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The Miami News

A COX NEWSPAPER

P.O. BOX 615, MIAMI, FLORIDA 33152-0615
PHONE: (305) 350-2200

July 28, 1983

*add
to
Jewish
file*

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton Blackwell:

Thanks for the phone conversation about your work with the Central America outreach project. I hope your voice is back to normal by now.

As I promised, I'm sending copies of articles published in The Miami News regarding the problems of Jewish communities in Central America.

I also enclose a series of interviews with Salvadoran Constituent Assembly President Roberto d'Aubuisson Arrieta, a recent article on a Salvadoran newspaper publisher who lives in Miami and a couple of other articles. I think the interviews might be of special interest to you but don't know what else to choose from the wide variety of articles I've done.

Please keep in touch. In case anything comes to your attention that has a Miami angle, please do let me know. Feel free to call anytime; I look forward to working with you. And in case you have any questions - about d'Aubuisson, Jewish problems or anything else - please call.

Very best regards,

Karen

Karen Payne, reporter
The Miami News
(305) 350-2145, 665-1639

Latin American Jews fear communist regimes

KAREN PAYNE
Miami News Reporter

MAR 11 1983

Numbers of Jews who migrated to Central America, in some cases to avoid persecution by Nazis and other political groups, now are afraid of new persecution — this time from leftist guerrillas operating in their new homelands, Miami Jewish leaders say.

So far, the Jews living in tiny communities in such countries as Guatemala, Costa Rica and Panama have suffered only a few, if any, anti-Semitic acts, say two men who just toured portions of Central and South America for the American Jewish Committee of Miami.

But the Jews there are "deeply concerned" about the growing influence in their region of Sandinista guerrillas backed by communist-ruled Nicaragua, the Miami representatives say.

"Jews are only safe in a democracy," said William Gralnick, the Jewish committee's regional director. "When a country is going through a leftist revolution or a rightist counter-revolution, Jews tend to be targeted. Jews in Central America may not literally have a suitcase packed, but there's not one who doesn't know where his suitcase is."

The Miami committee's foreign-affairs commission sent attorney Michael Bander — a former U.S. diplomat who served in Paraguay — and international banking consultant Neil Alter on a 10-day, fact-finding tour to Costa Rica, Guatemala, Panama and Venezuela.

In many cases, the Jews living there, or their ancestors, originally fled to Latin America to escape persecution in other countries, including Nazi-occupied Poland.

The total Jewish population in the four countries visited is 22,600, according to the 1983 American Jew-

ish Yearbook: 1,100 in Guatemala; 2,500 in Costa Rica; 2,000 in Panama; and 17,000 in Venezuela.

Latin American Jews make easy targets for leftist revolutionaries, Bander said. Typically, they are conservative in both religion and politics. Unlike more liberal American reformed Jews, most are Orthodox and clinging to ancient Ashkenazic (Eastern European) or Sephardic (Spanish and Middle Eastern) traditions, he said.

Also, many Latin American Jews are entrepreneurs or professional people who play major roles in the development of their countries, Alter said. Many are managerial types — making them especially detestable to the eyes of revolutionaries, he said.

"Jews in Central America are believers in the dom-

estic economy and free enterprise," Bander said. "They believe in private property and the rule of law." They also believe in God, he added.

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Borderland Latin American Jews

"no theory," Gralnick said. "They believe that if Nicaragua begins to successfully export Marxist revolution, all of Central America is going to go, and it will not be safe for Jews to live there."

"There have been terrorist threats on Jews in isolated instances, but what they see is history repeating itself. What they see is getting caught in revolution or counter-revolution. And that's poison for Jews."

When Cuba came under the communist regime of Castro in 1959, 90 per cent of the Cuban Jews were forced to flee, Gralnick said. Most of them now live in Miami, he said.

"Whenever a country is threatened by the left or right, the Jewish community can get caught in the middle," Bander said. "When a democracy is in good shape, the Jewish community is in good shape."

According to Bander, many Latin American Jews who support Israel already have migrated there. Others have come to the United States.

Some Latin American Jews maintain apartments in Miami — or have moved here permanently — because easy phone and air connections from Miami allow them to conduct their businesses at home while living with their families in relative security, Bander said.

Until recently, numbers of Guatemalan Jews were leaving that country, prompted by a rash of kidnapings and violence, Bander said. The migration has slowed under the rule of President Efrain Rios Montt, who has tried to improve Jews' safety, he said.

The Jewish tradition in Guatemala, and other parts of Latin America, dates back to the 16th

century, when many Jews arrived in the region as converts to Christianity or Jews living outwardly as Christians. Most Jews now in Guatemala came later, around 1900, Bander said.

Nearly all the Jews in Costa Rica fled there from Poland to escape Nazism, beginning in the 1930's, Bander said. There, Jews have entered professions more readily than in other Latin countries because they have confidence in the political stability of the democratic system of that country, Bander said.

The Venezuelan Jewish population is also thriving because Venezuela is a "cosmopolitan" democracy, Alter said.

"There is no overt anti-Semitism there, though there is concern about the possible establishment of a PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) office there," he said. "The Arabs have been trying to gain access to Venezuela because of their membership in OPEC."

Gralnick labeled Argentina as the only South American country where anti-semitism is being openly encouraged by the government.

Bander and Alter said they met with numerous dignitaries, including Costa Rican president Dr. Luis Alberto Monge, the U.S. and Israeli ambassadors to Costa Rica, Panamanian president Ricardo De La Espriella, and the Israeli ambassadors to Panama and Venezuela.

Alter said all the Jewish communities contacted on the trip yearn for more contact with American Jews.

"As a Miamian, I think it's important that Jews living in South Florida learn that there are Jewish communities in Latin America who look to American Jews for support," he said.

Both Guatemala and Costa Rica have two synagogues and a Jewish community center in their capital cities, but neither country is served by a rabbi, he said.

Panama, with four synagogues and a staff of rabbis, is considered the center of Central American Jewish life.

With close historic ties to the United States, Panama serves as a conduit for information from U.S. Jewish communities to Central America. Unlike some other Latin countries, where intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews has led to the assimilation of Jews into the general population, Panama's Jewish population remains culturally distinct.

Most Jews in Panama trace their origins to the 1880's when the French started building the Panama Canal, Bander said. Many migrated there from the West Indian islands of Curacao, Aruba and the Virgin Islands.

Alter and Bander said Latin American Jews are concerned about education and intermarriage, as well as the growing strength of communists in Nicaragua.

Inflation is also of great concern to Latin Jews, said Alter, an international banker for the past 23 years. In Costa Rica, one of the more stable economies, loan payments that can't be met are being renegotiated with more than 190 private banks. In Venezuela, citizens are suddenly paying 75 per cent more for dollars than they paid a few weeks ago, Alter said.

"I am concerned about the impact on tourism and condominium sales and exports from South Florida," he said. "These are serious blows to our economy."

Central American Jews fear PLO ties

JUN 13 1983

KAREN PAYNE
Miami News Reporter

PLO-inspired anti-Semitism in Panama, kidnapings in Colombia and fears that El Salvador might fall to a communist regime — these issues and more are worrying Latin American Jews, said participants meeting in Miami on the plight of Jews in Central and South America.

Panelists at the meeting, sponsored by the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, agreed yesterday that if El Salvador falls to a communist or Marxist-Leninist regime, terror will spread to other countries in the region.

"My feeling is that if El Salvador should fall, we will have people thinking of leaving (Costa Rica) and those are usually some of the best people," said Luis Liberman, president of the Costa Rican Jewish Federation. Costa Rica, which has no army, borders Nicaragua — now ruled by a Marxist-dominated, Sandinista junta.

"I fear the domino theory is a self-fulfilling prophecy," said Liberman. "People will get scared and get out."

"If El Salvador goes, nobody can ... stop the leftist-organized movements throughout Latin America," said Ernesto Fischer, a leader of Colombia's Jewish community.

U.S. Rep. Lawrence Smith (D-Hollywood), also a panelist and a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, agreed that the threat is not limited to El Salvador.

"While El Salvador is the country now under the gun, other countries are also at risk," said Smith, a freshman congressman. "It would create sure havoc in this hemisphere should there be any assault on the country of Mexico."

Two speakers pointed to the increasingly important role of Libya and the Palestine Liberation Organization in Central America.

Joseph Harari, president of the Panama Jewish Federation, said anti-Semitism has been on the up-swing in Panama since the 1979 opening of a PLO "friendship office" there. He said about 4,000

Jews live in Panama.

"We began to feel an organized attack on Jews through the media, universities and labor unions" of Panama, Harari said.

Enrique Altamirano Madriz, publisher of the Salvadoran newspaper *El Diario de Hoy*, said Libya and the PLO play an ever-increasing role in the Salvadoran conflict. Altamirano called the involvement of the PLO and Libyan President Moammar Khadafy "a most frightening development."

Altamirano said the PLO has had close ties to Cuba's Fidel Castro since the 1960s. He said a top Salvadoran guerrilla leader is Palestinian, as is a leader of Nicaragua's Sandinista government. Salvadoran guerrillas regularly travel to Lebanon and Libya to meet with PLO leaders, he claimed.

"The same driving force behind the PLO and Libya is also pushing the Salvadoran guerrillas and subversives — the Soviet Union," Altamirano said.

Colombian Jewish leader Fischer said Colombia's tiny Jewish community — about 7,000 out of a population of 30 million — worries about their own isolation. Only "tolerated" at best by other Colombians, Fischer said, "We are a small island."

In Colombia, leftists actually earn money by kidnaping citizens and demanding ransom, said Fischer. Jews have been among the victims, he said, and many Jews have left Colombia because of the threat.

Rep. Smith told the gathering that he supports the goals of the Reagan administration in Central America. But he said disagreement remains over the methods to be used to stop the advance of communism in the region.

"The administration shouldn't do this solo," he said.

Smith drew applause when he called for overt U.S. aid, rather than continued covert aid, for anti-Sandinista guerrillas fighting in Nicaragua. "What's wrong with protecting the countries of that region and doing it openly?" he asked.

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The return envelope had the "Great Seal of the United States" in the upper right-hand corner.

THE MIAMI NEWS 12/20/82 p.1

FOCUS

Man who surprised El Salvador

Nobody else during those days had the courage to confront those who were responsible



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— Ernest Hemingway

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The Miami News - BILL REINKE

In his living room, d'Aubuisson poses with a pencil drawing done by an old man at an election rally in Santa Ana

Roberto d'Aubuisson's ideals, conflicts

• Roberto d'Aubuisson became president of El Salvador's Constituent Assembly after a stormy election this year, which gave the embattled Central American nation a representative government after three years of junta rule. D'Aubuisson recently met with Miami News reporter Karen Payne for interviews totaling more than six hours. They took place at d'Aubuisson's rented San Salvador home and in his office. This excerpt is the first of three articles.

KAREN PAYNE
Miami News Reporter

Q. An effort is reportedly under way to oust you from your office as president of the assembly. Where did the impetus for that effort come from?

A. Please do me a favor and tell the American people how the international press is being

manipulated by politicians. I will leave the presidency of the assembly when I want to — not when a group of liars and intriguers sell the idea to the American public.

It was a maneuver by the Christian Democrats, but it was only propaganda to help them justify dialog, because the Christian Democrats and the FDR (Democratic Revolutionary Front; political arm of the Marxist-led guerrillas) are the same monkey wearing different clothes. I'm going to stay president of the Constituent Assembly whether or not it pleases the intriguers in the United States. I point to several Democratic senators and congressmen who would be happy to read that I'd been put out of power. The happiness they would feel is the same happiness we felt when Carter lost, because we Nationalist Republicans really like Mr. Reagan.

Q. When did you decide to enter politics? And what is it to be a politician in El Salvador?

A. Circumstances forced us to be initiated into politics. After being in military life for 20

years, you don't think in terms of political parties, because you don't live within the parties. Now that we have been driven to this, it is necessary to get a real political education . . .

I left (the army) because I did not sympathize with the direction of the first junta (which seized power in October 1979). It did not seem logical that Guillermo Ungo (a leftist leader) would be president of our country, because during my last years in military life I worked a lot in security service and intelligence, and I knew who these guys were . . . So I began a campaign with friends against the junta . . . We made use of television and radio to talk about how the guerrilla groups had been formed, who their leaders were and how they were going to take us if we didn't stop them.

Q. It is said that you were forced to leave the armed forces because of human rights abuses. Is that true?

Please see D'AUBUISSON, 6A

Agents raid Calder stables for aliens

ART GRACE and MIKE FREEDMAN

trol bus: "I no have my green card (needed for aliens to work) yet, but I've got somebody working on it."

Even Indiana-born trainer Kenny Noe Sr., fat Calder president and general manager Kenny N

FOCUS

Ex-major's rise was sudden, controversial

Roberto d'Aubuisson Arrieta rose to sudden political prominence in El Salvador in a controversial general election last March.

The United States had supported junta President José Napoleón Duarte in the election, but Duarte was steamrolled from office by a coalition of conservative political parties led by d'Aubuisson.

After U.S. officials sent thinly veiled threats to cut off aid to El Salvador unless the man chosen as president of the country met with their approval, d'Aubuisson failed to gather enough support for the No. 1 post. The Salvadoran armed forces proposed Dr. Alvaro Magaña, who was named interim president by the legislature — and official U.S. opposition to d'Aubuisson faded.

In a compromise move, the 39-year-old d'Aubuisson was named president of the Constituent Assembly, making him the highest popularly elected official in El Salvador. He is a likely candidate in the 1984 presidential election.

Before this year's election, El Salvador was wracked by violence and a losing struggle for economic survival. The warring between the government and Marxist-led guerrillas continues today in the provinces, but the violence has diminished in the capital, San Salvador. The economy remains weak.

The majority held by d'Aubuisson's party in the legislature depends on a coalition with other parties — an alliance that is reportedly fraying at the seams. But

d'Aubuisson scoffs at the idea he could be forced out of office.

Political opponents accuse d'Aubuisson of "extremist" efforts to bolster El Salvador's traditional social and economic structures. But many of d'Aubuisson's supporters see him as the Central American nation's only hope to stop communism and stabilize the country's faltering economy.

Many have maligned what they believe to be negative, even sinister, aspects of d'Aubuisson's character. Former U.S. Ambassador Robert White called him a "pathological killer." Duarte calls him a "demagog."

