | Andred tree Section 1 |
| 433 102 5000 | M16 A1 rifles, spare parts and accessories. M14 rifles, spare parts and accessories. machine guns carbines Small arms Personal equipment Medical equipment | 1980. 1979. 1979. Grenades, submachine guns, 164 bayonets, revolvers, pistols, mines. Boots, canteens, uniforms; C-rations, 20,000 helmets. U.S. technical team to survey for 150-bed hospital. | Andrews of the second |
| 433 102 5000 | M16 A1 rifles, spare parts and accessories. M14 rifles, spare parts and accessories. machine guns carbines Small arms Personal equipment Medical equipment Night vision sight, MK 505 | 1980. 1979. 1979. Grenades, submachine guns, 164 bayonets, revolvers, pistols, mines. Boots, canteens, uniforms; C-rations, 20,000 helmets. U.S. technical team to survey for 150-bed hospital. See El Salvador. | Arababaa arabaa |

Guatemala: In 1977 Guatemala refused to comply with U.S. human rights criteria and rejected U.S. military assistance. Though military assistance was technically cut off deliveries of U.S. weapons and military equipment already in the pipeline continued, as well as some FMS Cash Sales and Commercial Sales. Since mid-1981 the Guatemalan government has also purchased significant quantities of items which, though officially designated as "non-military," are used by the armed forces for military purposes. Examples of such items are: shotguns, crime investigation equipment, handcuffs, a surveillance camera, a psychological stress analyzer, truck and truck parts. Through commercial sales Guatemala also acquired Bell helicopters, civilian variants of Bell's military model; eyewitness accounts reveal Guatemalan air force raids using these Bell aircraft. It was also in this way that Bell Helicopter Company brought at least twenty Guatemalan air force officers to its Fort Worth, Texas facility for training during 1982. At the time of their training the Guatemalans candidly

Communications equipment

Personnel equipment

discussed with their U.S. instructors plans for arming their Bell helicopters with machine guns.

On January 7, 1983 the Reagan Administration announced its decision to resume official military ties with the Guatemalan government of General Rios Montt; it authorized \$6 million in helicopter spare parts and communications gear to the Guatemalan air force. In FY 1984 the Administration is proposing \$10.2 million in military assistance to include engineering, medical and communications equipment, training and spare parts for planes and helicopters.

Over two-thirds of Guatemala's 15 naval vessels were built by the U.S. companies HALTER MARINE SERVICES, INC., New Orleans, LA and SEWART SEACRAFT, Berwick, LA and commissioned between 1972-1977.

Over the past decade Western European countries, as well as Israel, Brazil, Taiwan and Yugoslavia, have exported arms and military-related equipment to Guatemala.

| Quantity | Item/Manufacturer | Description/Date of delivery |
|----------|---|--|
| (where | (where known) | (where known) |
| 3 | Bell UH-1H helicopter Bell 212 helicopter | purchased through the U.S. Department of Commerce 1980-82; |
| 6 | Bell 412 helicopter | civilian helicopters identified as fitted with machine guns |
| 8 | Bell 206 B helicopter | by the Guatemalan armed forces |
| 5 | Bell 206L-1 helicopter Bell Helicopter, Textron, Inc. Fort Worth TX | |
| 10-11 | A-37B Dragonfly attack aircraft | See El Salvador / 1971-75. |
| 9-10 | C-47 Skytrain transport aircraft | See El Salvador / 1976. |
| 1 | DC-6B commercial aircraft / Douglas Aircraft, McDonnell Douglas, Long Beach, CA | Version of C-54 Skymaster (See Honduras). |
| | | And the latest the second seco |
| 2-3 | CE-180 Skywagon utility aircraft | See Honduras / 1961. |
| 6-12 | CE-172 Skyhawk trainer aircraft Cessna, Wichita, KS | Carries 900 lbs. of ordnance. |
| 2-4 | U-206C Stationair commercial plane / Cessna, Wichita, KS | Seats 4 to 10; modified for military use. |
| 12 | T-41 Mescalero trainer aircraft | See El Salvador. |
| 7-25 | M-3A1 Stuart light tank | World War II era with 37 mm gun / 1950. |
| 10 | M-113A1 armored personnel carrier | See El Salvador / 1972-73. |
| 15 | M-8 Greyhound armored car | World War II era; speed 55 mph; with 37 mm gun; .30 cal. machine gun with 1500 rounds; and .50 cal. anti-aircraft gun with 1000 rounds. |
| 7 | V-150 Commando armored car Cadillac Gage, subsidiary Ex-Cell-O, Warren, MI | Carries 12 combat troops and generally 2 machine guns. |
| 6 | M-3 armored personnel carrier | World II era; normally carries 2 machine guns and 10 troops. |
| 50 | trucks | Purchased through the Commerce Department / 1981. |
| 100 | jeeps | Purchased through the Commerce Department / 1981. |
| 12-36 | M-101A1 105 mm howitzer | See El Salvador. |
| | M-1 mm mortar | See El Salvador. |
| 12 | 4.2" mortar M-329A2 4.2" mortar Chamberlin | Fires high explosive projectile up to 3 miles. |
| | Manufacturing Corp., Elmhurst, IL | |
| 12 | M-2 60 mm mortar | See Honduras. |
| | M-20A1 3.5" rocket launcher | Korean War era; one man weapon—updated version of World War II era bazooka; maximum range 140 yards. |
| 10,000 | M-16A1 5.56 mm rifle | See El Salvador / 1977. |
| | Browning .30 caliber machine gun | World War II era. |
| | M-3A1 .45 caliber submachine gun | World War II era; fires 450 rpm with a range of 250 yards. |
| | Firearms | M-1 Garand .30 caliber rifle; M-1A1 .30 caliber carbine; rockets; shotgun and shotgun parts; pistols, revolvers. |
| | Ammunition Day and Zimmerman, Philadelphia, PA; Hercules, Inc., Wilmington, DE; ICI Americas, Inc., Wilmington, DE; Olin Corp., Winchester Group, East Alton, IL; Remington Arms Co., Bridgeport, CT. | 1,060,000 cartridges up through 20 mm./ 1978, ammunition raw materials/1978, 1979; .45 cal. cartridges; 1,028,000 cartridges up through 20 mm./1980. |
| | Riot control agent/herbicide | 1978. |
| 22 | TF-76 Taser and taser spares | Anti-personnel weapon now outlawed in Canada; looks like a flashlight, fires two short-range darts connected to wires into victim, then fires high voltage low current charge of electricity, causing instant incapacitation. |

victim, then fires high voltage low current charge of electricity, causing instant incapacitation.

Radios; P-11 speech scramblers.

Armored vests, other protective equipment.

The President, Congress and the media must hear the resolve of U.S. citizens for an end to U.S. support for repression and military terror and for help for the development of democratic alternatives and a peaceful process for solving the many complex problems of Central America. You can join a growing movement seeking:

- an end to U.S. military support
- withdrawal of U.S. military advisors
- an end to covert activities
- a negotiated political settlement involving all parties to the conflict in El Salvador; a negotiated end to hostilities with Nicaragua, and between Nicaragua and Honduras
- an end to support for the repressive Guatemalan government
- support for organizations providing humanitarian assistance to victims of violence

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Human Rights/ Global Justice Program, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215-241-7165)

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Available from AFSC Latin America Program, 1501 Cherry Street. Philadelphia. PA 19102 (215-241-7146): Central America: The Roots of the Crisis, a 30-minute slideshow (1982, \$50); Guatemala: A People Beseiged (1978, \$50); speakers; and information about the AFSC Central America Assistance Fund.