White alleges that d'Aubuisson was somehow linked to death squads and the murder of Archbishop

Oscar Arnulfo Romero, but proof is lacking. D'Aubuisson says he has been vilified because of his strong stands against communism and the junta that ruled El Salvador prior to the 1982 elections.

D'Aubuisson is a charismatic leader, with a keen sense of history and the ability to laugh easily, even at himself.

An army intelligence officer until 1979, when the ex-major left the military, d'Aubuisson organized his political party, ARENA (Alianza Republicana Nacionalista), just five months before the election in which he won a large share of the votes.

— Karen Payne

D'AUBUISSON, from 1A

A. No.

Q. It is said that in those television and radio programs you would give signals to assassins who would then go out and murder people you would talk about. Are those allegations true?

A. Since I was the leader of the movement against these Marxists, they would attack me for anything that happened here, making me responsible for it. Nobody else during those days had the courage to confront those who were responsible. Logically enough, they launched all the attacks against my person. And the international press played to the accusations and insinuations. The truth came out later. If the accusations had been true, the people would not have voted for me during the elections, or somebody would have come out and said they had seen me doing something negative. The best answer I can give you is that I'm happy with what I did.

Q. The group you helped to organize — ORDEN — did it carry out assassinations?

A. First of all, I did not organize that group; that group was formed in around 1964 . . . by a member of the high command, with the idea of instructing farm workers to combat communist ideals. That's why it was called "Organización Democrática y Nacionalista."



political oligarchy. But let me tell you that for me, the opinion of Duarte is like that of someone who comes from a psychiatric hospital.

Q. Do you feel that the presidency of the country was stolen from you because of the intervention of the United States?

A. Yes. I believe there was pressure on the part of the United States through the armed forces.

Q. Are you angry about it?

A. I think it was a mistake on their part. When they pressured us, we presented an analysis stating that if that pressure was successful, this government would be in the wrong track. Today we are seeing that this is true. We are not moving along in the right track.

Q. Tell me something about your family history. You have a French-sounding last name.

A. It's true, my name is of French origin, but this last name has been here since 1840. My father died when I was 10 years old. He worked for an airline (as an accountant). My mother's last name is Arrieta, a well-known family here. She was a government employee for about 30 years. I have three brothers and sisters.

I grew up in Santa Tecla, a town close to San Salvador, one of the coolest and prettiest towns. I have memories of my friends playing soccer in the street. I

A. First of all, I did not organize that group; that group was formed in around 1964 ... by a member of the high command, with the idea of instructing farm workers to combat communist ideals. That's why it was called "Organización Democrática y Nacionalista" (ORDEN — Order). That they eventually ended up in politics, I think that was bad. But I never had leadership in that group. During that time, anything that could be interpreted as bad they tagged on me.

However, I publicly defended members of that organization because in reality they had done a great job to stop communism. And when the first junta took over, they came out with an order that the group would be disbanded, that they were part of the right. But the truth is that they were anti-communist. And since my view is anti-communist, I defended them and asked questions. Once they were disbanded and no longer had the protection of the armed forces, (Marxist-led guerrillas) began killing them like animals. The guerrillas would go out and kill anyone who was a member of ORDEN. I never saw the press interested in what happened with their human rights.

Q. What role does the church play in El Salvador?

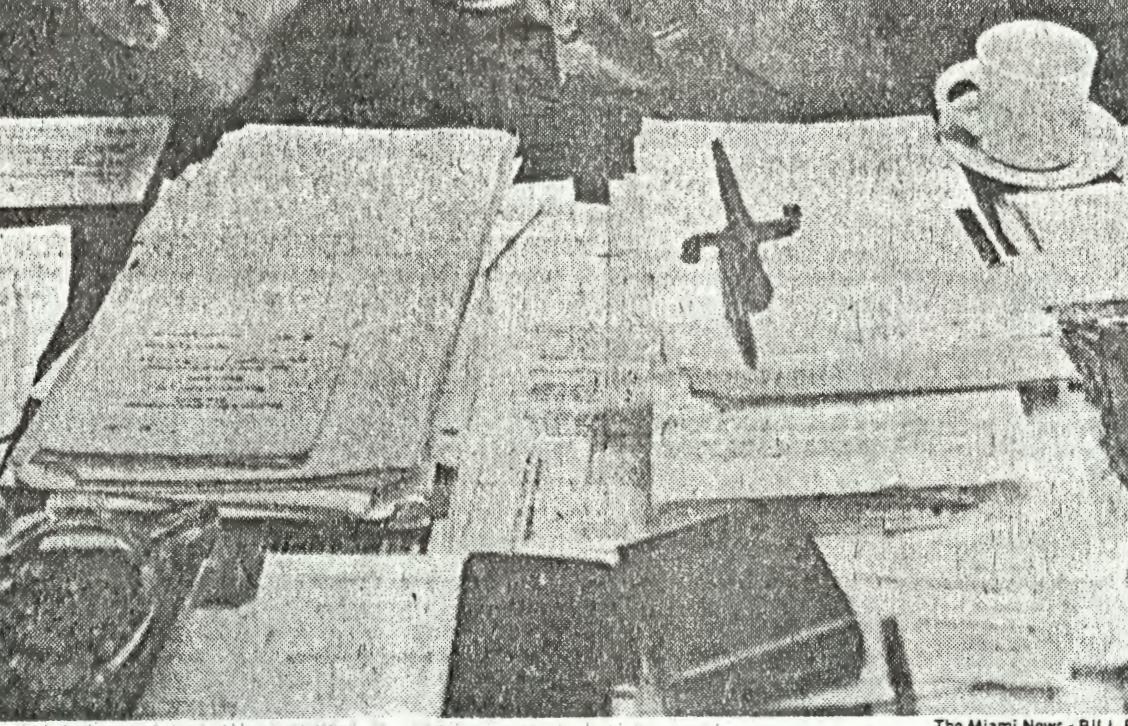
A. The Salvadoran church plays an important role. Catholicism is the official religion. But among the bishops there is divisionism; there is no unity, and that is reflected to the lower echelons in the church. It's a problem for them ... We in ARENA make it very clear as an ideological point that the state will not interfere in religious matters — but also that the church should not interfere in political matters.

Q. It is said that you went on television after Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero was killed and exulted over his death. Later, Ambassador White brought out a notebook which he said proved that you were implicated in Romero's death.

A. The great Robert White is the liar of the century. I was not on television, acting happy, after Romero's death. Long before Romero's death, I did go on television with Romero and posed questions to him: Why was he being swayed by the popular block? Why was he supporting them? I asked him publicly not to interfere by supporting these subversives who later became guerrillas because he defended them as if they were popular organizations. We made him see that he was being used; I told him this publicly.

Msgr. Romero was killed around the time the first junta ended. When the subversives saw they had lost Ungo and others (from the junta), they tried to hurry the process of getting into power. In Nicaragua, they did the same thing when they killed Pedro Joaquin Chamorro (editor of La Prensa). Romero's death also was intended to create a popular uprising.

Now White says I was responsible for Romero's death. He has never proved anything. First of all, the notebook he brought out was not my notebook. And remember that I was held with my friends by orders of Colonel Majano (then-junta president Adolfo Arnaldo Majano), and whatever papers I had, Majano had in his hands. And while Majano was president of the junta, he could not prove anything or do anything to me. Why can't Mr. White say he has proof? The notebook he had



The Miami News - BILL REINKE

Roberto d'Aubuisson at his desk in assembly president's office: 'I'm here through an election, and that is what bothers Duarte most'

A. I never said that; I never said that.

Q. Have you ever tortured anybody?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever killed anybody?

A. In combat.

Q. During the election campaign, the Reagan administration had some bad things to say about you. For example, a State Department official reportedly said that you were affiliated with the Gen. Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez Brigade, a death squad.

A. First of all, I would like you to tell me what the brigade is. I read something about them in the newspapers once. In other words, my participation in that group was made up — a lie.

Q. How is the government of national unity (the coalition government composed of Christian Democrats, ARENA and other parties) working? Who holds what powers in the government?

A. For now, we work well with President Magaña and the minister of defense (José Guillermo García). I tell them what I think about how to handle things. If they don't do it, it's their responsibility. And of course I listen to their opinions about my work in the assembly — but at no time do I take orders from them, because I am the country's highest elected authority. I have the

campaigning I was able to get the votes that the Christian Democrats were unable to get in 20 years. I don't think he sleeps. Every time he hears something about d'Aubuisson he loses sleep. Besides, he's crazy ... How in hell did he get that idea? The only thing I can say is that he is traumatized.

As a matter of fact, I would love to run for president of the republic against him, just for the satisfaction of beating him again ... If you see Duarte, tell him that if we ever run against each other again, I'm going to get double the number of votes he gets.

Q. Duarte also said you are an instrument of totalitarianism.

A. I a totalitarian? (Laughter) This Duarte is a funny guy.

Q. Duarte also said you are a demagog because you said you would napalm the guerrillas, get rid of them in three months, give work to all the people and increase the salaries of government workers — but these things have not been done.

A. This guy is so hurt that he brings up all these subjects. But he knows very well that I do not run this government; we are only part of this government. If we had won 31 deputies (a majority of the assembly), we would have gotten rid of the guerrillas in six months. And we would now be working 100 per cent.

Q. Duarte has said that General García is in the center politically, as Duarte sees himself, and that the

ploye for about 30 years. I have three brothers and sisters.

I grew up in Santa Tecla, a town close to San Salvador, one of the coolest and prettiest towns. I have memories of my friends playing soccer in the street. I was a bike-riding aficionado. When I went to study in San Salvador, I made the trip on a bike. I took rides with friends around the city, which is surrounded by mountains. Those were quiet days. My memory is of total tranquility. You could go anywhere you wanted.

Q. Any special heroes or people who influenced you?

A. That's difficult. In my youth they were mostly sportsmen. Rocky Marciano was one ... I would get into fights with my cousins because I was a Dodger fan, and everybody else was a Yankee fan. I always watched the World Series. We were very impressed with Marilyn Monroe. We followed Babe Ruth's record and Hank Aaron, the black player. During that time, there was great interest in movies and propaganda from World War II. Another famous person from that time was General MacArthur; there was President Eisenhower and General Patton. In fact, all the toys we got here came with the uniform of World War II soldiers, and the jeeps and things like that were American.

Q. Are there people who have special meaning to you now?

A. I like Ronald Reagan's positions.

Q. In what way?

A. In being a defender of liberty, and in his aversion to Marxist doctrine. And because he has shown genuine interest in the situation of Latin America. Another person who is very interesting in our time is Lech Walesa — very interesting, the efforts of this man. The same with the Pope. Another one is Richard Nixon. The book he has written, there are many truths in that book. I think Americans should study that book. (An aide said later the book is "The Real War" Warner Books, 1980).

Q. You studied military intelligence in the United States.

A. I took a police course at the International Police Academy (in Washington, D.C.) in 1965 ... Of course, the courses in the United States were mostly military. They gave us lessons on counter-insurgency. And the Americans came here to teach us counter-insurgency.

Q. Do you worry very much about your personal safety?

A. Yes. We have taken several security measures, but I know that really does not help much. I know that the minute they want to launch an operative to eliminate a person, there's an 80 per cent chance they will injure you. Look, for example, at the attempts made on President Reagan, on President Kennedy — and how much security they had! Look at the Pope, at Somoza. All the measures one takes are just preventive. The best security is detection when an attack is being planned.

member that I was held with my friends by orders of Colonel Majano (then-junta president Adolfo Arnaldo Majano), and whatever papers I had, Majano had in his hands. And while Majano was president of the junta, he could not prove anything or do anything to me. Why does Mr. White say he has proof? The notebook he had was not mine.

Q. Was the person who had the notebook associated with you?

A. In certain aspects, yes. But I wasn't mixed up with his problems or him with mine. We were all arrested on May 7 (1980). On that day here, we celebrate Soldier's Day ... There was an open house and that's why we were together. To tell you the truth, I think what Majano wanted to do was to kill us, but when they arrived and saw a lot of officers there, they couldn't have the shootout they had planned.

Q. It's alleged that you said during the elections that you wanted to drop napalm on the communists and wipe them out.

na and the minister of defense (José Guillermo García). I tell them what I think about how to handle things. If they don't do it, it's their responsibility. And of course I listen to their opinions about my work in the assembly — but at no time do I take orders from them, because I am the country's highest elected authority. I have the moral backing since I went into the elections and got the votes of the people. President Magaña and the ministers were elected by those of us in the assembly.

Q. Two days ago I interviewed ex-junta President Duarte, and he said that you had tried to arrange a "legal coup d'état" by getting enough votes to control the assembly.

A. I also heard that. The problem with Duarte is that he lived through a time when the junta was constantly threatened with coups. He's traumatized. Just remember, he talks about his fear of a coup, but he got into power through a coup. He was never elected; he is a coupist.

So now I'm here through an election, and that is what bothers Duarte the most — that in five months of

we had won 31 deputies (a majority of the assembly), we would have gotten rid of the guerrillas in six months. And we would now be working 100 per cent.

Q. Duarte has said that General García is in the center politically, as Duarte sees himself, and that the army is divided politically with García in the center. Is there anything to that?

A. Things are not how poor crazy Duarte paints them, but I have noticed a lot of politicizing in the armed forces, a sort of political awakening ... As citizens they have expressed views favorable to one party or the other, but the armed forces, by law, are apolitical. They can't take sides. So I doubt if General García has anything to do with that.

Q. Duarte says you have the mentality of an oligarch, even if you might not have the money.

A. If you define "oligarch," it means having power. This can be political or economic. Wall Street is an economic oligarchy. The State Department is a po-

to eliminate a person, there's a 50 per cent chance they will injure you. Look, for example, at the attempts made on President Reagan, on President Kennedy — and how much security they had! Look at the Pope, at Somoza. All the measures one takes are just preventive. The best security is detection when an attack is being planned.

Q. Do you fear death?

A. No, I'm more afraid to leave my wife and children.

Q. What place does your family have in your life?

A. Well, the family is always the principal part of any man's life.

Q. Everybody seems to have nicknames here, and I tried to find out yours. Some say they call you "loco". Some call you "Major Bob". Others say they call you "Chespirito" (a cartoon character who's a bumbling version of Superman). Do any of these names fit?