The following organizations can help you learn more about Central America, help you organize activities in your community, place of worship, school or union, and put you in touch with others in your area with similar concerns.

Americas Watch, 705 G Street SE, Washington, DC 20003; Amnesty International, 705 G Street SE, Washington, DC 20003; CISPES (Coalition in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) 930 F Street NW, Washington, DC 20004; Center for International Policy, 120 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002; Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002; CAMINO, 1151 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138; Denver Justice and Peace, 2840 Lawrence Street, Denver, CO 80205; EPICA (Ecumenical Program for International Communication and Action) 1470 Irving Street NW, Washington, DC 20010; ICCHRLA (Interchurch Committee on Human Rights in Latin America) 40 St. Clair Avenue E, Toronto, Ontario M4T 1M9; Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q Street NW, Washington, DC 20009; Interreligious Task Force on El Salvador, -475 Riverside Drive, M. 1020, New York, NY 10115; LAWG (Latin America Working Group) Box 2207, Station P, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T2; NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America) 151 West 19th Street, New York, NY 10011; NISGUA (National Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala) 930 F Street, NW, Washington, DC 20004; Nicaragua Solidarity Network, 930 F Street NW, Washington, DC 20004; OXFAM-America, 115 Broadway, Boston, MA 02116; Religious Task Force on El Salvador, 1747 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20009; Religious Task Force, 407 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, IL 60605; Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, 78 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02108; WOLA (Washington Office on Latin America) 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002.

Many thanks to numerous groups and individuals whose research and publication of resources on Central America were helpful in the preparation of this pamphlet; to Frank Brodhead for research and writing assistance; and to Cynthia Washington of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy for design. Cover Photo: Harry Mattison, Gamma-Liaison, Helicopter gunship over El Salvador.

NARMIC Staff: Thomas Conrad, Eva Gold (project coordinator), David Goodman, Mary Morrell, and Methodist mission intern Marilyn Wood.

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Vol. IV No. 6

CENTRAL AMERICA UPDATE

JUNE 1983

COMMON

CONCERNS

U.S. HARDSELLS HARDLINE

Now that the Reagan administration's hardliners have taken com- Court stated that the legislative veto had unconstitutionally usurpplete control of the Central American policy apparatus with the dismissals of Thomas Enders and Deane Hinton, only one obstacle remains: selling U.S. intervention in Central America to the American public.

In April, President Reagan began the hardsell with his address to the joint session of Congress:

The national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America. If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail elsewhere. Our credibility would collapse, our alliances would crumble and the safety of our homeland would be put in jeopardy.

However, at the same time Reagan promised not to commit American combat troops. But if Central America is so important, why doesn't President Reagan send in the Marines? Because U.S. popular opinion remains overwhelmingly opposed to escalating American military involvement in the region (see pg 36).

The lack of public consensus to back open-ended U.S. involvement has led the Pentagon to conclude that American public opinion must change before it becomes viable to commit U.S. troops. U.S. Army Chief of Staff Gen. Edward Meyer says it would be wrong to have "soldiers at the end of the string without having the support of the American people." Ideally U.S. military involvement in El Salvador, says Gen. Meyers, should not have a limit on the number of military advisors. Questioned about sending combat troops, Meyers says "There should be no uncertainty in the minds of those involved that whatever is necessary, if that poses a threat to us, we are willing to do."

The Washington Front

From Washington, officials have followed Reagan's lead in launching the rhetorical counter-offensive in search for greater public support for the Central American war. New arguments are made that the U.S. involvement in Central America can be expected to be commensurate with its involvement with Israel (price tag: \$3-\$4 billion per year). A new "White Paper" has been produced purportedly showing Nicaraguan involvement in El Salvador and Communist subversion throughout the isthmus. Reagan now refers to the ex-Somocista contras as "freedom fighters." And human rights issues are being dismissed from the public debate. As Henry Kissinger asserts, "It is time we stopped arguing only about how much democracy there is in El Salvador and began to understand America's strategic interests are at stake." The U.S. public is being asked to accept the rhetoric of "evolutionary" even "generational" changes in the despotic Salvadorean military instead of expecting the oft-promised social and economic reforms.

Congressional Opposition

So effectively has the "red menace" been invoked that congressional opponents to escalation are fearful of standing up against the administration lest they be accused of "losing Central America" on the eve of their 1984 re-election.

While the Senate and House Intelligence sub-committees continued to block White House demands, they were willing to concede funding if they received an unprecedented veto over future covert operations. However, in a late June ruling, the Supreme

ed the President's executive power. While the legal battle continues, Congress is considering other legislative means of controlling covert action and limiting military aid to El Salvador, two of the most immediate issues affected by the new ruling.

Military Escalation

Pending public support for major U.S. involvement, Washington is continuing to implement a series of mini-escalations. The training of Salvadorean officers has been stepped up in Fort Benning and in Honduras, while AP reports that U.S. officials "are now running the war" (see El Salvador article). The U.S. has also established a training base and a radar installation in Honduras (see Honduras article).

American covert operatives continue to direct the contras' war against Nicaragua. With an over-confidence suggesting massive American armaments and logistic support, C.I.A. Director William Casey has predicted the Sandinistas' downfall by year's end.

Military Solutions Undermine Peace Talks

Although the Contadora Group (Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama) continues to press for negotiated resolutions to the regional crisis, U.S. opposition has stymied every attempt. At Washington's suggestion, Honduras, for example, refuses to consider bilateral talks with Nicaragua. Before the late May Contadora meeting the foreign ministers of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica caucused in San Salvador before joining Nicaragua and the Contadora four in Panama.

Describing Washington's involvement in the Central American conflicts as "fundamentally harmful", Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez endorsed the Contadora initiative. Other endorsations during May came from Canada, Brazil, Peru, the UN Security Council and the EED.

Washington's counter-move, the appointment of Richard Stone as roving ambassador, is an almost grotesque gesture given Stone's role as a paid lobbyist (\$110,000 in 11 months) for the previous Lucas Garcia regime in Guatemala. Despite that the FDR-FMLN responded with a willingness to meet with Stone in Washington on the condition that mutually accepted Congresspeople serve as witnesses. The FDR-FMLN has also stated that political negotiations should be tri-partite, involving the governments of El Salvador and the U.S., and the FDR-FMLN.

Upon returning from his whirlwind tour of Central America, Richard Stone offered rhetorical support for the efforts of the Contadora Group. The New York Times reported that Reagan had authorized Stone to "explore the possibility of meeting with Salvadorean guerrilla leaders to discuss ways of getting the insurgents to participate in elections". But with no prospect of a military victory for the Salvadorean Army or the Nicaraguan contras, and with insufficient support at home, the Reagan administration will have to go beyond lip-service to the question of political solutions to salvage its failing Central America policy. Otherwise, as former Vice-President Walter Mondale recently pointed out, "It is inevitable that American troops will be sent into Central America."

CANADIAN POLICY: VARIATIONS ON THE U.S. THEME

The policy of the Canadian government toward Central America remains cautious and contradictory. While External Affairs pays lip service to the social and economic causes underlining the current Central American crisis, it accepts Washington's contention of international communist subversion. At the same time as making criticisms of foreign intervention from whatever quarter, Canada accepts that the region is "of strategic importance to U.S. interests." It also turns a blind eye to Honduran intervention in both Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Canada urges "political dialogue" for El Salvador but in the next breath backs the rightist government and condemns the opposition. Throughout all of this, Canadian aid dollars flow to Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. In the three years from FY 80/81 to FY 82/83 Canadian aid to those three countries totalled \$58.8 million. In the same period Nicaragua received \$6.8 million, \$4.2 of which was in-kind food aid (surplus wheat). The Export Development Corporation (EDC), a crown corporation, continues to facilitate trade with the dictatorships of El Salvador and Guatemala.

The gaping breach between Canadian rhetoric and actions is slowly eroding whatever credibility and potential peace-promoting leverage Canada has.

Nicaragua

Canada accepts U.S. allegations that Nicaragua is supplying arms to El Salvador and increasingly criticizes what it describes as "authoritarianism" inside the country. Since the country's devastating civil war Canada's direct bilateral contribution to re-construction totals a paltry \$43,000. Food, institutional and industrial aid add up to an additional \$6 million. This compares extremely badly to most Western European countries or even Canada's response to another regional catastrophe, Guatemala's 1976 earthquake (which by comparison elicited over \$14 million in aid for a much lesser disaster to infrastructure and industrial capacity.)

Canada has committed itself in principle to a new line of credit (for agricultural goods and services) totalling approximately \$18 million. However, despite CIDA's willingness to go ahead, External Affairs has allowed negotiations to drag on as a way of effectively freezing the money.

El Salvador

Canadian criticisms of the "legitimate" government are practically non-existent while Ottawa's wrath is saved for "leftwing guerrillas" "bent" on destruction "to achieve their political ends".

Although Canada "suspended" aid in 1981 for new projects, disbursements of previously approved aid meant that 225% more Canadian aid reached El Salvador in FY 81/82 than it had the previous year. In the midst of the civil war, Canadian dollars are financing a strategic hydro-electric transmission line (total cost \$10.3 million.) The EDC also insures and guarantees Canadian exports, \$2,531,000 worth in 1982 alone.

Honduras

Honduras has become the geopolitical platform from which the U.S. is launching its covert war against Nicaragua and bolstering the Salvadorean army against the FDR-FMLN. Coincidentally it is also the focus of Canadian aid to Central America. Canada boasts being the fourth largest bilateral donor and in the past three years Canadian approved aid totals \$43.7 million. Honduras, Canadian aid officials say, might receive an additional \$70 million over the next five years despite its blatant intervention in Nicaragua. However, the growing militarization and deteriorating human rights situation is beginning to create problems for this key component of Canadian policy toward the region. Succumbing to pressure from Latin states and following West Germany's lead in

suspending military aid, Ottawa was forced in late April to cancel the sale of military STOL aircraft said to be worth \$30 million. This embarassing about-face came only three months after the Secretary of State for International Trade defended the lucrative contract stating that "Honduran government representatives have provided assurances that these aircraft will be used in the carrying out of important civilian tasks. . ."

Guatemala

At the peak of the military slaughter of highland peasants, mid-1982, the Canadian government seemed to reward General Rios Montt by upgrading the Canadian embassy in Guatemala City with a full-time ambassador. The human rights situation has not put a damper on promoting trade and in 1982 the amount of Canadian exports insured and guaranteed by the EDC was \$6,348,000, the highest in Central America. Canadian salesmanship has been so successful in Guatemala that for the first time in years Canada boasted a trade surplus, \$11 million in 1982.

Last March, Canada co-sponsored a UN resolution criticizing the violation of human rights and calling on the Guatemalan government to ensure that "the security forces fully respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of its citizens." But according to a *Financial Post* article published the same month, "the Canadian embassy in Guatemala City was approached by Guatemalan Air Force officials, who were reportedly 'very impressed' by the Twin Otter built by de Havilland Aircraft of Canada Ltd."

Policy in Search of Peace

"The fundamental problems of Central America," said Secretary of State Allan MacEachen on June 3, "are the result of a long history of political, economic and social repression. Stability cannot be restored until the forces for change have been accommodated. . ." Despite this realistic appraisal of Central America's crisis, Ottawa often effectively acts on the side of the U.S., the regional hegemonic power which has historically intervened to suppress change. If Canada is to help avoid the impending regional war that threatens Central America it needs to clearly articulate an independent policy consistent with its liberal analysis of truncated social development. That policy should include:

- 1. Vocal support for Nicaragua's right to self-determination and non-intervention. Ottawa must clearly demonstrate to both Washington and Tegucigalpa its opposition to activities which violate and demean international law. In the context of military and economic destabilization, Canada should not only release current aid allocations but also act to compensate for the Reagan administration's cutoff of Nicaragua's sugar quota.
- 2. Consistent backing of political and not military solutions in El Salvador. At the same time as publicly supporting the Contadora Group's mediation efforts, Canada refuses to deal evenhandedly with both sides in the civil war. Inexplicably Canada is preparing to support upcoming elections without participation by the FDR-FMLN. Canada must oppose U.S. military escalation and join the broad international call for political negotiations to precede elections.
- 3. Revamping aid policies. No Canadian aid should go to countries where there is a systematic violation of human rights. This would exclude Guatemala and El Salvador for both bilateral and multilateral aid since no development can take place until post-war reconstruction. In the case of Honduras, growing human rights violations and disregard for neutrality make a mockery of it being Canada's aid priority. Nicaragua, Central America's only country to have a demonstrable record for land reform and social development programming, should be Canada's priority.

OPPOSITION MOUNTS TO RIOS MONTT

In his regular Sunday "homily" to the nation, on June 6, General Rios Montt admitted for the first time publicly that in Guatemala "subversion is strong—it is strong because of our weakness". This reversal of the earlier claim that the armed opposition movement had been destroyed comes as a result of recently increased military activity by the U.R.N.G. following a short tactical retreat. Politically, however, the admission comes at a time when Rios Montt faces his strongest challenge on three institutional fronts—Guatemala's right-wing political parties, the business elite, and the Catholic Church.

Political Power Plays

The most contentious issue, which has won Rios Montt the wrath of mainline parties from the center to the extreme right (D.C., C.A.N., P.N.R., and M.L.N.), is his failure to set a clear timetable for elections. In a critical move on June 5, senior army official General Mario Echeverria Vielman issued a public challenge to the regime to return the army to the barracks and to call elections as originally promised after the March 23, 1982 coup. He also asserted that civil defense patrols, participation in which is mandatory and which affect primarily the rural indigenous population, have inhibited economic production, while secret military tribunals have damaged Guatemala's ability to capture new international economic aid.

Following his televised speech, Vielman was forcibly retired from the army by Rios Montt. Vielman has been associated with the party most critical of the regime, the extreme right-wing M.L.N., which is thought most likely to win elections if these take place soon. In an attempt to clamp down on further political dissent from traditional sectors, the leader of the P.N.R. was jailed for a few days for criticizing Rios Montt's use of political power to aid his evangelical church. Following the visit of Reagan's special envoy Richard Stone in early June, Rios Montt announced that he will schedule voting for the second half of 1984 to choose a constituent assembly similar to that of El Salvador. However, it is widely believed that Rios Montt is stalling elections as long as possible in order that new political parties might emerge to dis-

place the power of the traditional elite which is extremely critical of his rule.

Economic Crisis Creates Divisions

While the holding of elections is the key political issue confronting the regime, a proposed tax package favouring the agricultural sector over industrial and commercial elites is adding further fuel to the fire. The proposed reform, one of several I.M.F. conditions, would include a value-added tax on non-essential items and possibly replace current export, income and property taxes. While the proposals remain vague, the Committee of Industrial, Financial and Commercial Associations (C.A.C.I.F.), an umbrella organization, has virtually split over the proposals.