A. (Laughing) You know who Chespirito is! It's a funny program ... It began mostly with the women, not really to nickname me, but out of sympathy ... But nicknames as such — they've always called me "Chele," which means white (for his fat skin).

Q. Is it a problem for you that women are throwing themselves at you because of your political popularity?

A. No. (His wife, Yolanda, speaks up: "It's a problem for me.") It's true I feel there's great enthusiasm, because we had an interest in getting women to participate. Before, women were ignored in politics ... I enjoy all these women, but she (indicating Yolanda) is my one and only.

Q. What do you consider your greatest strengths and weaknesses as a politician?

A. One of the greatest strengths we can count on is the credibility that we gained with the people because of the observations and denunciations I made that were proved true ... The weakness I have is that I'm not a politician. I was not brought up or educated to be a politician. It's not in my nature to spin and weave. I simply move more by impulse, analysis and good intention because I'm not a political exert.

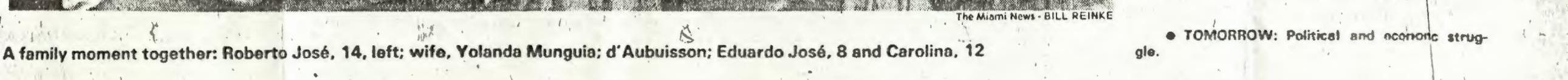
Q. How would you like to be remembered?

A. I'd like to be remembered as a good Salvadorean — and especially as a true believer that we should not allow Marxists to dominate this country. I saw a saying that I liked on a tombstone. It said, "Aqui yace un hombre libre" ("Here lies a free man").

• TOMORROW: Political and economic struggle.

A family moment together: Roberto José, 14, left; wife, Yolanda Munguia; d'Aubuisson; Eduardo José, 8 and Carolina, 12

The Miami News - BILL REINKE



FOCUS

D'AUBUISSON, from 1A

out becoming indebted. But they pressured us in such a way — they destroyed us in such a way — that now we need aid.

Q. Compare the way the United States gives aid and the way other countries give aid, as far as conditions that are attached to the assistance given.

A. Until recently, no effort had been made to find aid from other countries, but I think in certain aspects it would be a cleaner aid, because they would not condition it. That is, they give the aid — mainly economic — they lend, we pay back. But the United States places conditions on top of the fact that we have to pay them back. They say, "We will give it to you if you do something" — and then they begin to meddle. That is about the only point on which maybe I could agree with the Marxists; that is, when they talk of Yankee imperialism, because it is an imperialistic way to be making conditions and pressuring us.

Q. Would the Salvadoran government consider renouncing American aid to escape from American influence?

A. We in El Salvador never needed American help before Oct. 1, 1979 (when Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero, the president, was ousted). El Salvador was a productive and nearly self-sufficient country. Then we fell into the Carter-defined economic trap that destroyed our economy, on top of the destruction of 10 years of Castro terrorism. We had peace and the chance to work again, we would not need aid. But now, we are almost totally dependent on the United States, hurting our national pride. The best thing they could do would be to give us markets for our products, instead of giving money credits — and for the first time



The Miami News - BILL REINKE

ARENA leader d'Aubuisson describes a poster in his party office: '... an arm and in its fist there is a voting ballot.' It says, 'Voting is the weapon'

It's hurting our national pride.

The best thing they could do would be to give us markets for our products, instead of giving money in their lives take the right side. If we are friends, then treat us like friends. But if they are friends of Fidel Castro, let them tell us clearly and go with Fidel Castro. Then we could go back to rice and beans — but at least we'd still be Salvadoreans.

Q. Would you be willing to take Russian help or invite them in o balance U.S. influence?

A. No. Out of principle, we would never take the dirty Marxist and.

Q. How do you view the role the United States has played in Central America?

A. It's hard to explain how the United States permitted Marxism and Castro communism to gain a foothold on the continent in Nicaragua ... It's unbelievable that the U.S. government in Carter's time ntrigued to help bring about a coup to get rid of Romero and bring in a junta, when the United States is supposed to be the world leader of democracy.

The Americans favor their enemies more than their friends. We sometimes feel that to get the United States to respect us, we have to kick them in the behind, in spite of being so little. Or we could go out and visit with Fidel Castro, and then they might worry about losing another friend. But this would cost too much, because we'd be trading off what we believe in.

The situation of this country is critical because we are victims of a well-designed program sponsored by Castro terrorism. In addition, a group of naive congressmen and senators is drowning us. We feel like the Vietnamese people — or like the Koreans. We know how theoles feel, and the Hungarians, the Romanians, the Czechs, the Cubans, the Nicaraguans, the Rhodesians. All were friends of the United States, and all were abandoned and turned over to the Marxists ...

If Central America falls into the hands of Castro terrorism, North and South America will follow, because the ultimate target is the United States. This fight started for

ARENA leader d'Aubuisson describes a poster in his party office: "an arm and in its fist there is a voting ballot." It says, "Voting is the weapon"

came to be viewed as bad people. There, ideologically, we fell into a trap — the trap of class struggle, the rich and the poor, the exploiters and the exploited. (An ARENA-party principle) states that we believe all men are created equal. We are equal before God, before the law, in our right to life and our right to prosper, but natural factors make us different. These men who left were the thinking heads. You never hear in the United States that this was not the only group that left. We also lost the skilled laborers. Many of them also went to the United States.

Q. How much support do you get from outside the country?

A. Some of the people here and some in Miami give us support. It is nothing set or established ... Ninety per cent of the support comes from within this country ... The support from the outside is sporadic.

Q. A September 1982 congressional report criticized American intelligence activities in El Salvador, saying that little is known about the situation. You are a former intelligence officer. What is your opinion of American intelligence in El Salvador?

A. The collaboration with American intelligence here had always been productive for us, until they politicized it. During the tenure of Ambassador Robert White things became one-sided. The collaboration ended, and (U.S. intelligence) began to look through a one-way mirror. That has caused many problems, because the information that is passed to the U.S. Congress is totally falsified. They (the State Department) inform on what they want to inform on ...

Human rights is a difficult subject; it only applies to the actions of the government. They don't apply human rights, for example, to pressure Fidel Castro to stop sending arms, or to get Nicaragua to stop training guerrilleros ... The U.S. Congress has ignored that 324 electrical towers have been destroyed here; that 10 to 20 buses are burned

of mobilizing foreign opinion against the subversives. The idea was that the government would enact a law and forgive them and get them to turn over their weapons and get back to normal life ... As elected members of the government, we can start working on a law to reach subversives who want to become good private citizens again. (But) we don't want to fall into the trap of the Marxists like the United States has fallen into the trap — for example, in the peace talks in Paris after Vietnam.

Q. What do you think should happen to the subversives who won't give up their fight?

A. For the subversives who don't accept the terms of such a law, there is no other way but to expel them. And the only way to do that is to have all the armed forces and all the people fight to get rid of them. It would be better to have three months of battle than so many years like these last ones.

Q. What plan do you think should be used to wipe out communism?

A. Pass a law of the republic, a law of pacification that contemplates a revitalization of the citizens. That's the first step. If they don't agree to that law, then we will all — the city, the government and the armed forces — declare an out-and-out war on them until we get them out. This war, my dear lady, this subversive war, is a dirty war; it's a clandestine war; it's a war you fight and win more within the news media. For them, the subversives, it's worth everything to reach their ambition, which is power ...

I hope the United States never has to deal with a subversive scheme like the one we have here. I don't know what the United States would do if they had a group of armed hoodlums burning trailers, setting off bombs, destroying bridges and electrical plants. In the United States you had the Symbionese Liberation Army. At the core of the Symbionese Army was a doctrine of the Trotskyite-Marxist variety. They pretended to be political activists, but the United States said,

World War? Apparently the United States won, but in the negotiations, they lost half of Europe. And in whose hands did half of Europe remain? In the hands of Moscow. They lost Vietnam. Why? Because of idiots like Robert White who ... collaborated with the communist world. In this manner, the United States just lost Iran. They've lost Afghanistan. They're going to lose Nicaragua. Each time, there are fewer friendly countries.

Q. Did you meet Ambassador White? Was there any animosity between the two of you?

A. No. I know him only by photos, and my stomach turns every time I see him. Ambassador White, and a whole group of liberal elements, stick their heads in the sand like ostriches so as not to see the problems. And the communists keep advancing.

Q. Describe the political and economic struggles you are having.

A. We have achieved a fundamental step by getting out of power a de facto government, an undemocratic government established by a coup (in 1979) ...

In the economic field, improvements have not been great. Now we are feeling the effects of all the — pardon the word — political idiocies of that de facto government. I call "idiotic" the massive expropriations, sudden nationalization of the banking system and nationalization of exports. I call them idiotic because they were done with a political mind, not with a practical mind ...

Land reform was supposed to benefit campesinos (peasants), but they are now in a worse state than ever ... These stupid measures, which had political aims, broke the back of El Salvador's economy, because productivity went down ... But since this process is a reality, we have taken on the burden and with a mentality of free enterprise we intend to try to solve the problem.

Q. What do you estimate as the total cost the country has paid for land reform?

and the farms still have not been paid for. And besides the hundreds of millions that Christian Democrats call the "social cost" of land reform, the country has lost nearly 500 million colones (\$200 million) in income, and productivity is down.

This is a personal statement I'm making — no matter who likes it: All these reforms are part of a plan to destroy this country totally and turn it over to communism ...

It's sad, too, that some people in the Carter administration collaborated in this farce ... It would be interesting, for example, if Mr. (Roy) Prosterman (the University of Washington professor who designed El Salvador's land reform pro-

gram) started land reform in California or Texas, and if Mr. (William) Bowdler (assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs at the time of the coup against Romero) could design a coup and get the elected president out of the White House and replace him with a pluralistic government, and take into it the Symbionese Liberation Army, Ku Klux Klan and Black Power.

If this happened in the United States, then we who believe in a free world could understand why the Americans would press us to accept these Marxist designs.

• TOMORROW: The junta president d'Aubuisson defeated, José Napoleón Duarte.

Death Notices

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ALTMAN

WILLIAM S., 75, of Miami, passed away Dec. 19. He was survived by his wife, Molly, son Dr. Robert S. Altman; 3 grandchildren. He was a past charter member of Temple Sinai of N.M.B.; a Shriner & a Mason. The family suggests contributions to be made to the Critical Care Unit of Baptist Hospital, Chapel services Tues. at 3:30 P.M. with interment to follow at Mt. Nebo Cemetery.

"THE RIVERSIDE"
Guardian Plan Chapel
1717 SW 37 Ave. Miami
531-1151

BERKOWITZ

SYLVIA BAILEY, of N.M.B. Wife of Herman; mother of Lois Lehman of Conn. & Edward Bailey of N.J. Funeral service & interment in New Haven, Conn. on Tues.

DARNELL

L. RAY, 62, of Miami, passed away Dec. 19. He had been a resident since 1958 coming here from Texas. He was a retired Chemist. Survived by his wife, Josephine of Miami; son, D. Wayne; Darnell of Dallas, Tex.; sister Mrs. Bob Wilson of Ft. Lauderdale; granddaughter, Darendra of Miami. Services 10 A.M. Wed.

BRANAM FUNERAL HOME, Homestead.
THE RIVERSIDE
Guardian Plan Chapel
2230 Hollywood Blvd.
523-5801

MASK

VANDEL "DOC" 65, a Miami resident for 36 years coming from N.C., died Dec. 19. He was a retired General Foreman for Eastern Airlines. Survived by his wife, Elsie; daughters, Gloria Johnston & Debbie Hosking; 4

LEWIN

LILLIAN (nee Kirsch), of Wayne, N.J., formerly of Haledon, died quietly at home late Sun., following a year's illness. A resident of Miami for 50 years, Mr. Quinn was City Editor of the old Miami Tribune until it was purchased by The Miami Herald, was Night City Editor of The Miami Herald, and, following Army service in WWII, was Director of the City of Miami Publicity Dept. from 1947 to 1950, pioneering promotion of Miami as Gateway to Latin America. Mr. Quinn became a Real Estate Broker in 1953 & specialized in Fla. Keys & South Dade acreage properties with Arvida Realty Sales Inc., prior to founding his own real estate brokerage company, Quinn Properties, in Coral Gables, with his wife, Margaret D. Quinn, in 1963, member of many-term rector of the Coral Gables Board of Realtors. Mr. Quinn was named Coral Gables Realtor of the Year, in 1977; was a member of the American Assn. of Certified Appraisers; served on numerous civic boards & organizations in Coral Gables. Mr. Quinn retired in July, 1981. A founding contributor to St. Kieran's Catholic Church Building Fund. Mr. Quinn was an active member of that parish since its inception & a supporter & member of

QUINN

ROBERT R., veteran newspaperman & prominent Coral Gables Realtor, died quietly at home late Sun., following a year's illness. A resident of Miami for 50 years, Mr. Quinn was City Editor of the old Miami Tribune until it was purchased by The Miami Herald, was Night City Editor of The Miami Herald, and, following Army service in WWII, was Director of the City of Miami Publicity Dept. from 1947 to 1950, pioneering promotion of Miami as Gateway to Latin America. Mr. Quinn became a Real Estate Broker in 1953 & specialized in Fla. Keys & South Dade acreage properties with Arvida Realty Sales Inc., prior to founding his own real estate brokerage company, Quinn Properties, in Coral Gables, with his wife, Margaret D. Quinn, in 1963, member of many-term rector of the Coral Gables Board of Realtors. Mr. Quinn was named Coral Gables Realtor of the Year, in 1977; was a member of the American Assn. of Certified Appraisers; served on numerous civic boards & organizations in Coral Gables. Mr. Quinn retired in July, 1981. A founding contributor to St. Kieran's Catholic Church Building Fund. Mr. Quinn was an active member of that parish since its inception & a supporter & member of

All were friends of the United States, and all were abandoned and turned over to the Marxists...

If Central America falls into the hands of Castro's terrorism, North and South America will follow, because the ultimate target is the United States. This fight started for control of the Caribbean Basin, which signifies the oil of Mexico, Guatemala and Venezuela, the Panama Canal and the sea routes to the United States. Fundamentally, we are the back yard of the United States.

Q. It has been said that the White House sent a message to you that you can do whatever you want when it told U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton to refrain from criticizing government officials here.

A. I don't know if you can interpret that in that way. I understand the U.S. government sends messages. They don't tell you, "Do this or do that." They send messages. But I think there is a conflict between the White House and the State Department. That is the reality.