Industrialists fear the value-added tax inclusion while agriculturalists would benefit from the suspension of current export taxes. The private sector rallied to Montt's call last December to make the war their own by paying a "war tax". The commercial sector, which contributed the most then, has been most vociferous in its criticisms of Montt recently. Given the critical nature of the economic crisis, Montt seems determined to do whatever is necessary to maintain IMF support. By supporting the agricultural sector at the expense of other sectors, Montt appears to be deepening the divisions between his opponents, and building a base of support for himself with the most reactionary sector of Guatemala's elite — the large agricultural landowners.

Bishops Challenge Montt

This latest and toughest round of criticism of the Montt regime was spurred on by a public letter published in May by Guatemala's bishops. In part designed to gain ground for the Catholic church in the face of increasingly aggressive evangelical sects, the statement criticized the continuing massacres in the countryside, the secret military tribunals and the growing numbers of disappeared persons.

With the naming of moderate Monsignor Ramiro Pellecer as acting Archbishop of Guatemala following the mid-June death of Mario Cardinal Casariego, it is expected the church criticism of the current regime will increase.

HONDURAS

U.S. MILITARY SETS UP SHOP

As a major staging area for U.S. military strategies in Central America, Honduras is preparing to take yet another step towards the regionalization of the war in El Salvador and a declaration of war against Nicaragua. A U.S. military training school has been established at Puerto Castilla on Honduras' Caribbean Coast, with an advance team of Green Berets already on-site.

This clearly indicates the political weakness of the Honduran Legislative Assembly, which had declared the establishment of the training base to be illegal. The base's mandate was agreed on during an unpublicized visit to Washington by General Alvarez in late May. The school plans to train the first 1,000 man Salvadorean Quick Action Batallion by the end of June, followed by an additional four Light Infantry Batallions of approximately 350 men each and will also be used by other unidentified Central Americans as well. About 100 U.S. military trainers will be stationed at the school.

The base is extremely important for the U.S. because of the increasing difficulty of operating from Panama where public protest has placed the Panamanian Government in an embarrassing position. The U.S. did not expect the agreement permitting the Southern Command School at Fort Gulick to be renewed. Hon.

duran observers predict that the present tent-city Puerto Castilla installations will soon be a permanent base.

Honduras' much declared "neutrality" in the internal problems of its Central American neighbours has been further compromised by the installation of a U.S.-operated \$5 million radar base just south of the capital, Tegucigalpa. This equipment covers a radius of more than 230 miles and is capable of monitoring activities in both Nicaragua and El Salvador. Approximately 50 additional U.S. military personnel are involved in operating the radar installation. The U.S. is also spending another \$13 million on the upgrading of three small Honduran airports, on the extension of their runways for larger cargo planes and for stepped-up reconnaisance flights.

Honduras' acquiescence to U.S. strategy underlines the fact that the most powerful men in the country are General Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, head of the Honduran Armed Forces, and U.S. Ambassador John D. Negroponte. Roberto Suazo, the elected president, runs a poor third. A Canadian journalist in Honduras recently asked a government official if he felt that General Alvarez would run in the next Presidential elections. Not likely, was the reply, "why should he be demoted!"

EL SALVADOR

U.S PRESSING HARD

U.S. Military Aid Upped

Several recent measures demonstrate the U.S. government's continuing commitment to a military solution in El Salvador. 525 Salvadorean officers are currently in Fort Benning, Georgia for anti-guerrilla training while an old World War II base at Puerto Castilla in Honduras has been refurbished to train 2400 soldiers in the Salvadorean army. The June arrival of 100 Green Berets in Honduras to conduct the training has tripled the number of Green Berets there.

The U.S. has also stepped up its intelligence capacity in El Salvador through a new wide-radius radar installation in Honduras and through nightly reconnaissance missions conducted over guerrilla-held territory by AC130 military planes from the U.S. base in Panama. The planes' infra-red and low-level TV sensors are specifically designed to detect movements in the dark. In addition, a secret Pentagon unit, the Army Intelligence Support Activity has been operating with an unknown number of agents in El Salvador. There has been press speculation that since the AISA uses service men that the Pentagon is actually exceeding the 55-man limit by covert means. (When it was first established, the AISA was clearly operating outside the law.)

In a further move that apparently does not conflict legally with the 55-man limit on U.S. military advisers, the U.S. has sent 25 doctors and medical specialists to serve the Salvadorean army despite the drastic and far greater need evident in the civilian sector.

Negative Impact

Despite such increased strategic and material support, however, U.S. military strategy continues to have an adverse impact on the Salvadorean army. Both the Salvadorean High Command and combat field officers consult U.S. advisors before taking action, according to Col. Domingo Monterrosa and as another Salvadorean army official explained, soldiers remain resentful: "The Americans are saying 'You're using our money, therefore, you have to fight the war our way because if you don't, you'll screw up! It's arousing nationalistic pride and people resent the American presence even if they are against the leftists."

Following demands by U.S. strategists, Defence Minister Gen. Vides Casanova has shuffled military commands in the FMLN-dominated areas of San Vincente and Chalatenango. He has hedged, however, on full adoption of the U.S. "cazodores" strategy (see CAU, April 1983): "When they speak of small patrols, they are thinking of the Green Berets. When our troops go on small patrols, one soldier sees a girl and falls in love. Another has a few beers and gets drunk."

Recently released Pentagon statistics appear to support Vides Casanova's doubts on the effectiveness of the U.S. strategy. The study found that only 15% of the Salvadorean soldiers trained by the U.S. two years ago are still in the army and nearly half of those trained last year are already gone.

FMLN Advances

In addition to rapidly losing U.S.-trained men, the Salvadorean army has had difficulty retaining U.S.-made arms. Former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White said recently that officers are selling guns to the other side before the crates are even opened. FDR president Guillermo Ungo informed congresspersons in Washington last month that the FMLN had captured over 1,000 rifles from the Salvadorean army in 1982 and, in effect, had received 30¢ of every U.S. aid dollar going to El Salvador.

The FMLN's economic warfare has accelerated in the past months. In Usulutan, the coffee plantation run by the father-in-law of Defense Minister Vides Casanova was overrun. Strategic bridges connecting El Salvador and Guatemala and Honduras were destroyed in late April and early May and were to be replaced at best, according to

government officials, with rope suspension walkways. At the end of June, the bridge located some 20 km. northeast of the capital leading to the Cerron Grande dam, was destroyed. The hydro-electric dam is the largest in the country.

Military advances in May include the temporary occupation of Santa Rosa de Lima in La Union which is said to be of comparable significance to the capture of Berlin last February. The most important advance in strategic terms as well as psychological impact was the May 31st capture of the Salvadorean army communications center and garrison in Cacahuatique, Morazan.

In May, as well, the first general assembly of FMLN local government juntas was held in Chalatenango. Representing the two thirds of that department under FMLN jurisdiction, the convening of this popular congress was considered by local analysts another step forward in the opposition's administrative consolidation over large parts of the country it already controls.

Amnesty Maneuver

Confronted with the need to increase its credibility before the U.S. government in July can legally allow more military aid, the Magana regime has resorted to a limited amnesty program for political prisoners in El Salvador. The political maneuver is also viewed as part of a strategy to win international support for presidential elections to be held at the end of this year. The FDR has rejected the amnesty offer.

Between January and April of this year, 1,526 civilians have been killed and 114 have disappeared. Of the approx. 700 persons known to be political prisoners in two San Salvador prisons, 349 have been released. Eight of those released have been found dead.

WASHINGTON POST/ABC NEWS POLL May, 1983

PUBLIC IS CONCERNED OVER COMMUNIST THREAT IN CENTRAL AMERICA BUT A MAJORITY CONSIDERS U.S. ENTANGLEMENT A GREATER DANGER

| Q. | Which would you say is a greater danger to the United States: | |
|----|---|-----|
| A) | The spread of communism in Central America because the U.S. doesn't do enough to stop it, or \dots | 34% |
| B) | The United States becoming too entangled in internal Central American problems as a result of trying to stop the spread of communism. | 55 |
| No | oninion | 11 |

Q. Which do you think is the greater cause of unrest in Central America today: subversion from Cuba, Nicaragua and the Soviet Union, or poverty and the lack of human rights in the area?

| Subversion from Cuba, Nicaragua, Soviet Union | 22% |
|---|-----|
| Poverty/lack of human rights | 57 |
| Both about the same | 8 |
| No opinion | 13 |

Q. Do you think the United States should secretly try to overthrow the government of Nicaragua, or not?

| Yes, should | 13% |
|----------------|-----|
| No, should not | 78 |
| No opinion | 9 |

Q. Do you think there are circumstances under which the United States should secretly get involved in overthrowing a Latin American

| government: | |
|---|----------|
| Yes, there are such circumstances | 24% |
| No, there are not such circumstances | 63 |
| No opionion | 13 |
| Figures are from a Washington-Post-ABC news telephone poll of 1,501 people na from May 11 to May 15, 1983. | tionwide |

thus: our job!

AGGRESSIONS CONTINUE

Throughout the months of May and June, Nicaragua continued to sustain aggression on three fronts: economic, diplomatic, and military.

On the economic front, the U.S. government announced on May 10 that Nicaragua's quota for sugar exports to the U.S. would be cut by 90%. The move was designed to exacerbate Nicaragua's foreign exchange shortage. However, Algeria and Iran have offered to buy Nicaraguan sugar at the price previously paid by the U.S.

Attempt at Diplomatic Isolation

On June 7, the Reagan administration expelled 21 Nicaraguan diplomats and ordered the closure of all of Nicaragua's consulates. Only the embassy in Washington remains open. The move was ostensibly a response to the Nicaraguan government's expulsion of 3 U.S. diplomats, accused of being C.I.A. agents and of plotting to assassinate Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto. In a press conference, a foreign ministry employee, Marlene Moncada, stated that she had worked as a Nicaraguan double agent and that she had been offered \$5,000 by the U.S. diplomats to give D'Escoto poisoned brandy.

But the severity of the U.S. response indicates that the expulsion of the Nicaraguan diplomats was more than "tit for tat". Observers suggested that the real motive was to weaken the direct links between the U.S. and Nicaraguan peoples, and thus to strengthen the official Washington view of Nicaragua. The wave of expulsions also served to hinder U.S.-Nicaraguan trade.

Journalists' Deaths

The June 21 deaths of two U.S. journalists somewhere around the Honduran-Nicaraguan border was also used to darken Nicaragua's image in the U.S. Honduran and U.S. officials claimed that the journalists were killed by a grenade fired into Honduras from Nicaraguan territory. Nicaragua denied the charges, and Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto argued that the two journalists had been sympathetic to the Sandinistas.

The Military Situation

It was the military situation, however, that continued to concern Nicaraguans. Regular T.V. announcements showing how to build trenches and bomb shelters illustrated the country's mood of preparedness.

In the north, the U.S.-backed F.D.N. continued to attack across the Honduran border. The guerrilla forces, forming a "corridor" into Nicaraguan territory through which supplies were introduced and their wounded returned to Honduras for treatment, have been backed by a barrage of artillery fire from the Honduran military on several occasions. Recent intense fighting left El Porvenir, a farm less than 2 kilometres from the border, in the hands of the contras. Said Lieutenant Jose Talavera in Jalapa, "We didn't lose anything by giving it up. If we try to retake it, we risk firing into Honduran territory, and we don't want to create any problems".

Nicaragua continues to maintain that the true danger of the Somocista invasions lies not in the counterrevolutionary attacks themselves, but in the possibility of war with Honduras.

In the south, the Costa Rican-based Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (A.R.D.E.) has not been making military progress, despite articles in the Costa Rican press proclaiming an imminent A.R.D.E. offensive. A.R.D.E. military leader Eden Pastora complained that his group has had to use hit and run tactics due to a lack of rifles and ammunition. "International forces and reactionary organizations give the Somoza guards lavish help", Pastora complained, "but we are kept on a short string in the south". On May 1, the first day of Pastora's self-proclaimed liberation struggle, A.R.D.E. forces murdered 13 campesinos and 2 government officials in the Rio San Juan area.

Relations Among the Contras

As different counterrevolutionary forces continue to violate Nicaraguan territory by launching invasions across the northern and southern borders, it remains unclear whether there is official agreement between the groups. Fernando "Negro" Chamorro, head of the Costa Rican based Nicaraguan Democratic Union (UDN) said that discussions over alliance, which took place in May in San Jose (Costa Rica), Tegucigalpa (Honduras), Miami and Washington, D.C. have led to "substantial agreement" on unifying the forces. The four groups said to be involved are: the Honduran-based Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN), which is the principal US-backed guerrilla organization; MISURA, the Miskito Indian organization led by Steadman Fagoth, which operates in Nicaragua's northern Atlantic coast region; ARDE, the Costa Rica-based Democratic Revolutionary Alliance led by Eden Pastora and Alfonso Robelo; and the UDN.

Chamorro, acknowledging what he called "ideological differences" among the insurgent factions, said the move toward unity "is based on putting aside our political differences, and uniting a common military strategy". These differences centre on the participation of the deposed Somoza's National Guard in the insurgent movement.

Alfonso Robelo, ARDE's political leader, has ruled out the existence of any agreement with the FDN as long as its leadership is made up of ex-National Guard. Lenin Cerna, Head of Nicaragua's General Direction of State Security pointed out that the leaders of ARDE are well aware that any direct ties to the Somocista guards would bury them politically forever.



Trenches in the frontier region with Honduras,

Special Tribunals

In a domestic response to the military aggression, the Nicaraguan government in April decreed the formation of special Tribunals which, according to Supreme Court President Roberto Arguello, "will consider cases of those accused of concrete and specific acts related to sabotage and to violent actions of armed bands". Arguello stated that the tribunals "have been created to bring to trial in a rapid and effective way the numerous war prisoners who are now causing a backlog in the normal judicial system".

F.S.L.N. Position

The F.S.L.N.'s basic position on the current escalation of aggression was articulated by Commander Bayardo Arce in a May Day address.

Arce identified the unconditional retreat of invading troops and the cessation of border attacks as absolute prerequisites to any solution of Nicaraguan problems, and called for an end to the violation of Nicaraguan waters and airspace by U.S. warships and spy planes, and for an end to C.I.A. involvement in covert and overt plans against Nicaragua. He asked for proof of the supposed arms flow to El Salvador, and expressed the Nicaraguan disposition to discuss the matter with the U.S. He identified the Contadora Group as "the most important regional effort for contributing to peace in Central America, and said Nicaragua would continue to support this initiative in its search for peace.

SOLIDARITY COAST TO COAST =

Southern Ontario Tour

Between June 5 and June 19, 17 unionists, educators and community organizers from Southern Ontario visited Nicaragua on a solidarity tour. The major thrust of the tour was to visit workers and unions in Nicaragua, with the aim of building greater solidarity between the Canadian and Nicaraguan peoples. The tour met with unions, AMNLAE, State Council officials, the Mothers of the Heroes and Martyrs, human rights workers, church, and a wide range of Nicaraguans working at all levels - government, mass organizations and individuals. Commandante Tomas Borge met with the group for more than an hour at the termination of their visit and gave them an overview of the political and military situation in the country. "The situation has never been more critical in this country," Borge stated. "I am not at all optimistic about peace . . . but I am very optimistic about victory."