Q. You have some supporters in Miami. How much support do you get from them? Who are they?

A. A large group of Salvadorean, mainly entrepreneurs, had to abandon this country because they were constantly harassed by the subversives. They were subjected to kidnappings and attempts on their lives, and were robbed by being charged war taxes. Lamentably, these people were forced to leave, and that was too bad because these people were the brain power — the ones who had the know-how, as the gringos say... There came a time when these people lost faith that this country would again return to the free enterprise system...

Q. What do you think should be done about this problem?

A. There is a solution. We believe that closing all doors to a reunion would be creating more problems. That's why in the month of June we proposed to (Salvadoran) president Alvaro Magaña a law of pacification, amnesty and rehabilitation of the people, with the idea

of it only applies to the actions of the government. They don't apply human rights, for example, to pressure Fidel Castro to stop sending arms, or to get Nicaragua to stop training guerrillas... The U.S. Congress has ignored that 324 electrical towers have been destroyed here; that 10 to 20 buses are burned and destroyed daily; that many bridges have been destroyed. That tells me that American intelligence is the stupidest thing in the world... I don't like American Intelligence here while it's politicized. But in their full capacity, we know they are capable.

Q. Why should Americans care about El Salvador? Is it principally because of its strategic importance?

A. Yes. And because of the social problem they will have when four or five million Salvadorans arrive in the United States to live. But fundamentally, because of principle, I think the Americans need to reconsider their position in the world. They are forgetting that this is a fight for principles. And for principles, we should fight. We should win. We should consolidate all that is the beauty of the free world, the life of democracy.

Q. Why do you oppose proposals for dialog with the leftist guerrillas in El Salvador?

A. The question of dialog with the leftists is nothing but a trap. The leftists are not interested in conversation and dialog. The real fact behind that scheme is to save Nicaragua. To avoid a Central American war against Nicaragua, they have a scheme for dialog or negotiation, to get the attention of the press here on us and off Nicaragua.

Q. What do you think should be done about this problem?

A. There is a solution. We believe that closing all doors to a reunion would be creating more problems. That's why in the month of June we proposed to (Salvadoran) president Alvaro Magaña a law of pacification, amnesty and rehabilitation of the people, with the idea

of armed hoodlums burning trailers, setting off bombs, destroying bridges and electrical plants. In the United States you had the Symbionese Liberation Army. At the core of the Symbionese Army was a doctrine of the Trotskyite-Marxist variety. They pretended to be political activists, but the United States said, "First you have to obey the laws." They completely destroyed the Symbionese Army. I would like to tell the United States now that the Farabundo Martí (Marxist-led guerrilla group) is worse than the Symbionese Army.

Q. Former U.S. Ambassador Robert White told The New York Times in July 1982 that the Reagan administration believes the Salvadoran conflict is a "textbook case" of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers against the state of El Salvador. But White says the Reagan administration is wrong, that the conflict is a "home-grown" revolution.

A. The liar of the year, Robert White, should not come and say this is an internal revolution because these guerrillas — the subversives themselves — say they are Marxist-Leninists, that they follow the sayings of Fidel Castro. And if the leaders of the guerrillas accept the orders of Fidel Castro, who is Robert White to say they're not Marxist-Leninists? Who is Robert White to say this is not external aggression?

Q. White says that a victory for your government is unattainable.

A. Of course he says that, because he wants us to start a dialog... That's the easiest thing to say: "Let's not fight any more, and we'll share my house." That is the easiest thing.

It is with this mentality of Robert White that the United States has lost all of its wars. They lost China because they supported Mao Tse-Tung, and because idiots like Robert White did not support Chiang Kai-shek. As a result, continental China is in the hands of the most ideological Marxists of the century. What happened in the Second

But since this process is a reality, we have taken on the burden and with a mentality of free enterprise we intend to try to solve the problem.

Q. What do you estimate as the total cost the country has paid for land reform?

A. The land reform cost the Salvadoran people about 300 million colones (about \$120 million) —

Lottery winners

MARYLAND

Yesterday's number: 324.

NEW JERSEY

Yesterday's number: 416.

Pick Four number: 4034.

NEW YORK

Yesterday's number: 379.

Win Four number: 4056.

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Philbrick
Funeral Chapel
3234 CORAL WAY 446-1616

He had been a resident since 1958 coming here from Texas. He was a retired Chemist. Survived by his wife, Josephine of Miami; son, D. Wayne; brother, Virgil of Dallas; sister, Mrs. Beth Wilson of Tx., granddaughter, Darendra of Miami. Services 10 A.M. Wed. BRANAM FUNERAL HOME, Homestead.

MASK

VANDEL "DOC" 65, a Miami resident for 36 years coming from N.C., died Dec. 19. He was a retired General Foreman for Eastern Airlines. Survived by his wife, Esie; daughters, Gloria Johnston & Debbie Hosking; 4 grandchildren; brothers, Jesse & Charlie Mask. Private funeral services. Family suggests donations to the American Cancer Society.

Stanfill Funeral Homes 10545 S Dixie, 667-2518

NILSEN

ELIZABETH R., 77, a 57 year resident coming from Ohio. She was a member of St. Paul's United Methodist Church of North Miami. Is survived by her husband, Chief Peter Nilsen, retired Miami Fire Dept. Chief; a son, Norman R.; a daughter, Laura E. Whitehouse; 3 grandchildren; 1 great-grandson. Friends may call at BESS KOLSKI & COMBS FUNERAL HOME, MIAMI SHORES CHAPEL

10936 NE 5 Ave Tues. (Today) 7:30 P.M. Funeral service Wed. 1 P.M. in St. Paul's United Methodist Church, 900 NE 132 St. Interment Flagler Memorial Cemetery. Arrangements by PHILBRICK FUNERAL CHAPEL.

OCHART

RICHARD J., 60, died early Mon. morning. He had been with American Automobile Association (AAA) since 1952 & President of Fla. Federation of Safety. Survived by his wife, Erna W.; sons, Richard R. Ochart, Randall R. Ochart, both of N.Y.; daughters, Joann Wolf, Lauren Ochart, both of Gainesville, Fla.; 4 grandchildren. Wed. at St. David Catholic Church, Davie. Prayer Service 7:30 P.M. Today (Tues.) at the Funeral Home, where friends may call 2-4 & 7-9 P.M. Today (Tues.). Interment Westlawn Memorial Gardens.

FRED HUNTER
University Dr Home
2401 So University Dr.
624-5500 472-1550

PRICE

ETTA L., passed away Dec. 15. Beloved & beautiful wife of John; adored sister of Rose Palmer & Carl Skinner of N.Y.; affectionate sister-in-law & brother-in-law of Sylvia & Nat Gold; several nieces & nephews. May her lovely soul rest in peace.

"THE RIVERSIDE"
Guardian Plan Chapel
4714 Okeechobee Blvd
683-8676

Guardian Plan Chapel
2230 Hollywood Blvd.
523-5801

of the Year" in 1977. He was a member of the American Assn. of Certified Appraisers; served on numerous civic boards & organizations in Coral Gables. Mr. Quinn retired in July 1981. A founding contributor to St. Kieran's Catholic Church Building Fund. Mr. Quinn was an active member of that parish since its inception & a supporter & member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Mr. Quinn is survived by his wife, Margaret; 3 sisters, Mrs. Harold McInon & Mrs. Robert Bryan of Miami, and Mrs. Harry Aufderheide of West Virginia; 4 daughters, Mrs. Lawrence, Mrs. Avery of North Miami, Mrs. Herman Hoskins, Mrs. Steven Fisher of West Virginia, and Mrs. Ralph Ryule of Ft. Walton Beach; numerous grandchildren. Visitation will be from 7-9 P.M. Tues. at PHILBRICK FUNERAL CHAPEL 3234 Coral Way, with Rotary at 7:30 P.M. Funeral Mass will be celebrated at 10 A.M. Wed. in St. Kieran's Catholic Church Building Fund. Philbrick Funeral Chapel, 3234 Coral Way, 3 Blocks East of Miracle Mile & Douglas

SMITH

MRS. ALICE COOPER, widow of the Christening Burial Tues. (Today) 2 P.M. in Sacred Heart Catholic Church, Homestead. Cremation to follow. AHERN-PLUMMER 60 & Bird Rd 643-3333

SOBULESKI

MARY, 91, of Miami. Friends may visit 6-8 P.M. Tues. (Today) 2 P.M. in Sacred Heart Catholic Church, Homestead. Cremation to follow. SOBULESKI FUNERAL HOME, MIAMI SHORES CHAPEL 10938 NE 6 Ave.

STEWART

ALICE MORGAN, 66, formerly of Coconut Grove, died Dec. 8 at her home in Van Buren, Ark. She had worked in the insurance industry in Coconut Grove & Ark. for more than 40 years. Survivors include 2 sons, William Jay Stewart of Beaverton, Ore. & Major Clyde Stewart of Franklin, Tenn. with the U.S. Army; 2 grandsons & 2 granddaughters. Burial was in Fort Smith, Ark.

In Memoriam
a special way to remember

agreed to a continued 10 percent cut in pay. It was imposed two years ago. If the airline shows a profit next year, they will receive a pay increase.

A TWU official in Miami confirmed today that a Pan Am vice president visited union officials last week

At Local 769 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, secretary-treasurer Lou Smail said that he had not been informed of the Jan. 8 date, either.

"All I know is that the company has told us

Last week, a majority of Pan Am's 120 lenders agreed to waive a loan agreement requirement, but the company did not disclose what it was. The action allows Pan Am to maintain full next year.

THE MIAMI NEWS 12/2/82 p. 1

FOCUS



When a country is in crisis, it's simple for a demagog to present easy formulas

— José Napoleón Duarte

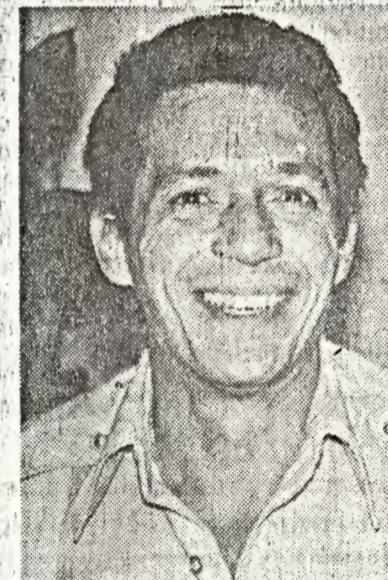
Duarte says d'Aubuisson out of touch

Former Salvadoran junta President José Napoleón Duarte is a busy man these days — globe-trotting, finishing a book, receiving supporters at the headquarters of the Christian Democratic Party in downtown San Salvador. He enjoys talking about it ("Wherever I go, it's a media event"). His house and headquarters are heavily guarded. During a two-hour interview at his headquarters, Duarte spoke bitterly of Constituent Assembly President Roberto d'Aubuisson, whose political party, ARENA, rose to prominence in the March 1982 election Duarte had hoped to win. This is an excerpted version of the interview:

KAREN PAYNE
Miami News Reporter

Q. It's said there is a power struggle in government, among President Alvaro Magaña, Defense Minister Gen. José Guillermo García and Constituent Assembly President Roberto d'Aubuisson. What is your evaluation of the present situation? Who is in power?

A. In my opinion there is a misunderstanding in the foreign press about who has power in the country. Some people say General García is the powerful man in the country. Some others say that d'Aubuisson is the powerful man in the country. And some others believe the president is the powerful man of the country. The problem is that no one of the three has enough control of the power, and therefore there is what I call a vacuum of power . . . That weakens the process of government, and of course weakens the direction of the country.



and Miami
August 1982
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INSIDE, 4A

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out of touch

Former Salvadoran junta President José Napoleón Duarte is a busy man these days — globetrotting, finishing a book, receiving supporters at the headquarters of the Christian Democratic Party in downtown San Salvador. He enjoys talking about it ("Wherever I go, it's a media event"). His house and headquarters are heavily guarded. During a two-hour interview at his headquarters, Duarte spoke bitterly of Constituent Assembly President Roberto d'Aubuisson, whose political party, ARENA, rose to prominence in the March 1982 election. Duarte had hoped to win. This is an excerpted version of the interview:

KAREN PAYNE

Miami News Reporter

Q. It's said there is a power struggle in government, among President Alvaro Magaña, Defense Minister Gen. José Guillermo García and Constituent Assembly President Roberto d'Aubuisson. What is your evaluation of the present situation? Who is in power?

A. In my opinion there is a misunderstanding in the foreign press about who has power in the country. Some people say General García is the powerful man in the country. Some others say that d'Aubuisson is the powerful man in the country. And some others believe the president is the powerful man of the country. The problem is that no one of the three has enough control of the power, and therefore there is what I call a vacuum of power ... That weakens the process of government, and of course weakens the direction of the country.

Mr. d'Aubuisson decided after the elections of the 28th of March to make what I call a "legal — a parliamentarian — coup d'état," based on arithmetic.

He thought that by just adding votes, by just adding deputies as votes in the National Assembly, he could obtain power — the complete control of the country ...

Please see DUARTE, 10A

Ex-president Duarte, left,
says El Salvador is weakened by
three-way power struggle that
includes assembly President
Roberto d'Aubuisson, right



The Miami News - BILL REINKE

Morales went to Key bar with widow of murder victim he was quizzed about

FOCUS**DUARTE, from 1A**

by converting the constitutional parliament into his base of power ... But he didn't understand that this is not a matter of arithmetic.

At the same time, he wanted to impose a new president, but he failed to do that — and Mr. Magaña (the provisional president) is a product against the will and the decision of the extreme right and Mr. d'Aubuisson ... This weakened Mr. d'Aubuisson's design of strategy ... Mr. d'Aubuisson has been trying permanently to control the army, to control the government, to control the political power.

Q. Do you see anything sinister or inappropriate in this struggle for power he's making, or is this a normal part of the political process?

A. I think that he is out of touch with reality. He is trying to sustain the theory of maintaining the structure of privileges that is now and has been in power for the last 50 years. He's trying to maintain a concept that the only solution for this country is to use force, to use violence.

Q. Violence against whom?

A. Violence against whoever opposes the structure — at this moment Communists, Christian Democrats, whoever is in the middle.