The South Ontario delegation was made up primarily of individuals from Toronto and Kitchener/Waterloo . Among the tour participants were: Jim O'Neil, representing the United Autoworkers, John Donaldson, vice-president of the OFL and president of the Ironworkers' Local in Toronto, as well as Terry O'Connor from CUPE and president of the Toronto Archdiocese organizations of Development and Peace. The delegation returned to Canada committed to describing the situation in Nicaragua at this time and seeking every means at their disposal to find a peaceful and negotiated settlement to the crisis.

Sandinista!

The Great Canadian Theatre Company has created a play entitled Sandinista! It was developed from 30 hours of interviews which were taped when company members spent two weeks as guests of the Ministry of Culture in Nicaragua. The play covers about 2½ years and the two main female characters are taken directly from Sandino's Daughters, a book about women's contribution to the revolutionary process in

Nicaragua. The play is sponsored by Oxfam Canada, CUSO and the Arusha Centre in Calgary. Ten Days for World Development, the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace and the Calgary Inter-Church Committee for Human Rights in Latin America are contributing to the costs of taking the production to Calgary. The play has also toured Winnipeg, Medecine Hat, Edmonton, Saskatoon and Regina. It will play Ottawa in early July, and an eastern tour is being planned for the fall.

U.S. Doctor Behind the Lines in El Salvador

Dr. Charlie Clements, the former Viet Nam war pilot who became doctor to 10,000 Salvadoreans in the FMLN zone of Guazapa, visited Toronto and Ottawa early in June, talking to physicians, the media, MPs, non-governmental organizations and solidarity groups.

Seriously troubled about possibilities of U.S. escalation of the war in Central America, especially of large-scale bombing strikes, he has already testified to Congress and expects to do so again shortly, recounting his personal experiences both as a doctor and as liaison between the FMLN and the International Red Cross for the exchange of prisoners. He found 15-year-old regular army soldiers who had been taught to kill children. He treated napalm and white phosphorus burns, but commented to a Toronto audience, "most people would rather die by napalm than by the usual atrocities performed by the soldiers or national guard."

Clements talked specifically to Canadian doctors about organizing medical support for those in the FMLN zones, advising contributions through the New Life for El Salvador First Aid and Medical projects organized by the Central American Solidarity Network (Canada).

In related U.S. solidarity events, a \$100/plate benefit in May in New York netted over \$20,000 for medical aid to El Salvador. Dr. Clements was one of several people who spoke at the event, which was co-sponsored by CISPES and Medical Aid to El Salvador.

News Briefs

NICARAGUA

Southern Pacific Coast Gets Fishing Port. The Soviet Union is building a fishing port in the Southern Pacific Coast of Nicaragua, at San Juan del Sur, which will be used by the Soviet tuna fishing fleet. The port should be finished in three months, and will consist of a 7,000-ton Soviet drylock and a 60-foot long floating pier. Some years ago, the Soviet Union built similar facilities in Peru.

Death of Internationalist Protested. Protestors occupied the Federal Republic of Germany's embassy in Managua for 7 hours in early May to demand an investigation into the death of development assistant Dr. Albrecht Pflaum. The German physician was shot during the ambush of a bus by Somocista forces. The 25 demonstrators, who included development workers and other Germans living in the country, also demanded that the Federal Republic officially condemn "American intervention against the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador", and increase its aid to Nicaragua." About 70 other development workers who did not take part in the occupation called for a reassessment of West German policy toward Central America saying it was inadequate to simply echo Pres. Reagan's concerns for the region.

GUATEMALA

Campesinos Affected by the Chixoy Dam Voice Complaints. The Guatemalan government has transferred its 91.7% shares from the Guatemalan Electric Company (EEGSA) to the National Institute of Electrification (INDE). The move is intended to guarantee INDE's control of service, policy, and planning.

The newly powerful INDE is faced with having to respond to the May 20 public complaint of thousands of villagers whose lives have been dramatically changed by the construction of the Chixoy hydroelectric dam. Some villagers are totally cut off by lakes and rivers, planting has been severely disrupted and traditional water supplies have been contaminated, as evidenced by increasing sicknesses. Villagers have told the government they will not accept expropriated land as compensation for the land they have lost as a result of the dam construction. They will accept only that land that has been duly purchased by the government.

Guatemala Seeks Assistance from IMF. Guatemala joined the parade of Latin American nations seeking emergency assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in April, the same month the nation's Central Bank was forced to

stop issuing foreign exchange to import raw materials and machinery for local industries. The IMF agreed to a \$125 million line of credit for Guatemala over 18 months.

Members of Previous Government Living Peacefully at Home. The government of Gen. Romeo Lucas Garcia has been recently described by the Chairman of the Council of State, Jorge Serrano Elias, as the "bloodiest in Guatemalan history". However, he failed to mention the fact that the former chiefs of police and security are living peacefully at home. The ex-president is living quietly on his cattle ranch in El Sebol, while his brother Gen. Benedicto Lucas, former chief of staff, lives in Poptun, El Peten, taking care of his large collection of Mayan ceramics.

HONDURAS

President Suazo Cordova Attacks Nicaraguan Government. Even though Honduras welcomed the role the Contadora Group can play in a negotiated settlement in the region's conflicts, President Suazo accused Nicaragua of destabilizing the military balance in Central America by "mobilizing an army greater than all of the region's armies put together, including Belizand Panama". He mentioned that the Nicaraguan Army has 119,000 effectives, "with 17,000 foreign advisers working in Nicaragua's defense, public health, and educational activities". The U.S., on the other hand, estimates that the Sandinista Army has no more than 23,000 to 25,000 moderately well-armed people.

Revolutionary Movement Unites. The National United Directorate of the Revolutionary Movement of Honduras (DNUH) was formed recently. It brings together six guerrilla groups: the Honduran Communist Party (PCH); the Popular Liberation Movement (MPL-Chinchoneros); the Popular Revolutionary Forces (FPR Lorenzo Zelaya); the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (PRTCH); and the Unified Revolutionary Movement (MUR). The coordinator of the DNUH is Manuel Federico, Secretary-General of the PRTCH.

The DNUH has announced that it will lead the struggle against the government who they say is responsible for the disappearances, torture and murder of popular leaders, and against the Somocistas operating from Honduran ter-

ritory.

Union Leaders Killed. On March 20th, four trade union leaders were shot and killed by soldiers assigned to guard the Sula Agricultural and Cattle Company installations. The government has denied responsibility claiming that the soldiers acted independently. However, conflicting reports have quoted the soldiers as saying that they were following orders and that the workers were "a bunch of communists."

The Moonies and Alvarez. The normally conservative Honduran Catholic Church is up in arms over the emergence in Honduras of Sun Myung Moon's CAUSA International. Although formally established in January with a membership of 150, it is widely believed that the sect has existed in Honduras for the past few years.

Bo Hi Pak, Moon's second in charge, was pre-sent for the public debut of the sect. Pak has been a heavy donator to APROH, General Alvarez's newly formed association of Honduran capitalists which had in turn invited CAUSA to Honduras. The links between the two organizations are undoubtedly strong and in the ensuing furor which surrounded the Honduran Bishops scathing denunciation of CAUSA and Moon's Unification Church, the silence of Alvarez and Roberto Suazo was not unnoticed.

The penetration of fundamentalist Christian churches and other sects has increased exponentially in Central America in the past five years. In Honduras they are active in regions of the country where peasants are working collectively lands obtained through the Agrarian Re-form program. In strongly-Catholic Honduras these groups have the tendency to divide communities and divert social action for change. The basis of their theology and ideology is to legitimize the status quo, and combat communism.

EL SALVADOR

IMF Gives Seal of Approval at Mid-Term Review. The IMF has approved a \$17m loan to El Salvador despite the assessment by its own staff that "contrary to program expectations, the economic situation has considerably worsened in the past year as a result of the internal civil war." The loan was the last tranche to be released of the \$48.4m standby credit approved in July, 1982. The loan followed a May mid-term review by the IMF of El Salvador's economic performance. The loan is supposed to help the Magana government maintain 1982 production rates and avoid further drops in GNP, which has fallen drastically since 1980.

Coming at a time of escalating violence and civil war, the loan underlines the determination of the Reagan administration to prevent a total collapse of its Central American ally. Yet U.S. corporations in El Salvador are clearing out. According to the Financial Times, "direct foreign investment has virtually dried up." Capital flight, according to U.S. government estimates, has been \$1 billion in the last three years.

Confronted with considerable difficulty in approving bilateral aid in Congress, the U.S. administration has increased pressure in the multilateral institutions to bail out the sinking Salvadorean government. Such "political" capital, however, appears to be the only thing keeping the doomed ship afloat. As the IMF recently admitted in a staff document, "no recovery in output (in El Salvador) is now anticipated for 1983, while the balance of external accounts will critically depend on continuation of a high level of external assistance mainly from the United States.'

Inter-American Bank May Build Second Strategic Bridge in El Salvador. The Inter-American Development Bank is now considering building two bridges to span the Lempa River in El Salvador. Both bridges make strategic connections between guerrilla occupied territories and government occupied territories. Building these bridges would throw the bank squarely into El Salvador's civil war.

The Center for International Policy reported on Dec. 9, 1981 that the IDB was proposing to rebuild the Golden Bridge. The second bridge now being proposed is for Route CA-3 in northern El Salvador bordering Cuscatlan and Chalatenango provinces. This route is the only major connection between the strategic cities of San Pablo Tacachico and Nueva Concepcion. Most of Chalatenango province is guerrilla controlled, and the rest of Chalatenango province and much of Cuscatlan province is contested by the guerrillas. Building a bridge in this area of the country can only be considered a military project and cannot be done without risking loss

Earlier IDB projects also with strategic implications include a July, 1982 \$66 million loan to complete the San Lorenzo Dam and a November, 1981 \$31 million loan for rural roads in northwest El Salvador, primarily Chalatenango province.

The loan from the IDB is for nine million dollars and may be approved as early as this summer.

By financing militarily related projects in El Salvador, the IDB is adopting a political role in that country's civil war. Loans such as these represent a retreat from the Bank's charter which stipulates that it is a neutral, nonpolitical agency devoted to peaceful economic development.

Salvador Troops Not Re-enlisting. Only 15% of the Salvadorean soldiers trained by the U.S. two years ago are still in the army and nearly half of those trained last year are already gone, according to the Pentagon. Representative Clarence Long (D. MD.) chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations, said many are not re-enlisting after 2-year compulsory tours because they are paid only \$25 a month and face heavy casualties. He said that the \$9,000 the U.S. spends to train each soldier is often "a waste of money."

British Soldiers Accompany U.S. Military Advisers. A British election candidate has stated that British soldiers regularly accompany U.S. military advisers on missions in El Salvador. The charge, made 2 days before Britain's general election, was immediately denied by the foreign office.

lames Walsh, Liberal Party candidate, said the British troops were from the elite Special Air Service, based in the former British colony

Canada to Provide Aid to Displaced Persons. Canada will provide \$975,00 in humanitarian assistance to the victims of the civil war in El Salvador according to Allan MacEacen, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The grant is in response to appeals from the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) and will be provided through the International Humanitarian Assistance (IHA) program of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

COSTA RICA

Civil Guards Trained by the U.S. Following an increasing trend, 70 Costa Rican civil guards will be trained in Fort Gulick, formerly the Panama Canal Zone, in 1983. In 1982, 32 were trained and 20 in 1981. At the end of May, 30 guards

were sent to the United States' Army School of the Americas in Panama. Of these, 10 are in a course that includes instruction in basic infantry weapons, and the other 20 received a two-week course on patrolling borders in mountain and jungle areas.

REGION

Sugar Import Quotas Increased by U.S. As a result of the 90% cut in sugar import quota from Nicaragua, the countries of Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica have been awarded 52%, 18% and 30% increases respectively by the Reagan Administration. Sugar authorities in these countries have said they would be able to meet these increases since they contend there will be surpluses of sugar this year. El Salvador has been getting a preferential price of 20¢/lb of raw sugar, while the international market price is only 74/lb. This increase makes El Salvador the second largest sugar export country in Central America, after Guatemala,

It was also announced by the office of the U.S. Trade Representative that Guatemala, Panama, Argentina, Colombia, the Philippines and Swaziland have been added to the list of eligible duty-free countries for sugar imports,

starting on the 31st of March, 1983.

Stone Has Record of Lobbying for Guatemala. Richard Stone, new special ambassador for Central America has had close relations with previous Guatemalan governments, and also with Taiwan. For US\$10,000 a month, between February, 1981 and March, 1982, Stone agreed to lobby in Washington on behalf of the government of Gen. Lucas Garcia. At the time he was hired by the Guatemalan government, he was instructed to concentrate on three specific missions: to promote negotiations between Guatemala and Belize; to improve relations between the Guatemalan and American governments in order to restore U.S. assistance; and to include Guatemala in regional U.S. economic assistance planning. He wasn't very successful in any of the missions and he said that "after a year we couldn't make any progress, and I resigned" but Guatemalan sources say that his stipend was cut the day Gen. Rios Montt came to power.

UN Gives Support to Contadora Group. The United Nations Security Council voted unanimously to support the four-nation Contadora Group to continue its peace-making efforts in Central America, which can be seen as a commitment to a negotiated settlement of the various conflicts in the region. The final document stated that the nations in Central America have the right to live in peace and security free from external interference. At the same time the U.S. was successful in erasing the suggestion that the Reagan Administration was responsible for the aggressions against the Nicaraguan government. The resolution urges the Central American countries to give full support to the Contadora Group countries (Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Colombia).

LABOUR BRIEFS

AFL-CIO Questions Legitimacy of Unions. On March 24, AFL-C10 President Lane Kirkland wrote a letter to presidents of international unions, as well as to state and local labour council officials informing them that they should check with the AFL-CIO's International Department before inviting speakers from El Salvador, Chile or South Africa. This note came after former organizational secretary of FENASTRAS, Alejandro Molina Lara, spoke at various union gatherings. FENASTRAS is El Salvador's largest union federation and is part of the coalition fighting the Salvadoran government. Kirkland's letter talks of an "individual claiming to speak for the Salvadorean people" who has "addressed some trade union meetings, presenting a position or policy contrary to that adopted by the AFL-CIO Convention". According to Molina Lara,

who lives in exile, the AFL-CIO's criticism of FENASTRAS refers to the fact that it has ties outside El Salvador, and indicated that the unions favoured by the AFL-CIO neither support the government nor the opposition. He emphasized that FENASTRAS supports unity of all labour groups in El Salvador, including those with ties to the AFL-CIO. "The problem", indicated one of the unionists that heard Molina speak, "is that the AFL-CIO seems to be defining any foreign union that disagrees with its policies as "illegitimate".

U.S. Trade Unionists Visit El Salvador. At the beginning of June, a delegation of U.S. trade unionists visited El Salvador for an intensive, on site study of the situation in the country. The delegation visited trade unionists in prison, leaders of the democratic unions, U.S. embassy officials, human rights organizations, refugees, government officials and Mothers of the Disappeared.