Q. Those who oppose his ideas?

A. Not his ideas, but the structure itself that he's trying to defend and maintain. He's an instrument of the process of imposition of dictatorship and totalitarianism in this country. The extreme right has been looking permanently for such an instrument. They needed a military man with enough guts to do things for them, and they have found in Mr. d'Aubuisson the man who can do it.

Q. How do you explain the



The Miami News - BILL REINKE

In party office, Duarte holds recorder for interview

agog to present easy formulas. And he was very clever to use demagogic propaganda. For example, he said that if he wins and takes all the economic control, the economic problems of this country are going to be solved and that he would give the possibility of working to the people and that he would defeat the guerrillas in three months.

Q. Does d'Aubuisson have the power to do what he wants? According to your analysis, he said he

Q. In your opinion, did d'Aubuisson ever have the power to do any of the things he promised? Was d'Aubuisson ever in control of the country?

A. He was, immediately after the 28th (of March). He thought that he had all the control of the country.

Q. But did he really?

A. Well, what happened was that there were reactions against that, and the arithmetic was not enough.

Q. Do you think he had power or was just trying to get power?

A. No, for a small moment I think he really had the power.

Q. When did he lose it?

A. I would say after the president (Magaña) was chosen.

Q. Many serious allegations have been made against d'Aubuisson by you and others. Was he investigated by your government? If you found anything to substantiate the charges against him, why didn't you bring that out during the elections?

A. What allegations?

Q. That he has ordered killings and been involved with death squads, for example.

A. Well, what happened is that you have to distinguish between the criminal position of what somebody is doing, and to prove it. The problem of this country is that justice is not capable of handling the procedures needed to maintain the country in order, in discipline. Therefore this gives the opportunity for abuses based on the power of authority, abuses based on the



The Miami News - BILL REINKE

Globetrotter at rest; Duarte relaxes in his office

MONKEY from 1A

mechanically."

"It's just a matter of time," Wesołowski said.

Friends of the admitted terrorist and informer said they doubted the official version of how he was shot.

"I find it hard to believe that he would get shot in a bar shooting," John Komorowski, Morales' attorney for the past four years, said yesterday. "He's too careful, he's too smart."

Morales had a gun tucked in an ankle strap, but never drew it, police said.

The man fled from the restaurant along with many of the patrons inside the bar. By the time police arrived only a handful were left.

Morales was the chief police informer in the celebrated Tick-Talks case, which led to the arrests of more than 40 suspects, mostly on drug charges. The case was thrown out in September when a judge ruled that 1,000 hours of taped conversations — obtained on the basis of Morales' information — couldn't

call a concept that the only solution for this country is to use force, to use violence.

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Q. How do you explain the number of people who supported d'Aubuisson in the elections? More than 400,000 people voted for him.

A. Well, it was natural. I would compare it to the support Hitler had in the '30s. When a country is in crisis, it's simple for a dem-



The Miami News - BILL REINKE

In party office, Duarte holds recorder for interview

agog to present easy formulas. And he was very clever to use demagogic propaganda. For example, he said that if he wins and takes all the economic control, the economic problems of this country are going to be solved and that he would give the possibility of working to the people . . . and that he would defeat the guerrillas in three months.

Q. Does d'Aubuisson have the power to do what he wants? According to your analysis, he said he would do these things if he had control.

A. He said we were responsible. He said that by throwing the Christian Democrats out of the government, the whole problem was going to be solved.

Q. Is there a left in El Salvador?

A. In this country, we are the left politically — the Christian Democrats. There are only two directions in this country — the right and the center left. We are politically the only strong force on the center left. Then you have the two extremes — the extreme right and the extreme left.

Q. And where is d'Aubuisson on this spectrum?

A. I would say that d'Aubuisson belongs to the extreme left which took advantage of the right — the extreme right — which took advantage of the political right.

Q. Many serious allegations have been made against d'Aubuisson by you and others. Was he investigated by your government? If you found anything to substantiate the charges against him, why didn't you bring that out during the elections?

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Q. That he has ordered killings and been involved with death squads, for example.

A. Well, what happened is that you have to distinguish between the criminal position of what somebody is doing, and to prove it. The problem of this country is that justice is not capable of handling the procedures needed to maintain the country in order, in discipline. Therefore this gives the opportunity for abuses based on the power of authority, abuses based on the power of influence, and abuses based on the power of money. So anybody can get by with any crime if he has either of the three . . .

You could make declarations concerning what he might have done or his responsibilities, but if you have no real proof, this can be handled only as rumors.

THE DADE SAVINGS ACCESS MONEY FUNDSM

WORKS LIKE A SUPER PASSBOOK

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and masked.
Near Salt Lake City, where thousands in sandbag brigades have battled floods from a melting snowpack for a week, winds gusting to 75 mph buffeted the Was-

hioned evacuation of the area was scaled down as the slide stabilized.

Mel Miles, county personnel director, said 200 people were evacuated and all but 30 spent the night with

with a cool, wet spring followed by sudden warming.
Three streets converted into makeshift canals were channeling the runoff through Salt Lake City.

FOCUS

THE MIAMI NEWS

MAY 31, 1983

Driven out of El Salvador, news publisher continues his fight from Miami

KAREN PAYNE
Miami News Reporter

BULLETS AND BOMBS drove publisher Enrique Altamirano Madriz out of El Salvador, but from a computer in a bedroom of his Miami home he directs one of Central America's largest and most influential newspapers.

Technology has allowed Altamirano to bridge the 975-mile gap between South Florida and San Salvador and keep control of *El Diario de Hoy* (Today's News), a 47-year-old publication with a circulation of 110,000.

Under the bright splash of a nun's painting of the once-peaceful Salvadoran countryside, Altamirano, 52, transmits via IBM computer the directives and editorials that have made him a leading conservative spokesman and an advocate of strong U.S. aid for his country.

"I think the real battle of El Salvador is not in El Salvador," said the newspaper executive. "It's in this country. The victory, or defeat will be in the halls of Congress."

Altamirano, who left El Salvador 3½ years ago, believes the United States should send "whatever it takes" to defeat communism in Central America: "When you have a win psychology, then you can solve a problem fast, with less bloodshed and small expense."

U.S. military aid to El Salvador has jumped from \$35 million in 1981 to \$136 million proposed for 1983. Economic aid has increased from \$106 million in 1981 to \$164 million proposed for this year.

The first U.S. military officer was killed in El Salvador on Wednesday. The victim, Navy Lt. Cmdr. Albert Schaufelberger, 33, of San Diego, was one of 52 noncombat U.S. advisers training Salvadoran armed forces. A guerrilla group



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"El Salvador is fighting a war inspired and supplied by the Soviet Union and Cuba," said Altamirano. "What country could withstand the continuous supply of guerrillas and terrorists if its main ally, its traditional ally, denies it help?"

Without U.S. aid, Altamirano fears, El Salvador will go the way of neighboring Nicaragua, now ruled by a Marxist-dominated Sandinista junta. "(Nicaraguan President Anastasio) Somoza did not lose militarily, but because he was denied supplies, munitions and commerce with other countries, he was really defeated in Washington."

Congress slashed President Reagan's 1983 military aid request for El Salvador, and a House committee attached a requirement — opposed by Salvadoran officials — that the government negotiate with the guerrillas.

"Congress should stop making a partisan issue of this thing and start looking at it as a direct threat to the security of the United States," said Altamirano. "They shouldn't play with the safety, security and future of Salvadorans and Central



The Miami News - JOE RIMKUS

Enrique Altamirano Madriz: 'The real battle of El Salvador ... is in this country'

Americans just to win elections. There is too much blood and suffering, death and destruction involved."

ALTAMIRANO LIVES with his wife, Thelma Basil de Altamirano; his mother, Mercedes Madriz de Altamirano, and his three sons

— Fabricio, 17; Julian, 10, and Hector, 5. Their four-bedroom northeast Miami home is decorated with Altamirano's modest art collection and has a garden and swimming pool.

"I find myself very much at ease with the community in Miami, especially since a large segment of this community suffered the same kinds of problems we suffer in El Salvador," he said. "I don't mean only Cubans, but also other Latins and Jewish immigrants who had to flee Europe in the early 1930s."

On a November night in 1979, security guards fired at terrorists who were setting off bombs at his San Salvador home. "There ensued a 30-minute gunfight between the people outside and the people inside the house," he said. "We lived in the center of town, but no one came to help."

"I realized I was living in a place where on one side people were placing bombs and on the other side, the forces charged with protecting people were too busy to stop a shootout. It was time to leave."

Now, Altamirano is bombarded nightly in Miami by phone calls from his San Salvador newsroom. With each ring, he dashes to the computer, where he reads news stories, picks articles

Please see ALTAMIRANO, 3A

For family of teen in coma, NY center holds out final hope

LUISA YANEZ

last August,

A bolt of lightning struck Luisa

FBI judged liable in 1961 KKK case

Associated Press

KALAMAZOO, Mich. — A federal judge today held the FBI liable for damages a crippled man claims he suffered 22 years ago in a Ku Klux Klan beating of civil rights "freedom riders" in a bus trip through Alabama.

The Miami Star interview
El Salvador's top elected official

Assembly president says successes are overlooked by U.S.

KAREN PAYNE APR 6 1983
Miami News Reporter

El Salvador's highest elected official says Marxist-led guerrillas will never take his country by force — even if Americans cut off aid to the war-torn Central American nation.

"We are not going to lose," vowed Constituent Assembly President Roberto d'Aubuisson Arrieta, who is in Miami for a week of relaxation with family and personal friends. D'Aubuisson was accompanied by his 14-year-old son, Roberto, who came to Miami before d'Aubuisson's April 1 arrival here by private plane.

Congress is considering Reagan Administration proposals for some \$110 million in increased military aid to El Salvador.

If U.S. aid is cut, Salvadorans will have to "make more sacrifices," said d'Aubuisson. "Suppose they take away our airplanes, what will we do? Then we'll be able to fight only on foot, but we'll go on fighting. The subversives have no chance of winning."

The controversial 39-year-old president of the Salvadoran legislative body said his visit here is "not political," but added that he plans to make an official visit to Washington, D.C. at the end of April or beginning of May "to check out the situation and ask questions."

In 1980, d'Aubuisson's U.S. visa was cancelled, following allegations by former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White that d'Aubuisson was involved in terrorist activities. D'Aubuisson said White's allegations are "categorically false."

D'Aubuisson, formerly a Salvadoran army intelligence officer, entered politics following a 1979 coup that brought a military-civilian junta to power. After national elections in March 1982, d'Aubuisson became president of the Constituent Assembly.

State Department spokesman Anita Stockman said yesterday that it was "consistent with U.S. interests" to grant d'Aubuisson a visa.

"D'Aubuisson is an elected official of a friendly country," Stockman said. "He represents a major political force in El Salvador, a force which — unlike others — has chosen to play by the democratic rules," Stockman said.

D'Aubuisson yesterday expressed hope that leftist guerrillas will lay down their arms and participate in presidential and legislative elections scheduled for November or December 1983.

He said he expects elections to be fair. He predicted that his political party, ARENA (Alianza Republicana Nacionalista), will win.

He said an El Salvador's amnesty law, first proposed by the ARENA party last year, will permit guerrillas to rejoin the country's political life. D'Aubuisson said he opposes power-sharing through any means other than elections.

He said he is not seeking the nation's presidency but would be content to run for re-election to the

We need military aid to ensure a rapid military victory — if not, we'll have to win in a longer time

— Roberto d'Aubuisson

legislature and then retire soon — perhaps leaving El Salvador to lead the life of a "tranquil" man.

The ARENA Party will meet in mid-May to choose a presidential candidate, said D'Aubuisson. Their choice will depend on public opinion in the United States and in El Salvador and among the various factions with which ARENA may form alliances — church leaders, the armed forces and other political parties.

D'Aubuisson said it is difficult to say when the war in El Salvador will end, but it will be sooner with U.S. military aid — and safer for the Central American region, he said.

"We need military aid to ensure a rapid military victory — if not, we'll have to win in a longer time. And it will place other areas in danger," he said.

D'Aubuisson complained that El Salvador and his ARENA party get no credit in the United States for their achievements.

"We had an election in the middle of violence, and we are going to have another," he said. "We have consolidated reforms. There is improvement in the area of human rights. We are democratizing, organizing elections and supporting the armed forces to be more efficient and professional and avoid injustices to the civil population. That depends a great deal on the aid and assistance of the U.S."

FOCUS

ALTAMIRANO, from 1A

for page one, makes assignments for reporters, gives advice on investigations, oversees management and tackles production problems. He said his money is invested in *El Diario de Hoy's* building, electronic equipment and offset presses.

By day, Altamirano prepares messages, documents and letters for travelers who ferry papers to El Salvador. Impeccably dressed, he attends meetings, grants interviews, talks to U.S. officials and writes.

Altamirano's surface calm hides his worries about family, paper and country. Coating his nervous stomach with Tagomet, he remains outwardly cheerful. Occasionally he finds time to take his children to the zoo or indulge his interest in art, architecture and photography.

Among Altamirano's worries is a dramatic drop in paper advertising revenues since 1979. Although circulation has held steady, the paper has little more than half the pages it had four years ago, and could be produced with only two-thirds of its 300 employees. But Altamirano said he keeps them on because they would have a difficult time finding jobs.

The paper's financial woes are part of a general economic decline that began in 1979 when a junta took over El Salvador's government and Marxist-led guerrillas declared war on the national economy, Altamirano said. According to a 1983 report by the U.S. Embassy, guerrillas have caused \$600 million in direct damage to the Salvadoran economy.

Altamirano said his country was on the verge of an economic takeoff during the last years of the 1970s. "You could feel the atmosphere before — how people changed in their attitudes, how brilliant, hard-working, aggressive young executives were climbing ... It was an active force — with many people getting a taste of the good life and trying to achieve it."

In four years, El Salvador fell from its status as a self-supporting nation to that of a country staggering under budget deficits and a national debt of several hundred million dollars.

Altamirano said Salvadoran businessmen and their families became terrorist targets, and the army gave up trying to protect them, contrary to the widely held foreign opinion that wealthy people control the army.

"After they shoot at you and at your house and you receive threatening notes, after awhile it's not worth it," he said. "I couldn't write, couldn't do things without taking into account the consequences that might follow."

ALTAMIRANO and ex-junta President José Napoleón Duarte, leader of the Christian Democratic Party, disagree on how El Salvador should be governed.