In a press release issued June 14, the delegation reported: "Nothing we have seen or heard suggests that there has been any change in El Salvador that would call for different policies from those adopted when the Labor Committee was founded two years ago:

1) opposition to U.S. military aid and intervention in El Salvador;

- support for free trade unions in El Salvador; affirmation of basic human rights in El Salvador;
- encouragement of a negotiated settlement to the conflict."

UPDATE! GUATEMALA. Gen. Rios Montt declared a "state of alert" June 29, suspending most civil liberties throughout Guatemala. Following an interview with former junta member Col. Francisco Gordillo where he stated his intention to overthrow the Montt regime, Rios Montt revoked the right of free assembly, freedom of expression and movement, and the inviolability of mail.

The move came only 3 months after Gen. Rios Montt lifted a state of siege under which all civil rights were suspended, all political activity banned and news was channelled through the government information service.

For Your Information...

El Salvador: War and Health

El Salvador: War and Health - the consequences of the war on the health of the Salvadorean people, was prepared by the Committee for Professional Health Workers (COPROSAL). This book, the first comprehensive account of the health situation in El Salvador, deals with the general effects of the war on the health of the population and also looks critically at the existing health care delivery structure. It also describes and evaluates the health system set up by the guerrilla forces in the liberated zones. LAWG has a few copies available at \$6.00 each. P.O. Box 2207, Station "P", Toronto, M5S 2T2.

Press Coverage Analyzed

The Center for Media Studies in Los Angeles is undertaking a major survey of U.S. media coverage of Mexico and Central America in 138 daily publications. The first part of the study, focusing on Guatemala (April-Dec., 1982) is now ready as a research tool (including bibliography of headlines, complete text with CMS comments, a cross index and excerpts from Human Rights reports). Cost is \$69.95, Center for Media Studies, P.O. Box 90159, Los Angeles, CA., 90009. El Salvador Elections

Jack Spence, writing in the March/April 1983 issue of Socialist Review, has provided a devastating critique of U.S. media coverage of El Salvador's March 1982 elections. Spence's 28-page article shows how superficial and misleading reporting played right into the strategy of the Reagan administration. The report, "Media Coverage of El Salvador's Election", is required reading for people preparing to be swamped with news on both El Salvador's and Guatemala's up-coming "elections". Socialist Review, Center for Social Research and Education, 4228 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA. 94609.

The New El Salvador

This 36 pg. book presents a vivid picture of new lives and social relationships as they take root in El Salvador's FMLN liberated zones. In words and photographs the organization of Local People's Governments and the development of new forms of education, production and health care are presented. US\$ 1.50; order from Solidarity Publications, P.O. Box 40874, San Francisco, CA., 94140.

Counterinsurgency in Central America Published by LASSU, this booklet encompasses

six aspects of U.S. counterinsurgency in Central America. Selling price: CDN\$2.00; for solidarity groups: \$1.00/copy plus 10% to cover mailing costs; order from Latin American Studies Student Union, c/o Student Society, Simon Fraser Univ., Burnaby, B.C., V5A 1S6.

Nicaragua: Dream of Sandino

This new documentary film is available from DEC Films, 427 Bloor St. W., Toronto; 50 min.; 16 mm.; in colour; Cdn:\$60 rental for community groups; \$90 institutions; video available at \$45 for community groups and \$75 for institutions.

Central America: The Financial War

This document, published by the International Policy Report in March, 1983, analyzes the behaviour of the international financial institutions in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, starting in 1980. It shows how the Reagan Administration has successfully implemented its policies within these institutions by cutting loans to Nicaragua and multiplying aid to the other countries. This report is available from NISGUA, 930 F St. N.W., Room 720, Washington, D.C. 20004, for US\$0.75/copy.

Update on Guatemala

This is a weekly news sheet that contains up-todate information on Guatemala or of policies that will affect that country. The newsletter can be ordered from the Committee of Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, P.O. Box 270, Wyckoff Heights Station, Brooklyn, NY 11237.

Church Packet

NISGUA has available what they call Church Packet I and II. The first packet has materials relevant to the history of the Church in Guatemala. The second packet focuses more on the Church in Central America, its characteristics, its trends and how the Guatemalan Church fits into this changing structure; this packet puts light on liberation theology, the Church's "option for the poor" and basic Christian communities. Each packet costs US\$5 plus postage, and can be ordered from NISGUA, 930 F St. N.W., Room 720, Washington, D.C. 20004.

Roots of the Crisis

"Central America: Roots of the Crisis" slide/ tape presentation. Overview of Central America conflicts and U.S. policy. 125 slides, script, 28 minute cassette, background materials included. \$60 purchase, \$15 rent. Contact: Latin America Program, American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Phila., PA 19102.

Protestant Penetration in Honduras

Last March the Honduran Documentation Centre (CEDOH) published a special document entitled La Penetracion Protestante en Honduras. Written in Spanish, this analytical piece provides background information, plus up-to-date activities of the numerous fundamentalist sects which have sprung up in the last ten years, developing what is called the Theology of Repression. This special issue was published as part of CEDOH's monthly Boletin Informativo, which concentrates on Honduran social, economical and political realities. A year (12 issues) subscription costs US\$9. For copies of the special document and subscriptions write to CEDOH, Apartado Postal 1882, Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

Coyuntura Costarricense

Panorama Internacional This publication, published monthly in Spanish, offers a synthesis of the issues that effect Costa Rica at an international level. Coyuntura covers the news that is printed in the three major Costa Rican newspapers regarding its international political and economic activities. The information deals with Foreign Policy, Relations with Central and Latin America. the United States. Canada and Europe, as well as relations with International Organizations. For subscription rates and copies write to CIDES/CENTRO AMERICA, Apartado Postal 413, Guadalupe, San Jose, Costa Rica.

Threatened With Resurrection

Julia Esquivel, a Guatemalan exile, has written a book of prayers and poems in English and Spanish. As a theologian and author, Esquivel describes the hard struggle and hope for a new life of her people. "When dawn breaks everything will be different". This collection of prayers and poems is available from Brethren Press, 1451 Dundee Ave., Elgin IL 60120, for US\$5.

Detroit Sanctuary Project

The Michigan Interchurch Committee on Central American Human Rights (MICAH) launched the Detroit Sanctuary Project in March '83. It is part of a national movement of people of faith who are actively challenging the U.S. government's policy of deporting tens of thousands of Salvadorean and Guatemalan refugees, despite the fact that very many of them are killed upon return. Forty congregations in twenty cities across the U.S. have declared themselves to be sanctuaries to protect those fleeing persecution in El Salvador and Guatemala. Hundreds of other churches, synagogues and national religious bodies have gone on public record endorsing the movement. If you or your organization are interested in endorsing/supporting this effort, write to: MICAH, 4220 W. Vernor, Detroit, MI 48209.

BELIEVE IT OR NOT ...

A week after North American TV carried pic-tures of an "eyewitness" to the deaths of two U.S. journalists, a week after *Time* magazine reported that "The killings could hardly have been an accident, the attackers probably shot from no more than 150 to 300 yards away' the Honduran military admitted on June 29 that the two journalists had not been killed by a grenade after all, but by a land mine. The military alleged that the mine had been planted in Honduran territory, under the noses of the Honduran army, by . . . the Sandinistas.

In explaining the change of story, the Honduran military report said that they had had to wait a week before examining the car, because the explosion "hurled the car off the road and threw it into Nicaraguan territory". Apparently, the bodies of the two journalists stayed on the Honduran side of the border, as they were re-

covered shortly after.