Altamirano in Miami: "We can't any longer speculate on what the Christian Democrats would do in gov-



The Miami News - JOE RIMKUS

Altamirano leafs through *El Diario de Hoy*. He directs his newspaper from his Miami home

other Salvadoran newspapers deny space to the guerrillas. Altamirano said his newspaper covers guerrilla statements and activities in news reporting, but does not print their manifestos or paid ads.

legitimate grievances about the government. All bureaucracies — especially in Latin America — are very inefficient and inept. In many cases there are legitimate grievances against the government.

juntas were the worst. The present government is much better, but they inherited such an awful mess ... God himself would have problems."

✓ On dialog with guerrillas: "They want to negotiate terrorists, murderers and criminals into our government ... Nobody who ever went to negotiations and gave a share of power to forces like those in El Salvador — supported by foreign movements — has survived as a democratic country. If 50 other countries negotiated and then went down the drain and lost their freedom, why should El Salvador be an exception? Why should we take that risk?"

✓ On foreign reporting in El Salvador: "Most foreign reporters live at one hotel — the Camino Real — which is a hub for spies and subversives. They go with a preconceived image of El Salvador. They are like people going to a play who see only part of the play with dark glasses on, and hear only half of the dialog, coming in the middle of the play, and leaving before the end. And then they must make a critique of the play."

ALTAMIRANO WAS BORN in 1930 into a kind of mini United Nations. His mother's mother was from Honduras. A distant relative was president of Costa Rica. His maternal grandfather, once president of Nicaragua, was exiled to El Salvador and later to Mexico.

Altamirano's father, Napoleón Viera Altamirano, founded *El Diario de Hoy* in 1935 as the first tabloid and the first morning paper in Central America. The formula proved so successful that all major Central American newspapers — except for *La Prensa* in Nicaragua — are now tabloid morning papers.

El Diario de Hoy also was innovative in using pictures and drawings, devoting a large amount of space to foreign news and emphasizing the editorial page, said Altamirano, who was a tardy convert to his father's passion for journalism.

At the age of 12, Altamirano was sent to study at New Hampton School in New Hampton, N.H., a private school chosen by his father because no other student spoke Spanish. Altamirano finished high school at the age of 15, spent a year at the University of California at Berkeley, then returned home for an engineering degree.

He spent four years in Germany studying liberal arts. While there, three events shaped his view of politics: the Hungarian revolt, the flood of refugees that streamed into Germany when Russian troops suppressed the Hungarian uprising and his friendship with a Romanian exile who had fled the Communist takeover of his country.

According to Altamirano, Cuban Premier Fidel Cas-

an active force — with many people getting a taste of the good life and trying to achieve it."

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AL TAMIRANO and ex-junta President José Napoleón Duarte, leader of the Christian Democratic Party, disagree on how El Salvador should be governed.

Altamirano in Miami: "We can't any longer speculate on what the Christian Democrats would do in government. We know. They are opportunists with totalitarian tendencies, who drove the country to bankruptcy during their three years in power."

Duarte in El Salvador: "The owners of the (Diario de Hoy) are living in Miami and giving orders. They're not here in the country and don't know what's happening here."

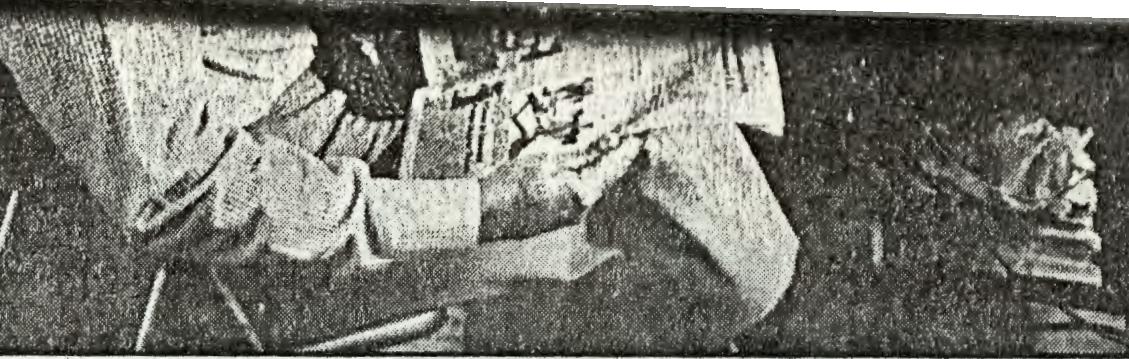
Under the regime of Duarte, major Salvadoran landholdings were collectivized and the country's banks and exports were taken over by the central government.

In national elections in March 1982, 1.5 million Salvadoran voters defeated Duarte and elected a Constituent Assembly dominated by a coalition of conservative political parties. The executive branch, called a Government of National Unity, includes representatives of all major parties.

Duarte, in a phone interview from San Salvador, criticized El Diario de Hoy's economic positions as "extreme right, against the intervention of the state on any matter, and absolutely for private enterprise." He said Christian Democrats "believe the state should be the director of society."

Altamirano said his newspaper does not side with one political party or endorse political candidates. But he said the paper defends private property and opposes "people who have as their goal the destruction of the principles of law," including the Marxist-led guerrillas.

Francisco Altshul, a Washington, D.C., spokesman for the Democratic Revolutionary Front, the guerrilla political organization, said El Diario de Hoy and all



The Miami News - JOE RIMKUS

Altamirano leafs through El Diario de Hoy. He directs his newspaper from his Miami home

other Salvadoran newspapers deny space to the guerrillas. Altamirano said his newspaper covers guerrilla statements and activities in news reporting, but does not print their manifestos or paid ads.

Altshul said all newspapers sympathetic to the guerrillas were driven out of business by violence. Altamirano's Diario is "the most conservative" Salvadoran paper, favoring "traditional economic theories of laissez-faire," said Altshul, adding that it is "very anti-communist, meaning by that they see as communist anything that speaks of the need for change."

A U.S. State Department official who asked not to be named said that compared to American newspapers,

El Diario de Hoy is "more ideological, with less distinction between editorial opinion and news." But he added, "That is far more in the tradition of newspapers in that part of the world."

An official of the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador said the paper is "influential, well-run financially and pretty informative."

An official of the Salvadoran Embassy in Washington, D.C., who would not allow his name to be used, said "the press in El Salvador is still — to put it mildly — in need of improving." He said Salvadoran papers are "good for social reporting, movies and sports but bad in political reporting." The trouble, the diplomat said, is that the Salvadoran press "has been run as an enterprise for profit."

THESE ARE SOME of Altamirano's editorial positions:

✓ On the Salvadoran war: "We don't have a society so perfect that no one has complaints. There are

legitimate grievances about the government. All bureaucracies — especially in Latin America — are very inefficient and inept. In many cases there are legitimate grievances against soldiers and police, and the judicial system can't cope with the explosive incidence in criminal acts.

"When a poor country starts to develop, it is bewildering for many sectors. They want to know why they haven't yet got a road, a school, a water system. This is a matter of limited resources and many needs, needs that arise from an exploding population. But hundreds of thousands of refugees are 'voting with their feet' by fleeing from guerrilla-dominated areas."

✓ On land reform: "All properties larger than 1,250 acres have been collectivized by the government

... So to continue land reform is to continue dispossession of small farmers. Land reform has been done at the price of disrupting the whole economy of the country, killing confidence and creating hatred."

✓ On charges that a few wealthy families have carried away much of El Salvador's wealth: "I think it's silly to say that people with large cotton farms or factories could take large amounts of capital because most of their capital was invested. Also, you should remember that 500,000 to 1 million Salvadorans have fled to foreign countries. If each one took \$500 — that's what it cost just to pay for an illegal passage to the U.S. — that alone would account for the loss of a quarter to a half-billion dollars.

✓ On government corruption: "In the past three years corruption has taken a definite turn for the worse. It is very widespread and difficult to prove who is doing what. But the people who composed the

to foreign news and emphasizing the editorial page," said Altamirano, who was a tardy convert to his father's passion for journalism.

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According to Altamirano, Cuban Premier Fidel Castro sought to influence El Salvador in the 1960s through infiltration of the armed forces, the Catholic Church, universities, labor unions and campesino organizations.

Leftists took over the National University in 1965, Altamirano said, and purged unsympathetic professors, including Altamirano, who taught engineering. After that, he devoted full-time to the newspaper business. He took over as publisher when his father died in 1975.

Altamirano, who said he feels "uprooted" in Miami, hopes to begin traveling again to El Salvador soon. He wants his oldest son, Fabricio, who is interested in journalism and economics, to take over management of the newspaper some day.

At times, he said he would be tempted to give up his editorial fight — if it weren't for his children. He wants them to know and love their country and its traditions and he wants them to live in freedom — "freedom to travel, work, participate in public debate of ideas, live where they like . . ."

At night, as he sits at his Miami computer under the painting by Maya Salarrué, a nun and the daughter of a well-known Salvadoran author who often wrote about peasants, Altamirano remembers how life used to be. "El Salvador was a very, very beautiful country."

And he thinks about the future: "(El Salvador) simply is lost. If there is not a definite, conclusive signal from the United States to the attacking powers that they will not be allowed to win."

YOU CAN'T FAKE

FITNESS

IT MIGHT NOT BE EASY BUT IT'S WORTH IT

U.S. says El Salvador guerrilla war backfires on poor

KAREN PAYNE
Miami News Reporter

Guerrilla efforts to destroy El Salvador's economy are making life rougher for the poor people whose interests they claim to represent, according to U.S. officials.

The Marxist-led guerrilla groups have caused \$596.8 million in direct damage to the Salvadoran economy since 1979 and forced the government to increase defense spending from 7 to 17 per cent of the national budget, according to a recent study by the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador.

Guerrillas have blown up buses, bridges and electrical lines, attacked farms and factories and sent hundreds of thousands of refugees streaming away from the violence-torn countryside, according to the study.

But a rebel political leader says the guerrillas have "limited" their sabotage campaign and want to negotiate with the government.

A U.S. Embassy official, who requested anonymity, said in a telephone interview that the country's economy is "not by any means on its last legs."

But in the eastern part of the country especially, losses are very severe, the official said. Farm families have abandoned their land and end up with relatives or in camps for displaced persons.

Rubén Zamora, a rebel political leader visiting Washington, D.C., to lobby for negotiations, acknowledged in a telephone interview that the guerrillas are waging a campaign of "economic sabotage" in El Salvador, but said they are "rather careful" in their choice of targets.

"They attack bridges because they are strategic for the movement of the enemy," he said. "Yes, they attack electrical generating stations and telephone lines because this keeps the army dispersed trying to protect them. But we never attacked the hydroelectric stations, though we could do it."

The embassy official disagreed, saying that guerrillas have exercised "no particular care to avoid certain targets." Recent guerrilla targets have included the Cerrón Grande dam, which supplies electricity to half the country, the official said.

"Another thing I like to point out to people is that they've been blowing up a lot of buses recently. Rich people don't ride buses. It's poor people who ride buses," the official said.

According to the embassy, guerrillas have destroyed 242 buses and partly destroyed 362 others, at a cost of \$12.8 million. They have demolished \$85.3 million worth of bridges and public buildings, rail, telephone, electrical, water and oil refinery installations, the report said.

Indirect costs signaled in the report include "incalculable" public health from widespread exposure to dirty water, which occurs when guerrillas sabotage electrical facilities that power water pumps.



Associated Press

Children explore mayor's office after rebels sacked and burned it in Oratorio de Concepcion

In addition, the report blamed the guerrilla war for a \$235 million loss of agricultural production, a \$96 million loss in manufacturing output and salaries, and loss of tens of millions of dollars in "war taxes" extorted by the guerrillas from small businessmen, peasant coops and other agricultural producers.

The war has had negative effects on El Salvador's balance of payments, tourism and ability to get foreign loans, the report said.

El Salvador's economic growth — steady through 1979, when the country had a budget surplus of \$39 million — has since declined until in 1982 the country had a deficit of \$241 million, according to the report.

Zamora, a leader of the guerrillas' political group, the Democratic Revolutionary Front, defended economic sabotage as an essential part of warfare. "The United States in the second World War bombarded economic installations in Japan and Germany," he said.

Zamora said an aim of the economic sabotage is to force negotiations with the government of El Salvador.

Government officials have refused to consider such negotiations.

Zamora said the rebels want to talk about six points:

- ✓ A program of socio-economic reforms.
- ✓ Joining El Salvador's army with the guerrilla military forces.
- ✓ Composition of the Salvadoran government.
- ✓ How and when elections should be held.
- ✓ The "international position" of El Salvador's government.

✓ A ceasefire in the fighting.

President Reagan and Salvadoran officials have said the guerrillas wish to use negotiations only as a tool to gain power without going through the electoral process.

In a speech last week, U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton labeled the guerrillas' call for dialog "empty rhetoric" and accused Zamora of making "a blatant demand for power sharing."

Most of army kept on defense

Associated Press

SANTA ROSA DE LIMA, El Salvador — In a flash of exploding dynamite, the bridge spanning the main highway through Santa Rosa de Lima erupted into the air in fragments.

"Fantastic. We did a good job, no?" said a young rebel saboteur as he stared at the 60-foot section of bridge in the streambed below.

"This is going to really mess up the town," said one of the 30,000 residents after the guerrillas ended a two-day attack and withdrew last Saturday from the second largest city in El Salvador's easternmost province, La Unión. "They do whatever they want to do. These guerrillas are rough."

A guerrilla campaign of sabotage that is growing more effective is demoralizing the four eastern provinces and hampering government efforts to control the 3½-year-old leftist insurgency.

"When the army got here, the boys (guerrillas) had already gone," said a clothing merchant. "There is no reason to stay here. There is no security and my business is finished."

In attacks a week ago, rebels against the U.S.-backed elected government destroyed six bridges, cut the Pan American Highway and virtually paralyzed El Salvador's trade with Honduras.

The rebels dynamited the Anaitíllo bridge, which spans the Goascorán River between El Salvador and Honduras nine miles east of Santa Rosa de Lima, and four other bridges between the city and the border. Authorities said reconstruction would begin immediately, but will take months.

The attacks demonstrated the rebels' growing ability to cause havoc in the eastern provinces of Usulután, San Miguel, La Unión and Morazán. There are indications the campaign is weakening the army's offensive capacity: an estimated 60 per cent of the army's 33,000 men are guarding bridges, roads, electric plants and the like against sabotage — tied down so they can't chase guerrillas.

The recent rebel attacks were intended "to destroy the economy and make the enemy's movements difficult," a guerrilla who said his name was Ulises Quintalla said.

The rebels retreated as soon as the bridges were destroyed.

"I tell you, if you gave my 10-year-old son a rifle and a book of matches, he could burn a lot of buses," said Col. Miguel Alfredo Vasconcelos, military commander in Usulután province. "What they are doing is easy. It is cowardly."

Rebels stage Nicaragua offensive

Associated Press

The fighting, northwest of Jalapa, was part of an offensive that military sources said began late Friday when rebels regrouped and invaded from Honduras, hours after the Defense Ministry announced its troops had driven back 1,200 insurgents who entered the country last month.

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Government troops and rebels battled yesterday in the mountains near the Honduran border, setting the surrounding jungle ablaze, the official Nueva Nicaragua news agency reported.

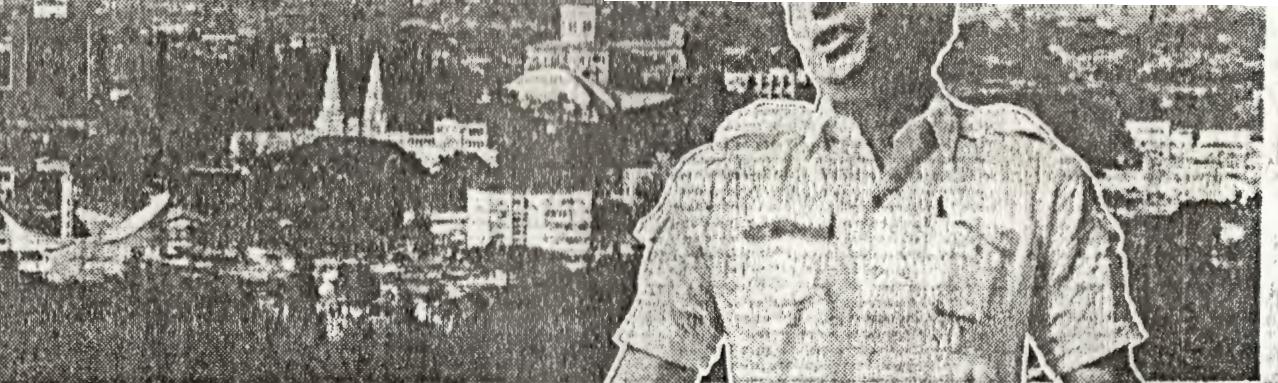
was coming to to consult with akey has long been involved with muscular Dystrophy telethons. He was admitted to Desert Springs Hospital at 8:30 yesterday and a heart catheterization was performed. Lewis and his family surgery began shortly afterward.

host of the Muscular Dystrophy telethon, made it big as the zany young man.ightclub act in 1946, and appeared in pictures as "The Stooge" and "before splitting up in 1956. Lewis has performed at Las Vegas for 13 weeks at a time. His last performance was a one-week stint beginning last month. Lewis is a home in Las Vegas, once was a Nobel Peace Prize for his Muscular Dystrophy researches without Martin include "The Geisha Boy," "The Patsy," "Big Grandpa Boy."

era
th paint
oothbrush
really need tooth paint? A new brand offers 12 colors of paint from tobacco or aging. The paint is applied directly to the teeth's enamel and hardened with a special light. Rembrandt people have field-tested their tooth paint national-wide. Touch-ups are needed only every two months. California, of course, will be the first state where tooth paint will be sold.

quarters
quarters, a suburb of New Orleans, has raised its prices to \$990 a book after buying obscenity evidence. A handful of quarters and head-tight film booths to build their case. Clerk Gregory Miall, 21, was arrested for obscene materials.

Chinese Maxim
the-Way-Things-Are-in-China-Pierre Cardin, owner of the expensive Maxim's restaurant in an agreement with Chinese of-



■ The Americans favor their enemies more than their friends

— Roberto d'Aubuisson

D'Aubuisson: U.S. blind to Marxists

• These excerpts conclude Karen Payne's interview with Roberto d'Aubuisson, who became president of El Salvador's Constituent Assembly after an election this year gave the Central American nation a representative government after three years of junta rule.

KAREN PAYNE

Miami News Reporter

Q. Who really benefits from the aid given by the United States to El Salvador? Does some of it go to businesses and private citizens, or does most of it go to the military?

A. Generally it has come for the most part to the government, since almost everything has been nationalized ... We would never have needed aid from the United States. We were a solvent country, and we had enough to continue living with-

Please see D'AUBUISSON, 4A

Give us markets, less aid, says Salvadoran assembly President Roberto d'Aubuisson, in interview at the capital, San Salvador. Country's hills once produced a wealth of coffee, but d'Aubuisson says land reform wrecked the economy

the Miami area and the figures was in housing said, "Miami showed a decline, while the (new) figures were up in the 12 months ended October.

Lower prices for household maintenance and furnishings offset sharply lower costs and an increase in interest rates, Cruse said.

Overall, consumer price index adjusted rose 0.2% in October and 1.1% in November. That compares with a 1.2% increase nationally during the same period.

In November, Dade County residents were paying \$156.80 for services that cost \$145.50 a year ago and \$100 in 1977.

Food and beverages were the only component

Please see

U.S. inflation runs at 4.5% low for decade

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Prices rose a minuscule 0.2% in November, the first increase since March, the government said today. Tumbling mortgage rates were largely responsible.

The new Consumer Price Index report meant that, for the second consecutive month, inflation is running at a annual rate of 4.5 per cent. Economists' predictions of 1982 inflation could be lowest in a decade.

But the economic picture in Washington wasn't all bad. Figures on the Gross Domestic Product indicate the nation's economy is clearly declining again by at least small amount in the six months, government statisticians admitted today.

In a somber year-end

Please see

Commission votes to appeal judge's decision on set-asides

Palm Beach Co.

said.
The man who shot Morales es-
caped, but police said they know
who he is and were searching for
him today.

Lewis es rgery

ctor Jerry Lewis under-
surgery today in a Las
n was "unstable," a hos-

r has "good chances" of
bara Scarantino. Doctors
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surgeon Dr. Michael De-
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rophy telethons.
Desert Springs Hospital at
and a heart catheterizing.
Lewis and his family
egan shortly afterward.

the Muscular Dystrophy
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performed at Las Vegas
cks at a time. His last per-
week stint beginning last

in Las Vegas, once was
e Prize for his Muscular

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rush
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marketed under the
fers 12 colors of paint
obacco or aging. The
paint is applied di-
rectly to the teeth's

to Morales' activities as a police informant.

"I have nothing to lead us to that," Wesolowski said.

Police would not say how many people accompanied Morales, or what kind of gun was used to shoot him.

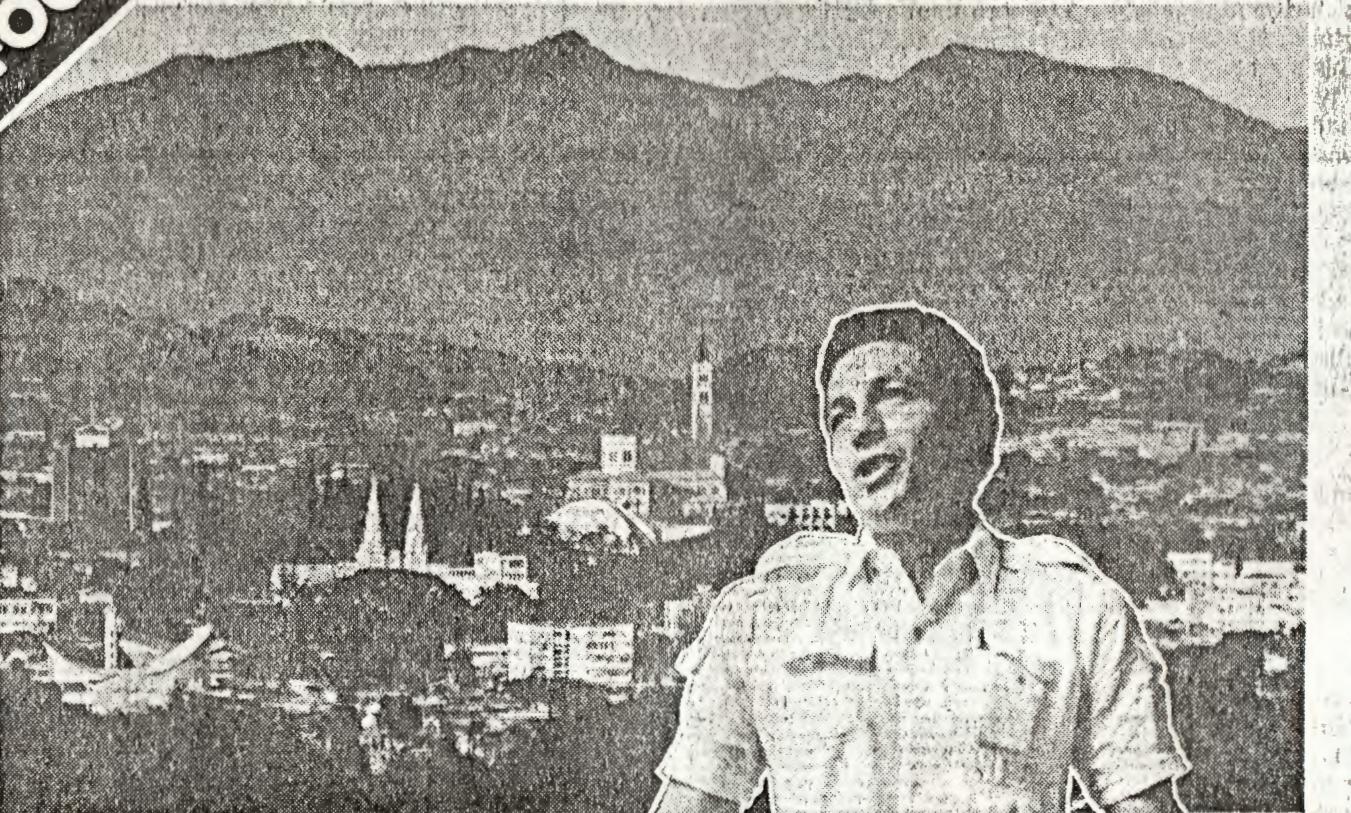
The prosecution fell apart in September when Dade Circuit Court Judge Gerald Kogan dismissed crucial wiretap evidence.

acts in the 1960s and '70s.
Morales, an ex-CIA agent
anti-Castro terrorist, said he had
hand in 15 bombings.

THE MIAMI NEWS 12/21/82 .1

FOCUS

Rightist views El Salvador



**■ The Americans
favor their enemies
more than their
friends**

— Roberto d'Aubuisson

D'Aubuisson: U.S. blind to Marxists

Give us markets,
less aid, says
Salvadoran assembly
President Roberto

Dade price rise lowest since '78

Dade consumer prices rose
per cent in the 12 months ending
November, the slowest rise since
the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics
began compiling the figures in 1978.

Dade's increase compared with
national inflation rate of 4.6
cent in the same period, said Don
Cruse, the bureau's Atlanta regional
commissioner.

"The major difference between
the Miami area and the national fig-
ures was in housing costs," Cruse
said. "Miami showed a 2.4 per cent
decline, while the national (household)
figures were up 4.9 per cent in the
12 months ending in November."

Lower prices for home purchases,
maintenance and repairs, and
household furnishings and op-
erations offset sharply higher
costs and an increase in mort-
gage interest rates, Cruse said.

Overall, consumer prices not seasonally-adjusted rose 0.4 per cent
in Dade in October and November.
That compares with a 0.1 per cent
increase nationally during the same
period.

In November, Dade consumers
were paying \$156.80 for goods and
services that cost \$153.60 a year
ago and \$100 in 1977, Cruse said.

Food and beverage costs were
the only components of Da-

Please see DADE,

U.S. inflation runs at 4.5 % low for decade

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Con-
sumer prices rose a minuscule 0.1 per



NEWS FROM Congressman NEWT GINGRICH

1005 Longworth House Office Building

• Washington, D.C. 20515

• 202-225-4501

FOR RELEASE:

July 29, 1983

CONTACT:

Debbie Abrams
0:202-225-4501

Notes on Self-Government

George McGovern must be smiling after the recent vote against covert aid in Central America. His radical brand of Isolationism and withdrawal from the world has now grown into an entire wing of the Democratic party.

At least eighty Democrats in the House of Representatives now embrace a philosophy of American withdrawal and Isolationism which is a direct repudiation of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy.

These radical Democrats argue, in effect, that the key to peace is to allow the Soviet Union, its Cuban puppets and Nicaraguan dictators to do what they want in Central America without an effective challenge. The radical Democrats argue that those nations and peoples America sides with are bad, while those under Soviet influence are good.

One radical Congressman, Tom Downey of New York, actually said that the ten thousand Nicaraguan freedom fighters who're trying to win elections in their country, trying to help El Salvador survive and trying to help the United States restore stability in Central America were "thugs, brigands and thieves."

Imagine that a French leader had called Freedom Fighter George Washington a "thug" in the 1780's. Imagine that FDR had called

Charles DeGaulle a "brigand" for trying to liberate his country during World War II.

It's little wonder the United States loses allies when radical Democrats browbeat moderate Democrats into cutting off aid to America's friends while America's enemies can continue to work actively to foster Communism.

It was ironic that on the very day that the United States House voted to cut off covert aid, the Soviet freighter carrying weapons to Nicaragua was passing through the Panama Canal. What better symbol than this of how far America has decayed in its ability to protect freedom in the Western hemisphere.

It's now the Soviets who send advisors. Some nine thousand Soviet bloc and Cuban advisors are in Nicaragua alone. The United States is now paralyzed by its left-wing politicians, who say that fifty-five American advisors are more dangerous to Central American stability than nine thousand Communist bloc advisors.

The great failure of the radical Democrats is not that they focus their attention solely on Central American poverty. Poverty is a problem in all third world countries. It is not that they are against war. Any reasonable person is against war. It is that radical Democrats fundamentally misunderstand the nature of evil both here at home and in the world at large.

Because they fail to understand the nature of evil, radical Democrats support policies at home that favor the criminal rather than the victim. Here in our own country, they punish the innocent with weak laws and weaker courts which allow criminals to stay on the street while murdering, selling cocaine and preying on innocent people.

Similarly, in their foreign policy, radical Democrats allow innocent, free people to be enslaved by the brutal forces of Communist aggression. If the innocent rise in protest, it is then seen as their fault that there is violence.

And thus, both in Domestic policy with their soft on crime stance and in foreign policy, with their willingness to allow people to be enslaved by Communism, the radicals fail to recognize that evil does exist in the world. They fail to realize there are times and places when free people must take a stand.

If El Salvador falls, the Communists have already said that it is a war without boundaries. They will begin Communist backed revolutions in Honduras, Guatemala and ultimately in Mexico. They have said that their goal is a revolution to the Rio Grande. That threat is a matter of public record.

If the Communists reach their goal of revolution to the Rio Grande, we can expect seven to twelve million "foot people" walking into the U.S. just like the million or more "boat people" who have already fled Viet Nam. The Texas border is just a two-day ride from Central America. If that is the case, it is the radical and liberal Democrats who set the stage for this disaster by voting to cut off covert aid.

10625 Miller Road
Oakton, Virginia 22124

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

August 10, 1983

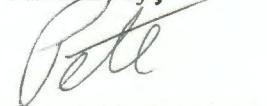
Dear Morton:

It was good to open the Post to see someone clearly articulate the policy position on Central America from a position of strength, optimism, and with an important reference to historical precedent.

Your remarks about placing the blame for any defeat in Central America squarely on the shoulders of those who have consistently tried to thwart any resistance to the Marxist are also important in raising the stakes for these characters. I'm glad to see you helping to position the administration in a manner that lets liberals know that they won't bring about a defeat this time without a fight and without political risks to themselves.

It makes me proud to be a Reagan Republican.

Sincerely,



Peter M. Morgret

games in this country."

Yet among the most vocal supporters of President Reagan's policies in Central America, at the urging of the White House, are Republican Hispanics who dismiss any con-

nism for the good of America.

"Why should we be any less concerned than the Anglos about El Salvador and Nicaragua falling to the communists?" he asked. "If Salvador goes communist it will increase

runs amok while our children go uneducated, unfed, unclothed and with no health care. We care about a sensible U.S. policy or lack thereof in Central America."

more of gunboat diplomacy that could only result in giving us years of open war or decades of guerrilla warfare."

Reagan's political advisers have him talk-

very aware of what is happening in Central America and aware that it could make for xenophobia here against all Latins, even if their home is in the United States."

Excellent!

Opposition to Latin Policy Laid to 'Distortion' by Media, Churches

POLICY, From A1

ton C. Blackwell, assessed the continuing White House "public diplomacy" campaign designed to circumvent the media and church leaders by mobilizing grass-roots organizations and their internal communications systems.

The two officials presented a written account of 34 specific undertakings on Central America originated or encouraged by the administration, including a supportive editorial in American Legion Magazine, mobilization of chambers of commerce in Latin America, advertisements in major newspapers placed by the Conservative Caucus and a conference on "Democracy for Nicaragua" sponsored by the Institute of Religion and Democracy.

They have also published five "White House Digests" focusing on

suppression of civil liberties in Nicaragua, the Soviet-Cuban arms buildup there and the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization in helping the Sandinistas.

A separate tabulation showed that representatives of 150 organizations have participated in weekly "outreach" meetings in the Executive Office Building in which prominent administration officials, including the president, have been featured speakers.

Blackwell characterized all this as "a long, incremental effort" to convince American voters that Reagan's Central America policy makes sense. While acknowledging that it has so far failed to increase popular support for the president, Blackwell contended the administration is in a "no-lose situation."

"Although we're behind in the

public opinion polls right now, we may be in the Churchillian position of the 1930s and the people who are opposing the president's policy may wind up in the same boat that Neville Chamberlain did over the long haul," Blackwell said.

He compared Reagan's warnings about the dangers of the Soviet and Cuban "war machine" in Nicaragua with Winston Churchill's unheeded warnings of German rearmament. Churchill replaced Chamberlain as British prime minister on May 10, 1940, eight months after the outbreak of World War II.

Blackwell said Reagan's policy will be approved by a majority of Americans if the present combination of pressure and negotiation succeeds. "If on the other hand, the president doesn't get what he has requested [in El Salvador] and there is

a disaster, it seems to me very reasonable that the American people will pin the blame where it belongs," Blackwell said, making clear that he meant opponents of the policy.

Recent public opinion polls have shown deep voter skepticism about administration policy in Central America. A Washington Post-ABC News poll last week showed overwhelming disapproval of CIA support for guerrillas trying to overthrow the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, although a majority did agree that the situation in Central America was "a threat" to the United States.

In a finding that underpins White House sensitivity about news coverage of Central America, 49 percent of voters said they would tend to believe major television and newspaper reports compared with 39 percent who said they would tend to believe

Reagan. The remainder said it would depend on the specific story or had no opinion.

Polls taken for the White House by Richard B. Wirthlin have consistently shown voter indifference and ignorance about Central America. After the president made a major speech about it to a joint session of Congress in April, a Wirthlin poll found that seven out of 10 voters didn't even know he had mentioned Nicaragua.

Wirthlin has attributed the confusion to Central America being "a back-burner issue" for most Americans and to the complexity of a situation in which the United States is supporting guerrillas fighting the leftist government in Nicaragua while opposing leftist guerrillas fighting the U.S.-backed government in El Salvador. Whittlesey criticized published polls, saying questions asked by The Washington Post-ABC News and The New York Times-CBS News polls were "framed to elicit a certain response."

"The questions can be turned around another way," she said. "For example, [you could ask] how would you feel, if as a result of a communist takeover, 2 million refugees have come to the United States. You get a completely different answer if the question is framed in these terms."

Whittlesey's White House Outreach Working Group on Central America has been controversial even within the White House. She has started from the premise that "going to your natural supporters is one of the basic tenets of political organization as I see it."

Originally, her campaign was strongly backed by national security affairs adviser William P. Clark, a staunch conservative. But Clark reportedly became concerned at a July 20 meeting when one of the White House digests overstated the degree of anti-Semitism attributed to the Sandinistas.

Staff writer Juan Williams contributed to this report.

Reagan Appointee Questions Latin Policy

LATIN, From A1

Yale professor is not likely to be a minority of one.

"What we have to fear is not the Soviets or the Cubans," Cisneros said in an interview here. He argued that the greater danger is that the United

States runs a risk, as it did in Vietnam, of "alienating the people in huts and villages." If that happens, he said, "the battle is lost and can't

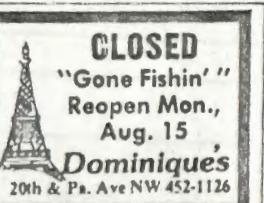
ment was a jelling coalition of forces. I think if you adhere to the principles of self-determination, and the internal processes of Nicaragua result in a junta that has some Marxists at the top, then I think that is something you have to live with."

"I don't believe" the Sandinistas

boring Honduras without first exhausting all possible diplomatic solutions.

"I would keep the military a couple of steps back," he said.

Eventually, if diplomacy fails to resolve regional conflict, Cisneros said the United States need not fear the Soviets and Cubans because of



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Stein's
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2920 Annandale Rd.
Just N. of Rte. 50 237-8484

where the infrared astronomer (IAS) pictures are analyzed. It could be a solar system at a distance.

celestial bodies in orbit around Vega just as the planets in this solar system circle the sun.

Further investigation showed that the bodies

them. All it sees is a ring of particles, not individual bodies. The buckshot-sized particles men-

See VEGA, A8, Col. 1

ing and letting other people run your life."

See LABOR, A4, Col. 1

Kissinger Panel

the current large-scale U.S. military exercises in the region.

Meanwhile, a White House official disclosed a report that the administration would soon commission Yale professor Carlos Diaz-Alejandro, who has come under fire from Cuban exiles and conservative groups for allegedly being too tolerant of Cuban President Castro.

"Things stand now, this man is on board, not being dumped," a senior White House said.

"We are keeping this guy unless something happens that we don't know about."

A conservative member of the administration said somewhat glumly that the White House would just have to live with anticipated criticism from Diaz-Alejandro. But it was apparently from Cisneros' comments that the

See FIN, A2, Col. 1



MAYOR HENRY CISNEROS
... Reagan "has not made the case"

Firm's Documents Seized at N.Y. Airport

L. Rowe Jr.
Post Staff Writer

er the Swiss trading & Co. AG agreed to records to a federal New York, federal trunks full of sub-

investigating whether the subsidiary evaded U.S. taxes by allegedly shifting profits from oil trading transactions to the Swiss parent.

Yesterday, the two black steamer trunks sat in a New York federal courtroom in front of U.S. District

of the former subsidiary, said the documents were being shipped to Switzerland so they could be examined by the firm's New York counsel. "I think it can be explained," Fleming told Sand, "but I believe that is for another day."

sands more pages remained to be produced, including those in the trunks.

The Swiss parent had refused for more than a year to turn over its records on the transactions and was fined \$50,000 a day by Sand on June

News Media, Churches Blamed

'Distortion' on Latin Policy Decried

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

A White House official trying to mobilize constituent support for President Reagan's Central America policy blames "deliberate distortion" by the news media and major U.S. churches for continuing public ignorance of and opposition to the administration's strategy in the region.

"I think the media has tried to portray what we think are the bad guys, the communists, as Robin Hoods," said Faith Ryan Whittlesey, the White House director of public liaison. "And I think the confusion has been deliberate and that accounts for some of the ignorance."

Whittlesey, who is directing the White House campaign to line up conservative, business, labor, ethnic and veterans' groups behind Reagan's Central America policy, said she watched television every night and was "ap-

palled" by coverage she described as "biased and one-sided."

She used similar language to criticize the opposition of American church leaders to administration policy, saying they "tend to characterize the Sandinistas as Robin Hoods, essentially fighting for social justice" in Nicaragua.

Whittlesey said the White House is trying to counteract this by emphasizing that the leftist Sandinista government of Nicaragua has "persecuted Jews, Protestants and Catholics [and] booed and heckled the pope when he was down there trying to offer mass."

Whittlesey made her comments during an interview in which she and an assistant, Mor-

See POLICY, A2, Col. 1

Central American conflict is seen putting strains on Atlantic alliance. Page A16

France Sends Army Trainers To Aid Chad

By Peter Maass
Washington Post Foreign Service

France sent a unit of military in-

Preservation Copy

File #18
Very important. Please read!

A Report From Inside Nicaragua: For Whom The Bell Tolls

By Kent Johnson
Special to The Bee

*This is the truth
& first hand info.*

MATAGALPA, NICARAGUA — I find myself in a rather special situation. I am an American citizen volunteering as an adult education teacher in the mountains of Matagalpa, Nicaragua.

Since the beginning of the year, in Region 6 where I work, 33 of my fellow teachers have been murdered, often after torture. Nineteen more have "disappeared."

In the past few months, hundreds of Nicaraguans, including campesino women and children, health workers, land reform technicians and union organizers, have lost their lives. A number of international volunteers have also been killed recently, including two doctors from France and Germany.

As the world now knows, beginning in February of this year, thousands of counter-revolutionaries, in their vast majority ex-National Guards from the deposed Somoza dictatorship, began a massive invasion of Nicaragua from bases inside neighboring Honduras. The world also knows that these forces, who are guilty of the crimes I just mentioned, are financed, organized and largely directed in their operations by the Reagan administration and the CIA.

Kent Johnson, 28, of Milwaukee, is one of a tiny group of U.S. citizens who work for the Nicaraguan government. A former student who ardently supports that country's Marxist regime, Johnson has been employed by the Ministry of Adult Education for the past 10 months. He also visited Nicaragua — for six months — in 1980.

THE AGGRESSION has caused tremendous problems for Nicaragua, aggravating an already poverty-stricken economy. Huge amounts of human and material resources must be diverted from productive activity and devoted to defense. But despite the war, the social transformations of the Sandinista Revolution continue to go forward.

I only wish the American people could see some of the wonderful things I've witnessed in my four months here. Humble campesinos, covered with dirt after a hard day's work, bent over their literacy texts in candle light. Massive campaigns in which tens of thousands of volunteers mobilize to vaccinate children against tetanus, measles and polio. Workers in weekly assemblies, debating and voting on how best to run their factory, cooperative or state farm. A joyous gathering of poor

campesinos, receiving titles to land. Mechanics, shoeshines and house-keepers, sitting around a table, criticizing a poem in one of the many new poetry workshops. New schools, new clinics, and new houses for the poor. This is indeed a revolution of the "common people."

After nearly 50 years of a brutal, U.S.-backed dictatorship and miserable conditions of life for the majority, Nicaragua is in the process of trying to build a new and just society. The Reagan administration, whose Central American policy is guided at bottom by the desire to maintain U.S. economic dominance over the region, fears the example of an original and democratic form of socialism in Nicaragua.

And it is this fear that lies behind the stale, cold war rhetoric about "arms shipments," "Soviet infiltration," and "totalitarianism."

FROM HERE it seems that Washington actually wants Nicaragua to become "totalitarian." A war is being waged in the name of democracy against a nation whose Council of State (in which the country's major opposition parties are seated), has begun planning for national elections in 1985. Is part of the plan to creat a climate where elections become unviable and thus prevent an almost certain FSLN victory at the polls?

The Reagan administration is violating U.S. and inter-

national law in its aggression against Nicaragua. And I, along with millions of Americans, believe that the dignity and self-respect of the American people is being violated in the process. What right does this administration have to wage a war against a small and destitute country which has never done us the slightest harm?

A couple of weeks ago, I was sitting with Pablo, the local treasurer of the Farm Workers Union, overlooking one of Matagalpa's beautiful, lush valleys. "You know," he said quietly, "I wonder if the leaders of your country came here for a while and talked with us and saw that we're regular, reasonable people, I mean, I wonder if they'd stop what they're doing. After all, we have the same feelings on the inside as you people do. We just want our children to grow up healthy and happy and free from war. We're tired of war. War is a terrible thing." He paused and looked out towards the mountains. "But if we have to fight a hundred years to keep from becoming slaves like we were under Somoza, then we will fight!"

It's night time now and the sound carries a long way in the clear country air. For the past hour, automatic weapon fire has echoed through the hills. This morning, when I heard that my friend Pablo had been killed while defending his country on militia duty, I decided to try to write something.